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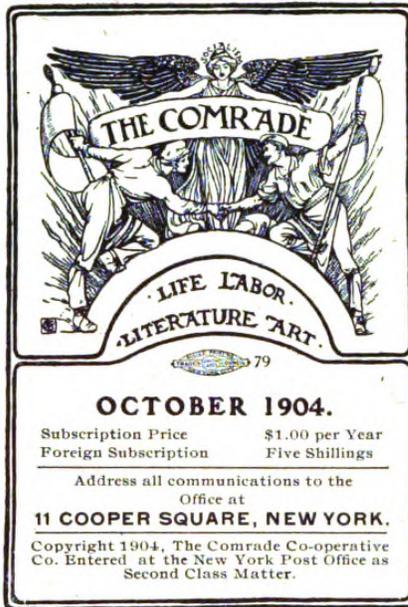
PUPPETS OF CAPITALISM

U.A. MORIER

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The present issue of *The Comrade* differs from preceding ones in that it devotes all its space to one subject only, the International Socialist Congress, recently held at Amsterdam. We had intended to treat of other subjects but it was found necessary to make room for the Congress matter, if anything like a comprehensive report was to be placed before our readers. Our American Socialist weeklies could print very little about the congress, nearly all of their space being taken up by campaign matter. Under these circumstances our readers will, no doubt, welcome this issue of our magazine as a very appropriate one. Especially the great debate on tactics is worth their attention. One of the strongest features of the Socialist movement is its internationalism and we think that this issue contains much that is designed to foster the growth of that spirit of world wide proletarian unity.

Our next issue will contain a great variety of matter. Among other articles there will be one by Karl Kautsky: "To what extent is the Communist Manifesto obsolete?"; furthermore a review of the doings of the German party congress. Comrade Wentworth



Published Monthly

will continue his monthly review of current events, which, as many letters show us, are fully appreciated by our readers.

* * *
We have in preparation and shall publish in a few weeks a fourth edition of Principles of Scientific Socialism, by Charles H. Vail, and a fifth edition of Modern Socialism by the same well known author. Both books are counted among the standard works of American Socialist Literature. They have been out of print for some time, but the continuous demand for them, due to the excellence of these Socialist textbooks, has caused us to make arrangements for new editions. Our shareholders can obtain these books at a discount of 40 per cent. Below we print a table of their contents, which will convince our readers that no more helpful books can be found for a systematic study of Socialism. Of former editions hundreds of copies have been sold to classes engaged in such studies. Every reader of *The Comrade* should procure a copy of each of these books for himself and also recommend them to his friends and to his organization. Send your order now.

MODERN SOCIALISM

By Rev. CHARLES H. VAIL.

Read not to contradict nor believe, but to weigh and consider.—Francis Bacon.

CONTENTS

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CHAPTER III. The Economic Evolution.	CHAPTER XIII. Capitalism and Economic Waste
CHAPTER IV. Advantages of Socialism in the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth.	CHAPTER XIV. Misconceptions and Objections Considered.
CHAPTER V. The Postulates of Socialism in Regard to Money, Value and Wages.	1. As to Equality.
CHAPTER VI. The Question of Interest.	2. As to Property.
CHAPTER VII. Competition vs. Combination.	3. As to the Family.
CHAPTER VIII. Industrial Democracy, or Democratic Government.	4. As to Inheritance.
CHAPTER IX. The Moral Strength of the Co-operative Commonwealth.	5. As to State Socialism.
CHAPTER X. Socialism and Modern Problems	6. As to Publications.
1. The Liquor Traffic.	7. As to Socialism and Slavery.
2. Poverty.	8. As to Disagreeable Work
3. Labor-Saving Machinery.	9. As to the Destruction of Liberty and Freedom.
4. Taxation.	10. As to Motives to Industry
5. Illiteracy.	11. As to the Confiscation of Property.
6. The Solution.	12. As to the Corruption of Politics.
	13. As to the Character of the Exponents of Socialism.
	14. As to Socialism and Paternalism.
	15. As to Socialism and Anarchism.
	CHAPTER XV. Conclusion. Index.

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CHAPTER II. The Analysis of Value	CHAPTER IX. The Law of Wages.
CHAPTER III. The Origin of Surplus Value.	CHAPTER X. The Law of Progress.
CHAPTER IV. Advantages of Socialism.	CHAPTER XI. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises.
1. Production.	CHAPTER XII. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
2. Distribution.	CHAPTER XIII. Popular Economic Errors.
3. Elimination of Useless Vocations.	1. That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production.
4. Prevention of Waste.	2. That the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are Identical.
5. Elevation of Woman.	3. That Labor is Better off To-day than Ever Before.
6. Proper Care and Training of Children.	4. That Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor.
7. Efficient Directors.	5. That Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor.
8. Solution of the Monetary Question.	6. That Luxury is Beneficial to Labor.
9. Abolition of Taxation.	7. That Land Nationalization would Solve the Social Question.
10. Simplification of Government.	8. That Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want.
11. Benefits to Capitalists.	9. That Socialism would Thwart Inventions and Improvements.
12. Benefits to Laborers.	10. That Socialism would Destroy Individuality.
CHAPTER V. Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism.	CHAPTER XIV. Conclusion. Index.
1. Its Spirit and Aim.	
2. Its Abolition of Business Dishonesty.	
3. Its Restriction of Divorce.	
4. Its Prevention of Prostitution.	
5. Its Elimination of Crime.	
6. Its Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.	
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THE COMRADE

The Times and Their Tendencies

The elusive Coin

From the inner circles of the Republican and Democratic parties comes the dreary cry that they are in some financial need. The politicians, after having exerted themselves to the utmost to secure "safe and sound" platforms for both parties, and safe and sound candidates also; now find that their very conservative desires may prove their undoing.

For now that the element of scare has been eliminated and the fear of the capitalist class quieted in regard to both candidates, the capitalists refuse to produce the usual campaign fund. Why should they loosen up just for the hungry politicians, so long as they don't care whether they have Roosevelt or Parker?

In 1896 and in 1900 the Republican politicians had all the money at their disposal they wanted. The free silver idea scared the creditors and it was an easy matter to get big contributions out of concerns which never before had contributed liberally. The printing and the postage bills of the Republican national committee in those two campaigns were prodigious. Tons upon tons of literature were sent broadcast over the country and spellbinders were staked to the limit. It took immense sums of money, but they were readily forthcoming.

But now it is different. No one fears free silver. The famous Parker telegram has convinced the capitalists that the Democratic candidate has a perfect fit whenever he sees a silver dollar, so they breathe freely on that score.

The fact that exploiters like Belmont control Parker is absolutely reassuring. The big corporations know that if there were any menace to financial interests Belmont would be one of the first to cry wolf. They know through Belmont that Parker is as friendly as Roosevelt and so they have no anxiety on that score.

Now they cannot be expected to loosen up their purses when they are not scared. Their generosity is always based on calculation, and when there is no necessity for paying they won't pay, thank you. So this year they are taking the advice they are always giving the workers: —to save their money; only they themselves are saving other peoples'.

It is definitely stated in a cheerfully unblushing manner by the Wall street Journal that "some corporations will give sparingly to both committees so as to be sure to put the winner under obligations." But from all sources it seems agreed that the campaign fund of neither party will come up to expectations.

Davis Brothers and Co.

As a financial investment Uncle Henry Davis has proven a disappointment, and the Democratic donkey is already braying for the fodder it was anticipating. The Democratic managers were counting on getting \$350,000 each out of Uncle Henry and Uncle Tom Davis, which latter is the Democratic nominee for Congress from the second district of West Virginia; but they are now beginning to fear that the \$50,000, which each has already contributed is to be all they will get out of these crafty old persons.

They are beginning to believe that they might have nominated some one not so rich who was more generous and hadn't so many hungry relatives waiting for him to die.

All the relatives of the aged candidate have expressed themselves as opposed to his contributing large sums for campaign purposes, which is quite natural as in a few years they expect to be spending this ill-got gain themselves.

It is naively given out that neither Mr. Candidate Davis nor his brother have any faith in the ability of politicians to spend money judiciously.

When Thomas Davis sold his railway and coal interests to the Goulds three years ago he received \$7,500,000. He gave \$25,000 to each of his nephews and nieces and told them to report in five years upon the disposition they had made of the money. Then, he said, he would make his will. It is stated by the Wall street press that he has \$3,000,000 on deposit with financial institutions in New York that he can draw in cash at any moment. A man who is so industrious and sober that he can save three million dollars out of his daily wages is surely an example for the growing youth of the country. They say that the brothers always occupy the same room at hotels. Thus do we save, and grow rich!

The candidate for the Vice-Presidency is a devoted churchman and neither drinks nor smokes. So there! That kind of a man is always "blessed by God." A Sunday-school type of mind is seldom led astray. It is not often that a man of this provident character is grievously robbed as John D. Rockefeller Jr. was robbed the other day. A soulless corporation got a dollar out of him. He had left orders that telegrams should be telephoned to his country place at Pocantico Hills, just to save delivery charges. But when a message came and the Rockefeller telephone would not work, the Western Union sent a messenger from Tarrytown: three miles. The dollar was paid by the junior Rockefeller's man, but when he found it out the Sunday-school teacher spat blue fire. "Why," said he, "I can get a man to work all day for \$1.25." Yeal!

Federal Interference

The Democrats, hard pressed for something to talk about in their bogus campaign, are now harking back to the capitalist anarchy in Colorado and asking why the President didn't take a hand in things in that state. Parker himself started the discussion and if he isn't careful he will get the rank and file to talking upon a real issue. But what the Democrats say is not half so interesting as the defense put up by the Republicans to justify the action of Roosevelt in ignoring the situation. For example, Representative McCleary of Minnesota declared in a recent speech:

"There was one thing that surprised me, and that was the unfair, undignified way Judge Parker alluded to the Colorado troubles. He said, without saying so in just so many words, that the president ought to take a hand in the situation out there. He knows very well, as does every other intelligent person in the country, that the president cannot lawfully interfere out there. If he did he would certainly lay himself open to the charge of imperialism and overriding the law that the judge makes against him in another part of his speech. Such a charge as that proves the judge to be a man of much smaller calibre than I thought him to be. It is a piece of very small politics, to say the least."

Now we will all agree as to the small calibre of Judge Parker. He is too unmagnetic to arouse any enthusiasm whatever. The Democratic campaign is so dead that already Democratic papers like the Boston Herald are suggesting that the Judge retire from the race. But Mr. McCleary cannot justify Roosevelt's political cowardice by pointing out the littleness of Judge Parker. It is not true at all that "every intelligent person knows the president could not interfere out there."

Even if there were no law in the case the blustering executive's "big stick" which he shook over Columbia in the Panama matter ought to be big enough to shake over Colorado. But there is law to justify interference.

The Minnesota congressman had better read the Constitution. The 14th amendment says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Roosevelt takes oath to support the Constitution, and the words of the Constitution are clear. If ever the rights of citizens were trampled upon, making federal action justifiable such was the case in Colorado. It is not from want of lawful authority that Roosevelt failed to check the reign of mob and military violence in that state.

Roosevelt did not interfere in Colorado for exactly the same reason that in the A. R. U. strike in Chicago Cleveland did interfere. Roosevelt's non-action and Cleveland's action were consistently class-conscious. In Chicago where labor had licked capital the big stick of Cleveland had to be used to beat labor back to its kennel; but in Colorado where Capital had licked labor by using the whole legislative, executive and judicial outfit to do it, no interference is required; everything is quite satisfactory to the Capitalist class.

One trembles to think how Capitalist shrieks for law and order and

THE COMRADE

the president's big stick would have rent the air if it had been the working class which directed the local courts and executive in Colorado.

The beaten, scourged, bull-penned and exiled workers of the state called upon the president to use his big stick to protect them, under the constitution he had sworn to uphold; but what are oaths and public responsibilities when they collide with class interests? When Mr. McCleary of Minnesota says that Judge Parker is a small man, playing small politics he speaks the truth: but why should he withhold the further truth that his own candidate: Theodore Roosevelt is a renegade to his public trust: and a proven moral coward?

The Influence of One It is astonishing how the influence of one man in a conspicuous public position can warp all moral judgments and debase public sentiment. The violence in Colorado is but a reflex of the president's own personality, and the violent demonstrations that attend so many of the present differences between labor and capital are superinduced by Roosevelt's own teachings. He has taught the vulgar doctrine that brute-force is the supreme moral monitor. He has exemplified it by his actions. Through his teachings and example he has let loose the passions of the country which reason was beginning to curb. It is because this man Roosevelt is an essentially lawless and unrestrained character, and that he has been held up as the incarnation of the American spirit, that all about us crop out the manifestations of lawlessness. He is the justification of the big stick: and when constituted authority uses the big stick in defiance of constituted processes, it does not take the mob long to learn its lesson. Conditions themselves in this country are precipitating bitter class animosity which is always easy to translate into violence, and when the most conspicuous citizen of a republic stands for irresponsible force and arbitrary action it is not long before his admirers develop a quick readiness to appeal to the power of force and arms. It is really the Roosevelt spirit that has been rough-riding in Colorado. And yet such is the power of a dominant class-conscious press, that in the event of violence meeting violence, the odium falls inevitably upon the working class. This fact makes Theodore Roosevelt the most dangerous citizen of the republic, and the most menacing influence against any peaceful solution of the social problem. To the Socialist, who is the man of peace, the man who hates violence because no progress can come by that road, Roosevelt cannot fail to be a disturbing and distressing object. He may be an enjoyable personality to lovers of strenuousity and the might-makes-right kind of man; but to thoughtful persons he is the arch-enemy of the law and order, he is always prating about, an irresponsible, illbalanced, undeveloped animal who is leading the republic into volcanic conditions fundamentally threatening to the world's peaceful balance.

Roosevelt is not constructive; he is essentially destructive, and the accident of his position gives to his teachings and example a disastrous influence, comparable only to that of an 18th century highwayman over his lawless followers.

Sowing the Wind Even in the absence of lawless things from those high in authority it is difficult for the philosophic mind to figure out how a readjustment of social conditions can be brought about in a wholly peaceful spirit. It is not to be supposed that the plundering of the small investors of the middle class by syndicate promoters during the past half dozen years is to have no retributive effect. When the middle class man, beaten at the game of plunder is forced to make common cause with the workers he brings with him a bitterness much more intense than that of the workers who have never been crowded from any higher level. Through the exposures of Thomas W. Lawson in *Everybody's magazine* the middle class gamblers who lost their petty fortunes in the Rockefeller stocks, now are made to see that the Rockefellers held marked cards and that it was not an open gambling game.

Mr. Lawson tells how he saw with his own eyes the performances at the orgy where the "general investing public" was made drunk with the spirit of "prosperity," and then had its pocket picked.

It is the fear of this eminent financier that the country has been sown to a most promising crop of socialist thought and action by the proceedings of the trust promoters. He cannot believe that less radical consequences can follow from such acts of robbery as the Boston gas disclosures bring out, as shown in the admissions of men related to the Amalgamated copper deal where tens of millions of dollars were scooped up at a single stroke, and as revealed in the ship-building trust collapse.

Then there is the United States steel corporation which illustrates the mode of a game which has the whole country for a table and the investing middle class for its stakes.

The common stock at this writing is below \$15 a share, which draws attention to this scheme for crowding the petty middle class capitalists into the ranks of the proletariat.

Some of the "most-trusted financiers" of the country were the operators of this game where all the dice were loaded.

What they did was to issue over \$500,000,000 of stock representing no invested value whatever except the paper it was printed on. Then they began to pay dividends on this common stock of paper value to fool the public into buying it. The appealing power of the dividends and the confidence in the great names identified with the transaction

led the little capitalists to pay as high as \$50 a share for these pieces of paper. More than two hundred million dollars were taken out of the pockets of the middle class by this one deal alone. Never before in the whole history of the world has such a stupendous scheme of robbery been planned and successfully executed. Two hundred millions of dollars, reaped by a few men means the financial ruin of hundreds of thousands of the middle class in whose hearts are thus sown the seeds of bitterness and hatred. The retributive consequences in the final working out of such an extraordinary robbery must be commensurately heavy; and in this retribution whatever form it may take it is likely that the men who are responsible for it will participate.

The Middle Class When one realizes that the middle class in America can be wiped out by a few deft strokes in public finance without any protest whatever from Congress or the State legislatures it becomes sufficiently clear that the Democratic party no longer represents even the little capitalists. Under Mr. Bryan's influence it did stand for the middle class; but now the middle class has no public representation whatsoever. That such stupendous frauds in finance as are now coming to light can pass without the perpetrators of them being put behind the bars, proves that the middle class is now too impotent to enforce its own laws. The whole burden of maintaining individual liberty now falls upon the working class. There is no force or influence in the United States today, outside of the working class that is above derision. The state legislatures even when not wholly in the service of High Finance do not dare to make a single effort for the relief of their middle class constituents. Their impotence and worthlessness is well exemplified by the Georgia legislature which has just closed its summer session. In the fifty days of its deliberation it raised the governor's salary from \$3000 to \$5000, the salaries of the supreme court judges from \$3000 to \$4000, and the salaries of the superior court judges from \$2000 to \$3000. Then it refused to adopt the Australian ballot system, and adjourned.

It would seem in the face of such absurd sessions as this, that the country were better off without legislative assemblies. But institutions are either bad or good according to their use. It is possible for the working class to elect legislators that shall find more to do than to spend fifty days of salaried time, in raising the pay of legal functionaries and defeating the demand for a secret ballot. It lies in the power of the workers to elect legislatures who will check the imperialistic depredations of such men as Peabody in Colorado.

If the workers do not realize this, at least the Capitalists do. Papers like the Boston *Herald* are already sounding a warning note. In a recent issue of that journal appeared an editorial of which the following is an extract:

"One great impending mischief is that Colorado is thus furnishing an example that other states may imitate. The conditions for a similar civil war exist in every state having large industries and a large labor union population. Are the conflicts that arise between employers and employed to be settled in this way everywhere? Will other governors undertake to treat strikes as rebellion and to suppress labor unions by similar strenuous means, holding that one party has no rights and the other has all license to oppose it, even to the extent of substituting martial law for civil law and lending the military authority to support the unlawful action of mobs composed of gentlemen of property and standing? Suppose some state should at such a time have a governor like former Gov. Waite of Colorado, and that he should take the workingmen's side, instead of the employers' side, what would prevent him from forcibly interrupting all business that was not conducted according to the workingmen's ideas of justice and deporting the proprietors who objected? The Colorado example is a dangerous one."

Aye, to be sure. The lawless servants of capitalism had best go slow in their rough-riding. Two sides can play at that game.

The Military Picnic Down at historic Manassas the brave soldiers of the nation have been indulging in the fiercest kind of mimic slaughter. General Corbin has been dashing about the field in an automobile and each day's victory has been celebrated by the officers of both warring camps getting together in full dress to dine with the ladies. The privates are fed in their usual mess: — and don't complain. The government went to the expense of digging thirty wells on the battle-field, but it is not reported that they were used very much — except for wash-water. One would think that the tales or carnage which come to us from the seat of war in the East would leave little stomach for these scenes of picnic killing. The spectacle of hundreds of thousands of people who have no quarrel killing each other in the interest of their exploiters makes one wonder if we are not in the dark ages indeed. It is all for a market! that the capitalists may control a market! that those thousands of Russian and Japanese peasants are pouring out their life blood.

And it is because there is a contingent of this same capitalist class in America that all this money is being spent here at home to equip these men to fight. Right here at Manassas we have the two classes clearly exemplified in the officers' dining in full dress with the ladies and the men fed like cattle at the crib.

It is the working class that makes the common soldier, and in the army he is regarded as the working class is regarded wherever it may be — as an inferior.

THE COMRADE

But a few weeks ago at Fort Sheridan, near Chicago, six non-commissioned officers were reduced to the ranks for running a "blind pig" — an unlicensed canteen. When the men grumbled that they were doing no worse than the commissioned officers did, Col. Whitehall declared that what was meet for officers in the post club-house was not necessarily proper for privates in quarters.

Col. Whitehall is reported as saying: —

"To put the private on the same footing as the commissioned officer would be ruinous to discipline. We must have caste in the army just as there is caste in outside society. We have the same class distinctions, and without them we could have no discipline."

This is very frank and very fine. Col. Whitehall practically says that the common soldier is a dog and ought to know better than to get whiskey in the way his betters get it. It is only because the working class is shallow enough to enlist in the army that an army is possible. When the workers can no longer be baited, and capitalism has to recruit its forces from its own class, will there not be some jolly rows over special privileges in the matter of Whiskey?

Uncle Sam's Workmen

Controller of the Treasury Tracewell cuts a new trail when he decides, in harmony with the demands of the international association of machinists, that the machinists employed in the Washington navy-yard can be given a Saturday half-holiday, with pay, during the summer months.

Government clerks have long enjoyed this privilege, and there is no reason why the machinists should not have long since been similarly favored, except for the existence of the capitalist notion that workingmen not directly in touch with the leisure class need no holidays. Once the half-holiday with pay is admitted anywhere in the public service there is no logical reason why it should not be extended down to the common laborer on government works. This decision of Controller Tracewell makes the government's eight-hour day or 48 hour week a 44-hour week in the summer, and the capitalist press in commenting on the matter is asking how long it will be before these men, accustomed to such a week at one season of the year will be demanding a 44-hour week for all seasons. It is frankly admitted that many employers are disposed to resist the eight-hour day movement, not because those hours are regarded so very unreasonable, but because they say the winning of eight hours will only lead to demands for a further reduction. Reports are coming from Australia that the workingmen there, sometime since securing the eight-hour day are now beginning to agitate for a six-hour day on the theory that the productivity of modern industrial society is increasing so that six hours is already enough to supply all human wants if "the shirks" were put to work. All this we read in the capitalist papers.

But what the Capitalist press is taking no pains to publish in this country is that the labor ministry of the Australian commonwealth has been defeated by a coalition of the protectionists and free traders of the country who have forgotten their differences and now stand together to down the workers.

Here, in this little nation, is a clear exemplification of the thing which must logically happen in the United States as soon as the Socialist vote becomes considerable. The Republican protectionist and the Democratic free-trader will join hands against the working class, proving the Socialist contention that they are but the two wings of the same bird of prey.

The Australian papers say in comment that "such a junction of conservative forces was seen to be necessary at the last general elections, if the radicals were to be checked at all." The admission is thus frankly made that these bogus warriors buried the hatchet in order to oppose the advance of socialism in the guise of the labor party. Already in certain districts of the United States similar action has taken place, notably in places like Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., but it may be easily seen that a set-back which drives the enemy into one camp is really a victory, for it clears the field of fraud and pretense and enables the workers to see at last where their interest really lies. It is a fine object-lesson when the two old parties, both of which have been claiming to be special protectors of the working man, join hands in fear of his awakening intelligence.

Upstart Aristocracy

One of the funniest things of the month has been the agitation of the Canadian loafing-class over the fact that the Duke of Marlborough might be appointed to the highly ornamental office of Governor-general of the Dominion. Not that there is any objection to the Duke himself. His family record is clear. The Marlboroughs have been loafers and parasites for five hundred years. There is no record that any one of them has done a stroke of honest work since the Duchy was created. They are sappers and spongers to the core. It isn't the eligibility of the duke the sponging class in Canada object to; the trouble is with the duchess. The duchess cannot trace the loafing habit as far back as the duke can. She is the daughter of an American. The duke married a heap of American dollars that the Vanderbilts had exploited from the workers, and the Vanderbilts threw in a woman with the money. Her name is Consuelo: which being translated into English means Consolation. But what is consolation for the duke will not serve to console the sponging class of Canada. They want the real thing to truckle and cringe to in the governor-general's wife: not a bogus article whose great-grandfather was a tradesman.

It does seem as if the Canadians with any sense of humor must shoot the whole matter through with hot shafts of ridicule, but they seem to be taking it as seriously as any other Englishman takes a joke. The Toronto World, which is credited with democratic leanings, gravely argues the case for the American duchess, and shows the cloven hoof by saying that if she came to Canada she might make Ottawa "a social Mecca for rich Americans."

The fact is that Americans even, are getting too patient with flunkeyism. They forget in certain quarters that the president of the United States is a servant; the hired man of the people; and some of the sappers show a cringing consideration of the president's young-ones that is disgusting. This was particularly noticeable at the St. Louis exposition, where three of the Roosevelt boys were lodged by the management in six pretentious connecting rooms at the Inside Inn and flattered by a special band concert every afternoon. Then one Sunday, when Alice Roosevelt went to church in St. Louis the whole congregation rose and stood while she passed out. This may be all right for the sappers and spongers but it's hard on the children. They bid fair to be translated into fools before their father is retired to private life.

A Matter of State

While all the frivolities of an asiatic war are transpiring it is a relief to know that there are in the world men who are not swayed by such trivial things: men who have time amid the whirl of life and death to concentrate their minds upon things of vital import to the race.

Mr. Charles Rothschild, of the money house of that name, is one of these.

He is collecting fleas.

He has a collection of them that occupies in his private museum at Tring Park glass cabinets containing 10,000 specimens of this minute and detestable creature. Every animal on earth, including man, is said to have his own particular kind of flea. Mr. Rothschild had almost every sort of flea except that of the Siberian fox, and now Mr. A. M. Baker, East Cape agent of the Northeastern Siberian company, having made a long journey for the purpose, is on his way to London to receive \$5000 for two of these insects obtained from the body of an Arctic fox.

When fleas are valued at \$2500 each, what kind of computation is required to figure out the value of a sweat-shop child?

Advancing Germany

Interesting news has come to Wall street that the government of Germany has closed negotiations for the purchase of the extensive coal mines owned by the Hibernia mining company. The purchase involves an expenditure of something like \$25,000,000. It is said to be a measure undertaken not only to protect the German people against the high prices established by a coal combination, but to protect the government itself, which is a large user of coal on the state railroads.

It is thus clearly shown that the ownership of one economic resource by the people logically leads to another, and it is because Capitalism understands this so well in the United States that the least movement in that direction meets with the instant opposition of the Senate, which is the body especially charged with the conservation of graft and privilege.

The government of Germany will find that the purchase of one mine will be sufficient. The others will tumble into the hat. Even under capitalism, the undertaking of an industry by the government means the death knell of private capitalism in that direction.

The stars in their courses fight against Sisera.

The co-operative commonwealth is being prepared for the people, even by those who love the people not at all.

Italian Rejoicings

In Italy there is a new son of a King and that portion of the people still hypnotized by the spectacle of royalty rejoices, sings songs and waves banners in the prospect of the perpetuation of their slavery. He is to be called the Prince of Piedmont. On the day of the little scion's birth, one hundred and thirteen other male babes were born in the Italian capital; but not to rule. They were born to serve. And yet the very fact that they enjoyed the extreme felicity of being born in Rome, on the same day as the prince entitles them to some privilege. The royal house has offered to take them every one and educate them as army officers, to serve the body of the king-to-be. Fortunately this is not imperative. It lies with the parents whether they yield up their boys to so useless a life or no, and there may be those among them who have the vision of a better day. One of these very hundred and thirteen children, grown to mankind, may one day stand erect, and in the name of the Italian people and the Socialists of the World, throw down the throne forever, and help the Prince of Piedmont to live an honest life of service. Who can tell?

Franklin H. Woodworth



The Sixth International Socialist Congress



It was a great gathering. It was virtually a Parliament of the World. It was far in advance of the London Congress from the point of view of order, business, and organization. Of course, there are some who think there is room for improvement, and they undoubtedly are right. But when we remember that every speech has to be translated twice after delivery; that there are present representatives of some twenty nationalities wide as the Poles asunder in temperament, in development, in experience, in methods of conducting business; that the gatherings are held only once in three or four years, so that the experience gained at one is lost before the next is due, we must marvel that they go so smoothly."

This is the opinion of the *Labour Leader*, the well-known English Socialist paper, about the International Socialist Congress, held at Amsterdam, Holland, from August 14, to August 20.

Karl Kautsky, the great theoretician of Socialism, expresses himself just as enthusiastic in the *Neue Zeit*.

"A splendid congress! There are few national party conventions, there is no international congress that has left an impression equally satisfactory, elevating, inspiring."

Harry Quelch, writing in the *Clarion*, declares that the Congress has undoubtedly been the best conducted, the best attended, and the most successful of the series. Regarding the five preceding congresses he says:

"At the 1889 Congress, held in Paris, the differences between the French sections were so great that, instead of one Congress there were two held. At the next, that held in 1891 in Brussels, the Anarchists gave some little trouble, as they did also at the Zurich Congress in 1893, and at that held in London in 1896. There the Anarchist trouble culminated and ended; but when the Congress met in Paris in 1900 the French Party, which had some time previously composed its differences, was in the throes of a crisis caused by the acceptance of office by Millerand. There was a tremendous quarrel between the Frenchmen over this matter, upon which they divided into two opposing camps, and sought to fight the quarrel out in the International Congress. The Congress, however, refused to pass judgment upon the Millerand case in particular, and contented itself with passing a lengthy resolution, known as the Kautsky resolution, which laid down the lines of general Socialist policy in such matters."

At Amsterdam there were present 455 delegates, representing 25 countries, as follows: Great Britain, 101; France, 89; Germany, 68; Belgium, 38; Holland, 33; Poland, 20; Russia, 27; Austria, 11; United States, 11; Denmark, 7; Switzerland, 7; Sweden, 6; Italy, 5; Spain, 5; Hungary, 3; Bohemia, 3; Argentina, 2; Bulgaria, 2; Norway, Canada, South Africa, Japan, and Servia, each one.

The British delegation included 34 from the Social Democratic Federation, 31 from the Independent Labor Party, 2 from the Labor Representation Committee, 2 from the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 6 from the Fabian Societies, and 26 from trade unions. They sat, however, as one section, but on one or two occasions divided their vote by common consent.

The French delegation was divided into three groups. There were 44 representatives of the Socialist Party of France, commonly called the Guesdists; Jules Guesde and Edward Vaillant were their recognized leaders; these form the so-called "orthodox" wing. Then there was the French Socialist Party or Jauresists, with 39 delegates; these constitute the revisionist or ministerialist wing; not all of them, however, are real Jauresists, such men as Jean Longuet forming a "left" within the "right," who stay with this group in the hope of bringing about unity by "boring from within." These two groups sat as separate sections, each with one vote. The third group, led by Jean Alleman, and represented here by 6 delegates, is the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party; they form an "extreme left" and are advocates of the general strike; the other groups accuse them of having Anarchistic tendencies.

The Russians were divided into three groups, but on somewhat different lines. The Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia had 6 delegates, among them Plechanoff, Vera Sassulitch, Axelrod, and Leo Deutsch — the four who founded the party twenty years ago. The Jewish Workingmen's Federation, commonly called the Bund, was

represented by 8 delegates; this body agrees with the preceding in principles and was formerly included in it, but seceded about a year ago on the question of jurisdiction over the Jewish movement. Finally, there is the Revolutionary Socialist Party, which had 13 representatives; they hold to the terrorist policy and lay great stress on the general strike; equally with the Allemanists of France, they are reproached with leaning toward Anarchism, but the charge is not altogether just in either case. The first and third groups cast the two votes of Russia, the Bund being represented through the Social Democrats.

Still a third delegation, that of Poland, was divided into three parts. Here the question of Polish nationality is a source of disagreement — some advocating and working for the re-establishment of Polish national independence, while others hold that the Socialists in the three fragments of old Poland ought to affiliate with the Russian, Austrian, and German party organizations.

The British dependencies — Canada, Australia, and South Africa — were recognized as constituting a nation, with two votes.

Among the British delegates was one who ought to be regarded as in some sense a representative of India — Mr. Dabadhai Naoroji, an aged Hindu, who has lived in England for many years and whose writings on the subject of British misgovernment in India are known all over the world.

* * *

Opening of the Congress

The magnificent Concert Hall of Amsterdam presented an animated appearance as the delegates of the different nationalities assembled at ten o'clock on Sunday morning. The platform, on which were seated the members of the International Bureau, was fronted by a long red-covered table, banked by magnificent rows of red geraniums and sunflowers; the background being occupied by a screen bearing the words, in Dutch, of the motto of the old Communist manifesto: "Workers of all Countries Unite."

Soon after ten o'clock the Congress was opened by Van Kol, one of the leaders of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party and one of their deputies in the Dutch Parliament. In a few words he declared the Congress open and called upon Troelstra, another of the Dutch deputies, who, in an eloquent speech, welcomed the representatives of the universal Socialist movement to this, the sixth International Socialist Congress.

The chairman then briefly referred to the Russo-Japanese war and said that as manifesting the mission of the Socialist movement in promoting international peace, there were present on the platform as vice-presidents of the Congress for that day a representative of Japan and a representative of Russia. He would introduce his colleagues and comrades Katayama and Plechanoff. On this the two representatives of the belligerent countries of the Far East, rose, one on either side of the chairman, and, amid tremendous enthusiasm, the whole of the delegates rising to their feet and cheering frantically, shook hands in front of the chairman.

Van Kol then delivered his presidential address. He reiterated the welcome given to delegates by Troelstra, and especially with reference to those from Japan and Russia. Poor suffering peoples of the East, the one, the Japanese, crushed beneath the newly-developed capitalism, the other, the Russian, downtrodden beneath the iron heel of an intolerant brutal despotism. He also extended the welcome of the Congress to Dadabhai Naoroji, the distinguished representative of the people of India, a people of an ancient civilization which existed when the ancestors of their present oppressors were muddy-blooded savages. This Congress was representative of the whole of the world-proletariat — Indian as well as European. He drew a comparison between the last meeting of the Old International at The Hague, in 1872, and the present Congress. That was held in a miserable hovel, surrounded by a hostile people. Here we were meeting in a magnificent hall, with delegates representing millions of the working-class throughout the world; while even our capitalist enemies are watching with anxious interest our doings. The differences which have existed in the past are being eliminated. There is now practically only one division in society,

THE COMRADE

which is thus divided into two classes, those who possess and those who possess not, those who exploit and those who labor. Among ourselves there was no difference of principle, only of tactics. And already we have accomplished something in the organization of the international proletariat, a work which this Congress is held to promote. He concluded with an appeal for unity, for the suppression of points of difference, and the promotion of points of agreement.

Katayama was then called upon to address the Congress. He said that he felt considerable diffidence in appearing before the assembly. It was the first time Japan had been represented at an International Congress; and he was glad of the opportunity to join in that gathering with the representatives of all countries — especially with a Russian comrade, when both the Governments of Russia and Japan are engaged in a disgraceful war, butchering the people of both countries in the interests of international capitalism. He was certain there was no enmity and no quarrel between the workers of Russia and Japan, and he was glad to be able to express this sentiment there, as he had already expressed to his comrades at home.

The Japanese Socialist movement was first started in 1896, when he went home after a lengthened stay in America. Then there was no movement at all; now, though it was still small, nevertheless even the Government press gave them credit for having 3000 adherents. They could not test their strength in elections because, although there is constitutional government in Japan there is the property qualification which precludes the workers from representation. But they had had their baptism of fire. One of their number had been imprisoned for writing against the increased war taxes. And the movement was growing. Japanese soldiers were showing in Manchuria that they could fight for the classes, they would show in the future that they could fight at home for the Social Revolution. The war would help to demonstrate the divergence of class interests; the workers could gain nothing by the war, but afterwards they would have to pay heavily for it, and for the pensions which the officers would have, but in which the common soldiers would not participate. It would help on their work for the Co-operative Commonwealth; in which they would realise the appeal of Karl Marx, "Workers of all countries unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win."

Plechanoff, as a vice-chairman of the Congress, expressed hearty welcome and comradeship to his fellow vice-chairman, Katayama, the Benjamin of the Socialist family. It was not the Russian people who were making the war; it was their worst enemy, the Czar. His Government followed a policy of repression and rapacity. The war taught a grand moral; it showed that if they succeeded in enslaving others they would enslave themselves. Russia was a giant with clay feet and Japan had lopped one of them off. It would not be long before the giant toppled over. It was French gold which was paying the salary of the Lord High Executioner of all the Russias. But that would not last for ever. The Socialist cause was above all and noblest of all, since it united Japanese and Russians.

On the motion of the French Socialist Party, the Congress adopted a resolution sending fraternal greetings to the proletariat of Russia and Japan, and calling upon the workers everywhere to oppose the extension of the war.

In the afternoon of the first day an open-air meeting was held in the Linnaeus skating-ground. There were five platforms from which leading representatives of the various nationalities spoke.

The Work of the Congress.

First of May

A resolution in favor of Women's Suffrage was adopted unanimously as was also the following with reference to the First of May: —

"Whereas the demonstration of the workers on the First of May has for object the common upholding, on a fixed day, and in all the countries where there is a modern working-class movement, of the cause of the proletariat, especially the protection of the workers by the eight hours' day law; the class solidarity and the universal holiday; and of demonstrating the unity of the working-class movement in all countries.

"Whereas the unity of the demonstration only exists in some countries, and in others not the First of May, but the first Sunday in the month, is celebrated.

"The Amsterdam Congress re-affirms the resolutions adopted at the International Socialist Congresses held in Paris in 1889, in Brussels 1891, in Zurich 1893, and Paris in 1900, and invites all the Socialist parties and trade unions of all countries to organize energetically the working-class demonstrations of the First of May, in order to demand the institution of the legal eight hours' day, and to maintain the interests of the working-class and the cause of universal peace.

"But this demonstration can be most effective only by the suspension of work on the First of May.

"The Congress, therefore, urges it upon all proletarian organizations as a duty, to strive to secure the complete stoppage of work on May First wherever that can be done without injury to working-class interests."

* * *

General Strike

Mrs. Roland-Holst, editress of the *Nieuw Tijd*, reported on behalf of the Commission on General Strike.

The Dutch Party had formulated a resolution on the subject, which

had been adopted by the Commission. This, after considerable discussion, in which several amendments were proposed and rejected, was carried as follows: —

"The Congress declares (a) that the prime necessity for a successful strike on a large scale is a strong organization and a self-imposed discipline of the working-class;

"That the absolute 'general strike' in this sense, that all workers shall at a given moment lay down their work, would defeat its own object, because it would render all existence, including that of the proletariat, impossible;

"And that the emancipation of the working class cannot be the result of any such sudden exertion of force, although, on the other hand, it is quite possible that a strike which spreads over a few economically important trades, or over a large number of branches of trade, may be a means of bringing about important social changes, or of opposing reactionary designs on the rights of the workers.

"The Congress therefore warns the workers not to allow themselves to be misled by the Anarchists, with their propaganda of the general strike, carried on with the object of diverting the workers from the really essential struggle which must be continued day by day by means of the trade unions, and political action, and co-operation;

"And calls upon the workers to build up their unity and power in the class-struggle by perfecting their organization because, if the strike should appear at any time useful or necessary for the attainment of some political object, its success will entirely depend on that."

* * *

Colonial Policy

Van Kol of Holland, who is perhaps the best informed man on colonial affairs, reported for the Commission on Colonial Policy. The following is the resolution as adopted:

"That this Congress, considering the ever more costly capitalist exploitation of an ever extended colonial territory — exploitation not regulated and not restrained, which wastes capitals and natural riches, exposes the colonial populations to the most cruel, most terrible and often the bloodiest oppression and serves only to aggravate the misery of the proletariat;

"Mindful of the resolution of the Paris Congress (1900) on the Colonial question and the Imperialist policy;

"Declares that it is the duty of the national Socialist Parties and of the Parliamentary groups:

"1. To oppose without any compromise every Imperialist or Protectionist measure, every colonial expedition, and all military expenses for the colonies;

"2. To fight every monopoly, every concession of vast territories, to prevent that the wealth of the colonial territory should be appropriated by the all-powerful capitalists;

"3. To denounce incessantly the deeds of oppression of which the natives are the victims, to obtain for them the most efficacious measures of protection against military acts of cruelty or capitalist exploitation, to prevent that they should be robbed of their possessions, either by violence or by deceit;

"4. To propose or to favor all that is conducive to the amelioration of the natives' conditions of life, public works, hygienic measures, schools, &c.; to do their utmost to withdraw them from the influence of the missionaries;

"5. To claim for the natives that liberty and autonomy, compatible with their state of development, bearing in mind that the complete emancipation of the colonies is the object to pursue;

"6. To try to bring under Parliamentary control the control of international policy, which, as the natural consequence of the capitalist system, is more and more influenced by financial gangs."

On the question of Colonial Policy, S. G. Hobson moved the following resolution from the Commission, with special reference to India:

"That this Congress, while recognizing the right of the inhabitants of civilized countries to settle in regions where the people are in lower stages of development, protests against and condemns, and urges all Socialists to work to overthrow the capitalist system of conquering colonisation under the capitalist *regime* of to-day. The results of this system are seen in the universal oppression by the most civilized nations of Europe — France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, England — of nations who come under their rule in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere. England is only the largest and most successful of such depredating nationalities. But the results in the case of British India are so much greater and more terrible than elsewhere.

"That this meeting of the delegates of the workers of the civilized world, having heard from the representatives both of England and of India how British rule, by unceasingly and ever increasingly plundering and draining away the resources of the people, deliberately causes extreme impoverishment, and creates famines, plagues and starvation on an ever-increasing scale for upwards of 200,000,000 of people in British territory in India, calls upon the workers of Great Britain to enforce upon their Government the abandonment of the present nefarious and dishonorable system, and the establishment of self-government in the best form practicable by the Indians themselves (under British paramountcy)."



The International Socialist Congress in Session

Industrial Insurance

The following is the resolution on Industrial Insurance and Labor Protective Legislation, as presented by Molkenbuhr and adopted by the Congress:

"Whereas the workers in capitalist society are paid wages which barely suffice to meet the pressing needs of life when they are at work, while they are doomed to poverty and misery when they are prevented from making use of their power of labor either by illness, accident, inability, old age, or glut, and in the case of women by reason of pregnancy or maternity;

"Whereas, further, every man has the right of existence and society has an evident interest in sustaining the forces of labor; institutions should be established having for their object the removal of misery for the workers and the avoidance of damage to the laboring forces so caused.

"This result cannot be better reached in a capitalist society than by laws establishing an effective system of insurance for the workers.

"The workers of all countries ought, therefore, to demand institutions to prevent as much as possible illness, accidents, and disease; and bye-laws for the institution of compulsory insurance to give them the right to sufficient means of life and help during the period when it is impossible for them to avail themselves of their labor power in consequence of illness, glut, accident, incapacity, old age, pregnancy, or maternity.

"The cost of insurance against injury, death, old age, and for widows and orphans must be supplied by a rate on capital, revenue and succession by death; where this is not done the cost of the insurance shall be paid out of the wages of the workers even when the masters would be the intermediates by formally paying it. Therefore it is a duty for the workers to recover what they lose as a part of their wages by the reinforcing of their trade unions.

"The workers ought to demand that the insurance establishments should be under the administration of the insured themselves, and that the same conditions should be given to the workers of the country itself and to the foreigners of all nations (who may be working in the country where the insurance is granted)."

* * *

Trust Resolution

The Congress unanimously agreed to the resolution on Trusts, as follows:

"The Trusts have their complete development, even in competition, in the world of production.

"They grow gradually into gigantic associations, organized nationally, or even internationally, and which reduce many industries to a complete monopoly.

"The Trusts are an inevitable consequence of competition, and they represent a system of production based on low wages.

"In these conditions, the associations of capitalists of all countries and of all industries form powers composed on the basis of their common interests. Also the conflict between the capitalist class and the working class becomes more and more accentuated. Production is regulated, diminishing waste, and assuring the efficiency of labor, but all the benefit is for the capitalists, while the exploitation of the workers is intensified.

"Considering these facts, and in view of the experiences which show the futility of legislation against Trusts

"The Congress of Amsterdam, affirming the conclusions of the Congress of Paris, declares:

"1. That the Socialist Party of all countries should abstain from any attempt whatever to prevent the formation of trusts, or to restrain their development.

THE COMRADE

"2. The efforts of the Socialist Party should be in the direction of the socialisation of production, having for object the general well-being and the elimination of profits.

"The method of establishing this socialisation, and the order in which it will be effected, will be determined by our power of action and by the nature of the industries trustified.

"In opposition to these organizations, which menace the economic organization of the workers by the consolidation of the capitalist forces, the workers of the whole world must oppose a force, organized nationally and internationally, as the single arm against capitalist oppression and the only means of bringing to an end the *regime* of capitalist society by establishing Socialism."

* * *

Colorado Resolution

The British delegation offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted: This International Congress expresses its sincere sympathy with the locked-out trade-union miners of Colorado, America, and most emphatically condemns the brutal outrages committed on them by the state authorities acting in the interests of the capitalist class, who have employed soldiers and armed police to break up the workers' organization, to arrest men and women and deport them for no cause except their membership of or sympathy with the Miners' Union, to enter and demolish homes, and generally to crush, by the use of armed force, the peaceful attempt of the workers to ameliorate their position by combination and organization.

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Kautsky Resolution

1. The Congress again declares that the class-struggle forbids any species of alliance with any fraction of the capitalist class.

Admitting, even, that exceptional circumstances may necessitate coalitions (but only such as do not involve confusion of program or of tactics), these coalitions, which the party must seek to reduce to the minimum and finally to eliminate altogether, can be tolerated only in so far as their necessity is recognized by the regional or national organization to which the groups engaged in them may belong.

2. In a modern democratic state, the conquest of the public powers by the proletariat cannot be accomplished by a single blow, but by a long and patient work of proletarian organization on the economic and political fields, by the physical and moral regeneration of the working class, and by the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies.

But in those countries where the governmental power is centralized it cannot be conquered fragmentarily.

The entry of an individual Socialist into a bourgeois ministry cannot be considered as the normal commencement of the conquest of political power, but only as an enforced expedient, transient and exceptional.

If, in a particular case, the political situation necessitates this dangerous experience, it is then a question of tactics and not of principle; the International Congress need not pronounce upon this point, but, in any case, the entry of a Socialist into a bourgeois ministry promises good results for the militant proletariat only if it (the Socialist Party) by a large majority approves it and if the Socialist minister remains a responsible agent ("mandataire") of his party. In the contrary case, where the minister becomes independent of the party, or represents only a portion of it, his participation in a bourgeois ministry threatens to lead to disorganization and confusion for the militant proletariat, threatens to enfeeble rather than to strengthen it and to hamper the proletarian conquest of the public powers rather than to promote it.

The Congress is of the opinion that, even in these extreme cases, a Socialist ought to quit the ministry when the organized party recog-

nizes that the latter has given evident proofs of partiality in the conflict between capital and labor.

* * *

Adler-Vandervelde Resolution

The Congress affirms in the most strenuous way the necessity of maintaining unwaveringly our proved and glorious tactics based on the class-war and will never allow that the conquest of political power in the teeth of the bourgeoisie shall be replaced by a policy of concession to the established order.

The result of this policy of concession would be to change a party which pursues the swiftest possible transformation of the bourgeois society into a Socialist society, consequently revolutionary in the best sense of the word — into a party which contents itself with reforming bourgeois society.

For this reason the Congress, persuaded that class antagonism, far from diminishing, increases continually, states:

1. That the party declines all responsibility whatsoever for political and economical conditions based on capitalist production, and consequently cannot approve of any means which tend to maintain in power the dominant class.

2. That the Social Democracy, mindful of the dangers and the inconveniences of participation in the government in bourgeois society, brings to mind and confirms the Kautsky Resolution, passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

* * *

Dresden Resolution

The Congress condemns to the fullest extent possible the efforts of the revisionists, which have for their object the modification of our tried and victorious policy based on the class war, and the substitution, for the conquest of political power by an unceasing attack on the bourgeoisie, of a policy of concession to the established order of society.

The consequences of such revisionist tactics would be to turn a party striving for the most speedy transformation of bourgeois society into Socialist society — a party therefore revolutionary in the best sense of the word — into a party satisfied with the reform of bourgeois society.

For this reason, the Congress convinced, in opposition to revisionist tendencies, that class antagonisms, far from diminishing, continuously increase in bitterness, declares:

1. That the party declines all responsibility of any sort under the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and therefore can in no wise countenance any measure tending to maintain in power the dominant class.

2. That the Social Democracy can accept no participation in the government under bourgeois comity, this decision being in accordance with the Kautsky Resolution passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

The Congress further condemns every effort to mask the ever growing class antagonism in order to bring about an understanding with bourgeois parties.

The Congress relies upon the Socialist parliamentary group to use its power, increased as it is by the number of its members, and the great accession of electors who back it, to persevere in its propaganda toward the first object of Socialism and, in conformity with our program, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of political liberties in order to obtain equal rights for all, to carry on more vigorously than ever the fight against militarism, against the imperialist and colonial policy, against injustice, domination and exploitation of every kind, and finally to exert itself to the utmost to perfect social legislation and to enable the working class to fulfill its political and civilizing mission.

The Debate on Tactics.



THE dominating feature of the Congress was the great debate on Socialist tactics. It is true, the congress itself devoted only one day to this matter. But a three days' debate in the commission was necessary before a report could be rendered to the congress. The Amsterdam Congress will no doubt be historical for this great debate on Socialist tactics in the various countries. It arose as a sequel to the Millerand trouble which was discussed in Paris four years ago, and which was settled for the time being by the Kautsky resolution declaring that a Socialist ought not to enter a bourgeois Ministry except for some specific purpose approved by the Party. The Jaures section of the French Socialists, for some time, on the ground that the Republic has been in danger and that Clericalism is an ever active menace to Democracy, has been supporting the Ministry of Mr. Combes. The Guesdists have been opposed to this, and have been threatening to bring the whole matter before the International Congress.

Also, in Germany, the critical examination of Marx by Bernstein has been causing trouble, and the German party, at its Dresden Conference, condemned what it called the Bernstein revisionist tendencies.

The French Guesdists then resolved to make the Dresden resolution an international pronouncement, and asked the Congress to declare that the class war is ever increasing in its virulence, and to condemn revisionist tendencies and, in general terms, Jaures' tactics.

With regard to the three days' discussion in the commission, Kautsky says in *Die Neue Zeit*: "It was there that the decisive question was argued, and each nationality therefore delegated to it well-tried spokesmen. If in the beginning the speeches were only short, as becomes a consideration in commission; if at first they confined themselves to a sketching of the most important points, reserving further amplifications for the debate on the floor of the Congress — in the course of the debate they became ever fuller and deeper, and so rich in data and view points that, different from the usual run of things, the debate before the congress could be but an appendix to the discussion in the commission, where, essentially, the subject had been exhausted."

A full report of the proceedings in the commission is not available at this time. We publish here some of the remarks made by the several speakers. Jaures speech we reprint from the *Labour Leader*, London.

THE COMRADE

Vandervelde, Belgium: "No condemnation, no expulsion! To unite is our mission, not to rend asunder."

Plechanow, Russia, is unable to detect any condemning or stigmatizing passages in the Dresden Resolution, the adoption of which he favors.

Rakofsky, Bulgaria: "A party working for the future should be ready to do without momentary advantages. It is better, not to force two divergent factions into one party. Divided into two parties, who work together whenever possible, we can achieve more than by unceasing strife in one party."

Moor, Switzerland, declares that the Swiss delegation is against the intervention of the International Congress in the affairs of the different countries.

Bebel, Germany: The policy of Jaures will not force the bourgeois parties toward the left, but rather the Socialists toward the right... Bourgeois governments will admit a Socialist only to foster strife among the working class and to prevent them from developing their full strength. The capitalist class of England has always done this, to the detriment of the working class."

Hillquit, United States of America, considers the Paris Resolution of 1900 for that time, and the Dresden Resolution for the present time, the happiest means for overcoming difficulties.

Troelstra, Holland, is against the Dresden Resolution. His party has always, in theory and practice, held to the rule that is now to become international Socialist law. The Dutch comrades do not favor the permanent connection of Jaures with the French government. But on the other hand—the two tendencies in the Socialist Party belong together and constitute the essence of the party.

Furnemont, Belgium, speaks against the Dresden Resolution, because he thinks it impossible to mould tactics, so different in different countries on account of the difference in historic and economic development, after one pattern.

Nemec, Austria: "Jaures sacrifices too much to gain a momentary advantage. It is not to be expected that the working class could get the bourgeoisie to make concessions that would change class conditions."

Rapin, Switzerland: "The Dresden Resolution prohibits participation in the government. What government? The national government? How about the municipality? In Switzerland the legislature of Canton and municipality are often identical. We should not censure. We begin with censure and end with exclusion."

Katayama, Japan, says, he has always preached the tactic, to rely upon one's own strength.

Knudsen, Denmark, who favors the Resolution Adler Vandervelde, declares that it won't do to participate in the government to gain power, but that it is right to participate, if the party is powerful enough.

Jaures' Arguments

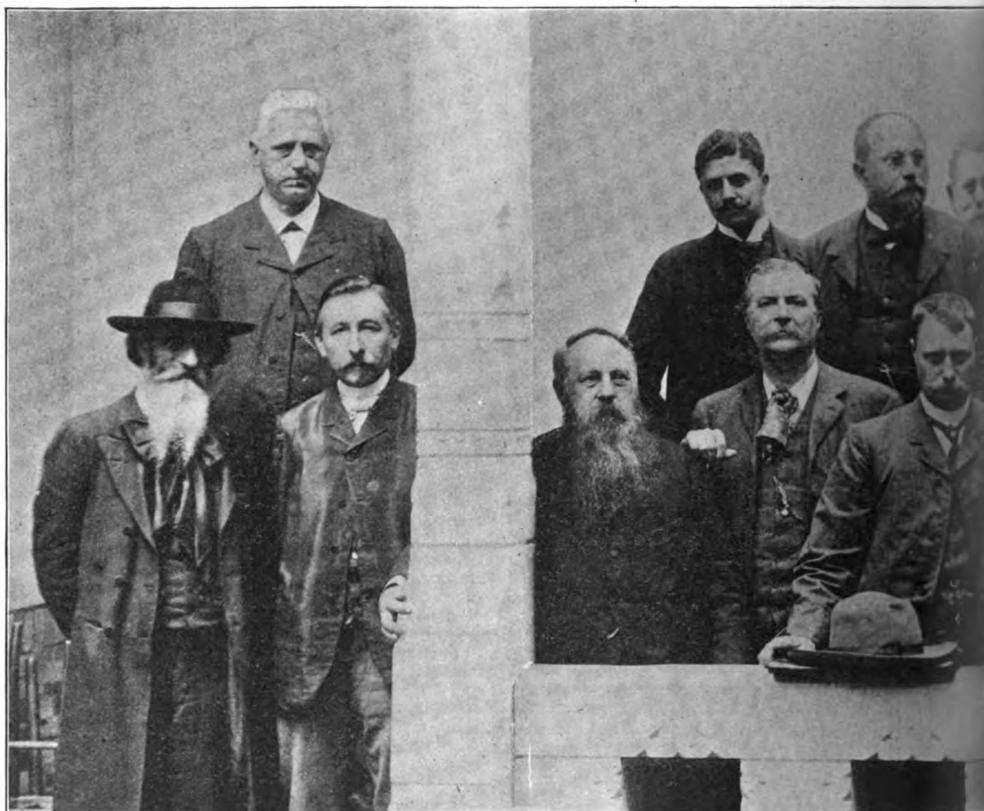
Jaures began by referring to the attacks that had been made upon him by Bebel, Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg, and proceeded to state his claim for national autonomy. He said: "What I say and what I maintain is that, according to the extent to which Socialist life is developed in each country, the extent to which it exercises direct influence upon the nation of which it forms a growing part, to that extent does Socialist life mix itself more intimately with the life of the country itself. It takes in some measure its character, it is influenced by its conditions, and whilst it was easy for the Socialists of all countries to formulate the general principles which are common to us all, and to say that the proletariat will not be freed except by the transformation of capitalist property into social property, and the electoral and Parliamentary conquest of political power, it becomes not impossible, but difficult, having regard to the national life of each one, having regard to the particular attitude of each section, to control internationally this attitude in the

midst of the complicated and variable circumstances in which each country is evolved. That is what I have said.

"In measure, as the Socialist party penetrates deeply into the life of each people, what are you, you the International Congress? You become an international Parliament, but an international Parliament which is tempted to legislate for countries the most diverse, for circumstances the most different, and which must, then, bring into this international determination of tactics the same prudence that would be brought into legislative action after the universal victory of Socialism, by an international Socialist Parliament, which would then have to regulate the life and the action of countries as numerous and as various in race, in temperament, and in habit, as are all the countries which represent here the unity of the Socialist hope in the diversity of civilisations."

He then proceeded to defend his policy of Co-operation with the existing and the late Republican Ministries. Bebel had taunted him by saying that capitalism flourished under a Republic, and that the defence of a Republic by Socialists was, after all, not much.

"Ah, I know well that the Republic does not contain, in substance, social justice. I should wish there to be no misunderstanding on this point between Bebel and myself. I do not make a superstition of political formularities. And there is another point, too, Bebel, in this



VAN KOL. UGARTE. NEMEC. VAILLAN
CYPRIANI. TROELSTRA. HYNIMAN. BELFORT BAX. OLAF KRINGER

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connection. You say that the Republic is not, to the same degree, immediately necessary in other countries! But, take care! The Republic is the logical and supreme form of Democracy. And if Democracy is disgraced in France in its logical form of the Republic, it will by that be damaged in other countries of Europe."

He had "also collaborated in the work of intellectual emancipation in the development of the secular spirit," by co-operating with M. Combes against the Church. Republicanism and anti-Clericalism must go hand in hand.

"None can reproach us with having by any tactical error compromised this joint work. And I am astonished when we come with you to this international gathering, that we should only meet with words of doubt, of blame, of criticism, of disaffection. The problem is set everywhere. The problem of secular schools is prominent in England, in Belgium; it will come in Germany; it is already set in Austro-Hungary." Everywhere Clericalism and Liberty are in conflict.

THE COMRADE

At the same time, the Socialists in France have not neglected the work of social reconstruction. The French Parliament has suppressed objectionable employment agencies, it has "supported and demanded laws which put an end to the last special disabilities imposed upon strikers, laws which hamper the Trade Unions; and it proposes, finally, on the basis of a triple contribution from the employers, the workers, and the State, a Bill for workers' pensions, which will necessitate the payment of 80 million francs for the first year, 120 and 150 millions later, and at last 230 millions."

"Against militarism and Cæsarism they upheld the Republic. It was Boulanger who was Bismarck's excuse for increasing military charges. And every time that our Jingo demagogues hold their heads high, shout in the streets, send their representatives, their speakers, to the Parliament, the task of our Socialist comrades in Germany becomes more difficult. And when we in France, at the peril of our popularity, under hootings, under outrages, under insults, when we dare to say that the patriotism of the Chauvinist demagogues is only a lie, is only a snare, when we dare to say in the tribune of the Chamber, arousing there almost unanimous opposition against us, that it is criminal to entertain, even silently, a thought of revenge by arms, when we keep out of power this Imperialist demagogue which could only maintain itself by starting foreign wars, when we do that, we render more easy the

pierre on a new Ninth of Thermidor. Well, then, dictator on the other side of the frontier, when I cross it, here I become the slave! Neither the one, nor the other, but the free servant of the proletariat, without bonds, without promises, without attachment.

"When in a country like France certain Socialists combat against other Socialists they combat them by saying, 'You abandon the class war. You are obscuring the class instinct.' We have, on the contrary, a deep conviction within ourselves that we are thus propagating the revolutionary ideal. But, however much we repeat this, they reply that we are abandoning the class war, that we are obscuring the consciousness of class. And thus there is aroused in the mind of the international proletariat doubt and uncertainty. Someone frames resolutions which all Socialists can accept while discussing it in the abstract. But as they have been directed in advance against one section in order to discredit it, there has been given to these formularies, not the meaning which many of us give to them, but an aggressive, offensive, meaning, which was attached to them before the Congress by certain people. Instead of creating clearness, these kinds of formularies create a new equivocal position. If you do create this, you will do a bad and a most surely dangerous work. You will sadden men who are passionately devoted to the same Socialist ideal as yourselves. But you will not do them permanent injury. These men know that their Socialist

conscience permits them to remain in communication of thought with international Socialism, that they have never broken its rules, never abandoned the working class, evolving, in the historic surroundings where destiny has placed them. And the working classes of whom we represent a great part, will remain with us. They know that it is not we who have been in fault."

Debate on Tactics

Vandervelde, the Belgian delegate, had been selected to report for the commission on Tactics. He spoke of the discussion in the commission in glowing terms, saying that it had been a most wonderful struggle of minds and ideas, a struggle without the vestige of a personal wrangle, and that never for a moment left the bright and lofty altitudes of a discussion of principles.

All the speakers had declared that they considered it the duty of the French Socialists to fight against reaction and the sinister designs of clericalism. But they had also expressed the opinion that sometimes this fight had been carried on without proper regard for the special mission of a party which has to represent exclusively the interests of the proletariat.

After Vandervelde, Jaures took the floor. Below will be found a report of some of his remarks, as published in the *Labor Leader*, and also a synopsis of Bebel's speech, taken from *The Worker*. Among the other speakers were Adler, the Austrian, and Anseele, the founder of the famous Socialist Co-operative establishments of Gent, Belgium. Both spoke against the Dresden Resolution. Said Victor Adler: "You have declared:

'We don't want to condemn, we don't want to hurt anybody.' Well, then don't do it. What do these assurances amount to, if we hear again and again that not only Jaures, but other comrades as well, feel themselves hurt as Social-Democrats. The object of the International Congress is to unite, not to build more hindrances. We all think that Jaures and his friends are in danger to lose their footing. But as friends we would say to them: 'Come back, you are in danger,' and not: 'Get out.'

Anseele remarked that it had been declared to be dangerous to participate in a bourgeois government. But he had no fears, if only the Socialists are well organized and well disciplined.



ADLER. KAUTSKY. WALECKI. VANDERVELDE.
ROSA LUXEMBURG. BRACKE. CAMBIER. LONGUET. FERRI.
YAMA. PLBCHANOFF. KNUDSEN. HILLQUIT. NAOROJI. ANSEELE.

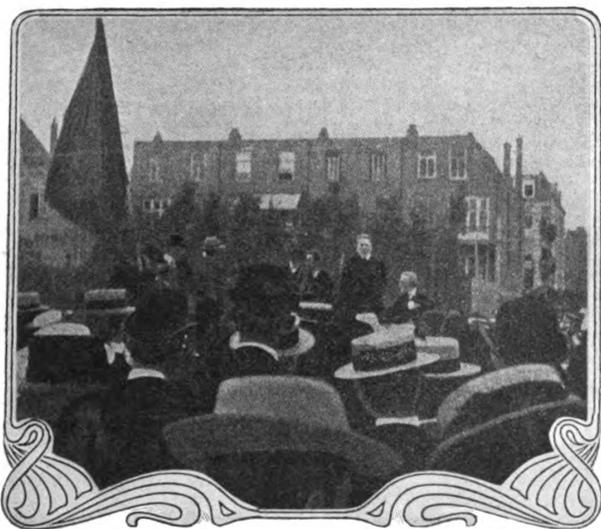
alist Bureau

fight of universal Socialism against militarism. This is Socialist solidarity.

"You see, citizens, that our work has been laborious and hard. For these five years we have not attached ourselves in vain to reforms. We have caused to be drafted laws secularising the schools, we have freed a part of the State, we have helped to prepare for the secularising of the whole nation by the great act of separation from the Church. And for this we have neglected neither the proletariat, nor the work of justice, nor the work of peace.

"At the present hour, as yesterday, we are not bound except by the interests of the proletariat class. They have talked to you of the *bloc* as if we were captives in it. As for me, my destiny is strange and paradoxical. In France, the game of the reactionaries is to represent that Socialism is the master of all, that it brutalizes and dupes the Government majority. A few days ago the right and the centre were crying out at me, 'Down with the dictator!' as if I were a new Robes-

THE COMRADE



Vaillant, the old Communeard, speaking at the Amsterdam Open Air Meeting. Bebel sitting next to the Speaker.

Jaures' Speech

"The Republic saved," he began, "public liberties safeguarded, complete secularisation of education, separation of the Churches from the State, reform of taxation, workingclass laws, all these reforms are only degrees towards rising to total freedom, towards attaining the revolutionary aims of oppressed labor."

All this had been done by giving the Ministries of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes a general support, but without merging into them.

"And at the same time that we are independent in our aim we wish to be independent in our organization, and we are continually urging the proletariat to organize itself politically and economically as a class party distinct from the other parties. We do not want it to be isolated; as the sects imagine themselves to be, from its surroundings, not isolated, narrow, hardened, but organized independently, to be able to profit by all the means of action furnished by the historic surroundings in which it is evolving.

"The organized Socialist proletariat must appeal for the extension of political liberty, of social legislation, to all the democracy. We must ceaselessly and widely recruit from this democracy of labor; and we must ceaselessly, when by our propaganda we have convinced the democracy of the necessity for reform, penetrate even beyond the limits of our party. We must without ceasing utilize these adhesions of the democracy to realize, to accomplish, for the suffering proletariat a commencement of satisfaction and of strength. That is, in divers degrees, and under divers forms, the policy of all Socialists."

He accepts the general statements of principle in the Dresden (the Guesdist) resolution, but it was put on the agenda for an ulterior purpose.

"It is neither the application which will, perhaps, be perfidiously attempted in France by our opponents, nor the general sense of the Dresden resolution, which has determined me, with my friends, to vote against it. It is first of all because it seemed to me improper for the International Congress to accept as an authoritative expression of its decisions, a resolution thrown into the Congress as a declaration of war by one Socialist section against another Socialist section; and I may be permitted to say to Bebel, to Kautsky, to Ferri, who invite us to form and to reconstitute unity with our revolutionary Socialist comrades of France, that there must be unity, not only in words, but in intentions and actions, and that it is a strange way of preparing in France for approaching reconciliation, for the coming organic unity of the two opposing organizations, by adopting the resolution proposed by one of them for the declared purpose of use against the other."

The resolution is really before Congress in order that Congress may be held to condemn him. But let Congress take care lest it stultifies the International movement, whilst condemning him. Every national Socialist party is faced with the political problem which he and his friends have had to meet.

"In Italy there is the beginning of a Radical party which will dispute possession of the democracy with Socialism if the Socialists do not join in action with it; in England, we observe a drawing together between the Socialist idea and the working class organizations. Bebel said the other day before the Commission that what had hindered the English working classes from adopting explicit and conscious Socialism was that the bourgeoisie had been clever enough to grant a succession of reforms to the proletariat. Well, I do not myself think — and I ask those of our English comrades to whom my words might be disagree-

able to see in them only the desire to seek for Socialist truth — I do not think that it is the policy of reforms which has hindered the conversion of the English proletariat to conscious Socialism. I believe, on the contrary, that it is because from the beginning English Socialism has not been sufficiently in contact with the practical life, the need for reform, of this working class. It was a great misfortune that in England at the time of the French Revolution, when intellects were being stirred up, the communist Socialist Godwin was at the same time an Anarchist, who did not favor political organization and immediate work; and, later, that the Socialist group, of whom Engels, although young, was already the chief, should have mistaken the political and social evolution of England. 'Ah, yes,' said Engels, 'in the present situation, catastrophe is near at hand, entire revolution by catastrophes, by burnings, is going to break out in England, and even the reforms of the middle classes will hasten the explosion.' And Engels added, 'The ten hours' day which the middle classes of England have just given to the working classes will precipitate the ruin of England. The capitalists will not be able to withstand its consequences; the crisis will be aggravated, and England will join entirely with the revolution of liberty.' That is why the Socialists have cherished this illusion; they thought that they might on some day of supreme crisis conquer all the power without having co-operated in the work of reform. That is why the bond was broken between Socialism and the vast working class movement of England. Certainly it is on the point of being renewed. It will not be by a proud isolation, but by a policy of co-operative activity directed towards Socialism.

"In Belgium you know well that it is possible that in two years the clerical party may be upset by the necessarily convergent action of the Liberal party and the Socialist party, and on that day our Belgian comrades will have problems set before them of which we have to taste in advance the bitterness and the injustices. They will have to submit to misunderstandings and accusations, and I hope that our experience may contribute to lighten these for them."

* * *

Bebel's Speech

The proposed resolution dealt with divergent and tactical tendencies and indicated the opinion and will of the international party thereupon. Moreover, in adopting such a resolution, the Congress would not be interfering in peculiarly French affairs such as ought to be left to the French comrades. These divergent tendencies showed themselves in many countries in very similar forms. The question was actually an international one and properly on the order of business of the congress.

He could not admit that the difference of political institutions between Germany and France, for instance, justified such a divergence of policy. True, France was a republic and Germany a monarchy. We all realized the value of republican institutions, as a means to the acquisition of greater liberties. The German Social Democrats, working under a very severe monarchical rule, strove for the establishment of a German republic; and they rejoiced in the existence of the republic in France. If the French Socialists had saved the republic and checked militarist and clerical reaction, they had done well.

"But it was not to be forgotten," said Bebel, "that the republican governments of France, Switzerland and the United States, quite as truly as the monarchical government of Germany, were class governments, capitalist governments. In some respects they were more servile to capitalism and more brutally oppressive to labor than the German monarchy. The use of police and soldiers against strikers in France and in America during the last fifteen years could not be paralleled in Germany. And it was the strength, the growing strength, of the Social Democratic Party, and its aggressive and uncompromising policy, based on a frank recognition of the class struggle, that restrained the German government from such brutalities and not only prevented political reaction, but forced concessions of social reform.

The German Social Democrats, he readily granted, had not yet established the republic, notwithstanding their three million votes. But it was to be remembered that those votes were three million out of eleven million; it would take more than twice as many to accomplish the party's ends; but those three million were the product of thirty years' patient work, or thirty years of uncompromising policy; the progress had been steady and real, and it promised to continue, because the German party held firmly to the same well-tried tactics.

In France, he pointed out, the participation of Millerand, then a Socialist, a member of Jaures' wing of the party in a bourgeois ministry had pledged that party to the support of a bourgeois policy, diverted it from Socialist purposes, and involved it in responsibility for that capitalist government's outrages upon labor.

As all existing governments were capitalist class governments, whether under republican or monarchical forms, as the interests of capitalist and working classes were everywhere in conflict, and as the action of government everywhere affected this class conflict, Bebel held that it was practicable and advisable to lay down certain general rules, certain grand principles of Socialist policy, based on these universal facts and applicable in all countries where political action was possible at all. It was not proposed to form a code of laws to cover every detail of every case. It was proposed only to state the party's position in regard to the two divergent tendencies which were actually international and which concerned themselves with international political and economic conditions.

THE COMRADE

The Vote

Each nation had two votes, and was at liberty to divide them if so minded. The first vote taken was for the Vandervelde-Adler resolution, as against that of Dresden. For the former the following nationalities cast both their votes, Great Britain, the British Colonies, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland; and the following gave one vote: France, Norway, Poland. Total, 21 votes. On the other side, Germany, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Spain, United States, Hungary, Italy, Japan, and Russia, gave two votes, and France, Norway, and Poland one vote. Total, 21 votes. Thus the result was a tie, 21 for, 21 against. The amendment consequently was declared not to be carried, and the Dresden resolution was put. The votes cast against the amendment were all cast for the resolution, one British vote was given for it, two by Austria, and both Poland votes. Total, 25. One British vote was given against it, two by the British colonies, and one by France and Norway, whilst Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland refused to vote at all.

* * *

Opinions of the Press

Keir Hardie writes about the Congress in the *Labour Leader*, where he states the result of the vote.

"It will thus be seen," says Keir Hardie, "that the Vandervelde-Adler resolution was defeated by the votes of nations, which either have no Parliamentary system or which have no strong Labor party in Parliament. The only European nations having Parliamentary institutions which voted against it were Germany and Italy. This is a fact of the first significance, and indicates clearly what the future has in store for the movement.

"It must be self-evident that with the growth of a Socialist party, and corresponding change in political circumstances which that implies, there must be some degree of freedom left to the movement to adapt itself to its ever-changing environment. Otherwise, it must die. The Dresden resolution seeks to stereotype the tactics which have proved successful in the early days of the movement in Germany, and impose them upon all countries for all time. This of course is absurd, and unless each country is to be left some degree of freedom in the adaptation of its tactics to the prevailing conditions the International movement will go to pieces.

"The Independent Labor Party delegates considered that these matters were not international concerns. If Bernstein is a heretic let him be burned by German faggots; if Jaures is a traitor let him be sentenced by French tribunals. At any rate, the Independent Labor Party was determined that no International Committee, no conference between two or three of the Continental leaders, would be allowed to constitute itself a Vatican Council, lay down an Apostolic Socialist creed, and proceed to damn everyone who hesitated to subscribe to its articles. We stand for free thought within Socialism. Be the consequences what they may, the Independent Labor Party is not afraid to subject its Socialist faith and principles to the cold light of reason, to the test of the most modern political and social experience, and it, therefore, could not aid in condemning revisionist criticism.

"So, also, in respect to the Jaures tactics. Jaures may be right or he may be wrong. In so far as he is honestly trying to meet the conditions of France and moulding them to suit the ends of Socialism, he is doing precisely what we are doing ourselves in England. We do not say that we agree with everything that Jaures has done, but in so far as he is attempting to co-operate with non-Socialist parties for Socialist ends, always taking care not to obscure his own independence and the essential difference between mere reform and fundamental social reconstruction, he and we are working at the same political task.

"Further than that, the Independent Labor Party has always insisted that each nationality has to work out its own Socialist salvation. The methods of Autocratic Russia cannot possibly be those of Imperial Germany; the policy of the German Social Democrats, in a country where only the most rudimentary Parliamentary institutions exist, cannot be that of the Socialist movement in Great Britain; and if the International Congress is to be helpful, if it is to promote Socialist unity and harmony, if it is to continue to be attended by all shades of Socialist opinion, it must not be induced to interfere in National experiments for the purpose of laying down uniformity of method and cast-iron rules of policy."

The London *Labour Leader* remarks:

"We need not say that we regret exceedingly that the Dresden resolution received any countenance at Amsterdam. We object to its phrasing, we object to its spirit, we object to its mischievous generalities, which give many opportunities for misconstruction and misapplication. Had it been launched from Amsterdam with anything like weighty support, we do not hesitate to say it would have split the Continental movement more than that movement is split now. But the Dresden resolution was practically still-born. It was carried by the votes of non-Parliamentary nations—nations like Russia, Bulgaria, Servia, Spain, where Socialists walk in the shadow of the prison and where the Socialist method must perforce be revolutionary. When an alternative resolution was proposed, the voting was equal in numbers, but when our readers are told that on the side against the Dresden declaration were Britain, the British Colonies, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland, together with the most influential section of France and Norway, it will be seen that that vote

robbed the Dresden resolution of all its weight, and that though by the objectionable system of voting by nationalities, each nationality having two votes, we were outvoted, we certainly were not defeated."

In *La Petite Republique*, Comrade Dewinne, Editor of the Belgian Party organ *Le Peuple*, publishes a review of the opinions expressed by the Belgian Socialist papers in regard to the Amsterdam resolution on tactics. According to some of these opinions, the resolution means a condemnation of the compromise tactics followed by the Belgian Socialists for the last 20 years. Those who hold this opinion, say that the party, if it wants to live up to the resolution, will have to call upon all those Socialist officials, which have been elected with the help of the Liberals, to resign their positions. Further more, the resolution prohibits the Belgian Socialists to permit one of their number to enter a Liberal cabinet—a possibility very likely to happen within the next two or four years. If the Amsterdam resolution is to be understood that way, than it cannot be obeyed in Belgium, thinks Dewinne. It would mean a revolution in the tactics that have been followed in Belgium ever since the establishment of its Labor Party. Dewinne regrets that the resolution is so little "international," as Adler from Austria put it. Originally the resolution was formed against the German Revisionists; it does not fit the international case. Other Belgian Socialists, continues Dewinne, consider the resolution a dangerous invasion, since the domain of tactics, according to them, should be left to every nationality to decide. Bertrand, the Deputy of Bruxelles, is reported as having said that to further follow the road opened by the Amsterdam resolution, means a split of the International. "The countries with a parliamentary regime will not permit themselves being dictated to by countries where the working class is without political liberties. What would the Germans have said if an international congress had told them during the reign of the Anti-Socialist Law, to start a revolution? Undoubtedly they would have answered that they themselves were more capable of deciding the tactics to be pursued under certain conditions prevailing in their country, than are the delegates from Servia, Bulgaria and Japan."

Vooruit, the organ of the Socialists of Gent, Belgium, repeating Van Kol's closing word: "There are no victors and no vanquished," adds:

"Jaures and his friends have, in a brotherly way, been forwarned against the dangers of participating in a bourgeois government. Bebel and Guesde, on the other hand, will understand that the Social Democracy has arrived at a stage of its development, where criticism alone is not sufficient, and where the refusal, to participate in the government or to bear a part of its responsibility, is no longer regarded as a courageous emphasizing of principles, but as a proof of weakness."

Highly interesting is an article in Turati's paper *Critica Sociale*, the organ of the Italian Riformists. This paper thinks that the resolution on tactics is of a contradictory nature, since, after setting forth the principle of intransigentism, it asks a number of reforms, compatible with a capitalist regime, though working for its transformation: defense of the interest of the worker, extension and strengthening of political liberty, the fight against militarism and imperialism, the perfection of social legislation etc. To the *Critica Sociale* the victory of the "conservatives" is only apparent. The paper claims that all the other resolutions are full of the reformist (revisionist) spirit and show the other soul of the Congress.

The comments of *Il Tempo* do not differ very much from the foregoing. But an altogether different view is that of Enrico Ferri in *Avanti*. He points at the Millerand case, the Jaures ministerial exaggeration, the failure of governmental reformism in Italy, and the disillusion derived from the participation of the Socialists in the government of Switzerland, as eloquent facts that influenced the Amsterdam Congress.



Saints of the Co-operative Commonwealth.—Jugend.

THE COMRADE

Die Sozialistischen Monatshefte contain an article by Pernerstorfer, the Austrian delegate and member of Parliament, from which we quote these utterances:

"It was a struggle, interesting through the abundance of talent that made its appearance, but a struggle that despite the vote was without a result, and could not have a result. In Dresden they meant to afflict a death blow to so-called "Revisionism." It is still alive and despite the Dresden Resolution its work goes merrily on, because it represents a natural current of the movement. At Amsterdam they desired to repudiate Jaures and his policy. It does not seem that any practical success will answer this intention. In both cases, I believe, life is stronger than all theory. . . . The two tendencies of Socialism are indeed so strong that decisions for or against one of them must remain ineffective. . . . Nothing can be said against the endeavor of an international congress to now and then call the attention of the parties to the common basis of Socialism — class-opposition and class struggle. But it positively won't do to give to the Socialists of the different countries instructions for their practical politics. Their effect will be small or for naught. . . ."

"Does one indeed believe that such decision will be of practical import? Will not, just as before, every country form its tactics according to its special needs? And how can it be otherwise in the world?"

Amsterdam's Socialist organ *Het Volk* remarks: What was necessary on the part of the international parliament of Socialism, to oppose the surely hurtful deviation of Jaures by a sharp declaration of tactics, this the resolution Adler-Vandervelde contained. This declaration was positive. In principle different therefrom is the Dresden resolution, which against 'Revisionism' and therefore against a part of Social Democracy, rendered a negative, condemning verdict. . . . Before our own congress has not spoken, we, in Holland, are neither revolutionaries nor revisionists, but simply Socialists."

* * *

From *Das Neue Montagsblatt* we quote the following utterance of Edward Bernstein, who, speaking about the resolution on tactics, says: "What a childish formalism that, without scrutinizing and changing it, would apply this resolution, the outgrowth of specifically German conditions, to all countries, without distinction! One comprehends how the party (the Guesdists), who hit upon this ingenious idea, in its own country, instead of making progress, is declining. . . . In our estimation, with the tactic resolution the line has been overstepped. This is not a great misfortune, for where a Socialist party of any strength exists, with its roots in the native soil, it will never at the decisive moment make its tactical decisions slavishly dependent upon previously adopted resolutions. Rather will its decision be prompted by its conception of the needs and interests of the class it represents, of the constellation of the other parties and powers, and of the great principles, for which it stands. Out of all these the rules will be extracted for a timely tactic. If a party is not capable of discovering at the given moment what is tactically right, a whole textbook of tactical precepts will not infuse that knowledge."

We close with a quotation from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, which says:

"A number of nations abstained from voting and besides, the single votes do not by any means perfectly represent the sentiment of the several countries. We will have to be satisfied therefore with the fact that again, in future, full unanimity as to Socialist tactics in the different countries, does not exist.

"We have the impression that the two main speakers in the matter, Jaures and Bebel, zealous of defending their position, more than once went past their aim; at any rate they could not shake preconceived opinions, nor will this be done in any other way but through the stubborn facts of historic development. It is our opinion that too much weight is given to questions of tactics. The fact is overlooked that the opinions as to opportunity are subject, everywhere and for every party, to an everlasting change, not only because the conception of existing conditions in the own camp will change, but also on account of the action of the enemy. . . . The growth of the Socialist movement, the enlarged power of the party, must be succeeded by changed tactics. In Germany nobody today thinks of following the suggestions on tactics, made at the time by Lassalle and Liebknecht. Liebknecht, living long enough, has corrected himself. And if it is difficult even in Germany to stick to a uniform tactic, this seems from the start impossible with regard to all the countries of the world. The Amsterdam decision will therefore have only a limited practical effect."

* * *

Socialist Unity

as follows:

"The Congress declares:
"That in order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism it is necessary there should be but one Socialist Party in each country as against the parties of capitalists, just as there is but one proletariat in each country.

"For these reasons, it is the imperative duty of all comrades and all Socialist organizations to strive to the utmost of their power to bring about this unity of the party, on the basis of the principles estab-

lished by the international Congresses, that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat to which they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of divisions within their ranks.

"To assist in the attainment of this aim, the International Socialist Bureau as well as all parties within the countries where this unity exists, will cheerfully offer their services and co-operation."

It is interesting to note how this unity resolution strikes the different Socialist factions.

Says London *Justice*, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation:

"Perhaps the most important of all at the Amsterdam Congress was the voting by acclamation, on the part of the whole of the delegates, of the resolution in favor of the complete unity of the Socialist Party in every nationality. As Vandervelde, whom we do not always agree with, ably put it: "Marx called upon the workers of all countries to unite; we implore the workers of each country to unite." Nothing at the present moment is more desirable than this. Socialists who have no portfolios to intrigue for, no personal domination to desire, ought, surely, to be able to work out the salvation of the working classes in one solid body. There must be differences of opinion, of course, and we cannot expect to avoid, now and then, personal animosities. But the increase of Socialist influence everywhere would be immensely hastened if only all Socialists decided, as the English delegates decided at Amsterdam, that, if difficulties should arise, they would come to arrangements among themselves without making damaging disclosures of disagreement to the public. Sectional quarrels are apparently inevitable in the early stages of every great movement, but with experience and responsibility the advantage of unity becomes so obvious that the most bitter partisan can scarcely shut his eyes to it."

This is from the *Labour Leader*, the organ of the Independent Labor Party of England:

"Of the future we make no prophecy. Unity was in the air at Amsterdam, but there can be no unity in this country unless both Socialist sections agree to co-operate with the Labor Representation Committee. In that view, our members will be glad to be assured, we have the support of nearly every Continental leader of note. These leaders agree that the Social Democratic Federation made a profound mistake when it separated from the Labor Representation Committee, upon that there was no division of opinion. Is the mistake to be rectified? Will the Social Democratic Federation put itself in line with us and the Continental Socialist movement? Will it cease to insist upon shibboleths which we cannot accept, but the rejection of which makes us no weaker Socialists, and no less determined to carry on an unceasing war against capitalism until capitalism is no more? We have said before, and we repeat now, that unity may be artificial and mechanical, or real and organic. The former will only weaken our movement, the latter will strengthen it. If the Independent Labor Party has evidence that the latter can be effected, if after due experiment it seems well that union should be consummated, we shall welcome it most heartily. But we must have that evidence and that experiment."

* * *

L'Humanite, the organ of the Jauresists, has touched the subject of Socialist Unity in France in a number of articles. In one of them Francis de Pressense declares that his faction is willing to work hand in hand with the Guesdists, despite their unfriendly behaviour towards them at the congress. In closing, the article says:

"In the meantime we welcome the Congress at Amsterdam and its results as beneficial in three ways. It has administered to us at once an exhortation and a warning, fitting our prejudices. It has put on the order of business the question of unity, a unity which cannot be brought about simply by a conclusion of peace, which must not be an imaginary unity, which must have its exact and explicit conditions, and without which we are nothing but an emasculated swarm. Lastly, the congress has lead us back into the mighty flood of Internationalism, which is our normal environment, into that current out of which we have received the life and essence of our being, and the consciousness, the proud feeling, always to have served Socialism as an ideal and to have practiced it as a reality!"

Jaures has not kept silent. He has discussed in *L'Humanite* several of the questions touched upon in the debate on tactics. He is ready to meet the Guesdists and come to an agreement with them. But he also insists upon the necessity for a thorough understanding. He thinks that some of the theories advanced by Guesde at the congress, are contrary to every tradition and sentiment of the French Socialist proletariat. It is therefore necessary, he says, that the other faction state plainly, whether they indorse the views of Guesde, who declares that to the proletariat it makes no difference whether the political form be that of a republic or a monarchy, and that the proletariat should not lose one hour to fight for the republican form of government, if it were endangered. And answering Guesde's contemptuous remarks with regard to the struggle against the Catholic church, Jaures says:

"Guesde revolutionizes every law of human progress, if he thinks that the revolution will precede the light. By lengthening the age of ignorance, he delays the revolution."

In another article Jaures addresses himself to Lafargue and Vaillant, and asks them to do their share to bring about unity, by repudiating these political theories of Guesde.

THE COMRADE

Notes and Impressions

The closing Scene

It is the closing scene of the Congress. Hyndman briefly expresses the approbation of all nationalities in the manner in which our Dutch comrades have organized the Congress. He points to the significance of the fact that for the first time Asia has been represented at an International Socialist Congress, and concludes with "Asia for the Asiatics, and Freedom and Justice for all Mankind."

Renaudel, a delegate from one section of the Jaures Party, applauds the sentiments expressed in the Congress and declares that immediately on his return to France he shall propose steps to be taken for Socialist unity there.

Vaillant declares that these efforts will be reciprocated from his side so long as unity is based upon the sound Socialist doctrine of the class war and independence of all bourgeois parties, as so well defined by the Dresden resolution.

Bebel joins with Hyndman in thanking the Dutch comrades, to which he would add thanks to the translators, one of whom at least, Clara Zetkin, was a living manifestation of the right of women to play a part in public life. He concluded by calling for cheers for the unity of international Socialism, which were given vociferously.

Van Kol closed the proceedings with a few eloquent words, which he gave first in French, then in German, and then in English. The Congress, he said, had now concluded its labors, much of which had been very heavy. But it had, he hoped, promoted the Socialist movement and the cause of Socialist unity. That unity was essential. "Unite," he concluded, "or the enemy at your doors will destroy you. Only unite and you will have to fight and to struggle, but the future victory will be yours. The proletarians of the world look to you; see to it that they are not disappointed. Unite and conquer the world for the workers."

Cheers for the Social Revolution followed, and the delegates poured out singing the "International."

After luncheon the delegates were taken for a trip on the river Amstel and the Zuyder Zee, in which several very pleasant hours were spent, old friendship renewed and new ones formed. In the evening an "Abschiedsfeier" was held at the American Hotel, when the final leave-takings took place and the delegates dispersed to their respective nationalities.

* * *

Hyndman in "Justice"

It often happens in the pleasant break-up of a Socialist Congress, when everybody is on the best of terms for the time being with everybody else and all feel elated by the general sentiment of fraternity, that the most important matters which have engaged the attention of the gathering are almost forgotten. That is why on the last day I took five minutes in order to remind the delegates that for the first time in the history of International Socialist Congresses Asia was represented. And most worthily represented too. Dadabhai Naoroji, the veteran Parsee who has upheld the cause of justice to India for two generations, and the young Japanese, Katayama, could well hold their own among the leaders of the people of Western Europe. The greeting which took place on the opening day between Katayama and Plechanoff on behalf of Japan and Russia was significant indeed. It showed that the grand idea of international solidarity among the workers of all countries is making way in spite of all difficulties. But even more significant was the reception accorded to the Indian, Dadabhai Naoroji, when all the delegates rose to their feet in sympathy for the British-manufactured starvelings of India and out of regard for the man who was about to address them. That scene and the roar of applause which met Van Kol's denunciation of the infamies of British rule when, as President of the Congress, he wound up the discussion, mark a distinct step forward in the long up-hill struggle for the emancipation of the people of India from our intolerable yoke. The resolution, moved by S. G. Hobson and seconded by Dadabhai Naoroji, was carried unanimously. Asia is appealing to the workers of Europe against the cruelty and tyranny of European blood-suckers of the plundering class.

Nevertheless, at the Congress itself these picturesque and important incidents were overshadowed by the relatively minor question of political tactics. When will our Continental comrades learn that these great international Congresses ought not to have so much of oratorical display? When will they recognize that there is all the difference in the world between a congress of delegates to do business and a public meeting to listen to fine speakers. Attendance at this Amsterdam Congress cost the British delegation, which was the most numerous, eight days of absence from remunerative work and not less than £650 in cash. Many of us felt that this time, sacrifice and money, were to a large extent thrown away by the overwhelming volubility of Socialist orators.

This cannot go on. It is very nearly a repetition of the quasi-fiasco at Paris. Something must be done to reorganize the methods of work on the Commissions, and to limit speeches, as well in the Commissions as in the Congress itself. We of the British section carefully kept silence. Not that we had not at our disposal men quite capable of holding their own with Bebel and Jaures, Vandervelde, Guesde, Plechanoff, Adler and Anseele; but because we did not go to Amsterdam

to air our eloquence but to discuss in quiet and soberness matters of crucial moment to the workers of the world. The following important subjects, as well as others, were either put aside with insufficient debate or were passed over altogether, owing to the undue amount of time and talk given to this tactical *melee*—resolving itself at last into what the President called an oratorical duel: "Emigration and Immigration," "Trusts and the Unemployed," "Protection and Free Trade," "Clericalism in the Public Schools," "International Arbitration."

The record of the voting is given elsewhere. Some change *must* be made here. A redistribution to some extent at least must be proposed in accordance with the facts of existing political life and the population of the nations represented. Can anything be more utterly absurd than that, of the five votes given against the Dresden resolution, a solid two, counterbalancing the votes of all Germany, should have been cast by Australia, which is not a nation at all? Let us hope that by the time the next Congress meets at Stuttgart, in 1907, the International Bureau will have been able to suggest to the various nationalities some more reasonable arrangements all round.

The President of the Congress, Van Kol, is spoken of by Hyndman in these words:

"His strong intellect, his fine physique, his wide and thorough knowledge, were combined with an amount of tact, judgment, eloquence, humor and personal good fellowship which won for him the regard, admiration and affection of every delegate there. A splendid specimen, indeed, of the highest type of Socialist. As we looked at him, listened to him, and were moved by him, we understood better than ever before how it has come about that the Dutch, though a small people, have written their record in firm and noble characters right across the history of the civilized world. Van Kol lends dignity not only to Holland, but to the human race."

* * *

Algernon Lee

One of the Norwegian delegates, Comrade Kringen, was active in the Socialist movement in the United States seven years ago, editing the "Nye Nordmanden" at Minneapolis. One of the representatives of Argentina has also been in the movement in our country; we refer to Comrade Rondani, formerly editor of the Italian paper 'Il Proletario' in New York City.

This is the first occasion on which Japan has been represented in the International Congress and its delegate, Sen Katayama, was cordially welcomed.

It may not be out of place to say that Morris Hillquit of the American delegation made an excellent impression by his efficient work in the Bureau, in the First Commission, and as an interpreter. As one of the Dutch delegates said to your correspondent, "Hillquit has established himself over here."

Two of the delegates go from the Congress to prison. Enrico Ferri is under fourteen months' sentence for having exposed the rascalities of the Italian Ministry of Marine through *Avanti*, the party paper which he edits. Rosa Luxemburg of Germany must spend three months in prison for having, in a political speech, "insulted the honor" of the Kaiser; she says she shall improve the time by studying the English and Dutch languages. A great part of the delegates have had such experiences more than once. Among the Russian Terrorist delegates is a woman who has spent twenty-two years in Siberia and has since been working in Russia, under the very noses of the police, with almost incredible courage, skill, and patience. Deutsch, as is well known, was in Siberia for sixteen years. Bebel speaks of the time he has spent in German prisons as his "university years," and many of the other delegates have pursued their studies under similar restraint. Herman Schlueter of the American delegation had two years' experience of prison life in Germany in the early eighties, in the days of Bismarck's Exception Laws.

A thing that should not pass without mention is the marvellous exhibition both of lively intelligence and of physical endurance given by Clara Zetkin of the German delegation, who was one — and the principal one — of the interpreters for the Congress. She translated the German speeches into French and the French and English speeches into German, while A. S. Headingley of the British delegation translated from French and German into English and sometimes from English into French. This means that Clara Zetkin spoke nearly as much, throughout the week, as all those who took part in the debates, being relieved only on a few occasions by Rosa Luxemburg or by Hillquit; and the instantaneous quickness, the fullness and correctness, and the spirit and vigor of her translations were the wonder of all who heard. Certainly there are few men who could have endured the strain.

Another woman who commanded the attention of the Congress was Henrietta Roland-Holst of Holland. She is distinguished as a poet and her husband as a painter, and both are very active and devoted comrades. When she spoke for the Dutch delegation in opposition to the general-strike proposition of the Allemanists, she made a profound impression.

THE COMRADE

London "Justice"

A first visit to an International Congress is at once a surprise and almost a reproach to the English delegate who attends with seldom more than one language on his tongue — his own. The Dutch of nearly every class speak a little of some other language. Often the Hollander will speak both French and English. Comrade Van Kol, our permanent chairman, and one of the most imposing figures of the Congress, conducted the proceedings in fluent French, and towards the end addressed the meeting eloquently in English. Both Enrico Ferri (the Italian delegate) and Plechanoff (the Russian) spoke in French. Vandervelde seemed equally happy in French, English, or German. Karl Kautsky speaks English and French. But, with few exceptions, the English delegates were obliged to await the English translation.

The field day on Friday, when the question of political action came before a full Conference, was rather more than less an echo of the minor actions which had been proceeding all the week in National Committee and International Commission. Vandervelde had said, "We shall hear the lion roar." He referred to Jean Jaures, whose magnificent eloquence commanded perfect silence in an audience which proved to be overwhelmingly hostile to the policy he advocated. Bebel replied with deadly logic, meeting every point of attack by convincing arguments, which aroused rapturous applause. Enrico Ferri poured forth a passionate and pacific appeal. He exhorted all comrades to avoid the fratricidal tendencies involved in all disputes between Socialists. Adler followed with no less force, and the vote was taken. The Adler-Vandervelde resolution was rejected and the Dresden resolution adopted with tremendous enthusiasm, thus affirming the basis and policy of the International Social-Democratic movement. A. S. J. B.

* * *

London "Lab- our Leader"

Socialism has become a religion. I defy anyone who has done the International Congress at Amsterdam to deny the fact. We may oppose the German Socialists in their attempt to swallow up the movement within the iron jaws of their own definitions — we may loudly clamour for an "amplifier ether" as a medium for our own British development; but say what you would you could not go to Amsterdam without feeling you were in the presence of enthusiasts. Guesdist might quarrel with Jaurist, and Anseele might hurl a public defiance at the head of Bebel, but amidst all these differences there was an agreement deeper than any differences; they were each of them moved — deeply and profoundly moved — to realise the Socialist future.

Socialism, however, can develop the statesmanlike mind. In Jaures and Bebel we have two men who have kept to the very front in the arena of European politics. Even the *Times* cannot neglect their speeches, and a Socialist has indeed to be great beyond the reach of dispute before he receives the honor of continued notice from Printing House Square. When we read, however, that these Socialist leaders pass to and fro over the whole field of Parliamentary discussion we realize that Socialism is no cabined creed to be confined to the limits of a country council, but one to be realized on the broader arena of Parliamentary life.

What a difference we could see in the styles of Jaures and Bebel! Jaures used no notes, and bore down on you like some rushing mountain stream. He was in deadly earnest, and if you were near him you, too, were made to feel it. His tie was moist with sweat. Great drops trickled down his brow, and fell like a summer shower on the floor. His hearers prudently put some space between him and them lest his arms, sweeping about in his frenzy, might do some damage to their corporeal presence. He used all the devices of the man who plays on the feelings of his audience. Now he spoke slowly, now quickly; at one time he particularly repeated a sentence for increased effect, and at another time he let his sentences chase one another as if his sentences chase one another as if his whole object was to see instituted an oratorical Derby. But amid all these fireworks he kept the main point very closely in his mind!

Bebel, on the contrary, made us feel that he was nearer the style of our Anglo-Saxon race. He made "points" instead of playing on people's feelings. He used notes, and kept to a defined path instead of letting himself loose, and making for the first short cut across the meadows which might lead him to his goal. Friday's debate must have been a warning to him that the Socialist movement was straying from the straight path which his German mind had marked out for it, and sometimes he looked at our Labor men with a curious expression on his face as we gathered up to applaud Jaures, and gave his opponents a rousing British welcome. But I am told that despite it all he met the German party at their private meeting in a spirit of undaunted hope and confidence. The Socialist motto is always, "Never despair."

At the Amsterdam Conference, we realized that the nations of the world divide themselves into two classes for the purpose of the Socialist; first those where the workingman could if he would, and second, where the workingman could not even if he dared. To the second class belongs a nation like Germany, where the largest mass of voters are Socialist, and yet only a revolution would win Parliamentary power; and to the first class belong our own country and France, where we have only to convert the working-men themselves and — the Social Revolution is upon us.

No! the Independent Labor Party cannot allow any cast-iron resolution forged in far-off Dresden to set limits to the development of

Socialism in the land we all know so well. Bebel repeated at Amsterdam the old statement of Engels that Socialism had not made much progress in Great Britain because the commercial classes had been clever and had given us half loaves to keep us from crying for the larger article. But, like many of the Marxian generalisations, this is not wholly accurate. You have only to read Trade Union history from 1870 to 1875 to realize that Labor literally won its first Charter of Freedom from both Whig and Tory at the point of the bayonet.— J. H. H.

* * *

Women at the Congress

It was encouraging for the future of the movement to see so many women present at the Congress meetings, and to notice the sincerity and energy which they put into their work. For enthusiasm, united with unflinching hard work, the first place should be given to Clara Zetkin, one of the most prominent leaders of the German Socialist women, and editress of their paper, *Die Gleichheit*, who acts as the official interpreter in French and German. She spares neither her brain nor her voice in the difficult task of circumventing the effects of the Tower of Babel, and is equally ready to translate a long and impassioned French oration of an hour or so into German, or to give out notices and clear up misunderstandings on points of order. Equally indefatigable is Rosa Luxemburg, the revolutionary delegate, who cast one of the Polish votes, and on whom fell a large share of the translating in the Commission on Tactics, where she wound up the discussion by a fiery speech of her own which brought down upon her the reproaches, half playful, half serious, of Jaures. An older revolutionary was there, in the person of Vera Sassulitch, the heroine who, in her youth, shot a Russian official whose conduct had been so brutal that the jury exculpated her. She was there, grey and worn, with a look in her eyes of one who has suffered and pondered long under the tyranny of oppression; the fire of indignation has died down, and Vera is now a delegate from the Social Democrats who agitate by constitutional ways rather than by the terrorising methods of violence. Another of the older women of a very different type is Madame Liebknecht, widow of the German leader, who talks in a friendly way of her husband's devotion to the cause, and of her sons who are also Socialists. Amongst the French there are many women delegates, and in the excitements of the Guesdist controversy with Jaures it was often noticeable that they were as eager in interjections and expostulations as their men comrades. The one delegate, who was American by birth was Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, an indefatigable worker and organizer from Chicago, whom many of us were glad to see again, and of her fellow delegates from the States one half were women. There were women delegates from almost every European country, amongst whom Madame Vandervelde, English by birth, was one of the most prominent figures; whilst the British delegation also had a good proportion of the unenfranchised sex present. Last, but not least, were the Dutch women, who did much to contribute to the smoothness with which all the arrangements for the comfort of the delegates were made. The excellent arrangements for tickets, door-keeping, etc., and the social entertainments at which the fraternal feelings of the international delegates were most successfully cemented, were largely in the hands of the women members of the party. One of the honorary secretaries, Madame Roland Holst, combined the powers of a successful hostess, organizer, translator, and debater, whilst Mrs. Polak, wife of the other secretary, showed equal friendliness and devotion. Indeed, the women Socialists alone are typical, both of the various phases of the movement, and of its unity and power; they are there not for show or for amusement, but because they believe in the cause, and believe that it calls for their work, their thought, and their devotion.—M. E. M. in *Labour Leader*.

* * *

Various Voices

Well, I have attended the International Congress and it has finished its task, and last night we met to say good-bye. It has been a great revelation to me. It was surprising to note of how little importance the United States is among those Continentals. The fact that there were 101 delegates from England who were no better linguists than I, secured better English translation of the speeches. When, as happened twice, the English translation was busy in their own meeting room about something the English translation was omitted. So you see the importance of having delegates who understand either French or German. — Corinne S. Brown in *Social Democratic Herald*.

* * *

What interested me most in this Congress was that men of all parties, in spite of differences of policy and tactics, try to represent the interests of the working men; and what I do not like is the influence of a past which appears to me to create war and introduce disharmony. Both parties — Bebel and Jaures — ought to forget their past, and sacrifice something in the interest of principles and the cause. — Sen Katayama, Delegate from Japan.

* * *

THE COMRADE

The most lasting impression I have carried away from the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam is the intense interest which all the delegates took in the questions which came before the Congress and committees.

The vast majority of the comrades came prepared to work for the International Labor Movement, and not — as often occurs at such gatherings — simply for the jaunt.

Another impression was the feeling of comradeship that prevailed, members were able to drop their own particular ideas to unite in formulating plans with which to attack the common enemy, and it speaks volumes that, notwithstanding the different nationalities represented, with their diverse interests and conflicting ideals, these men could meet and discuss in harmony the principles of a political party. No other national political party, let alone an international one, could meet for seven days and discuss the questions that came up with such comradely feeling, and I feel more than repaid for my journey for having had the opportunity to attend the Congress. — Ben. W. Bakes, Delegate Vancouver (B. C.) Trades and Labor Council.

* * *

To Jaures fell the responsibility of defending his active support of the Governments of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes, whilst Bebel stood forth to denounce all concessions to middle-class parties. The interesting character of the duel arose from the magnetic personalities of the combatants. Jaures is a burly, thick-set individual, resembling a farmer more than an ex-professor. His voice is a marvel of power. The remark of one speaker, "You shall hear the lion roar," was understood by everybody. Nevertheless, his southern-French accent is so melodious that one could imagine Sara Bernhardt asking him to act with her. Bebel, on the other hand, is a spare man, old and grey, but wiry and determined. If less loud in declamation than his rival, he is equally strong and persistent. Acuteness and rapidity of intellect mark both men; they miss no weak points in one another's armour. — R. Wherry Anderson in *The New Age*.

* * *

Either there has been no progress at all in the past, or it has been made by way of "revision," to use the term of contempt applied by the Marxists to the method of their antagonists. There never was, and there never will be, a social change at once revolutionary, deeply reformative, and durable. A deeply reformative and potentially revolutionary principle may indeed be affirmed by one legislative act; but its application must be gradual. It is only in unimportant matters that complete changes can be made at one stroke. — John M. Robertson in *The New Age*, England.

M. Jaures ought to have nothing more to do with International Socialist Congresses. He is too brilliant, and at the same time too level-headed, to keep company with the men who carried that resolution, more idiotic even than monstrous, to the effect that "the British Government, by continually robbing and draining more and more the resources of the people, is purposely causing extreme pauperisation and is creating the scourge of famine and privations on a greater and greater scale among more than 200,000,000 inhabitants of British territory in India." The advocates who have won this verdict were two British subjects: Mr. Hobson "of the Fabian Society" and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. We admire M. Jaures so much for his personal gifts that we would wish him better company; and we detest his and M. Combes' anti-Christian policy so heartily that if the Socialist schism disintegrates the bloc at the same time we shall be extremely glad. — *Saturday Review*, England.

* * *

For ourselves, we recognize in the attitude of M. Jaures a finer sense of statesmanship than in that of the Marxian theorists, who are essaying the impossible task of putting the world into the straight jacket of economic geometry. Jaures very properly boasted that his form of Socialism had saved the French Republic from clericalism and militarism, had developed social legislation, and had co-operated in maintaining the peace of Europe. Jauresism is the form of Socialism most acceptable to the English type of character by its combination of the practical with the ideal. — W. M. T. in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, England.



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