De Leon Issue
Socialism Means Workers’ Control  Page 2

Welfare Reform No Success for Capitalism’s Poorest Victims  Page 3

Editorial— More Work, Less Pay  Page 4

De Leon’s Struggle Against Kautskyism  Page 8

De Leon and the Banner Of Marxian Socialism  Page 8

Self-Seeking ‘Charity’
Bill Gates has come to realize that capitalism cannot solve the problems of poverty and hunger in the world. That, at least, is how The New York Times reported it.

Gates, said the Times, “has lost much of the faith he once had that global capitalism would prove capable of solving the most immediate catastrophes facing the world’s poorest people, especially the 40,000 deaths a day from preventable diseases.”

What to do?
Well, according to the Times, Gates thinks “that more philanthropy and more government aid—especially a greater contribution to foreign health programs by American taxpayers—are needed for that.”

We don’t believe for one moment that Bill Gates has given up on the capitalist system. We suspect that the Times has put a ‘spin’ on his newfound concern for the world’s downtrodden and oppressed.

And our suspicions are heightened by a statement that the Times made about Bill Gates’ philanthropy: “The Gates idea obviously is not new. But what Gates has done is apply a new twist to the old idea of giving ‘among the rest.”’

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Reports of computers that failed to record votes, of confusing ballots of illegal design, misplaced ballot boxes, and the illegal wrangling between the Democratic and Republican parties over what is “fair” dominated the “news.”

The Times, Gates, and the rest have many windows to the haves, and pickets,” Daniel De Leon once wrote of capitalist hostility. That’s what a general is taught to do, that’s what the military is indoctrinated to do.

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Socialism Means Workers’ Control

Socialism does not consist merely in the overthrow of private ownership in any or all the necessary of life. If such overthrow of private ownership were socialism,” Daniel De Leon wrote, “then the overthrow of the one-time private ownership of military forces, and the methods of self-defense of the people, would be socialism. Obviously, that is not socialism.”

There is a word that is frequently used in discussing the taking over, or the original and continued operation, by the state, of such things as armies, postal services, dams, utilities, etc. The word is “nationalization.”

The word, nationalization, is not always used. When it is, it is frequently used, carelessly or deliberately, as a synonym for socialism. At one time, Socialists did use the word, nationalization, and its various parts, as an equivalent for socialization. The word was popularized in the United States by the Nationalist movement founded upon the writings of Edward Bellamy, popularizing the “Bellamyites,” the Bellamyites meant their socialization. Indeed, long after the Bellamy movement had collapsed of its own emptiness, nationalization continued to be used on occasion, but more out of habit than out of any real dependence on the word.

What is “nationalization,” and how does it differ from “socialism,” or socialism? Let’s take De Leon’s example of private armies being taken over by the state.

Socialism Wrong Word

In medieval times, when feudal barons maintained their own military forces, the feudal ties of the lords to overlords, including kings and princes, were far too loose to assure the use of the forces in the service of the nation. The nation, in its modern sense, did not yet exist. The barons (and their fellow landowners) met their feudal obligations as they pleased, or as they were forced to meet them. In effect, the use of the forces was often to the highest bidder. And a natural development of some sort of representative government was the result.

Now, let us assume that a new class of feudal lords arises, a class that seeks to gain control of the state. This class, in turn, might gain control of the government, and with the government, control of the nation. This leads to the introduction of the feudal lord as the representative of the feudal state.

But Not Socialism

De Leon built upon the firm foundation laid by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the Marxian analysis of the political state—central and local administrative authorities of the political state—central and local administrative authorities of the political state.

Hence, the industrial union aims at a definite control by the useful producers is as essential as was its control by the rulers of the Roman Empire of the Roman legions. And, bringing the subject to modern conditions, the control by the United States government of Amtrak, the Hoover Dam or the interstate highway system is no more socialism than the control Napoleon Bonaparte exercised over the French tobacco monopoly, or the control the Roman emperor, or Nero, had over the Egyptian granite and the “municipal entertainment” embodied in the Circus Maximus (‘bread and circuses’ to control the masses). We are mainly indebted to De Leon for seeing that there is a distinction between the “nationalization” and the socialization of the means of wealth production. De Leon built upon the firm foundation laid by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the Marxian analysis of the political state, but he went further when he struck on the means by which the socialization of the country’s natural and productive resources could become real and unassailable.

Vehicle for the Establishment of Socialism

Particularly pertinent to the contribution of De Leon in clarifying in this regard are the following excerpts from his editorial, “Industrial Unionism”:

“The industrial union grasps the principle: ‘No government, no organization; no organization, no cooperative labor; no cooperative labor, no abundance for all without arduous toil, hence, no freedom.’ Hence, the industrial union aims at a democratically centralized government, accompanied by the democratically requisitioned self-rule.”

The industrial union grasps the principle of the political state—central and local administrative authorities of the political state.

The “nationalization” and the socialization of the means of wealth production have been socialized. The esoteric power of the class-ruled state.

Consequently, industrial unionism or nationalization of the means of production must be planned for the purpose of building a socialist state. But such a vast production schedule involving immense quantities of raw materials and other items that are not produced in America and that must be obtained elsewhere in the world.

Contrariwise, other Socialist Commonwealths, especially those that are lagging behind in their technological development, will require immense supplies from the American socialist workshop. Here is the basis for mutual exchange, and an exchange that may be carried on directly among the various Socialist Commonwealths, on a multilateral basis through a world socialist clearinghouse. The important thing is that the needs of society will determine, and the conflicts of ruling classes will be eliminated, together with the multitude of nationalistic trade devices, import duties, exchange controls and the like.

Will there be foreign trade under socialism? There will be no “foreign trade” under socialism, at least not as we understand the term today. There will be an extensive exchange of products and a completely free intercourse for travel and culture. But trade—meaning the buying and selling of goods abroad, and implying an international struggle for markets and the disposal of vast surpluses of unsold goods—will be a thing of the past when production for sale and profit has been replaced by production for use.

Under a Socialist Commonwealth will determine the aggregate needs of its citizens and produce accordingly. For example, the Industrial Congress of the American Socialist Commonwealth will determine by statistical forecasts the maximum needs of all the American people for shoes, televisions, computers, fuel, food, houses, etc. The same body will also decide how much industrial equipment is to be replaced, and a safe and practical rate of expansion. The informa-
Welfare Reform: No Success for Capitalism's Poorest Victims

By Ken Boehrer

When welfare rolls reached a 30-year low last year, The People reported that politicians and pundits of all stripes had raised a kind of "I told you so" caucophony—crowing about the "success" of welfare reform. The din of that chorus has hardly subsided.

One might assume that by "success" the politicians and pundits mean that the "reform" accomplished what most of those millions of millions of once and future welfare recipients hoped to accomplish in seeking it: to replace degrading dependency on the state with independence. A spate of recent studies on the effects of the 1996 welfare reform act makes clear the real nature of that "success."

"The recent data show that while millions of former welfare mothers have jobs, their incomes are often lower than before the reforms were enacted," an article by Robert Wuthnow of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace noted. "Welfare recipients after they left the rolls—Wisconsin, Michigan, South Carolina, Missouri and Iowa—"reported that between 1996 and 1998 there is a long, long time."...Because, while welfare payments for this group fell by $802 a year over this time period, paychecks from work climbed by only $244 a year."

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cipients after they left the rolls—Wiscon-

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sin, Michigan, South Carolina, Missouri and Iowa—"reported that between 1996 and 1998 there is a long, long time."...Because, while welfare payments for this group fell by $802 a year over this time period, paychecks from work climbed by only $244 a year."

Socialists maintain that welfare is not worth fighting for. It wasn't worth fighting for even when the political state first implemented it. Indeed, it wasn't fought for, at least not by the working class. It was given by the political state, in the name of capitalism, and for capitalist purposes. It was an effort to drive the wedge of a handout between the desperation of millions of impoverished workers and the possibility that some would begin to trace the roots of their economic desperation to conditions produced by and not of their own making. In short, it was a hedge against the growth of class consciousness among capitalism's wage slaves.

Workers might assume that it was the "given," the "handout" is being taken away. The capitalist class believes it has ousted any threat from workers, and now its concern is to undermine any further threat by injecting its welfare victims back into the labor market. That is one of the motivations behind welfare reform. As the 19th-century Eng-

lish "moralist" who attacked Britain's "Four Laws" that provided a dole, the backers of today's welfare reform maintain that welfare breeds laziness and illegiti-
macy, and that welfare recipients are be-
ing tossed off the dole for their own good. "If "morality" has anything to do with welfare reform, however, it isn't a moral-
Millerrand—
"The Gospel of Love"

In a recent tour through several cities of northern France, Millerrand, the minister of commerce in the French Cabinet, took occasion to condemn the class struggle attitude of the French Socialist Labor Party as a policy of hatred. "The regimentation of the working class," he declared, is a war which the government (the existing capitalist government) negates no effort to bring about; the class struggle through the program and with the help of the masses is not hatred," said he, "will emancipate the working class." Who is there that has not heard the charge made against socialism, that is to say, bona fide socialism, that it preaches hatred, that its principle of the class struggle is a principle in theory and in practice is not? And who is there that has not heard, in line therewith, the alleged standard that the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by the will of the capitalist class, and that "love" must be the means used to achieve that end.

Millerrand's song has a well-known ring in it, but rarely does it happen that the working class will be satisfied completely as it does in the instance of this Cabinet minister.

Since this very Millerrand accepted office in the French Cabinet, the government has either either or authorized the cold-blooded shooting of the workmen's ministers. On two occasions, both occasions the troopers were asked for by employers, and were, contrary to law, quartered in the employer's plants; and not the least pretense has been made that the workers were used vio-

ence. The military force was applied for to intimidate, and did intimidate at the two occasions.

What the pretense of "love" on the part of the capitalist class amounts to; what their "gospel of love" means; what aid the working class may expect from that quarter; and that they afford added opportunities to anyone from socialism. Whatever progress the cause of labor's emancipation has made was made in the teeth of the above false charge and in the face of the pretense of the government, man of capitalism, and as firmly resisted and demolished by bona fide or revolu-

tionary force. What progression the pretense of "love" on the part of the capitalist class amounts to; what their "gospel of love" means; what aid the working class may expect from that quarter; and that they afford added opportunities to anyone from socialism. Whatever progress the cause of labor's emancipation has made was made in the teeth of the above false charge and in the face of the pretense of the government, man of capitalism, and as firmly resisted and demolished by bona fide or revolu-

tionary force.

Socialism is the collective ownership of all the people of the factory, mills, mines, railroads, land and all other instruments of production. Socialism means production to satisfy human needs, not, as under capitalism, for sale and profit. Socialism means control and management of the industries and social services by the workers through a democratic government based on their nationwide economic organization.

Under socialism, all authority will originate from the workers, integrated uniformly in the Industrial unions. In each workplace, the rank and file will elect whatever committees or representatives are needed to facilitate production. Within each shop or office division of a plant, the rank and file will participate directly in formulating and implementing plans necessary for efficient operations.

Besides electing all necessary shop officers, the workers will also elect representa-
tives to a local and national council of their industry or service—and to a central con-
gress representing all the industries and services. This all-industrial congress will plan and coordinate production in all areas of the economy. All persons elected to any post in the socialist government, from the lowest to the highest rank, will be directly ac-
countable to the rank and file. There will be subject to rank and file vote whatever the majority of those who elected them decide it is necessary.

Socialism makes possible democracy and freedom. It would be a society based on the most primary freedom—economic freedom.

For individuals, socialism means an end to economic insecurity and exploitation. It means workers cease to be commodities bought and sold on the labor market and forced to work as appendages to tools owned by someone else. It means a chance to develop all individual capacities and potentials within a free community of free individuals.

Socialism does not mean government ownership of farms, mines, industries, etc., as it is bureaucratically run by a central administrative bureau in the former Soviet Union or China, with the working class oppressed by a new bureaucratic class. It does not mean a closed party-run system without de-
centralization to the local level, as under state capitalism of any kind. It means a complete end to all capitalist social relations.

To win the struggle for socialist freedom requires enormous efforts of organiza-
tion and education. It is only by education and organization that we can test the power of the capitalist class on the political field and educate the majority of workers about the need for socialism. It requires building Socialist Industrial Union organizations to unite all workers in a class-conscious industrial force and to prepare them to take, hold and operate the tools of production.

You are needed in the ranks of socialists fighting for a better world. Find out more about the program and work of the Socialist-Labor Party and get ready to help make the promise of socialism a reality.


Vindication at Amsterdam

The second and final official chapter was written to the official, Milnerand and the Kautsky Resolution in 1904 at Amsterdam. As delegates to that Congress the party sent its most distinguished member and was its largest delegation.

Daniel De Leon. De Leon was a member of the Congress Committee on International Political Policy at Amsterdam wanted somehow to repeal the Kautsky Resolution at Paris were compelled, reluctantly, to admit their error. Whereas only a minority of the German Social Democracy and their industrialist sponsors, but to adopt over the strenuous objections of the Socialist Labor Party of America and a handful of European parties represented at the Congress.

The story of what transpired at Amsterdam is told comprehensively in the series of reports, essays and thumbnail sketches Daily People—as “Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress.” But “Flashlights” is more than a report. It is a masterful, analytic critique of the socialist movement, indispensable not only to an understanding of the struggle for Kautsky, or out of consideration for the German Social Democracy, or out of some other reason, preferred to proceed with a tender hand and in a roundabout way.” Sentiment frequently played a role in European socialist affairs. The story of what transpired at Amsterdam is told comprehensively in the series of reports, essays and thumbnail sketches Daily People—as “Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress.” But “Flashlights” is more than a report. It is a masterful, analytic critique of the socialist movement, indispensable not only to an understanding of the struggle for Kautsky, or out of consideration for the German Social Democracy, or out of some other reason, preferred to proceed with a tender hand and in a roundabout way.” Sentiment frequently played a role in European socialist affairs.

The Infamous Kautsky Resolution

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De Leon and Lucien Sanial.


during the political campaigns in the United States, for instance. But the sins of the Kautsky Resolution are more serious than even that. Kautsky just stated that his resolution contemplated only an extreme emergency—a war, for instance, and that he never could or did contemplate the kind of a Socialist in a Congress. He says so. We must believe him. But while he was contemplating the distant, the imaginary possibility of a war that was not, and never could be, an emergency, every one else was aware that Congress had in mind a thing that was in sight; a thing that was palpating and breathing, a thing that was pulsating under which the very opening spectacle of the whole 1904 Congress was thrown into convulsions. And what spectacle was that?

Why, it was the very spectacle and fact of a Socialist sitting in a Cabinet check by check, not merely with, but with the Government. Whatever Kautsky may have been thinking of when he presented his resolution and voted for it, we have his own, officially recorded, words that go to show that he knew what the minds of all members were filled with. I have here in my satchel the official report of the Dresden convention. In his speech, therein recorded, he says himself that Auer, the spokesman of the German delegation in favor of the Kautsky Resolution, said when speaking for the resolution: “He who is in this chamber, let him hear the things that are there. We are not yet so far; but I hope we may soon be so far—that is what was in the minds of all—Milner, the associate of Gilliatt. It is obvious that a resolution adopted under such conditions—its own framers keeping their eyes on an emergency that was not above the horizon, while all others kept their eyes upon the malignant enormity that was bursting against their noses and shocking the socialistic conscience of the world—it goes without saying that such a resolution, adopted under such conditions, should have thrown the socialist world into the convulsions of the discussions that we all know of during the last four years; it goes without saying that such a resolution would be in total conflict with the fact that has happened to such an extent that the Kautsky Resolution has come to be known as the Kautsky non-resolution.” [Uproarious laughter.]

In view of this fact the first thing to do is to clear the road of such an encumbrance as this, of this phenomenon of the adoption of the following resolution:

“Whereas, The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is a continuous and irrepressible conflict, a conflict that tends every day rather to be intensified than to be softened; and whereas, The governments are committees of the ruling class, intended to safeguard the yoke of capitalist exploitation upon the neck of the working class.

“Whereas, At the last International Congress, held in Paris, in 1900, a resolution was adopted, the closing clauses of which contemplate the emergence of the working class accepting office at the hand of the bourgeoisie, and also and especially presuppose the possibility of impartiality on the part of the ruling-class governments; therefore, The socialist working class, or the character of capitalist governments, and the tactics that are imperative upon the proletariat in the pursuit of the socialist system in countries, which, like the United States of America, have wholly wiped out feudal institutions; therefore,

“Resolved, First, That the said Kautsky Resolution be and the same is hereby resolved.

“Second, That, in fully developed caps—(Continued on page 4)

While substantially correct, this statement might have been worded more simply. Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger formed the Social Democratic Party in 1897. Before 1900, the Social Democratic party was recognized by the International Socialist Bureau. In 1905, the group known in SNP history as the American Social Democratic Party became defunct. On the other hand, the party was split into a “radical” and a “conservative” wing, the former retaining the label “Social Democratic” and the latter becoming the American Socialist Party. By 1912, the party had died. The “radical” wing was absorbed by other groups. The “conservative” wing was absorbed by other groups. The “radical” wing was absorbed by other groups. The “conservative” wing was absorbed by other groups. The “radical” wing was absorbed by other groups. The “conservative” wing was absorbed by other groups.
Marxian Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

Social Democracy, or Kautskyism, by presupposing neutrality on the part of the capitalist state in struggles between capital and labor, by "rationalizing" the acceptance by "Socialists" of appointments to positions of power by bourgeois governments. By "reviving" Marxism into a mere cure under meager reform measures and state ownership, is hailed by encouraging the workers to depend upon bourgeois or Social Democratic promises to improve conditions and free them without their own direct participation—behind the back of society, so to speak—the "Socialists" have survived. De Leon's real victory of the working class, running their governments (as in Germany) or submitting to their socialism, may be tested.

During the 20th century, Social Democrats and Leninists have missed working-class unrest and dissatisfaction with capitalism into fascism and Stalinism. But it is those who claim the cause of working-class emancipation from class rule and exploitation is everything, who agree with Marx that the working-class exists to improve capitalism (as with the De Leonists), the Social Democratic Labor Party, the "sect" of "impossibilists" and the "SLP" is a "sect." Their motto is the bourgeois creed. "Nothing succeeds like failure," so they comfortably forget the tragic consequences of their mass-unconcerned politics which have visited upon the international working class, remembering only their "big parties" boasting millions of followers in Germany, Austria, France and other countries.

The messianic feature of Leninism today is all too apparent to re- quire no emphasis. It roots in Lenin- ism's dominating and inherent principle. It may be summed up in this: Trust in the party and its leader. To disagree with the leader is to ab- solute; to do the work of the party and absolute power corrupts ab- solutely.

Instead, however, it was decided that Vandervelde report for the committee and include it in a re- port a statement of the SLP posi- tion which De Leon supplied him. The vote on the Dresden resolu- tion in the Congress stood 25 for, and 5 against. There were 12 ab-

Activities notices must be re- ceived by the Monday preced- ing the third Wednesday of the month.

CALIFORNIA
San Jose
Discussion Meeting—Section San Francisco Bay Area will hold a discussion meeting on Satur- day, Dec. 2, 1:30-4 p.m., at the Empire Branch Library, 491 E. Empire St. San Jose, Moderator: Bruce Coffinzi. For more infor- mation please call 408-280-7458.

North Royalton—Section Cleve- land will hold a social on Sunday, Dec. 17, at the Burns' residence, 9629 York Rd., North Royalton. Begins at 1 p.m. Refreshments will be served. For more informa- tion please call 440-237-7933.

OREGON
Portland Discussion Meeting—Section Portland holds discussion meet- ings every second Saturday of the month. Meetings are usually held at the Central Library, but the exact time varies. For more information please call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit our Web site at http://slp.pdx.home.mind- spring.com. The general public is invited.

TEXAS
Houston Discussion Meetings—The SLP group in Houston holds dis- cussion meetings the last Sat- urday of the month at the Houston Public Library, Franklin Branch, 6440 W. Bellfort, southwest Houston. The time of the meet- ings varies. Those interested please call 713-721-9296, e-mail reds1964@netzero.net or visit the group's Web site at http:// www.home.besem.com/politics/hous- tonisp.

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Send to:

Marxian Socialism

(Continued from page 5)
tal countries, like America, the Social Democrats cannot, with- out betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, fill any political office other than they conquer for and by themselves.

"Offered by Daniel De Leon, Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party from the United States of America, with credentials from the Socialist Labor Party of Aus- tralia and of Canada."

"From New York to California the Socialist Labor Party, that I here represent, felt the shock of that Kautsky Resolution. The New York Socialists were not quoted as an illustration of the 'sanity' of the European Socialists as against the American Socialists of America. From the way we have received our proposition to repel the mistake, I judge my proposi- tion will not be accepted. No matter the worse for you. But whether accepted or not, I shall be able to return to the Socialist Labor Party delegation did from Paris four years ago—with my hands and the skirts of the people of Los Angeles, the real victors in the case."

As De Leon surmised, the SLP proposition was rejected. Instead, the committee adopted what was known as the Dresden resolution, which accomplished the amazing feat of strongly condemning the Kautsky Resolution. The Dresden resolution carried in the Congress of 27 for, De Leon cast his vote in favor. "My own motion having been defeated," he explained, "there was nothing left for me to do but to vote for the Dresden resolution as the best thing that could be obtained un- der the circumstances. To vote against it would have been to rank the Socialist Labor Party of America alongside of Jaures; to abstain from voting would have been to roundabout way of doing the same thing. In voting as I did, I ex- pressed my position as wishing to give the greatest emphasis that the circumstances allowed me to the condemnation of the Jaures party, and the Kautsky Resolu- tion; and I stated that I would ex- plain my position in the Congress of the SLP group in Houston holds dis- cussion meetings the last Sat- urday of the month at the Houston Public Library, Franklin Branch, 6440 W. Bellfort, southwest Houston. The time of the meet- ings varies. Those interested please call 713-721-9296, e-mail reds1964@netzero.net or visit the group's Web site at http:// www.home.besem.com/politics/hous- tonisp.

Socialist Labor Party, P.O. Box 218 • Mountain View, CA 94042-0218

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De Leon Editorial

came from the circumstance that this identical Michelle poses as a Socialist, and that his corrupt practices are endowed by certain elements in Europe that, once revolutionized, have since ground to the dust by certain other elements here in America, the army building or kangaroo Social Democratic Party that never was anything but an organized treason to the workers of America.

In 1899, Alexandre De Leon, a member of the French Socialist Party, accepted an appointment as minister to the interior in France and led directly to the infamous Kentuoky Resolution approved by the International Socialist Congress in Paris in September 1899. (See “De Leon’s Struggle Against Kautskyism” in this issue.)

In 1897, James Carey, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, was elected to the city council of Haverford, Pa. When local capitalists deposed a local army from which state militia could be used to break strikes, Carey voted in favor of an attempt to build the army with city funds. Section Haverhill, SLP, promptly demanded Carey’s resigna-
tion from office. Carey refused and was expelled from the SLP. He then dropped the “kangaroo” ele-
ment that split the SLP in 1899. That element merged with the Dbs “So-
cial Democracy” to form the Socialist Labor in 1901.

I believe the SLP should run a candidate for president of the United States, no matter what the sacrifice of the movement may come to bear. There is that never would know you exist! Also, it would give sympathizers and members hope, and something to work for and stand for, or there would be no use. Also I enclosed $30.00 to help save The People. It must not stop publication after all these years. Never before have there been such injustices in the United States and the world. There are poisons in the air, soil, food, cancer, AIDS, etc. The “will of the people” is more of a threat (through in-

Crime and Crime! Crime! Crime! Although in the past I’ve been wrong on this, I still consider crime as a threat to me personally, the more I think about it the more I see your so-called policy that capitalism kills more people and is more of a threat (through in-

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Paris and Amsterdam Congresses in 1900 specific incident that led Kautsky to intro-

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in the Waldemar Roussea m inistry which he served from 1904 to 1906, which was headed by Lucien Sanial, and is a stain on the historic records of socialism."

SLP Takes Its Stand On the Class Struggle

Socialist Labor Party delegation of six, which was headed by Lucien Sanial, included F. Arnae lessein. Arnaeleslein was who first opposed the Kautsky Reso-

nialism demanded that, “Under a capitalist Guesde resolution. At this moment, Kretlow reports, Sa-

Karl Kautsky.

while saying that he was translating A r-

sential member of a socialist party to accept

Jean Jaures.

Jean Jaures. The Kautsky Resolution, which later was referred to wittily as the “Kaut-

the American Delegation of the Socialist Par-

nial arrived and registered to speak. Dis-
to the chair. Ambassador, and a leading mi-

creased. The silence was deep while I said:

Since his return to Paris, Sanial said: “Karl, Du bist ein schlechtes Luder!” (“You are a

Frenchman, for instance, with the Ministry of Commerce and the Post Office, for instance, with

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Viktor Adler.

Karl Kautsky, a German Social Demo-

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