

DE LEON ISSUE

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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 *Los Angeles Times* columnist, Robert Scheer. After praising Gates, Scheer lifted the veil.

"Poverty is the major security problem both within and without our country," Scheer wrote. "These days the have-nots have many windows to the haves, and resentment is inevitable. It is the breeding ground of disorder and terror, and it is absurd to think that a stable new world order can be built on such uneven foundation."

That's pretty clear. Not hunger, but "security," explains Gates' sudden interest in the downtrodden and oppressed. There is no surprise in this.

"When the capitalist amasses wealth he does so on the identical principle that a general amasses troops and pickets," Daniel De Leon once wrote of capitalist "charity." "From this central maneuver flow a number of minor ones—that of 'giving' among the rest. Every 'gift' is an outpost, to give warning of danger, a barrier to keep danger out should it press, a picket to disarm hostility. That's what a general is taught to do, that's what the 'millionaire' instinctively does....Conscience has no more to do with the transaction than with a dog's burying of his bone."

The Gates idea obviously is not new. But what capitalism cannot do for itself no self-appointed paladin can do for it. Ending poverty and starvation here in America and around the world means ending its cause. Capitalism is the cause, and never will be the solution. The solution is socialism, and only the working class can establish it.

Spreading the message of socialism means keeping *The People* in print. Every reader can help by contributing to *The People's* annual Xmas Box fund. Please use the coupon on page 6.

Election Irregularities Show Need for Organized Strength

The Election Day fiasco that produced indecisive results and left the outcome of the presidential election in doubt also raised a fundamental question.

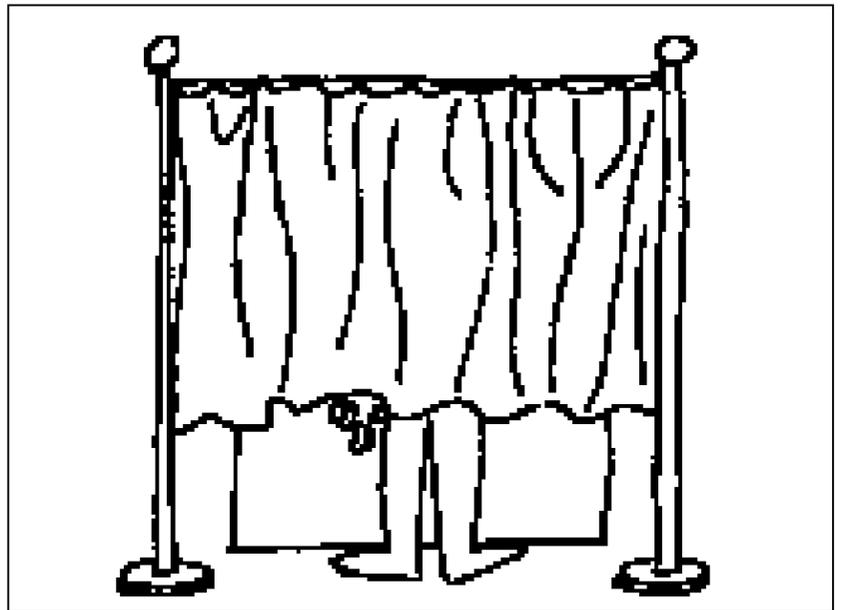
If the electoral system is as fragile and flawed as the elections showed it to be, if it is so vulnerable to critical errors or to crass manipulation that its only strength is blind faith in the process and in those charged with managing it, what guarantee does the American working class have that its decisions would be enforced in times of crisis?

Despite a mass of postelection commentary produced by the media, and despite an avalanche of rhetorical bombast by functionaries of the Democratic and Republican political machines, that question was hardly raised—and where it was the answers offered were evasive and oblique.

Indeed, while the two major parties that have monopolized the electoral system for 150 years feverishly accused one another of bad faith and of wishing to thwart the "will of the people," "faith in the system" was about the only reassurance the media had to offer.

The voting fiasco itself was not limited to the state of Florida. Recounts in election districts in several other states, from New Hampshire to New Mexico, stirred up numerous allegations of corruption and incompetence.

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



M. Herder for *The People*

Allegations of outright election fraud, including police intimidation of African-American voters and of turning minority voters away from polling places with the claim that no ballots were available, received much less attention.

These and similar allegations were dismissed with cursory expressions of sympathy for the victims. The media did its best to create the impression that such occurrences were incidental to the election results. It stressed mechanical failures and unintentional human error as primarily responsible for the indecisive outcome of the election. Passing references to the 19th-century Tammany Hall boss, William Marcy Tweed ("As long as I can count the votes, what are you going to do about it?"), or to the ballot-box stuffing in-

dulged in by the administration of Chicago Mayor Daley in the 1960 presidential election, were recounted as deplorable incidents from the past. However, these were usually accompanied by assurances that those days are behind us, that systemic corruption of that sort, while of historic interest, plays no part in the election process of today.

These assurances—that human error, bad judgment and mechanical flaws were the underlying causes of the indecisive election results—had another purpose. They were meant to defuse, deflect and demoralize indignation. "Nothing is perfect," "mistakes are bound to happen," became the watchwords of the moment.

Most of the problems that left the out-

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De Leonism and the Banner Of Marxian Socialism

Three groups in the world today fly the banner of socialism. They are the Leninists (known also by the grandiose titles, Marxists-Leninists-Maoists, Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists and Marxists-Leninists-Trotskyists), the Social Democrats (whose policies were "rationalized" by Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky*), and the De Leonists (represented by the Socialist Labor parties of America and Canada). The disagreement among these three groups is fundamental and irreconcilable, yet to some extent all three claim the honored name of Marx.

True, most Social Democrats repudiate certain features of Marxism and misrepresent him as the "father of modern totalitarianism." At the same time, however, they cling to the peculiar notion that, somehow, Marx was also a starry-eyed do-gooder who sincerely sought to expose and undo the injustices of the capitalist system. In short, while dismissing such funda-

mental tenets of Marxian science as the law of value and the class struggle as so much dogmatic nonsense, they cannot quite shake themselves free of the fact that Marxism and socialism are inseparable.

Obviously the closely knit theories of Marx do not allow for fundamental and irreconcilable differences. Equally obvious, therefore, is the conclusion that at least two of the groups that have appropriated his name are impostors who either ignore Marxian principles or debase them. The question is: How is one to test these claims? What is the touchstone by which the legitimate claimant may be distinguished from the illegitimate, the usurper?

A touchstone cannot be a part of Marxism. It cannot be a single concept relating to the Marxian law of value, such as the attitude, for example, toward taxes. A touchstone such as we seek must be at the same time inclusive and the very essence of Marxism. Such a touchstone is the attitude of the three groups in question toward the mass of workers and their role in

the socialist reconstruction of society.

Marx placed great emphasis on the role the working class must fill in building a socialist society. Fundamental social transformations of the past had been carried through by minorities at the head of unconscious masses; the transformation from capitalism to socialism could only be achieved when the majority of the workers themselves knew what was at stake and why they were to act. "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself," Marx declared to be a fundamental principle, and he refused to collaborate with those who expunged it from their platform.

But for the working class to emancipate itself, every act, every thought of those who claim to represent socialism must be directed toward the strengthening of the social knowledge and political resolve of the workers. "Marx," Engels wrote in his preface to the *Communist Manifesto*, "...entirely trusted in the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from com-

(Continued on page 6)

*See "De Leon's Struggle Against Kautskyism" in this issue.

Socialism Means Workers' Control

Socialism does not consist merely in the overthrow of private ownership in any or all the necessities 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 present state ownership of the same, would be socialism. Obviously, that is not socialism."

There is a word that is frequently used in describing 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."

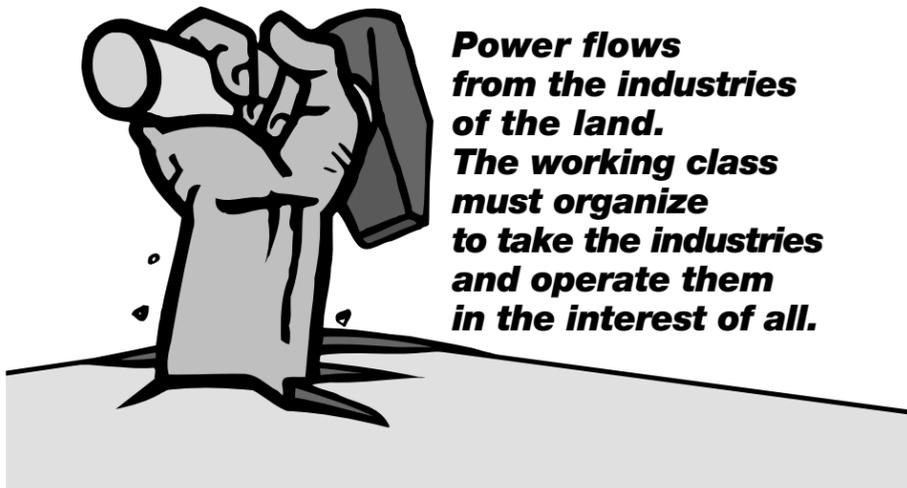
The word, nationalization, is not always used. When it is, it is frequently used, carelessly or deliberately, as a synonym for socialism.

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.* By "nationalizing" the industries, the Bellamyites meant their socialization. Indeed, long after the Bellamy movement had collapsed of its own unsoundness, nationalization continued to be used on occasion, but more out of habit than out of any real dependence upon the word.

What is "nationalization," and how does it differ from "socialization," 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 the private army was the condottiere of the 14th and 15th centuries. Condottieri sold their services, first to one



Power flows from the industries of the land. The working class must organize to take the industries and operate them in the interest of all.

M. Herder for The People

side, then to another. Frequently, they founded ducal houses by "taking over" when they became stronger than their employers. Their "nationalization," that is, their direct incorporation into the framework of the states consolidated by powerful princes, was not "socialization." It was a logical development of the coercive power of the class-ruled state.

'Bread and Circuses,' But Not Socialism

This is the point made by De Leon in the passage cited above. The nations that were formed as capitalism was emerging, and that grew into modern states of full-fledged capitalism, were geographical units over which propertied classes reigned. The interests of "the nation" were (and are) the interests of the propertied and ruling classes. The control by these classes of military forces is no closer to socialism than was the 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, Nero, had over the Egyptian granary 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 unsailable.

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":

"Industrial unionism, free from optical illusions," wrote De Leon, "is clear upon the goal—the substitution of the political state with the industrial government...."

"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 requisite 'local self-rule.'"

"The industrial union grasps the principle of the political state—central and local authorities disconnected from productive activity; and it grasps the requirement of the government of freedom—the central

and local administrative authorities of the productive capabilities of the people.

"The industrial union hearkens to the command of social evolution to cast the nation, and with the nation its government, in a mold different from the mold in which class rule casts nations and existing governments. While class rule casts the nation, and with the nation its government, in the mold of territory, industrial unionism casts the nation in the mold of useful occupations and transforms the nation's government into the representations from these. Accordingly, industrial unionism organizes the useful occupations of the land into constituencies of future society.

* * * * *

"Industrial unionism is the Socialist Republic in the making; and the goal once reached, the industrial union is the Socialist Republic in operation.

"Accordingly, the industrial union is at once the battering ram with which to pound down the fortress of capitalism, and the successor of the capitalist social structure itself."

Workers' Control Essential to Socialism

The private ownership of the means of production may be abolished, as it was in Russia during the Soviet era. The state may assume that ownership and direct the operation of the factories, mines, etc., and regulate the distribution of their product. This does not mean that the means of production have been socialized. The essential workers' control is missing. State bureaucrats would be in control. The workers would have no more to say about the use of the country's natural resources or the production of the means of life and their distribution than they have under private capitalism.

Control by the useful producers is as essential to socialism as is the abolition of private property in the means of wealth production. In demonstrating how this workers' control can be put into effect, De Leon brought social science to its greatest height.

*Edward Bellamy (1850–1898) wrote *Looking Backward*, a utopian novel that became one of the great literary successes of American fiction. Bellamy's novel focused attention on the competitive and dehumanizing nature of the capitalist system, and he projected a future society based on cooperation and the "nationalization" of the country's natural resources, industries and services. The "Nationalist movement" inspired by Bellamy's utopian vision gave new meaning to a term usually associated with chauvinism, jingoism and, of course, state control.

Question Period

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 socialism each 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-

tion will go to the various industries composing the Industrial Congress, and production plans will be geared accordingly.

But such a vast production schedule involves 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, or 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.

How would the exchange be conducted? Obviously on the basis of the social labor time embodied in the goods exchanged. A

million hours of social labor embodied in a quantity of tin, for example, would be equivalent to a million hours of social labor embodied in machines, or automobiles, or electricity.

And, just to lock a switch, the "surpluses" thus exchanged will be planned surpluses, an integral part of the production program.

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Welfare Reform No Success for Capitalism's Poorest Victims

By Ken Boettcher

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' cacophony...crowing about the 'success' of welfare reform." The din of that chorus has not faded since.

One might assume that by "success" the politicians and pundits mean that the "reform" accomplished what many of these selfsame folks said was their motivation in seeking it: to replace degrading dependency on the state with independence and self-sufficiency. 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," as an article in *Business Week* put it. No national studies on the effects of unceremoniously dumping millions of people off the welfare rolls have been concluded. The original law did not provide for such studies, even though the lives of millions of human beings, many of them children, were at stake. Nonetheless, ample evidence of the effects exists. *Business Week* recently cited some of that evidence.

•A study of Census Bureau data reported that "the average annual income of the poorest 20 percent of single mothers—half of whom have been on welfare at some point—fell by 4 percent, to \$8,410, between 1995 and 1998, the latest year available....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."

•Five states that followed women recipients after they left the rolls—Wisconsin, Michigan, South Carolina, Missouri and Iowa—"reported that between 1996 and 1998 close to half had lower incomes after their welfare checks stopped," according to *Business Week*.

•South Carolina and Wisconsin also reported significant increases in the number of single mothers reporting that they have periods of time when they are without money to buy food, that they are behind in their rent or housing payment, that they lack money for child care and that they could not pay for needed medical care.

•A new study by the Cato Institute, a



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conservative think tank, reports that "at least two-thirds of former welfare recipients still depend on government assistance programs such as Medicaid or food stamps." "Clearly, welfare reform is failing to make people independent," says author of the study Lisa E. Oliphant.

•The U.S. Conference of Mayors reports, according to *Business Week*, that "last year...visits to soup kitchens and food banks jumped by 18 percent." "That was the biggest rise since the last recession, in 1991."

Moreover, the situation is likely to get much worse. The welfare reform act mandated that states dump 25 percent of recipients off the rolls within its first 18 months as law. That shift is the one that produced the effects noted above. The act mandates an additional 50 percent be dumped by the end of 2002.

"Most of the mothers who have found jobs so far," *Business Week* wrote, "are those with more skills and less-troubled personal lives. Many of those remaining on the rolls have serious problems: physical

disabilities, mental health issues, or abusive spouses. When these women eventually get pushed into the labor force, they're likely to have an even tougher time earning a living."

If *Business Week's* suggestion that "education and training are key ways to help those struggling to make it after welfare" is any indication, a movement to "reform" the 1996 "reform" may be afoot before long.

Workers should be wary of any such movement. Why?

The evidence shows that welfare reform had little to do with increasing self-sufficiency and reducing the human degradation of dependency on the state. Rather, it was and is a brazen act of contempt for the working class. Like the 19th-century English "moralists" who attacked Britain's "Poor Laws" that provided a dole, the backers of today's welfare reform maintain that welfare breeds laziness and illegitimacy, and that welfare recipients are being tossed off the dole for their own good.

If "morality" has anything to do with welfare reform, however, it isn't a morali-

25 50 75 100 years ago

Post-War World

(*Weekly People* Dec. 2, 1950)

A lot of businessmen are angry with their capitalist colleagues who are responsible for the television advertisements that were broadcast over the air and printed in newspapers a couple of weeks ago. The "ads" were blatantly vicious and brought what the Family Service Association of America condemns as "cruel pressure" on parents. One of the radio "spot" announcements featured the heartbroken sobs of a little girl because there was no television in her home. The newspaper "ad" depicted a boy and girl whose home was still without television. The girl was crying while the boy appeared taut and grim. "There are some things a son or daughter won't tell," the text began. It continued with an account of the "deep loneliness" the televisionless kids allegedly suffer. And in a corner of the full-page spread, Angelo Patri, described as a "noted behaviorist and authority on child guidance," is saying: "It is practically impossible for boys and girls to 'hold their own' with friends and schoolmates unless television is available to them."

The "spot" announcements and the newspaper "ads" aroused a lively protest. Church organizations have adopted condemnatory resolutions. The Family Service Association called the argument of the "1950 American Television Dealers and Manufacturers" and Angelo Patri, so much "unmitigated nonsense." And *Tide*, a news magazine for the advertising industry, has launched a savage editorial attack on the series, describing it as "the worst case of poor taste that advertising has had in years," and "a body blow [to advertising], the roughest it has had in a long, long time." *Tide* ridiculed the claim that television is "sunshine" for the child's morals and "vitamins for his mind." The assertion that television would bring harmony

to the home, it said, was "fantastic."

The anger of *Tide*, and of businessmen outside the advertising industry, is understandable. For one thing, the video "ads" pointed up the fraud and deceit of the advertising industry, and displayed them in an atmosphere of callousness and cruelty. They demonstrated for all and sundry that *the sale* is the thing, and that the advertising industry will go to just about any length to make it. For the second group of the television series, Angelo Patri has been replaced by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as "endorser" (for a fee of \$1,000). Mrs. Roosevelt's statement stresses that parents should select TV programs for their offspring. But even with the best testimonials that money can buy, it is going to be a long time before the offensiveness of the first group wears off.

For another thing, the offending "ads" are a revealing lightning flash on a larger aspect of the capitalist system. The "advertising industry" is a unit within this system. It has its own institutions, councils and so-called standards. But it exists as an agency for the capitalists who are more directly concerned with exploiting the workers. And an exposure of the essential immorality of the advertising business—an immorality that ranges from such shyster tricks as the purchase of testimonials and their presentation as voluntary statements to the vicious exploitation of fear—inevitably exposes the immorality of the capitalist system. The anger of the capitalists over the recent video "ads," therefore, is not indignation over their poor taste; it may possibly be partly that, but it is mainly anger over the ineptitude of capitalist colleagues who have raised a corner of the "moral" mask that capitalism wears and exposed the immorality underneath.

ty that benefits working-class families. Rather, it reflects the immorality of a ruling class bent on curbing the costs of operating the political state with no other purpose in mind than to pocket even more of the wealth produced by workers.

Dumping millions more workers onto a labor market that already has millions unemployed—the so-called economic boom notwithstanding—will produce another economic benefit to the capitalist class that has no doubt occurred to many backers of such "reform." With millions more workers forced into the labor market, the downward pressure on wages will grow.

The "morality" of "welfare reform" is entirely economic in scope. Simply put, what benefits the capitalist class is moral.

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 capitalist ownership and control of the economy. In short, it was a hedge against the growth of classconsciousness among capitalism's wage slaves.

Now, with the same ease that it was "given," the "handout" is being taken away. The capitalist class believes it has outlasted any threat from workers, and now seeks to demoralize the working class further by injecting its welfare victims back into the labor market. That is one of the problems with all so-called reforms under capitalism. They change nothing fundamental while leaving the power to rule in the hands of a despotic minority.

The contemptuous capitalist class, seeing no evidence of working-class organization that might present a real threat to their system, has convinced itself that workers will continue turning the other cheek while capitalist "morality" bleeds them dry, or that the increasing extent of ruling-class control over society through the repressive apparatus of the political state is adequate to protect capitalist rule should continued impoverishment drive more workers to organize or otherwise retaliate.

Rather than fight for more reform, workers should work to prove this capitalist-class assessment wrong and fight for a new kind of future. They must realize that placing hope in any capitalist antipoverty reform—one that proposes to cut welfare, or to increase it—is to place unwarranted credence in a monumental fraud. They must channel their energies toward a fundamental change.

Dependence on the capitalist state and all the social maladies that may follow from it are produced by capitalism, which requires that the whole working class be dependent for its very right to life upon a tiny minority class that owns and controls the economy.

Nothing will change today's picture of economic insecurity and poverty short of the *abolition* of its cause—the capitalist system—and its replacement by socialism, under which all will share in the democratically managed and socially owned abundance that our advanced means of production can yield. Educating and organizing effectively for the single-minded accomplishment of that fundamental change will produce far more concessions to the immediate needs of working-class families than any appeals to capitalist "morality" ever could.

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Daniel De Leon

With this issue of *The People*, we commemorate the birth of Daniel De Leon, who was born 148 years ago this month. We do so not because the SLP seeks to enshrine him in god-like garb. De Leon was only a man, much like any other, except that he had an exceptional mind and made a conscious decision to use it to help advance the interests of the working class. De Leon's name is, however, linked inseparably with the history of the Socialist Labor Party and the labor movement in this country.

As editor of *The People* from 1892 until his untimely death at 61, De Leon developed the strategy and tactics needed to establish socialism by civilized, but nonetheless revolutionary, means in highly industrialized countries like the United States.

That program, which also provides the outline of the democratic structure on which genuine socialism can be built, was not the work of a chairbound intellectual or theorist. It was developed on the foundation of hard-fought battles within and around the labor movement over a quarter century. Those battles were not fought by one man, but by an *organization* of men and women, including De Leon, whose understanding of the class struggle and Marxist principles

enabled them to build that foundation of experience.

In this issue we reprint material on two of De Leon's most salient contributions:

First, on his primary contribution to socialist thought, which was his concept of economic organization—the concept of an integrally organized industrial union, which flowed logically from the highly developed socialized production that is a fact in capitalist America. Such an organization of workers would serve as a revolutionary weapon in the class struggle and as the power behind the socialist ballot, while furnishing the framework for the future socialist commonwealth. Our articles on De Leonism and on workers' control flesh out this sketch.

Second, we reprint material that reveals the principled stance De Leon and the SLP took against the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky and others in the Second International who sought to betray the working class and serve their own individual interests.

Both reveal that De Leon never lost faith in the capacity of the workers to accomplish the change to socialism. Neither have the Socialist Labor Party and *The People*, which continue to promote the revolutionary program De Leon so energetically championed.

More Work, Less Pay

One of the many cruel and irrational features of the capitalist system is that, despite the mass unemployment the system creates, capitalists in many industries find it more profitable to squeeze more and more hours out of their current workforce before hiring additional workers.

Today, even though there are officially more than 5.5 million workers in the United States who want full-time jobs but cannot find them, this feature is becoming more pronounced. With this still massive army of unemployed, real wages still falling, unions still in retreat and capitalists constantly pressing for more productivity from workers, most workers are in a poor position to resist demands for longer hours. In fact, without alternatives, many workers need and "want" longer hours to make ends meet.

While millions go hungry or homeless for lack of work, and millions more struggle to survive on temporary or part-time work, millions of other workers are being worked into an early grave as they strive to support themselves and their families. For the latter millions the 40-hour workweek is a myth.

More than 25 percent of California workers reported putting in above 40 hours of work per week in 1997, according to an economist cited in a recent *Los Angeles Times* article. A report by the Employment Policy Foundation cited in the article put the national figure at 19.5 percent of U.S. workers in 1999. The average overtime was 11 hours per week. In 1979, the average was 10 hours.

Many workers put in this time without extra pay, because they are salaried or otherwise exempt from the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which ostensibly requires time-and-a-half pay for work beyond eight hours a day or 40 hours a week, for those industries covered by the act.

More than 7 million workers now work two or more jobs. Moreover, according to a September report from the Economic Policy Institute, the two wage earners in the "typical" married couple family worked 3,600 hours in 1998, an increase of 182 hours since 1989. In the same period, the purchasing power of the dollar has declined, thereby rendering "wage gains" illusory. According to the California Budget Project, for example, purchasing power declined by \$1,069 for the average California family of four.

The EPI report showed that, "Despite

low [sic] unemployment rates and tight labor markets [sic]," the *Times* said, "average incomes and hourly wages, adjusted for inflation, were lower in 1998 than a decade ago." "And the poverty rate and the share of the workforce employed at poverty-level wages are higher," the report said.

More work, less pay. That phrase sums up what has been happening to most of the U.S. working class under capitalism and gives the lie to all the praises of politicians and pundits for their wonderful capitalist system and its "unprecedented" "record expansion." Taken together, these figures corroborate what Socialists have long contended about the tendency of capitalism to make the lives of more and more workers increasingly miserable the longer it is in existence.

As Karl Marx wrote of the capitalist system in his basic work, *Value, Price and Profit*: "The very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favor of the capitalist against the working man, and...consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the *value of labor* [power] more or less to its *minimum limit*."

On the other side of that minimum limit are homelessness and starvation. And the pushing of workers up against the economic walls of capitalism has only been accomplished despite a host of labor laws ostensibly intended to protect their interests.

The foregoing facts illustrate an important lesson for U.S. workers who do not wish to continue being pushed in that direction. Reversing the trend requires the building of a revolutionary labor movement that would not look to the tool of the capitalist class, political government, for redress of this grievance and others against capitalism.

Such a movement would win and enforce any gains it made through its own organized strength on the economic field. At the same time, it would be organizing toward the higher goal of abolishing the rapacious capitalist system and establishing a socialist system. For only under such a system would no one be denied the opportunity to work. Everyone could enjoy the abundance and greater leisure time that modern methods of production make possible, but which capitalism now prevents.

—K.B.

A De Leon Editorial

A 'Socialist' Who Betrayed Socialism



"Social Democracy" falsifies socialism and betrays the working class. The SLP has combated its demoralizing influence for 100 years.

Millerandism— 'The Gospel of Love'

(*Daily People*, Oct. 22, 1900)

In a recent tour through several cities of northern France, Millerand,¹ 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 regeneration of the working class," he declared, "is a work which the government [the existing capitalist government] neglects no effort to bring about"; the class struggle theory he pronounced inhuman; "love 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 false in theory and immoral in practice? And who is there that has not heard, in line therewith, the claim advanced that the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by the good will of the capitalist class, and that "love" must be the means used to secure this end?

Millerand's song has a well-known ring in it, but rarely does it happen that the song brings its own refutation so completely as it does in the instance of this Cabinet minister.

Since this very Millerand accepted office in the French Cabinet, the Cabinet has either ordered or authorized the cold-blooded shooting of the workmen on strike on two different occasions. On both occasions the troops were asked for by employers, and were, contrary to law, quartered in the employers' quarters; and not the least pretense has been made that the workers were using violence. The military force was applied for to intimidate, and did intimidate at the cost of human life—workmen's lives.

The theory of "Cabinet government" is that the collective act of the Cabinet is the individual act of all its members, and that the individual act of any one member is the act of all. The Cabinet minister who refuses to shoulder responsibility for any act of his colleagues resigns; if he does not resign, he approves.

Thus the capitalist theory of the "gospel of love" turns out in practice to be the gospel of bullets; thus the aid the working class can expect from the capitalist class is ascertained to be brute force to subjugate labor. It is so everywhere.

The capitalist theory against the class struggle that socialism preaches, together with the capitalist claim that it is willing and alone able to accomplish the regeneration of the working class, is among the most difficult and insidious arguments that the cause of labor's emancipation has to beat against. They are difficult to overcome because of their plausibility. They are insidious for the double reason that they afford added opportunities to the cruel pangs of capitalism by veiling it in velvet, and that they furnish a pretext to the weak among the working class to unbuckle their armor, relax their vigilance, [and] transfer their trust from their own to the shoulders of their born, hereditary foe. Whatever progress the cause of labor's emancipation has made was made in the teeth of the above false charge and claim, sedulously advanced by the spokesman of capitalism, and as firmly resisted and demolished by bona fide or revolutionary socialism.

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 how firmly the socialist movement must cling to the principle of the class struggle—all this acquires added significance.

(Continued on page 7)

what is socialism?

Socialism is the collective ownership by all the people of the factories, 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 direct 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, integrally united in Socialist 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 all plans necessary for efficient operations.

Besides electing all necessary shop officers, the workers will also elect representatives to a local and national council of their industry or service—and to a central congress 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 level, will be directly accountable to the rank and file. They will be subject to removal at any time that a majority of those who elected them decide it is necessary.

Such a system would make possible the fullest 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 or state ownership. It does not mean a state bureaucracy as 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 democratic rights. It does not mean "nationalization," or "labor-management boards," or 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 organizational and educational work. It requires building a political party of socialism to contest the power of the capitalist class on the political field and to educate the majority of workers about the need for socialism. It requires building Socialist Industrial Union organizations to unite all workers in a classconscious 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 join us to help make the promise of socialism a reality.

... Struggle Against Kautskyism

(Continued from page 8)

to "judge the movement according to the economic development of the country." He was proud of the Socialist Labor Party delegation of "six of those 'narrow,' 'intolerant,' 'abusive,' etc., members of the, in my mind, most advanced and best disciplined organization of the world; in the midst of whom Sanial appeared like a father with his sons."

Vindication at Amsterdam

The second and final *official* chapter was written to the *affaire Millerand* and the Kautsky Resolution in 1904 at Amsterdam. As its delegate to that Congress the party sent its most distinguished member, the foremost American Marxist, Daniel De Leon.² De Leon was a member of the Congress Committee on International Political Policy, or, as he aptly designated it, "the committee to rectify the blunder of the last International Congress." By this time the evils of Millerandism had become so conspicuous that many of those who supported the Kautsky Resolution at Paris were compelled, reluctantly, to admit their error. Whereas only four votes were cast for the Guesde resolution, or against the Kautsky Resolution, in the committee at Paris, and 24 for the Kautsky Resolution, fully three-fourths of the Committee on International Political Policy at Amsterdam wanted somehow to repeal it. "Of these," wrote De Leon in his preliminary report, "I held the extreme position—extreme in the sense that I moved plump and plain its repeal. I did not typify this element; the bulk of it, either out of consideration for Kautsky, or out of consideration for the German Social Democracy, or out of some other reasons, 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 De Leon wrote for the *Daily People*...as "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress." But "Flashlights" is more than a report. It is a masterful, analytic critique of the European socialist movement, indispensable not only to an understanding of the causal factors of the ignominious rout of Social Democracy, but to an understanding of contemporary European history as well. The rise of totalitarianism on the Continent was due, not to the strength of Nazi-fascist hoodlums and their industrialist sponsors, but to the weakness of the working class—a weakness whose cause may be traced back to the infections spread by Social Democracy, back to the compromises made for the sake of "unity" and "bigness" by the German Social Democracy at Gotha in 1875. "Flashlights" limns both the past and the future, foretelling in unequivocal language of logic and vigor the consequences of compromise with the foe and of what Marx so aptly designated "parliamentary idiocy." "Flashlights" also gives the lie to those who attacked De Leon and the SLP as "doctrinaire," and who pleaded "tolerance" as a shield for their own treachery. It is a veritable monument to Marxian science, and affords its greatest American exponent the opportunity to discuss the movement in other

countries in relation to the material and political conditions prevailing in them. It is as useful today as when it was first written.

De Leon Nails Kautsky

In his "preliminary report" ...De Leon reproduced the substance of his address before the committee. Guesde had spoken; Jaures followed with a rebuttal and Kautsky answered him; De Leon replied to Kautsky saying:

"Both Kautsky and Jaures have agreed that an International Congress can do no more than establish cardinal general principles; and they both agree that concrete measures of policy must be left to the requirements of individual countries. So do I hold. Kautsky scored the point against Jaures that the latter is estopped from objecting to decrees by the congress on concrete matters of policy, because Jaures voted in Paris for the Kautsky Resolution. That argument also is correct, and being correct it scores a point against Kautsky himself at the same time. His argument is an admission that his resolution goes beyond the theoretical sphere which, according to himself, it is the province of an International Congress to legislate upon. It must be admitted that the countries of the sisterhood of nations are not all at the same grade of social development. We know that the bulk of them still are hampered by feudal conditions. The concrete tactics, applicable and permissible in them, are inapplicable and unpermissible in a republic like 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 case of a Socialist sitting in a Cabinet alongside of a Galliffet. He says so. We must believe him. But while he was contemplating the distant, the imaginary possibility of a war that was not in sight, everybody else at the Paris Congress had in mind a thing that *was* in sight; a thing that was palpitating and throbbing with a feverish pulse; aye, a spectacle under which the very opening of the Paris 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 cheek by jowl, not merely with *a*, but with *the* Galliffet. Whatever Kautsky may have been thinking of when he presented his resolution and voted for it, we have his



Lucien Sanial.

own, officially recorded, words that go to show that he knew what the minds of all others were filled with at the time. 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: 'We, in Germany, have not yet a Millerand; we are not yet so far; but I hope we may soon be so far'—that is what was in the minds of all—Millerand, the associate of Galliffet.

"It is obvious that a resolution adopted under such conditions—its own framer keeping his eyes on an emergency that was not above the horizon, while all others kept their eyes upon the malodorous enormity that was bumping against their noses and shocking the socialist 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

The Infamous Kautsky Resolution

The following is the text of the infamous Kautsky Resolution adopted at the Congress of the Second International held at Paris, France, in 1900. The resolution was adopted over the strenuous objections of the Socialist Labor Party of America and a handful of European parties represented at the Congress.

In a modern democratic state the conquest of the public power by the proletariat cannot be the result of a *coup de main*; it must be the result of a long and painful work of proletarian organization on the economic and political fields, of the physical and moral regeneracy of the laboring class and of the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies.

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

The accession of an isolated Socialist to a capitalist government cannot be considered as the normal beginning of the conquest of political power, but only as an expedient, imposed, transitory and exceptional.

Whether, in a particular case, the politi-

cal situation necessitates this dangerous experiment, is a question of tactics and not of principle; the International Congress has not to declare itself upon this point, but in any case the participation of a Socialist in a capitalist government does not hold out the hope of good results for the militant proletariat, unless a great majority of the Socialist party approves of such an act and the Socialist minister remains the agent of his party. In the contrary case of this minister becoming independent of his party, or representing only a fraction of it, his intervention in capitalist government threatens the militant proletariat with disorganization and confusion, with a weakening instead of a fortifying of it; it threatens to hamper the proletarian conquest of the public powers instead of promoting it.

At any rate, the congress is of opinion that, even in such extreme cases, a Socialist must leave the ministry when the organized party recognizes that the government gives evidences of partiality in the struggle between capital and labor. (Emphasis added.)

saying that such a resolution would be interpreted in conflicting senses, and that has happened to such an extent that the Kautsky Resolution has come to be known as the 'Kaoutchouc resolution.' [Uproarious laughter.]

"In view of this fact the first thing to do is to clear the road of such an encumbrance. For that reason I move 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;

"Whereas, The existing 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 generally known as the Kautsky Resolution was adopted, the closing clauses of which contemplate the emergency of the working class accepting office at the hand of such capitalist governments, and also and especially *presuppose the possibility of impartiality on the part of the ruling-class governments in the conflicts between the working class and the capitalist class*; and

"Whereas, The said clauses—applicable, perhaps, in countries not yet wholly freed from feudal institutions—were adopted under conditions both in France and in the Paris Congress itself, that justify erroneous conclusions on the nature of the class struggle, the character of capitalist governments, and the tactics that are imperative upon the proletariat in the pursuit of its campaign to overthrow the capitalist system in countries, which, like the United States of America, have wholly wiped out feudal institutions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, First, That the said Kautsky Resolution be and the same is hereby repealed as a principle of general socialist tactics;

"Second, That, in fully developed capi-

(Continued on page 6)

*While substantially correct, this statement might be faulted on technical grounds.

Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger formed the Social Democratic Party in 1897. Before 1900, however, the SLP was the only American party recognized by the International Socialist Bureau. In 1899, the group known in SLP history as the "kangaroos" split away from the party and briefly claimed the SLP's name for itself. The "kangaroos" began calling themselves the "Social Democratic Party" after dragging the SLP through the capitalist courts in an unsuccessful effort to steal the party's name and its newspaper, *The People*.

The name change was a transparent attempt to flatter the Debs-Berger group into accepting a merger. The Debs-Berger group, but particularly its Berger wing, resisted these overtures for nearly two years. Apparently, however, Berger's resistance did not prevent this uneasy courtship from sending a joint delegation to Paris. Hence the reference to "delegates of the Debs-Kangaroo Social Democracy (Socialist Party)."

Job Harriman, a former SLP member, led the joint SDP-"kangaroo" delegation at the Paris Congress. The congress seated the Harriman-led delegation over the strenuous objections of the SLP and allotted one vote to each. It was the SDP-"kangaroo" delegation that cast its vote for the Kautsky Resolution.

When the SDP and "kangaroos" finally consummated their merger in 1901, they took the name Socialist Party. When the SLP led the fight to have the Kautsky Resolution repealed at the Amsterdam Congress in 1904, as shown later in this article, at least one SP delegate, Morris Hillquit, said he had no fault to find with that infamous document.

At Amsterdam, the SP cosponsored another infamous resolution. That resolution called upon the congress to oppose immigration by what the SP referred to as "workingmen of backward races (Chinese, Negroes, etc.)." That resolution, at least, was defeated. Today's SP-USA claims direct descent from the Debs-Berger-Harriman-Hillquit SP that supported the Kautsky and "backward races" resolutions at the Socialist International Congresses.—Editor.

²De Leon also had credentials from the Socialist Labor parties of Canada and Australia. Because of the disorder prevailing in the Congress' administration, however, these parties are not recorded as having been officially represented. In the documents De Leon submitted he attached their names with his signature but they are not recorded as having voted.

... Marxian Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. *And Marx was right.*"

How do the three groups flying the banner of socialism today measure up to these tasks? Do they strengthen the social knowledge and political resolve of the working class? Do they teach workers self-reliance? Or do they seduce the workers with promises of relief and offer them flimsy and untrustworthy reeds to lean upon? This is the touchstone by which their socialism may be tested.

The messianic feature of Leninism today is all too apparent to require elaboration here. It is Leninism's dominating and inherent principle. It may be summed up in this: Trust in the party and its leader must be complete and absolute; the working class must follow wherever they lead. Under the totalitarian "Communist" Party rule of Mao, Stalin and their imitators, this principle extended beyond obedience to the party and its leader; their wishes also had to be anticipated. The consequences of this evil principle proved to be the corruption of those ensnared by it, the debasement of Marxism, and the concentration of power in bureaucracy. What this power did to the bureaucrats themselves is described by the aphorism credited to Lord Acton: "All power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Social Democracy, or Kautskyism, by presupposing neutrality on the part of the capitalist state in disputes between capital and labor, by "rationalizing" the acceptance by "Socialists" of appointments to positions in bourgeois governments, by "revising" Marxism into a mere caricature under meager reform measures and state ownership, is hailed as "socialistic"—that is, by encouraging the workers to depend upon bourgeois or Social Democratic politicians to improve conditions and free them without their own direct participation—"behind the back of society," so to speak—the Kautskyists have surrendered every vestige of right to the name socialist. Today they are found *in toto* in the camp of the ruling-class enemy of the working class, running their governments (as in Germany) or suggesting "reforms" to improve capitalism (as with the Democratic Socialists of America or the Socialist Party USA).

Wherever Leninists and Social Democrats have enticed the support of great numbers of workers (except in Russia) they palsied them with the hope of making life tolerable within capitalism; robbed them of their self-reliance, and led them into social revolutionary crises unprepared to seize or recognize their opportunity. And in Russia, the self-reliance that manifested itself in the "10 days that shook the world" was quickly stamped out by a ruthless oligarchy and never again allowed to emerge.

De Leonism alone can lay legitimate claim to the honored names of socialism and Marxism. From its inception, the Socialist Labor Party, the incarnation of Marxism-De Leonism, has devoted itself to the task of

educating the working class to its historic mission, of inspiring it with a sense of its enormous potential power and of warning it against anything that would beguile and weaken it. "The proletarian army of emancipation cannot consist of a dumb-driven herd," De Leon insisted. And he untiringly exposed the reformers, revisionists and anti-Marxists who would make it one.

To the anti-Marxists masquerading as Socialists the De Leonists are "impossibilist" and the SLP is a "sect." Their motto is the bourgeois creed, "Nothing succeeds like success," and they conveniently forget the tragic consequences their mass-unnerving policies have visited upon the international working class, remembering only their "big parties" boasting millions of followers in Germany, Austria, France and other nations.

During the 20th century, Social Democrats and Leninists have misled working-class unrest and dissatisfaction with capitalism into fascism and Stalinism. But to those for whom the cause of working-class emancipation from class rule and exploitation is everything, who agree with Marx that the working class must emancipate itself through its own class-conscious efforts, who are convinced that methods must square with the goal of socialism, De Leonism is the solitary hope of the workers of the world.

As its intellectual author, Daniel De Leon devoted himself wholly and selflessly to the cause of proletarian emancipation, so De Leonism seeks no power for itself. It seeks power for the working class and the triumph of the principles of Marxian socialism.

...Struggle Against Kautsky

(Continued from page 5)

talist countries, like America, the working class cannot, without 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 of the United States of America, with credentials from the Socialist Labor Party of Australia 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] *Evening Post* quoted it as an illustration of the 'sanity' of the European Socialists as against us 'insane' Socialists of America. From the way you have received my proposition to repeal the mistake, I judge my proposition will not be accepted. So much the worse for you. But whether accepted or not, I shall be able to return to America—as our Socialist Labor Party delegation did from Paris four years ago—with my hands and the skirts of the party clear from all blame, 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 evils the Kautsky Resolution approved without directly repudiating the Kautsky Resolution. The Dresden resolution carried in the committee by a vote of 27 to 3. De Leon cast his vote in favor. "My own motion having been defeated," he explained, "...there was nothing for me to do but to vote for the Dresden resolution as the best thing that could be obtained under 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 be a roundabout way of doing the same thing. In voting as I did, I explained my position as wishing to give the greatest emphasis that the circumstances allowed me to the condemnation of the Jaures policy, and the Kautsky Resolution; and I stated that I would explain my position in the Congress when I would there present my own resolution again."

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

stentions. Both American votes (SLP and SP) were cast with the majority, although Morris Hillquit, Socialist Party delegate, had told the committee that the Kautsky Resolution "was accurate and suited him. He denied," said De Leon, "that it had shocked the class-conscious workers of America."

Thus the infamous Kautsky Resolution was, in effect, rescinded, but the evils which it was meant to justify were, alas, far from being laid by the heels.

A Socialist In Congress:

His Conduct & Responsibilities

By Daniel De Leon

108 pages — \$1.50 postpaid

An insightful series of editorials on Victor L. Berger's performance as "the first Socialist in Congress." This pamphlet answers the question: How should a Socialist act if he or she were elected to Congress or to other high office?

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activities

Activities notices must be received by the Monday preceding the third Wednesday of the month.

CALIFORNIA

San Jose

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

OHIO

North Royalton—Section Cleveland will hold a social on Sunday, Dec. 17, at the Burns' residence, 9626 York Rd., North Royalton. Begins at 1 p.m. Refreshments will be served. For more information call 440-237-7933.

OREGON

Portland

Discussion Meetings—Section

Portland holds discussion meetings 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.mindspring.com>. The general public is invited.

TEXAS

Houston

Discussion Meetings—The SLP group in Houston holds discussion meetings the last Saturday of the month at the Houston Public Library, Franklin Branch, 6440 W. Bellfort, southwest Houston. The time of the meetings varies. Those interested please call 713-721-9296, e-mail reds1964@netzero.net or visit the group's Web site at <http://home.beseen.com/politics/houston.slp>.

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...De Leon Editorial

(Continued from page 4)

cance from the circumstance that this identical Millerand poses as a Socialist, and that his corrupt practices are endorsed by certain elements in Europe that, once revolutionary, have since grown tired of the fray, and by certain other elements here in America, the armory building or kangaroo Social Democracy,² that never was anything but an organized treason to the workers of America.

¹In 1899, Alexandre Millerand, a member of the French Socialist Party, accepted appointment as minister of commerce in the cabinet of Prime Minister René Waldeck-Rousseau. Millerand's betrayal split the socialist movement in France and led directly

to the infamous Kautsky Resolution approved by the International Socialist Congress in Paris in September 1900. (See "De Leon's Struggle Against Kautskyism" in this issue.)

²In 1897, James Carey, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, was elected to the city council of Haverhill, Mass. When local capitalists demanded a local armory from which state militia could be used to break strikes, Carey voted in favor of a motion to build the armory with city funds. Section Haverhill, SLP, promptly demanded Carey's resignation from office. Carey refused and was expelled from the SLP. He hooked up with the "kangaroo" element that split the SLP in 1899. That element merged with the Debs "Social Democracy" to form the Socialist Party in 1901.

directory

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letters to the People

Wants SLP Candidates

I believe the SLP should run a candidate for president of the United States, no matter what the sacrifice. How else will workers know you exist? Also, it would give sympathizers and members hope, and something to work for and support. There is *nothing* to lose.

I also enclose \$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 H and A bombs have not gone away. Some of these problems did not exist 100 years ago. Also, low wages are still here. The list of social problems is too long to recite. For whom is this the best of all possible systems?

Milton A. Poulos
McCleary, Wash.

Crime and CRIME!

Although in the past I've been more worried about street crime as a threat to me personally, the more I think about it the more I see your oft-repeated point that capitalism kills more people, and is more of a threat (through industrial accidents, defective products, pollution, etc.) than street crime.

William R. Tews
Milwaukee, Wis.

Cause and Effect

Rodolf Velicky, Diane Parenti and all others who think of abortion as the cause of other social ills need to familiarize themselves with the generative theory of causality. Simply put, that theory holds that effects have causes, and a cause and its effect are connected by a causal link. That link is related both to the cause and to the effect. Cause, causal link, effect.

If you apply the theory to social problems in an effort to discover cause, the social problems would be the effect. If abortion is the cause, what is the causal link? What is there in society that connects abortion to, say, illegal drugs? Nothing. Gambling? Nothing. Alcoholism? Nothing. Gun violence, poverty, road and air rage, divorce, pornography, trash television, vulgar music videos, gangs, poor parenting, child abuse, etc.? Nothing is the answer to all. There is no connecting link, no causal relationship, between abortion and other ills of society.

There is, however, a system in our society that is connected to all our social problems by the causal link that is *alienation*. It is our social-economic system. Its name is capitalism. Capitalism is the cause. Alienation is the causal link. Abortion and the other ills of society are the effects.

Barry Johnson
Dalton, Pa.

Counted Out

A political pollster called recently. She talked so fast I did not understand which polling firm she was with. She requested I answer a few questions about the coming election and I consented. The first was, "When you vote in November, are you more likely to vote for the Republican or the Democratic Party?" When I replied, "Neither," she thanked me and hung up. Her "few" questions became one question. I could not help but wonder if she put me down as undecided because I have decided for whom I will vote. Did she simply take me out of the polling population all together? If she did, then her data were skewed to reflect there is very little interest in third parties. That, also, would be inaccurate. I also wonder how much of this is going on and if the polls we are reading in the newspapers and seeing on TV are a true reflection of what's happening in this country.

G. Browning Bordages
Galveston Island, Tex.

Letters meant for publication should be brief and on subjects likely to be of interest to our readers. Anonymous letters are not printed, but names are withheld upon request.

...Election Irregularities

(Continued from page 1)

come of the November election in doubt may, quite likely did, stem from human and mechanical errors. Regardless of where the balance lies, the fact remains that the electoral process was shown to be fragile and extremely vulnerable to manipulation. Therein lay a warning that workers ought not to ignore.

Nothing momentous was at stake in the presidential election. But if there are cracks in the electoral system, there certainly are cracks in the prosperity at the foundation of our supposed contentment. It is, after all, a "prosperity" in which the gap between rich and poor is wider than ever; in which the purchasing power of wages is only marginally higher than it was 20 or 25 years ago; in which millions are still unemployed or "underemployed"; in which millions more are compelled to seek out two jobs or to accept forced overtime; in which the physical and mental health of the American working class is being undermined by unhealthy foods and stressful working and living conditions.

These and many more social problems are simply manifestations of deep-seated flaws and contradictions embedded in the capitalist system—contradictions that must ultimately come to a head and lead to a crisis in which the working class will be called upon to take matters into its own hands.

While the politicians and the ruling class for which they speak may feel reassured about the viability of the electoral process, workers should not allow themselves to be disarmed. Fact is that the "will of the people" is not guaranteed by the electoral system. The only guaran-

tee that the people's wishes will be carried out is their capacity to enforce their will.

As long as the electoral process is controlled by the political parties that reflect the interests of a ruling class empowered by its ownership and control of the economy, the working class will exercise no genuine power over that process. ("As long as I can count the votes, what are you going to do about it?")

Eventually American workers must come to grips with capitalism. Sooner or later they will be compelled to organize their latent power to enforce their political will to abolish capitalism and to establish socialism. When they do, a flawed and vulnerable electoral system obviously will not be enough to guarantee that the "will of the people" will be carried out. The center of power and, therefore, the ability of social classes to enforce their will, is not the ballot box. The presidential election proved that beyond a doubt. The center of power and the ability of the working class to enforce its will lies elsewhere—in the industries and the

services that workers operate today in the interests of the capitalist class.

The Socialist Industrial Union program advocated by the Socialist Labor Party holds out the only possibility for the working class to organize its power and enforce its will. Until the workers of the country come to that realization, and act on it, their decision-making power will remain an illusion subject to manipulation and misrepresentation by the "powers that be."

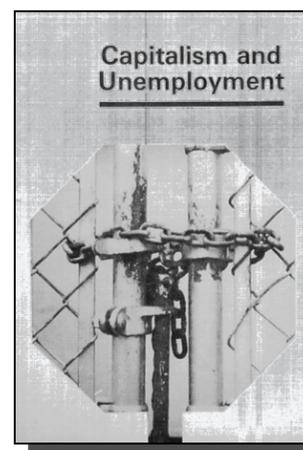
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De Leon's Struggle Against Kautskyism

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the infamous Kautsky Resolution adopted by the International Socialist Congress at Paris in September 1900.

Karl Kautsky, a German Social Democrat, was considered the leading Socialist intellect of the era. His resolution was overwhelmingly adopted by the Paris Congress despite the strenuous objections of the Socialist Labor Party of America and a handful of other socialist parties. The purpose of the resolution was to rationalize the actions of "Socialists" who accepted political appointments by capitalist governments. The specific incident that led Kautsky to introduce his resolution at the Paris Congress was the appointment of a "Socialist," Alexandre Millerand, as minister of commerce in the French government.

The following chapter from the pamphlet, *The SLP and the Internationals*, explains the significance of the Kautsky Resolution in more detail and the role of the SLP and Daniel De Leon in opposing it at Paris, at the Amsterdam Congress of 1904, and the corrupt "principle" involved to this day.

—Editor

Looking backward, the Socialist Labor Party may feel a justifiable pride in its conduct as an affiliate of the Second International. The most searching examination of the record fails to reveal a single instance in which it retreated from the line of the class struggle, or when it lowered its colors or compromised with the philistine elements within the International.

Nor were SLP delegations at the International Congresses mugwumps who, for reasons of policy or indecision, refrained from taking definite positions on fundamental issues. There was an aggressive assurance about their conduct, which more than once brought credit to the party, and recognition from uncompromising European Marxists who fought opportunism in their parties. And never was this demonstrated more dramatically than at the Paris and Amsterdam Congresses in 1900 and 1904, where the infamous Kautsky Resolution, presupposing "the possibility of impartiality on the part of ruling-class governments in the conflicts between the working class and the capitalist class," was adopted and, in effect, rescinded.

The Battle Against Millerandism

The Kautsky Resolution was the climax of a *cause celebre* that had wracked and split the French socialist movement, the acceptance by the "socialist" Millerand of a portfolio in the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry where he sat cheek by jowl with Galliffet, the butcher of the Paris Commune.¹ Not only had Millerand violated the fundamental principle without which

¹The portfolio Millerand was given by the cagey French bourgeois was that of minister of commerce, which had more patronage to give away than any of the others. The corrupting influences of such a post are implicit in the fact that the Ministry of Commerce controlled the post office, for instance, with its 100,000 places, and the "bureau de Tabac" with its 200,000. When Millerand died in April 1943, he was described by *The New York Times* as "the hope and champion of the bourgeoisie." In 1910, as minister of public works, posts and telegraphs in the Briand Ministry, he played a leading part in putting down the railroad strike by calling the strikers to service "under the colors."

socialism becomes a cruel hoax on the workers, to wit, the principle that the "working class must achieve emancipation through its own classconscious efforts," but he had, by remaining in the Cabinet, accepted responsibility for the cold-blooded slaughter of striking workers at Martinique and Chalon. These murderous attacks by French troops had been either authorized or ordered by the Cabinet, and, although Millerand may not have directly participated, his culpability was beyond question. As Daniel De Leon pointed out in a *Daily People* editorial on Millerandism (Oct. 22, 1900): "The theory of 'Cabinet government' is that the collective act of the Cabinet is the individual act of all its members, and that the individual act of any one member is the act of all. The Cabinet minister who refuses to shoulder responsibility for any act of his colleagues resigns; if he does not resign, he approves."

Millerand did not resign. Instead, he went around the country denouncing the class struggle as inhuman and falsely imputing to it the fatuous doctrine of "class hatred." "Love, not hatred," he said, "will



Karl Kautsky.

emancipate the working class." Naturally, the capitalists were delighted with this breaking off of the point of the class struggle and thought they had at last discovered an effective strategy to defeat socialism. Marcel Miéville, described as a "cool-headed bourgeois," put it in these words:

"A Socialist who consents to administer the fortunes of a bourgeois state is no longer a danger to such a state. He may force it to consent to some reforms, the most indispensable and pressing. He thereby pacifies the opinion that elected him; weakens the anger and force of the demands of the masses. Accordingly, it is profitable to confiscate for the benefit of [bourgeois] society the most intelligent and ardent leaders of the opposition. To call them to power is a sort of honorable way of placating them."

The Millerand affair raised the question of socialist participation in bourgeois governments before the Paris Congress of the International. Two resolutions were introduced, one by Guesde of the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste (Socialist Labor Party), and one by Karl Kautsky of the German Social Democratic Party. The Guesde resolution demanded that, "Under a capitalist regime...Socialists should occupy those positions only which are elective, that is, those positions only which their party can conquer with its own forces by the action of the workers organized into a class party; and this necessarily forbids all socialist participation in capitalist government against which Socialists must preserve an



Jean Jaures.

attitude of uncompromising opposition."

The Kautsky Resolution, which later was referred to wittily as the "Kaoutchouc [India rubber] resolution," because of the conflicting constructions put upon it, was artfully evasive, but implicitly presupposed impartiality on the part of capitalist governments "in the struggle between capital and labor."

SLP Takes Its Stand On the Class Struggle

The Socialist Labor Party delegation of six, which was headed by Lucien Sanial, included E. Arnaelsteen. Arnaelsteen it was who first opposed the Kautsky Resolution and spoke for the Guesde resolution in "concise and unmistakable language." It was before the Ninth Commission, the committee to which both resolutions were referred. On the commission sat most of the celebrated figures of the international socialist movement. P. Kretlow, an SLP delegate who substituted for Sanial on the Ninth Commission while Sanial was occupied on the commission of trusts, reported in detail on the reception accorded Arnaelsteen's reasoned address. "...Those 'great, wise men' of the international movement did not think it worth their while to listen to our comrade who was not yet a leading light, and Jaures, Auer and Adler began to entertain each other so audibly that Arnaelsteen stopped speaking, saying to the chairman that he would wait till these gentlemen got through. Jaures tried to excuse



Viktor Adler.

himself by saying he was translating Arnaelsteen's speech to Auer, which was false." The rebuke had its effect and Arnaelsteen thereupon concluded his remarks.

At this moment, Kretlow reports, Sanial arrived and registered to speak. Discussing the incident in an address delivered in Arlington Hall, New York, shortly after returning from Paris, Sanial said:

"In the Ninth Commission, when this resolution [the Kautsky Resolution] was read, I looked as if I wondered whether I stood on my head and saw all things inverted. The silence was deep while I said: 'Comrades, I never expected such a production from one supposed to be a veteran exponent of scientific socialism. It was with profound sorrow that we in America heard of the acceptance of a portfolio by Millerand, but it would have been with a sorrow far deeper still that we would have heard of his acceptance with the sanction of the Socialist Party of France. If this resolution is adopted, a cry of indignation will rise from the Atlantic to the Pacific among our militants, and a corresponding cry of derision will rise from our capitalist parties. If it is permissible for a prominent member of a socialist party to accept a high position in a capitalist government, why should it not be permissible for the humbler ones to accept lower offices under the same circumstances? You open the door to bribery and corruption from top to bottom. You establish in the party the very condition of affairs which we denounce so bitterly in the American labor movement. This resolution repudiates the past, and is a stain on the historic records of socialism.'"

While Sanial thus "expressed his astonishment at the attitude of the revolutionary Kautsky," Kretlow wrote, "Adler...called mockingly across the table to Kautsky: 'Karl, Du bist ein schlechtes Luder!' (You are a bad egg!)" "Then," Kretlow continued, "I asked these two wise men, Auer and Adler, being quite close to me, and who were now discussing the 'impartiality,' whether they could name me *one* ministry that was impartial, but unfortunately I am no leading light either, and only Adler condescended to reply with a shrugging of the shoulders."

When the vote was taken in the Ninth Commission on the Guesde and Kautsky Resolutions, it stood 4 to 24. Let it be said to the undying credit of the SLP that in the face of opposition little short of hostility, its vote was cast with the minority for the Guesde resolution. The other three votes were cast by Guesde, Enrico Ferri (who declared that he did so in duty to his conscience, but wasn't sure he represented majority Italian sentiment), and the delegate from Bulgaria.

The matter then went before the Congress where, after a lively debate in which Sanial did not take part (debate was suddenly shut off at the very moment when his turn to speak came!), the Kautsky Resolution carried 29 to 9. Each nationality cast two votes. Of the American votes the SLP delegation controlled but one. The other was cast by the delegates of the Debs-Kangaroo Social Democracy (Socialist Party) for the Kautsky Resolution.* And no doubt, with it went the prayer that they, too, might one day have a Millerand!

In his Arlington Hall address Sanial said of the Congress:

"It was evident all through the Congress that bourgeois thought dominated its action. German small traders, Belgian cooperative society clerks, who through their stores form an immense bureaucracy. Ambitious men who desire portfolios, the Cabinet Socialists, and the English muddleheads were all in control. Against this mass of reaction the American delegation [SLP], the Parti Ouvrier [Socialiste], Ferri of Italy with the Bulgarian and Irish delegations stood like a stone wall."

Kretlow's irreverence for the supposed puissance of the "great, wise men" bordered on the puckish. "For myself," he wrote, "I will say that I have met men here who are considered Socialists and were delegates that we in the States would take by the slack of the pants and kick through the door." He valued the opportunity, however,

(Continued on page 5)