

International Socialist Congress

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Eight hundred and eighty-seven delegates met in the eighth International Socialist Congress, held at the Concert Palace, Copenhagen, Denmark, from August 28 to September 4, 1910. Of these Germany sent 189 delegates, France 78, Austria 72, Bohemia 36, Great Britain 84, Russia 38, Italy 9, United States 24, Belgium 26, Sweden 13, Denmark 146, Poland 17, Switzerland 13, Hungary 14, Finland 19, Holland 14, Norway 31, Spain 3, Armenia 4, Servia 3, Argentina 1, Bulgaria 7, Roumania 2.

The Congress opened with a cantata composed by the Danish Socialist composer and poet, A. P. Meyer. The first half of the cantata closed with the Marseillaise, and before the beginning of the second half Dr. Gustav Bang said on behalf of the Social Democrats of Denmark: "We have tried in this cantata to express the sentiment that lies at the foundation of this meeting, that of the international solidarity of the struggling proletariat of all lands. From the first Denmark has been a member of the international Socialist movement, and we have taken great care to preserve our relations with the Socialists of other countries. We have always made the greatest effort to do our part whenever struggles have arisen between capital and labor in other countries. In fact, the call 'Workers of the World, Unite,' has become for the Danes more than mere words; it has entered into their blood."

With the close of the second part of the cantata the members of the International Socialist Bureau took their places and Emile Vandervelde of Belgium declared the Congress officially open.

Secretary Stauning of the Social Democratic Party of Copenhagen, received the Congress in the name of the Danish Socialists. In part, he said: "For forty years the Danes have based their organization and their press on the principles of international Socialism. Denmark is a little country. We have nothing of great size to show to our visiting comrades, but we can point to our 100,000 Socialist votes, to the 28 Socialist deputies, to the fact that we hold one-half the seats in the City Council of Copenhagen, that we have 33 Socialist papers and over 120,000 subscribers, that our economic organizations number 120,000 members, and that we have succeeded in raising both the economic and intellectual standard of the workers of Denmark."

The preliminary work of an International Socialist Congress is done in the committees made up of members from each country, who prepare resolutions to present to the Congress on the various subjects that make up the agenda.

International Secretary Huysmans of Belgium laid before the Congress the list of subjects that would be handled by five commit-

tees. The subjects thus presented to the eighth International Congress for consideration were: 1. Relations Between Co-Operative Organizations and Political Parties. 2. The Trade Union Question and International Solidarity. 3. Arbitration and Disarmament and the Speedy Execution of Resolutions Passed at the International Congress. 4. International Results of Labor Legislation and the Question of Unemployment. 5. Resolutions.

The following three days were occupied with the meetings of the various committees. It is impossible to give even a brief report of the meetings of the committees, as each committee held several long sessions. The most difficult and probably the most valuable work of the Congress is, however, done in these committees.

The first general session of the Congress, held on September 1, was presided over by Branting of Sweden. In a brief address he said that, since the Stuttgart Congress, Sweden had been able to double the number of its Socialist representatives in the second house, and that there are now 35 Socialist deputies in Sweden.

The first resolution brought before the Congress was the one on the question of the unemployed.

Resolution on Question of Unemployed.

The Congress declares that unemployment is inseparable from the capitalist mode of production and will disappear only when capitalism disappears. So long as capitalist production forms the basis of society, palliative measures alone are possible.

This Congress demands the institution by public authorities, under the administration of working class organizations, of general compulsory insurance against unemployment, the expenses of which shall be borne by the owners of the means of production.

The representatives of the workers most urgently demand from the public authorities—

- (1) Exact statistical registration of the unemployed.
- (2) The execution on a sufficient scale of important public works where the unemployed shall be paid the trade union rate of wages.
- (3) In periods of industrial crisis extraordinary subsidies to trade union unemployed funds.
- (4) No payment to an unemployed worker to cause the loss of political rights.
- (5) Establishment of and subsidies to labor exchanges in which all the liberties and interests of the workers are respected by co-operation with trade union employment bureaus.
- (6) Social laws for the regulation and reduction of hours of work.
- (7) Pending the realization by legislation of general and compulsory insurance, the public authorities should encourage unemployment benefit funds of trade unions by financial subsidies, these subsidies leaving complete autonomy to the trade union.

Dr. Adolf Braun of Vienna, reporter for the committee, spoke first on the resolution. In part, he said: "We have all learned how serious a malady out-of-work is in the lives of the laboring class. In the United States, in England, Germany, Austria and Japan we have experienced terrible crises. We must make society answerable for this heavy affliction of the working class. Society itself feels that it is shaken in its very foundations when hundreds of thousands of workers have no bread, when hundreds of thousands of families must go hungry. The standpoint of the Socialists on the unemployed

is perfectly clear. We know that unemployment is inseparably associated with the capitalist system, and that we cannot abolish it as long as the capitalist method of production exists. We also know that while this method of production continues we must do all we can to lessen the misery of the working class. We must seek, as far as possible, to lessen the suffering from unemployment and do this through the pressure we can bring to bear on the ruling class. To-day, as it stands, the working class alone must bear the cost of out-of-work. But the burdens that the trade unions have taken upon themselves are too terribly great. We demand, therefore, public, legal, universal and obligatory support of the unemployed by the state, that shall relieve the unions of all things that do not belong to the work of the unions in the narrowest sense."

J. R. MacDonald of England objected to the resolution, saying that the British section wished that a demand for the right to work at fair wages should be a part of any resolution on the unemployed adopted by the Congress. MacDonald was supported by Quelch. To this Braun replied that, while MacDonald looked upon the placing of the right to work as the foremost article in the resolution as being very radical, the Germans had a different impression of this right. "As is well known, the 'right to work' is already a part of the Prussian constitution. In 1848 it gave rise to the national workshops. Now MacDonald binds the right to work with the idea of fair wages. But a capitalist society cannot fulfill this demand. We must therefore seek to mitigate the effects of unemployment with palliatives. Not by means of the right to work, but by the abolition of capitalism, can unemployment alone be abolished."

When the vote was taken, MacDonald and Quelch announced that the British delegation would refrain from voting. Brouchere of France also announced, after the vote, that a number of the French had refrained from voting. A part of the American delegation voted for and a part against the resolution. The resolution was passed, however, by a large majority.

The following resolution on the unemployed, drawn up by the British delegation, was not presented to the Congress, but was circulated as a Congress document:

British Resolution on Unemployed.

In view of the protest made in the Congress on Thursday by the British and other sections, that the resolution on unemployment was neither satisfactory in its statements of the problem nor in its proposals for action, the undersigned, on behalf of their national sections, submit to the Congress the following memorandum:

- (1) Unemployment is the result of the capitalist organization of society and cannot be dissociated from it.
- (2) While capitalism exists, measures must be adopted, however, to deal with the problem.
- (3) These measures must not merely be palliative, but must contain the germs of the organization of the Socialist Commonwealth, and be the beginning of the permanent organization of the national resources, and of production, industrial and agricultural, on a co-operative basis.
- (4) Relief works, opened only when unemployment is acute and closed when it becomes normal, must be condemned.
- (5) The action of the state in dealing with unemployment should be based

upon a recognition of the right to work or maintenance by the state, on the following lines:

- (a) Official, full and accurate unemployed statistics.
- (b) Arrangement of the work of the state and municipality so as to organize and make steady, as far as possible, the demand for labor.
- (c) Legislation reducing the working hours, making eight hours a day or 48 hours a week the maximum, and eliminating, as far as possible, sweating, child labor and other forms of competition which increase poverty.
- (d) Insurance for which the state shall be responsible.
- (e) A national system of labor exchanges under the control of trade unions.
- (f) The establishment of state departments charged with the development in the interests of the community of all forms of national resources now neglected or inadequately used.
- (g) It must be a condition of any form of assistance granted to the unemployed workers by the state that it does not involve loss of political rights, and that it is available to all sections of the working class and to both sexes.

The Resolutions Committee presented to the Congress resolutions on the death penalty, on unity, on Japan, Turkey, Spain, Persia and Finland.

Resolution on the Death Penalty.

The earliest development of capitalist enlightenment stigmatized the death penalty as a barbarous relic of the dark Middle Ages. To the revolutionary bourgeoisie the ideals of progress and humanity were no empty words, and its best representatives in all countries proclaimed their antagonism to the cold-blooded, judicial, systematic murder of human beings as a disgrace to civilization. The sharper and more violent struggle between the bourgeoisie and the modern proletariat that is coming more and more into prominence in the public life of all nations has led the bourgeoisie to abandon its democratic and liberty-seeking aims and to give up the fight against the death penalty. The ruling classes are themselves employing more and more the disgraceful weapon of the death penalty not only against the decaying products of their own capitalist society, but also as a means of crushing the fighting proletariat. In Germany recently a few degenerates of science and art, shining representatives of capitalist intelligence, declared for the necessity of the death penalty. In the republic of France a proposed law abolishing the death penalty was in recent years defeated. In the United States of North America the death penalty is used as a weapon against the organized struggling proletariat. The incomparable sacrifice of the Chicago judicial murder, made in the battle for the eight-hour day, came near being followed more recently by the sacrifice of the leaders of the miners who were fighting for their existence. In Spain a reactionary administration has utilized judicial murder as a weapon of battle and revenge against the efforts for freedom of the proletariat; in Russia, a country where the death penalty for civil offenses was long ago abolished, the hangman works without ceasing since the great revolutionary uprising of the laborers, and especially since the victory of the counter-revolution. Thousands upon thousands, after the merest parody of a military trial, have been executed. A stream of blood has flowed over the entire Russian empire. All this is taking place before the eyes of the whole civilized world, without the representatives of capitalist intelligence and Western European culture daring to make any strong protest, and, indeed, it has been done with the moral and financial support of the bourgeoisie of Europe. The particular group of capitalist intellectuals that was aroused to the highest degree by the case of the free thinker Ferrer looks quietly upon the wholesale murders by which the corrupt Russian absolutism seeks to choke the revolutionary uprising of the Russian proletariat.

Today, in consequence of these facts, the Socialist proletariat is the strongest and most faithful champion in the battle against the death penalty. Only through the widespread education conducted by the Socialist parties, only through the cultural elevation of the great working masses by means

of political and economic activity, only through the increasing power of the organized proletariat of all countries, can any strong opposition be offered to the death penalty, which is a disgrace to civilization.

The representatives of the politically and economically organized proletariat of all countries, assembled in Copenhagen, hold up for the strongest denunciation the active and passive defenders of bloody judicial murder in all forms.

They demand of the parliamentary representatives of the working class in all countries that they take every opportunity to secure the abolition of the death penalty. These parliamentary efforts, as with all other political measures, should be supported by an active agitation in meetings and in the labor press for the abolition of the death penalty.

Resolution on Unity.

The International Congress calls to mind once more the resolutions of the Amsterdam Congress relating to the unity of the party; and

In consideration that the proletariat is an undivided unity and consequently every section of the International must form a united and solid group and is bound to get rid of their international divisions in the interest of the working class of their own country and the entire world;

In further consideration that the Socialist movement in France is indebted to their unification for an enormous increase of strength and influence;

The Congress demands from all national sections who are still divided to unite as soon as possible, and calls on the Bureau to help in bringing this about.

Resolution on Japan.

The International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen emphatically condemns the measures taken by the Japanese government to oppress the labor Socialist movement in that country--measures which show that the true character of this government is a mixture of arbitrary absolutism and of capitalist brutality, and which have for their aim to make impossible any effort of the Japanese proletariat toward liberty, emancipation and culture, and to bring them down to the level of an impotent and helpless class.

This Congress, recognizing the immense importance of the emancipation of the Japanese proletariat for the liberation of the proletariat of the entire world, is conscious that the development of capitalism now going on in Asia in so rapid a manner prepares the soil for Socialist seed; it assures the young proletariat of Japan, which is awakening and which desires to struggle against its cruel exploiters, of the fullest sympathy of all the Socialist parties.

The Congress is only doing its duty in expressing from its heart its recognition of and admiration for the valiant and intrepid fighters in the advance guard of Socialism in Japan, who alone and under the most difficult conditions lead the battle against the external policy of warlike expansion and the international policy of oppression and who by that drive the cause of the international proletariat in a very real manner.

Resolution on the Situation in Turkey.

In consideration of--

1. The colonial policy practiced by the European capitalist states in regard to Turkey.

2. The proclamation of a constitution which confers on each citizen the rights of man and of citizen.

3. The violation of the rights of union and of strike by the government of Turkey.

4. The disastrous consequences of an autocratic policy in regard to the labor class of Turkey.

The International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen declares:

That this abominable capitalist and colonial policy of the European states can only be effectively combated by thorough democratic and con-

stitutional reforms in the Balkan states and by a pacific understanding among the sovereign peoples of these states, such as today is alone represented by Social Democracy in opposition to the governments of the Balkan as of other European states.

The Congress protests against the reactionary policy of the Young Turkish government, and especially against the laws directed against the trade unions and strikes, and sends its fraternal greetings to the upspringing Socialist movement in Turkey.

Resolution on Spain.

The International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen, in view of the tragic events of which Spain, and in particular Catalonia, has been the theater during the past year, expresses its complete sympathy with the comrades of the Spanish Socialist Party, the militants of Catalonia and all the organized workers of Spain who, in accordance with the decisions of the International, by the collective action of the proletariat, opposed the colonial adventure in Morocco, protests against the barbarous repression of which our comrades of Barcelona and other towns have been the victims and, in particular, against the pseudo-juridical assassination of Ferrer, and welcomes in the election of Comrade Iglesias, the first representative of the working class elected in the capital of the monarchy itself, the decisive sign of the awakening of the class consciousness of the Spanish workers.

Resolution on Persia.

Considering

That, since the commencement of the Persian revolution and just in consequence of the Anglo-Russian agreement, the Czar's government has used every means possible to bring about the failure of the constitutional movement;

That on several occasions they even intervened with an armed force under pretext of maintaining order on their frontiers and protecting the lives of their own subjects in Persia, but in reality of impeding the efforts of the Persian democrats, that these troops and the Russian police in the province of Aderbeidjan (Tebriz) openly dealt rigorously with the insurgents and the leaders belonging to the party "Daschnaktzoutionn";

That the Russian government even yet, through the intermediary of its many secret agents, continues its intrigues and provocations in Persia; that a considerable number of troops still remain on Persian territory, in spite of the reiterated protests of the Medjlis and of the cabinet at Teheran;

That the same Russian government is actively "at work" in Turkey, especially in Armenian Turkey, for the purpose of exciting the feudal Kurds, the most reactionary element of Turkey, against the Armenians, thus fomenting disturbances and provoking a counter-revolution;

That the Russian ambassadors at Constantinople and Techarikoeff and the Russian consul at Erzeroum have had special instructions to this effect;

Considering, in short

That czarism, victorious in its liberticide march in its own territories and profoundly hating the constitutional order established on its two frontiers, is attempting with system and perseverance to restore the regime of absolutism in Persia and Turkey.

In the presence of these two grave facts, which constitute a permanent danger for the two young democracies of the Orient,

The Congress calls upon the Socialist parties of Europe to use all the means in their power to put an end to the reactionary dealing of czarism.

Resolution on Finland.

The International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen strongly condemns the barbarous and dishonest policy of the Russian government and the reactionary representatives of the possessing class in the Duma and the Council of State—a policy which aims at the total suppression of the auton-

omy and of the liberty won by Finland and a policy which will make it the most oppressed province in the empire.

The Congress affirms that, by its policy toward Finland, the Tsarist government has cynically taken back all the guaranties solemnly given in 1905 and has suppressed its secular constitution in defiance of the formal will of the Finnish people, of the best part of European opinion and of the opinion of the most eminent jurists.

It also affirms that the brutal suppression of Finnish autonomy is only one consequence of a whole system of savage oppression of all nationalities, non-Russian equally with Russian, an oppression carried on by a band of assassins cloaking themselves with a pretended constitutionalism.

Seeing that the dominant classes of Europe and the great organs of the press, while they formulate platonic professions in favor of Finland, in fact sustain tyranny by all the means at their disposal, and, seeing that the Finnish Socialists are engaged in a serious struggle to save democratic liberty and the right of the Finnish people to control themselves, which concerns not only Socialism but democratic liberty, the Congress expresses its confidence in the energy, the courage and the perseverance of the proletariat of Finland.

It is convinced that the proletariat of Finland will march on in accord with the working class of Russia struggling in solidarity against the same regime of oppression.

It invites all the Socialist parties and all the sincere democrats of the entire world to protest, by every means in their power (press, parliament, public meetings, etc.), against the "coup de force" directed against Finland. The Congress instructs the International Socialist Bureau to take steps to organize in every country a demonstration as complete and powerful as possible of the Socialist proletariat in favor of Finland.

Ellenbogen of Austria was reporter for the Resolutions Committee and spoke to some length on the resolutions. Daniel De Leon, speaking on the Unity resolution, charged that the Socialist Labor Party had made offers of unity to the Socialist Party, but that they had been rejected by the Socialist Party.

Morris Hillquit replied to De Leon. In part, he said: "The Socialist Party in America stands for the union of all Socialist forces in the United States. It does not stand for this simply in a platonic manner, but has shown its sincerity by its deeds. Our party is itself the product of unity. In 1900 the Socialist movement of America was split into various parties and groups. The Socialist Party became the center of unity and invited all Socialist organizations to send delegates to the Unity Convention of 1901. All such organizations responded with the exception of that wing of the Socialist Labor Party which was headed by De Leon. After the union we made great progress, and since then almost all the earlier members of the Socialist Labor Party have come to us. Comrade De Leon, if you are in earnest in what you say, if you really desire unity in the true spirit of Socialism in order to combat our common enemy, then you are welcome, as you always have been, to our ranks.

"The Socialist Party of America stands in accord with the fundamental principles of international Socialism in theory and practice. We are in friendly relations with the workers in the unions. We cannot conceive of a Socialist movement that does not have the mass of the workers behind it. Of Comrade De Leon's vagaries in his relations to the industrial organizations of labor we have only to instance the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Industrial Workers of the World. And so I say to Comrade De Leon if he is

ready to throw aside all his unsocialistic fads we will need no further conferences or conventions."

In conclusion, Hillquit called attention to the fact that De Leon's constant slanderous attacks upon the Socialist Party could hardly be considered a very effective method for bringing about unity with that party, and pointed out that the report submitted by the Socialist Labor Party to the Congress, which was nothing but senseless abuse of the Socialist Party, stood in glaring contradiction to his protestations of friendship and alleged desire for unity.

Replying also to De Leon, Victor L. Berger said: "The American Socialists are unanimous for unity. The best proof of this is that ten years ago we had two parties with about five thousand each, while today we have one party with about 53,000 dues-paying members and another with not quite one thousand. Is not that almost as good as unity? These one thousand are also welcome today or tomorrow if they will accept our platform and stop fighting the unions. We will vote for the Unity resolution and promise you that within the next three years we will completely solve the unity question, for by that time only De Leon himself will stand outside the party. We in America are also working all the time for unity."

All of the foregoing resolutions presented by the Resolutions Committee were accepted by the Congress, much applause being heard when the resolution on Finland was adopted. The American delegates voted unanimously for the resolutions.

The resolution dealing with arbitration and disarmament, with a sub-amendment by Kier Hardie and Vaillant, came next before the Congress.

Resolution on Arbitration and Disarmament.

The Congress declares that the armaments of the nations have alarmingly increased during recent years in spite of the peace congresses and the protestations of peaceful intention on the part of the governments. Particularly does this apply to the general movement of the governments to increase the naval armament whose latest phase is the construction of "dreadnoughts." This policy leads not only to an insane waste of national resources for unproductive purposes, and therefore to the curtailment of means for the realization of necessary social reforms in the interest of the working class, but it also threatens all nations with financial ruin and exhaustion through the insupportable burdens of indirect taxation.

These armaments have but recently endangered the peace of the world, as they always will. In view of this development which threatens all achievements of civilization, the well-being of nations and the very life of the masses, this Congress reaffirms the resolutions of the former International Congresses and particularly that of the Stuttgart Congress.

The workers of all countries have no quarrels or difference which could lead to war. Modern wars are the result of capitalism, and particularly of rivalries of the capitalist classes of the different countries for the world market, and of the spirit of militarism, which is one of the main instruments of capitalist class rule and of the economic and political subjugation of the working class. Wars will cease completely only with the disappearance of the capitalistic mode of production. The working class, which bears the main burdens of war and suffers most from its effects, has the greatest interest in the prevention of wars. The organized Socialist workers of all countries are therefore the only reliable guaranty of universal peace. The Congress therefore again calls upon the labor organizations of all countries to continue a vigorous propaganda of enlightenment as to the causes of war

among all workers, and particularly among the young people, in order to educate them in the spirit of international brotherhood.

The Congress, reiterating the oft-repeated duty of Socialist representatives in the parliaments to combat militarism with all means at their command and to refuse the means for armaments, requires from its representatives—

(a) The constant reiteration of the demand that international arbitration be made compulsory in all international disputes.

(b) Persistent and repeated proposals in the direction of ultimate complete disarmament; and, above all, as a first step, the conclusion of a general treaty limiting naval armaments and abrogating the right of privateering.

(c) The demand for the abolition of secret diplomacy and the publication of all existing and future agreements between the governments.

(d) The guaranty of the independence of all nations and their protection from military attacks and violent suppression.

The International Socialist Bureau will support all Socialist organizations in their fight against militarism by furnishing them with the necessary data and information, and will, when the occasion arrives, endeavor to bring about united action. In case of warlike complications, this Congress reaffirms the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, which reads:

In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for this purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious, and which must naturally vary according to the acuteness of the struggle of classes, and to the general political conditions.

In case war should break out notwithstanding, they shall be bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilizing the economical and political crisis created by the war, in order to rouse the masses of the people and to hasten the downbreak of the predominance of the capitalist class.

For the proper execution of these measures the Congress directs the Bureau, in the event of a war menace, to take immediate steps to bring about an agreement among the labor parties of the countries affected for united action to prevent the threatened war.

Sub-Amendment.

Among the means to be used in order to prevent and hinder war, the Congress considers as particularly efficacious the general strike, especially in the industries that supply war with its implements (arms and ammunition, transport, etc.), as well as the propaganda and popular action in their most active forms.

KEIR HARDIE,
E. VAILLANT.

Ledebour of Germany spoke at considerable length in favor of the resolution presented by the committee. Kier Hardie, who had been instrumental in drawing up the sub-amendment, said in part: "The great question before us is that of hindering war and furthering disarmament. On this question the English Labor Party takes a clear position. We are not only against war, but also against militarism. We maintain that the army and navy are the brutal means used by the modern state to maintain the possessing class in the enjoyment of privileges. By no means do we wish to subscribe to the use of the general strike against the danger of war at all times in all nations. We only desire to say to the working class of all lands that if it unites its economic strength, the power of the working class is sufficient to make war impossible."

Vandervelde of Belgium introduced an amendment providing that the Congress send the sub-amendment of Kier Hardie and

Vaillant to the International Bureau for study of the subject, and that at the next International Congress a report be presented on the investigations made. Both Kier Hardie and Vaillant agreed to this and the Vandervelde amendment was accepted by the Congress. The resolution on arbitration and disarmament as reported by the committee was then adopted.

The Congress then took up the discussion of the resolution on the unity of trade unions.

Resolution on the Unity of Trade Unions.

The International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen renews the Stuttgart resolution on the relations between the political parties and the trade unions, especially with regard to the point that the unity of the industrial organization should be kept in mind in each state and is an essential condition of successful struggle against exploitation and oppression.

In polyglot states the united trade unions must, of course, take into account the cultural and linguistic needs of all their members.

The Congress further declares that any attempt to break internationally united trade unions into nationally separatist parts contradicts the aim of this resolution of the International Socialist Congress.

The International Socialist Bureau and the International Secretariat of Trade Unions are requested to offer their services to the organizations directly interested, in order to eliminate the conflicts on this subject, in a spirit of Socialist good will and brotherhood.

This resolution, together with the following, called forth by the situation in Bohemia, was adopted by the Congress, the American delegation casting its vote in favor of them.

Resolution on Bohemia.

The International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen, referring to the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, 1907, on the relations between the political and trade organizations, draws attention to the fact that the proletarian class struggle can only show results when cordial co-operation exists between the political and trade organizations.

The Congress emphatically declares that, in the sense of this as in the sense of former resolutions of International Congresses, the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat necessitates political and trade union unity, as well as the solidarity of the proletariat of every nationality, so that these two branches of the labor movement can only act independently of each other in the sense of the Stuttgart resolution, but always in accordance and in cordial relation with the mutual object of the proletariat. The unity of the workers of every nation is the basis of the international solidarity of the workers of all nations.

The Congress declares that every effort to destroy the existing unity of the working class of each nationality is contrary to the principles of international Socialism. Whenever in any state or nationality serious disputes arise between the political party and the trade unions, the International Bureau shall be authorized and bound to take all necessary measures to reconcile the parties in dispute, and to endeavor to regulate their mutual relations so as to give effect to the intentions of the International.

The last day of the Congress opened with the discussion on the resolution on international solidarity.

Resolution on International Solidarity.

The International Socialist Labor Congress of Copenhagen, emphasizing the essentially international spirit of the proletarian movement and remem-

bering the traditions of active solidarity which owe their origin to the first International, appeals to workingmen of every country that they fulfill their duty of solidarity each time that a struggle between capital and labor takes on such dimensions that it is evident that the workingmen of the country engaged in battle are not able to hold their own against the enemy without help, and that they assist their comrades in the fight by means of subsidies, coming from all sides, according to the proletarian forces of each country.

Such action is all the more necessary since the organization of the opposed forces is being accelerated in proportion as the working class, by its united action, is pressing capitalism. Capitalist power is concentrating itself in the gigantic trusts, in cartels and in national and international employers' unions. On the other hand, the workingmen are combining their forces, in the first place, in national labor confederations. Under the pressure of this concentration of forces in the two opposed camps, the class struggle alters its aspect and takes new and vaster proportions. One can therefore be prepared for general syndical struggles, brought about by the lockouts on a big scale, such as the one in Denmark of 1899, in Sweden of 1909, or of Germany of 1910. Thus, the class struggle being extended and organized more and more, it will in future be still more urgently necessary to concentrate the forces of the labor class in the whole world, promptly and vigorously, so as to be prepared for the day when workingmen of every country or of one profession should be threatened with annihilation by the power of the united capitalists.

The Congress requests the International Secretariat of Trade Unions to investigate in what way the international solidarity of the workers may be most expediently organized.

For the near future the Congress recommends—

The more intimate and permanent drawing together of the labor organizations in each country across the frontiers;

The revision of the statutes of the societies and federations, with a view to eliminating from these regulations everything that would constitute a hindrance to effective and immediate international action;

The improvement and the extension of international relations of the Socialist and labor press; Socialist journalists of that country in which a grand conflict is imminent or has already been declared should be particularly requested to transmit prompt and accurate reports of the situation to their foreign colleagues, who, for their part, should utilize them immediately in order everywhere to arouse the sympathetic interest of the working classes and at the proper time correct or deny the fantastic and often too untrue tales which the press and the agencies in the pay of capital never fail to publish for the purpose of leading public opinion astray.

From this point of view it is also of the highest importance for the whole labor movement of the world that there should exist everywhere a Socialist press which is powerful enough to liberate the masses from the influence and suggestion of the bourgeois press.

Hugler of Switzerland presented the resolution, and in speaking on it expressed surprise that the Socialist and trade union movement of Europe had not shown greater anxiety than they had done to promote the cause of international working class emancipation by supporting the Swedish workers in their great struggle against capitalism. He said that the Swedish trade unions had received much moral but little material support from the great nations. No less than 300,000 people had been deprived of resources by the capitalists. Norway and Denmark had made heroic sacrifices. Denmark had contributed 20,000 pounds and Germany 64,000 pounds, but France had given only 300 pounds and Belgium nothing. Finally, the greatest surprise had been the lack of all but the slightest help from the English trade unions.

To this Anderson of the British delegation replied that they admitted at once that they had failed in their duty to their Swedish

fellow workmen. He explained that the English trade unions are old, that they were established before Socialist propaganda began, and the task of infusing Socialist ideas and international feeling into them has been more difficult than in countries where Socialist teaching has preceded trade union organizations.

He closed with the assurance that British trade unions are becoming more and more international in spirit and are steadily building up the machinery by which international solidarity can be realized. The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Congress.

The next report was on the subject of international labor legislation. The following is the resolution submitted by the committee:

Resolution on Labor Legislation.

The increasing exploitation of the workers consequent upon the development of capitalist production has brought about conditions which render imperative legislation for the protection of the life and health of the worker.

In no country do the laws even approximate that which is absolutely necessary in the interests of the workers, and which could be granted without detriment to existing industry.

The Congress reiterates the following minimum demands regarding legislation for the protection of workers (without distinction of sex) made by the Paris Congress of 1889:

1. A maximum working day of eight hours.
2. Prohibition of boy and girl labor under fourteen years.
3. Prohibition of night work, except where the nature of the work or the demands of public welfare make it inevitable.
4. Uninterrupted rest of at least thirty-six hours in each week for all workers.
5. Complete suppression of the truck system.
6. Absolute right of combination.
7. Effective and thorough inspection of working conditions, agricultural as well as industrial, with the co-operation of persons elected by the workers.

As a result of the Paris Congress, conferences of governments were held in Berlin in 1890 and in Bern in 1906, and international proposals were made for the protection of workers; but in spite of the lengthy negotiations very little positive legislation has resulted, because of the opposition of the governing classes, who fear that their class interests would be injured thereby, in spite of the fact that in no country has any branch of industry suffered from the protection of the workers, but rather has the improvement of the health and efficiency of the workers benefited general civilization and also the employing class.

To prevent the workers from falling into pauperism, the Amsterdam Congress demanded adequate measures for the support and care of the sick, those disabled by accident, the old, the invalids, women with child and mothers in childbed, widows, orphans and the unemployed; the administration of such measures to be under the control of the workers, and the same treatment to be given to foreigners as to those belonging to the country.

The existing laws for the protection and insurance of the workers are totally inadequate to meet the necessary and justifiable requirements of the workers. Only by the tenacious persistence of the workers can further reforms be obtained.

The Congress therefore calls upon the workers of all nations, whether occupied in industry, in commerce, in agriculture, or in any other branch, to break down the opposition of the governing classes and, by unceasing agitation, and strong and perfect organization, both political and industrial, to win for themselves real and effective protection.

Molkenbuhr of Germany, reporter for the committee, spoke on the resolution. He pointed out the effect on the laboring class of

labor legislation passed in one country when similar legislation had not been secured in other countries. For example, the factory legislation in England raised the wages of English working women, but the German women workers were unable to hold their own against the competition of the English workers.

He reminded the Congress that the real obstacle to social reconstruction lay, not in the opposition of the capitalist class, but in the indifference of the working class, and one of the chief purposes of the International Congress was to help arouse the interest and enthusiasm of the workers of all countries in behalf of their own emancipation.

The resolution was adopted by the Congress.

A special resolution on the right of asylum was submitted to the Congress by the Bureau.

Resolution on Right of Asylum.

Recently in various countries many instances have occurred where, under various fallacious pretexts, the right of asylum for political refugees has been violated. The Russian government particularly distinguishes itself in this field in a most deplorable manner. Thus Jules Wezosol has been recently arrested in Boston upon the demand of Russia for his extradition.

Even England, contrary to all her traditions, consents to employ this process, violating the right of asylum, as in the case of the revolutionary Hindoo, Savarkar, who, in an unprecedented manner, has been arrested on French soil and extradited without any legal formality.

The Congress vigorously protests against these criminal violations of the right of asylum, and urges the proletariat of all countries to resist by all the means of propaganda and agitation it possesses these assaults upon the dignity and independence of their own countries, which menace the liberty of action of the working class and its international solidarity.

Kier Hardie, who moved the resolution, dwelt on the case of Savarkar, the Hindoo agitator, who escaped from British custody to French soil, but was handed back to the British authorities. Jaures, he said, who was familiar with international law, held that the extradition of Savarkar was illegal. Hardie contended that the right of asylum is one of the greatest treasures of political liberty. In England they had afforded protection to Garibaldi, Mazzini, Kossuth and Karl Marx, and by so doing had conferred a precious heritage on civilization. He held further that the trial of Savarkar had not been a fair one. He had been condemned as though he were a mere criminal, no recognition of the political purpose of his action being allowed.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

At the final sitting of the Congress, P. Knudsen, one of the Socialist mayors of Copenhagen, presided.

The last resolution to be brought before the Congress was the one on co-operatives and their relation to political parties. The following is the resolution presented by the committee, Karples of Austria being reporter for the committee:

Resolution on Co-Operation.

Taking into consideration that distributive co-operative societies are not only able to secure for their members immediate material advantages, but are

also capable of first increasing the influence of the proletariat by the elimination of private commercial enterprise, and, secondly, by bettering the condition of the working classes by means of productive services organized by themselves and by educating the workers in the independent democratic management of social means of exchange and production;

Considering also that co-operation alone is incapable of realizing the aim of Socialism, which is the acquisition of political power for the purpose of collective ownership of the means of production;

This Congress declares, while warning the working classes against the theory which maintains that co-operation is in itself sufficient, that the working class has the strongest interest in utilizing the weapon of co-operation in the class struggle and urges all Socialists and all members of trade unions to take part in the co-operative movement, in order to develop themselves in the spirit of Socialism and keep the co-operative societies from any deviation from the path of education and the promotion of working class solidarity.

The Socialist members of co-operative societies are urged to endeavor in these societies to see that the profits are not entirely returned to the members, but that part is devoted, either by the society itself or by the federation of wholesale societies, to the development of production and the education and instruction, in order—

1st. That the conditions of wages and work in the co-operative societies shall be regulated in accordance with trade union rules.

2nd. That the organization of the conditions of employment in co-operative societies shall be the best possible, and that no purchases of goods shall be made without regard to the condition of the producers.

It is left to the co-operative organizations of each country to decide for themselves whether and to what extent they will aid from their resources the political and trade union movement.

Furthermore, being convinced that the services which co-operation can render to the working class will be the greater in proportion as the co-operative movement is itself strong and united, the Congress declares that it is desirable that the co-operative societies of each country which is constituted on this basis and subscribes to this present resolution should form a single federation.

It declares, besides, that the working class in its struggle against capitalism is especially concerned that trade unions, co-operative societies and the Socialist Party, while preserving each its own unity and autonomy, should enter into relations more and more intimate with one another.

Irving of England spoke against the resolution, saying that in the case of the English co-operatives they had not the slightest understanding of Socialism and were made up of liberal and conservative workmen.

Von Elm of Germany defended the resolution and pointed out that the English co-operative movement in creating its wonderful organization for the distribution and creation of wealth was, whether consciously or unconsciously, building up the economic foundations of Socialism. The resolution was adopted, the American delegates voting in favor.

The work of the Congress was then completed. It remained only to decide on the time and place of the next International Congress. Adler of Vienna invited the International Congress to meet at Vienna in 1913. This invitation was unanimously accepted. The Congress closed with six speeches, one in German, one in English, one in French, one in Swedish, one in Danish and a speech by Vandervelde as chairman of the Bureau.

Molkenbuhr made the closing speech in German. He paid a high tribute to the achievements of the Danish party in parliament and in the industrial and municipal life of the nation.

Hillquit made the closing English speech. He said: "The English delegations, because of the position of their countries, are more shut out than others from personal acquaintance with the comrades of other lands. For them this International Socialist Congress has a special importance, not because of the resolutions and practical measures, but because of the personal meeting with comrades of other countries. When we look at this assembly, which represents thirty to forty million organized men and women workers, in trade unions, co-operatives and political organizations, and when we turn our glance back over the history of the movement and its irresistible growth in the face of persecution, we are forced to admit to ourselves that this movement is itself a guaranty of our ultimate triumph."

Jaures made the closing speech in French, dwelling on the importance of international unity and pointing out the dangers of militarism.

Branting of Sweden, speaking in the name of the Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian delegations, pointed out that within and beside the great International there exists a special brotherhood among the Scandinavians, and that the more firmly the Scandinavian peoples hold together the more easily they can make their full power felt in the international movement.

Knuelsen of Denmark thanked the Congress for coming to Copenhagen, and said that the Socialists of Denmark would always recall that day with pride. In closing, he said: "The nations are divided by many things—by speech, customs, state and religion. But we are all united on one thing—ever to work and struggle for the victory of the proletariat of all lands."

Vandervelde, as chairman of the Bureau, closed the Congress and was greeted with cheers for International Socialism.

The Congress rose to its feet and in turn each delegation began singing its revolutionary song. The Danes began with the "International," the Germans and Austrians united in their "Workers' Song," the English and Americans sang the "Red Flag," and the French closed with the "International."

The delegates to the Congress were received by the Danish Socialists on the closing evening in the City Hall of Copenhagen, where speeches were made by the two Socialist mayors of the city, together with delegates from all the countries represented.

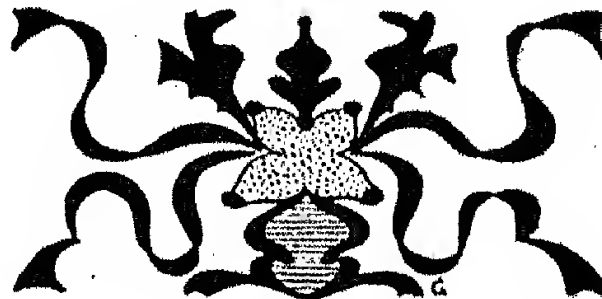
The value of the International Socialist Congress cannot be measured by the resolutions that were passed, although these in themselves have great significance. The really great work of the Congress was the bringing together of nearly a thousand delegates from the various countries of the world and there enabling them to become acquainted with the problems that face the struggling proletariat of other lands. An hour spent in listening to any one of the discussions in the committees gave a better insight into the conditions that the Socialists of other countries are forced to meet than could possibly be gained in any other way.

By passing resolutions on such questions as the conditions in Persia, Turkey, Finland, etc., the eyes of the laboring world were

focused upon these countries, where especially hard struggles are being made by the workers.

The Congress was a meeting of those who are agreed on all the fundamentals of Socialism, the struggle of the classes and the economic basis of social movements. Therefore there was no time spent in discussing theoretical questions. The subjects dealt with were those that the Socialist movement in each country is facing today in its struggle for the workers. The question of militarism, the problem of the unemployed and the discussion of labor legislation are all matters of the greatest moment to the workers today in reaching their ultimate goal.

The American delegates to the Congress believe that they have gained much by attending it; they believe that the movement in the United States will receive much good from the International Socialist Congress, and that when in 1913 another American delegation attends the Congress at Vienna the movement in the United States will have made such progress that the delegates will be able to present to the International Congress some of the problems that are of especial, vital interest in America.



Second International Conference of Socialist Women

AT COPENHAGEN

Opening Friday, August 26, at 9 O'Clock in the Morning.

(This is not an account of the proceedings of the Conference, it is merely a copy of the program).

Provisional Agenda.

1. Opening
2. Measures for securing more regular relations between the organized Socialist Women of all countries.
3. Practical work in favor of universal Woman Suffrage, viz.: Adult Suffrage.
4. Social protection and provision for motherhood and infants.
5. Various matters.

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Provisional Standing Order.

1. The Bureau is composed of the first and second president and two secretaries.
2. Sittings are held from 9 to 1 o'clock in the morning and from 3 to 7 o'clock in the afternoon.
3. Motions concerning the different points of the agenda have to be brought in written and must be backed by at least ten delegates, if they shall be discussed.
4. Motions concerning the standing order may be proposed viva voce, must be backed by at least five delegates and have to be settled at once.
5. Closure or adjournment of the debates being proposed, it is only allowed to speak once pro or contra.
6. Who wishes to speak, has to hand over his name in writing.
7. Supporters of private motions are allowed to speak but twenty-five minutes, debaters only ten minutes. Nobody is allowed to speak more than twice about the same question—except supporters of private motions.
8. Resolutions are carried by the absolute majority of the delegates; in case of parity of votes the motion is considered to be rejected.
9. Voting is done by showing hands; if proposed by ten delegates, there must be voting by nations.

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MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS.

To the Agenda.

1. The action of Socialist Women for the maintenance of Peace.
British International Socialist Women's Bureau, London.
2. What shall women do to combat militarism internationally and secure peace?
Women's Club Stockholm-South.
3. As it can be stated as a fact, that ignorance and prejudice about the relation of sexes, contempt of the unmarried mother and her want of rights in society are some of the greatest obstacles in emancipating women, and as even the title given to women depends on their relation to the man, the Conference resolves to discuss the following question: How shall women work with the chance to combat effectively the obstacle to definite emancipation of the female sex, according to the above-mentioned arguments?
Women's Club Stockholm-South.

To Point 2 of the Agenda—Measures for Securing More Regular Relations Between the Organized Socialist Women of All Countries.

1. Considering the multiform conditions of carrying on the economic and political struggle of the organized women workers;
considering the great importance of the example of the more advanced countries for the economically and politically less developed ones;
considering the hence following importance of an international mutual understanding

the Women's Conference decides to take in view that there is established at the International Socialist Bureau an International Inquiry Office for socialist women workers' organizations of the whole world, which should receive all information concerning working women.

Silesian and Cracovian Women's Organizations of the Polish Social-Democratic Party of Silesia and Galicia (Austrian Poland).

2. In order to render easier understanding and also international solidarity of the working class, the Women's Conference resolves to urge all editors of socialist women's papers to exchange their journals between themselves.

Silesian and Cracovian Women's Organizations for the Polish Social-Democratic Party of Silesia and Galicia (Austrian Poland).

3. The Executive and all leading organizations of the Social-Democratic women's movement in the different countries have to give regular notice to the International Socialist Women's Secretary of the organizations, their state, the number of their members, their propaganda and organizations' work as well as of great actual questions coming forth, the actions carried out thereat by women and the Social-Democratic Party and the position taken up by working women towards these matters.

General Women's Club Stockholm.

4. The International Socialist Women's Secretary is bound to give the executives of Socialist women's societies and Socialist women's papers in the different countries notice of the participation of working women in the workers' movement; this information shall be based upon the reports sent to the secretary from all countries.

General Women's Club Stockholm.

5. The Conference decides the foundation of an International Socialist Women's Paper which not only has to publish the reports about the International Socialist Women's Movement, but also has to discuss by our principle the women's question in all its extent and connection, and show up its importance for the socialist movement, proceeding from the questions appearing actually in the different countries and concerning the women's movement.

Federation of Socialist Women's Clubs in Holland.

To Point 3 of the Agenda—Practical Work in Favor of Universal Woman Suffrage.

1. Concerning Woman Suffrage the Second International Conference of Socialist Women confirms the resolution carried by the First Conference at Stuttgart in 1907.

Considering the many attempts to cheat the great majority of the female sex by a limited women's enfranchisement and block thus in the same time one of the ways of the whole proletariat to the conquest of the political power, the Conference emphasizes again especially these principles:

"The Socialist Women's movement of all countries repudiates the limited Woman's Suffrage as a falsification of and insult to the principle of the political equality of the female sex. It fights for the only living concrete expression of this principle: the universal woman's suffrage which is open to all adults and bound by no conditions of property, payment of taxes, or degrees of education or any other qualifications, which exclude members of the working class from the enjoyment of the right. They carry on their struggle not in alliance with the bourgeois Women's Righters, but in alliance with the Socialist Parties, and these fight for Woman's Suffrage as one of the demands which from the point of view of prin-

ciple and practice is most important for a complete democratization of the suffrage."

Considering the increasing importance of the political emancipation of the female sex for the proletarian class-struggle, the Conference calls further attention to the following rules of tactics:

"The Socialist Parties in all countries are bound to fight with energy for the introduction of Woman Suffrage. Consequently their fight for the democratization of the Suffrage in the legislative and administrative bodies in the State and Commune must especially be fought also as a struggle in favor of Woman Suffrage, and they must raise this demand in their propaganda as well as in the Parliament, and insist on it with all their power. In countries where Manhood Suffrage is already far advanced or completely achieved, the Socialist Parties must take up the fight for the universal Woman's Suffrage, and with that naturally put forward all the demands which remain in order to obtain complete citizenship for the male proletariat.

It is the duty of the Socialist Women's movement in all countries to take part in all struggles which the Socialist Parties fight for the democratization of the Suffrage, and that with all possible energy; but also to see that in this fight the question of the universal Woman Suffrage is insisted on with due regard to its importance of principle and practice."

The Social-Democratic Women of Germany
and the Federation of the Social-Democratic Party's
organization of Berlin and neighborhood.

2. In order to forward political enfranchisement of women it is the duty of the Socialist women of all countries to agitate according to the above-named principles indefatigably among the laboring masses; enlighten them by discourses and literature about the social necessity and importance of the political emancipation of the female sex and use therefore every opportunity of doing so. For that propaganda they have to make the most especially of elections to all sorts of political and public bodies. In case the women have the right of voting at such bodies—local and provincial administrative bodies, arbitration-courts for trade disputes, state sickness insurance—the women must be urged to make full and reasonable use of their right; if the women have no vote at all, or a limited one, the socialist women must unite and guide them into the struggle for their right; in any case, there must be emphasized thoroughly the demand for full political Women Suffrage.

On occasion of the annual May demonstration—without regard to its form—the request of full political equality of the sexes must be proclaimed and substantiated. In agreement with the class-conscious political and trade organizations of the proletariat in their country the socialist women of all nationalities have to organize a special Women's Day, which in first line has to promote Women Suffrage propaganda. This demand must be discussed in connection with the whole women's question according to the socialist conception of social things. The conference must have an international character and be prepared with care.

Clara Zetkin, Kate Duncker and other comrades.

3. Considering that even in those countries in which the so-called universal suffrage exists, only one-half of the adult population enjoy it, but the women are disfranchised;

considering that only the action of the whole proletariat without any distinction of sex is creating a power strong enough to attain the ends pursued by the struggling and enlightened working class, and taking into account that the struggle for emancipation of the working women will be tremendously advanced, if we make the demand of political rights for women one of the most actual reforms we strive for;

The Second International Women's Conference resolves to urge all Socialist parliamentary groups to support most energetically those efforts of the women and advocate their full enfranchisement. The conference calls the working women's organizations of all countries to a fervent propaganda in favor of the political qualification of their sex.

Silesian and Cracovian Women's Organizations
of the Polish Social-Democratic Party of Silesia and Galicia
(Austrian Poland).

4. In opposition to the Congress of the bourgeois International Women's Suffrage Alliance at London in 1909, the Social-Democratic Women's Conference

emphasizes the principle that the question of woman enfranchisement can only be solved on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage without any restrictions. Therefore the conference urges the Social-Democratic parliamentary groups to be energetic supporters of the working women's interest, whenever suffrage questions are before the parliaments, in order to bring about a just dealing with this matter guaranteeing every woman her full chartered franchise.

To conquer universal suffrage for all adults without distinction of sex there must be worked by speeches, conferences, meetings and discussions, by spreading literature, as pamphlets, leaflets, articles in women's papers and the Social-Democratic press; by national and international demonstrations; besides the socialist women and their organizations must work in that direction on all occasions, where in the different countries constitutional questions are to be treated.

General Women's Club, Stockholm.

To Point 4 of the Agenda—Social Protection and Provision for Motherhood and Infants.

1. That this Congress, demanding as it does the National and International ownership of the means of production and distribution, affirms, that it is the duty of the community to maintain the child-bearing women, infants, and children attending school.

British International Socialist Women's Bureau, London.

2. The Second International Conference of Socialist Women at Copenhagen demands the following measures of social protection for mother and child:

I. Of the Labor Legislation.

- a. The legal eight hours' day for all women workers above 18 years of age; the six hours' day for girls above 16 and under 18 years of age; the four hours' day for children above 14 and under 16 years; the prohibition of all wage-earning labor for children under the age of 14.
- b. The prohibition to employ women in such operations which by their whole nature must be particularly injurious for mother and child.
- c. The prohibition of such methods of work which endanger particularly the female organism and thereby injure not only that one, but also the child.
- d. For pregnant women the right to stop work without previous notice eight weeks before the confinement.
- e. For women in childbed the prohibition of working for eight weeks, if the child lives, for six weeks after abortions or if the child dies within this time.
- f. For nursing women the establishment of nursing-rooms in the factories.

II. Of the State, Sickness or Motherhood Insurance.

- a. In case of unemployment caused by pregnancy an obligatory subsidy for eight weeks.
- b. For women in childbed an obligatory subsidy for eight weeks, if the child lives, for thirteen weeks, if the mother is able and willing to nurse the child herself; for six weeks, if the child dies within this time or in case of abortions.
- c. Levelling the subsidies paid to pregnant women, women in childbed and nursing ones with the average daily wages.
- d. Granting of obstetric services, medical treatment of pregnancy and childbed ailments and care for women in childbed at their home by skilled nurses.
- e. Extension of these measures on all laboring women—including agricultural laborers, home workers and maid servants—as well as on all women whose families do not earn more than 250 £.

III. Of the Community.

Establishment of lying-in hospitals, asylums for pregnant women, women in childbed and infants; organization of attendance to women in childbed at their home by special nurses; granting of benefits for nursing women as long as the

mothers do not get subsidies during the nursing period by the state insurance; providing good, sterile babies' milk.

IV. Of the State.

- a. Contributions paid to the Sickness and Motherhood Insurance and communalities in order to enable them to satisfy our demands.
- b. Enlightenment of women how to perform suitably their maternal duties by introducing into the obligatory continuation classes training for girls in the care and management of infants. Distribution of leaflets containing instructions about nursing women in childbed, managing and feeding infants.

The Conference requests the following social provisions for the child, besides granting a uniform, gratuitous and lay instruction based on the integral education in schools whose leading principle is to develop the child's capacities by labor and for labor:

- a. Establishment of lay nursery schools and "kindergarten" (play schools).
- b. Obligatory, gratuitous feeding of all school children, in school times, of unprovided ones even in holidays and vacancies.
- c. Establishment of school homes where unprovided children are looked after in physical and moral respect in leisure times, including holidays.
- d. Establishment of sport, trips and camps for holidays.
- e. Establishment of baths, halls for swimming and gymnastic exercises and school gardens.
- f. Appointment of school physicians and school dentists.
- g. Foundation of sanatoriums and wood schools for sickly and weakly children.

The Social Democratic Women of Germany.

3. That the tendency to make use of boy and girl labor in monotonous and uneducational work is destructive in its results upon the health, character and subsequent industrial efficiency of the boys and girls themselves and upon the rates of wages and chance of continued employment of men and women, this conference therefore urges the desirability of so raising the standard of education as to secure to every boy and girl up to the age of 18 efficient physical and technical training, and of making where necessary some provision for their maintenance during that period.

Women's Labor League, Great Britain.

4. That in view of the prevalence of preventable diseases and the inability of large masses of the population in every civilized country to pay for skilled attendance and care, this congress demands that national provision should be made for the medical and nursing services, including the setting up of school clinics, hospitals, sanatoria, and convalescent homes, at the public expense.

Women's Labor League, Great Britain.

5. That in view of the number of distressing cases where after the death of the father of the family the widow is unable to provide the necessities of life for herself and her children and of the resultant injury to the community, this congress urges the universal establishment of State Insurance for widows in the interests especially of those with young children and those incapacitated by age or illness.

Women's Labor League, Great Britain.

6. The conference declares it an absolute duty of the state to protect defenseless and poor citizens. To provide for mother and child, the conference has to recommend in first line such reforms as public obligatory motherhood insurance, viz., the right of unmarried mothers and their children to a real subsidy paid by the father during the pregnancy and for education of the child. The conference urges our comrades in the parliaments to strive for a rational reform according to really modern and just points of view.

General Women's Club, Stockholm.

7. Considering the success obtained in Sweden by arranging "lectures of fairy tales and legends" and the importance of a clear understanding of women of the great danger of the English Book Control Movement as being full of clerical and militarist spirit, the conference is earnestly invited to commission the dele-

gates of the different countries to endeavor in their respective organizations, that the children may be united and amused in the same educational manner as it is the case by the lectures in Sweden.

Women's Club, Stockholm-South.

To Point 5 of the Agenda—Various Matters.

1. That in all provisions made to secure the right to work to able-bodied citizens, and thus do away with the terrible results of unemployment, special care should be taken to meet the needs of women and girls dependent on their own earnings.

Women's Labor League, Great Britain.

2. Considering the actions of the women as far as they take part in the working class movement, are an organized component of that movement itself, in which no special selfish interests are supported, the conference urges all organized women of the world to stand in rank and file with the Social-Democratic Parties and Labor organizations and without regard, whether direct interests of the female proletariat are fought for, always to think that every success must raise the whole working class.

Silesian and Cracovian Women's Organizations
of the Polish Social-Democratic Party of Silesia and Galicia
(Austrian Poland).

3. The conference urges the Social-Democratic Parties to enlighten women everywhere about Socialism, and to do so still more intensely than before, and in a manner regarding the special conditions of the different countries; further to inform the proletariat women of the successes of the workers' movement, the means used therein (co-operative societies, trade unions, anti-alcohol movement), and above all, about the political action of the Socialist Parties.

General Women's Club, Stockholm.

4. The conference declares; All political organizations and trade unions of women, as well as the women's papers working for the special education of the female sex, as far as they recognize the class struggle, have a right to material and moral support by the Social-Democracy.

General Women's Club, Stockholm.

5. As it is absolutely necessary to win women over for the ideas of Socialism, as therefore intense propaganda is required, and as it is very sure that this propaganda and education work is done best by women themselves, the conference is asked to debate, whether founding special Social-Democratic Women's Federations is useful, and declare in what ways agitation among women should be carried on best.

Women's Club, Stockholm-South.



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