

**INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST  
BUREAU**  
*People's Palace, Brussels.*

---

**International Socialist Congress of Vienna**  
(August 23-29, 1914.)

---

**DOCUMENTS**

**4th Commission : Alcoholism**

**REPORT BY EMANUEL WURM**

---

**THE WAR AGAINST THE ALCOHOL DANGER**

The Aethyl-Alcohol contained in alcoholic drinks has just the same effects as other nerve stimulants (e.g. coffee, tea, tobacco) and acts as poison as soon the strength and quantity exceed certain limits which are fixed for each individual.

Alcohol is not an absolute poison, but its poisoning power depends upon the strength and quantity of drink taken. The effects are, first, that it excites the nerves and apparently invigorates them, then it paralyses, stupifies and deadens them.

The exciting as well as the deadening effects of alcohol produce the result that troubles are more easily endured, feelings of displeasure are deadened and feelings of pleasure are awakened. The drinker is made merry. On account of these euphoric effects and not only on account of the pleasing taste of the alcoholic drinks have these been used by almost all peoples for centuries, to increase the pleasure of life by abolishing weariness and drowning their need in oblivion. Alcohol strengthens neither the mind nor the body.

At first the power to work is increased by forcing a more intensive use of the existing strength, which is not increased but is in reality

decreased, and therefore more quickly exhausted. Alcohol does not produce strength, it only acts like the lash driving without strengthening. The quicker consumption of energy however leads to ever increasing consumption of alcohol.

As a nourishment alcohol may be dispensed with. The alcohol, in circulating through the system, paralyses the nerves. The blood-vessels become expanded and the heart's activity is increased; the skin becomes reddened. The flow of the blood is quickened and is brought into greater contact with the surface of the skin and with the lower external atmosphere. Therefore alcoholic beverages really make the body colder instead of warming it. In the first instance they give us a pleasant sensation of warmth, but soon we feel the cold more keenly than before; and it is a fact that death by freezing is hastened by them.

Mental and intellectual powers are also not strengthened but weakened. But it is just through this very paralysis of the senses that weakness, hunger and worry are made to disappear and the feeling of comfort prevails and alcohol appears to a banisher of sorrow,—a friend. But this feeling soon passes if more and more alcohol is not taken. And the quantities required to be taken in order to maintain the delusion, are wanted ever larger and the use of alcohol develops into a misuse.

The effects of alcohol increase in proportion with a warmer climate and with the time of the year, and also if one drink is taken before the effects of the previous drink have passed away. But all these effects of alcohol do not affect all people in the same way.

The weaker the body or the mind of the drinker is—whether the weakness of the nerves is an inborn or a gained one or is the result of illness, underfeeding or exertion or fatigue, the greater are the stupifying of alcoholic drinks and the greater the inability to take the drinks in moderation. (Intolerance against alcohol.)

In the case of children and youths the growing cells of the body are in a still more sensitive condition and therefore still more injured by alcohol than is the case with adults.

## II. ALCOHOLIC DRINKS

Spirits and liqueurs contain from 15 p. c. to 50 p. c. of alcohol. Wine 8 p. c. to 16 p. c. Fruit wines 4 p. c. to 7 p. c. Beer fermented

from below 3 p. c. to 5 p. c. Beer which contains less than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in volume per cent of alcohol is not regarded as intoxicative drink, neither is plain upper fermented beer (soft beer)  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 p. c. alcohol.

The intoxicating effects of alcohol are heightened by heating the drinks or mixing them with carbonic acid, suit as is contained in fermenting must, champagne, whisky and soda, and also by the æther oil contained in certain kinds of spirits (e.g. corn brandy, mixed drinks, liquors,) and also by the fusel oil contained in unpurified or insufficiently purified spirits.

Other additions which are added to, spirits, to heaten the taste in order to make it appear that the drink contains more alcohol, are, if not injurious to health, dangerous, because they increase the thirst and thus lead to increasingly heavy drinking. Still more dangerous are the additions which have an intoxicating effect (e.g. absinth etc.)

Alcoholic drinks contain nourishment only in so far as they contain in addition to alcohol, some nutriment, such as sugar in beer, 5 p. c. to 8 p. c., and in sweet wine, 3 p. c. to 12 p. c. White bread however contains in starch an equivalent to sugar and of this ten times as much nutriment as the same quantity of beer is containing sugar. There is no albumen in wine, and in beer a very small quantity, since in the brewing of the beer the albumen in the barley must be almost entirely removed in order to render the beer stable and clear, so that beer only contains one-tenth of the albumen contained in the same quantity of bread. Beer therefore is certainly not « liquid bread ».

Spirits contain neither sugar nor albumen. Liqueurs contain until to 25 p. c. and more sugar but also very much alcohol and have very intoxicating effects.

### III. THE LIMITS OF MODERATION

A healthy person reaches the limit in the consumption of alcoholic drinks in 24 hours by taking drinks which contain 25 cubic centimetres (corresponding to about half a litre of beer, or one third of a litre of wine, of one-tenth of a litre of spirits with 25 p.c. alcohol.) Up to this point alcohol is not injurious, if the effects of a before taken quantity of alcohol have entirely disappeared before

more alcohol is taken. This period varies with different individuals.

The more rich a drink is in alcohol, the more it enfeebles the power of the will and self-control and the more it leads to excessive drinking. For this reason spirit drinking leads so easily to abuse of alcohol, just as strong wine does, while in the case of beer and light wines there must be other supplementary causes (such as drinking customs) to lead to an abuse of alcohol. The limit is not the same for all persons, nor for the same person at all times, but depends upon the physical and mental fitness of the drinker and differs also according to age, work, nourishment, the season and state of mind.

When moderate consumption of alcohol leads to overstep the normal limit, the consumption must be restricted and finish with total abstinence. Especially is total abstinence necessary for persons suffering from nervous complaints and persons who have been heavy drinkers. According to the individual effects of alcohol, the danger is avoided either by moderation or total abstinence. Condition in both cases, however, is self-control, and this, like every moral demand, depend upon conditions of life.

The abuse of alcohol produces poverty, but poverty also leads to excessive drinking. In order therefore that the fight against alcohol may be successfully carried through, we must decide upon the causes which lead, through the force of outward circumstances, to the drinking of alcohol until it becomes a danger to health.

The fight against the alcohol danger is not only the task of the individual hygiene, therefore, but above all, of social hygiene.

#### IV. THE ABUSE OF ALCOHOL

##### *(a) Results to the individual.*

The mucous membrane of the mouth and of the stomach absorbs alcohol quickly and it is quickly carried—and the more concentrated it is the quicker this happens—by the circulation of the blood into all organs and textures, where it is converted into carbonic acid and water, but taken in larger quantities remain unchanged in the organs and textures with devastating effects. Inasmuch as the vascular nerves are enlarged there is a surplus of blood in all mucous membrane with a consequent inclination to inflammation (catarrh). The mucous membrane of the stomach is lightly excited and finishes with debility of digestive organs (not with improvement as is misunderstood).

And it is just on account of this debility that it appears as if hunger is appeased while as a matter of fact what happens is that the process of assimilation takes longer. The emptier the stomach is, the more does the alcohol come into contact with the walls of the stomach, with the result that the effects follow more quickly and are more destructive.

The activities of the liver, gall, kidneys and heart are at first very much increased, but afterwards paralysed and the organs are permanently injured. Excessive beer drinking also puts a big strain on the heart as a consequence of the increase consumption of liquids, and thus the heart is enlarged. (Enlargement of the heart, beer-heart.) The sight is also affected by alcohol, it troubles and paralyses the muscles of the eye. The power of the blood to build up defensive texture against disease germs is lessened, which increases the sensitiveness to infection, also in the case of sexual diseases and consumption, and the cure rendered more difficult. The calcifying of the arteries is accelerated. Kidneys and brain are at first excited and then stupified, paralysed, perception is rendered more difficult, the power of attention and judgment decreased, the muscles are paralysed, (trembling of the hands) until after repeated bouts of intoxication, which more and more appear as serious mental disturbances, the drinker becomes physically and mentally more incapable and finally develops chronic nervousness, psychopathia or neurasthenia. Mental weakness whether it is inborn or gained, always leads to drunkenness in the case of every drinker even though at first he be a moderate drinker and finally to insanity from which death is the only release.

Occasional drinking leads only too often to ever increasing chronic abuse of alcohol, because the power of the will and power of judgment are weakened. But also where continuous heavy drinking apparently do not trouble on the health, and no signs of intoxication are to be seen, the after-effects reveal themselves at first, in loss of memory, then in loss of mental faculties and stupor, which often leads to suicide.

The degenerating, life-shortening effects of excessive drinking of alcohol cannot be questioned.

According to the absolutely reliable statistics of the causes of death in the city of Basle, the figures for the period 1900 to 1908 show that 10.7 p. c. of the men over 20 years of age died from the effects of excessive alcohol drinking.

The progeny of drinkers also suffer from the consequences, whether it be by the direct effects of alcohol during procreation with the resultant inferiority of the child or by the indirect effects, (Negligence in the maintenance of the home, the injury to the character of the parents, and the inducement for the children to drink.)

It is best for nursing mothers to abstain in order that children may not be injured by alcohol in the mother's milk.

*(b) Social results.*

By the impoverishing of mind and body the drinker becomes incapable of resisting the causes of his poverty, especially in the case of the worker who becomes callous to the strivings of his own class and being drunk he sells his vote to those who exploit him. Thus drunkenness is not only a hindrance in the class struggle but even a contribution of might to the ruling classes.

A further consequence of excessive drinking is the brutal lack of consideration by the drinker for himself (lack of self-control, inclination to all sort of excesses, including sexual—with the consequent spread of sexual diseases—and gambling and so on. And also for others (inclination by becoming police spys and strike breakers.)

Women have to suffer, especially, in consequence of the drunkenness of their husbands—as well by his brutality as by poverty which is always a consequence of drunkenness.

Alcohol often leads women to prostitution, by weakening the power of will and judgment, at least it renders the prostitute incapable of escaping from the life.

Again the drunkard become a burden on the state and municipality because, in consequence of impoverishment, illness and demoralisation, he increases the demands made upon the Poor Laws, hospitals, asylums and prisons, and an innumerable number of cases of imprisonment may be found each year which result not only from the doings of habitual drinkers but men who have been drunk only once.

## V. THE CAUSES OF ABUSE OF ALCOHOL

Only the capitalist methods of production by their economic and mental conditions, have created the alcohol danger among the broad

masses of the people and are the cause of its continual increase, not only through physical needs but also through psychical needs.

Fore the consequence of this economic development is a big increase in the number of persons who suffer from nervous complaints with the further consequent loss of the power of resisting the craving for alcohol and a decrease of the ability to drink without intoxication. The alcohol danger which existed at an earlier date only for individuals has become, in the age of capitalism, a danger to the community, it has become a social evil, of which the extension goes on as capitalistic means of production develop. If economic and mental misery lead occasionally to intoxication, then leads custom to the development of an irresistible need and the original social obligation remains even when the causes arising out of the economic conditions have disappeared and better conditions of life have come into being.

(a) *The physical causes.*

In the first place it is economic need which leads to excessive drinking. Economic needs is seen in lack of nourishment, lodging, work places, security of livelihood, noble recreation and enjoyment. If food is not sufficiently nourishing, it does not satisfy—it does not contain enough nutriment, labour power cannot be maintained. Hunger and weakness are not in reality satisfied by alcohol by removing the cause but in their effect by stupifying these feelings. If the food is too uniform or not properly prepared, whether in consequence of lack of means or of time or of knowledge of the person who prepare the meal, then alcohol comes in as a stimulant for palate and stomach. Thus underfeeding and habitual use of alcohol depend on one another. Underfeeding leads to the use of alcohol and this, which is not nutriment, leads to the prolongation and finally the ruin of digestion, and of strength and aggravates underfeeding.

If there is overcrowding in a house or if it is not well ordered the members of the household are tempted to drink, either to find relief in intoxication at home or by going to the public house.

If workrooms are insufficiently ventilated and as result smell badly or are dusty, if they are too hot or too cold, then alcoholic drinks are wanted, to quench the thirst and in consequence of the content of alcohol the thirst is actually increased.

It is in the interest of the workers therefore that cold and warm non-alcoholic drinks are furnished in the workrooms. (Drink water, mineral water, lemonade, coffee, tea, milk, cocoa, and also fruit.)

Only too often is it quite the other way about and it is made easy to get spirits and beer while fresh water is not provided.

In addition to this, the more industry develops, the further must the workers live away from the scene of work and in ever increasing numbers they have to eat their midday meal away from home. As a rule there is not provision made in the factories for obtaining meals, so that the labourers are forced to take their meals in a saloon and obliged to drink alcoholic beverages.

When the work time is too long and the work too tiresome, and the recreation too short, then alcohol is resorted to as a mean of overcoming the weariness—this deceives the worker into over-estimating his power. His safety is imperilled and the danger of accident is increased because alcohol does not give strength.

In those places where women work has begun, in factories under poor wages conditions, women and girls are to be seen, who otherwise would take very little or no alcohol, becoming addicted to drink and later drinking to excess.

*(b) The psychical causes.*

As soon as work,—on account of its uniformity and monotony, especially in hard work and more so since the introduction of the Taylor System—fails to animate the spirits whether it is work in factory or workroom, shop or office, excessive time spent at such work leads to displeasure which shall be stupefied by alcohol drinking. The more if there is a lack of mental impulse or if, as a result of insufficient education such an impulse cannot be accepted.

Then come care and trouble in the trail of an insufficient income, there are coupled with anxiety which grows out of the uncertainty of livelihood and ever widening circles of population are becoming dependent on capital and this insecurity is becoming the rule for these ever widening circles. The lack of enjoyment of life, the displeasure leads to the desire to forget all misery and to doze in intoxication.

It is just this forgetting of misery that removes the incentive to fight against, and therefore leaves the drinker to go down step by step into miserable poverty without being able to make an effort to save himself.



On the other hand the capitalist means of production have produced conditions of life which have led the profit-seekers also the propertied class, to excessive drinking. Profit hunting goes on without ceasing in its nerve-racking course through the ebb and flow of competitive struggles and of economic crises. In addition to this there is surfeit of physical enjoyment, lack of interest in intellectual matters, apart from business activity, so that in these upper circles alcohol is looked upon as the bringer of joy and here too it leads to destruction.

## VI. THE FIGHT AGAINST THE ALCOHOL DANGER

It is just those people who suffer most under capitalistic exploitation and are therefore most exposed to the alcohol danger who have the greatest interest in removing the danger. For the uplift of the working class, for the task of freeing themselves economically and politically from capitalism, the most important thing is that their wills and power be not weakened and broken by the excessive drinking of alcohol. On the other hand the working class cannot completely free itself from the alcohol danger until it has secured political and economic influence.

As the Social Democracy has already, under the domination of capital, taken up the work of protecting the economic and intellectual interests of the workers in all countries, so it must also adopt all means which are suitable already up to-day for fighting against the alcohol danger. For this, all measures are adapted which improve the economic and mental position of the working population.

Alongside these indirect social methods, there are also two direct methods to fight against the alcohol danger.

The employment of the public power in state or municipality to suppress the abuse of alcohol (Physical methods) and the method of influencing the population by explanation, exhortation and example (Psychic methods).

### 1. *Social influence*

The social and intellectual uplift of the working class is the first condition for successfully fighting against the alcohol danger. In order to make this forward step, the worst effects of the capitalistic means of production must be removed by national and international

legislation, of an intensive nature, for adequate protection of workers.

Therefore we have to require especially :

Shortening of working day till 8 hours at most.

The abolition of night work, or, at least reasonable shifts of duty at night with sufficient intervals of rest.

Sufficiently long rest periods during work.

Protection of children, young people and women.

Increased thoroughly sanitation of workrooms and methods of work.

Especially legal compulsion for the employers to furnish suitable drinking water and cheap non-alcoholic drinks.

At the same time, with the help of the Trade Union Organisations, the wages of the workers must increase, and men and women must be paid equal wages for equal work.

The legislation dealing with the levying of taxes and duty must be of such a kind as to avoid increasing the cost of living for the working classes.

Legislative and co-operative action should be taken to put a stop to schemes for producing high ground and house rents.

The increase in the cost of livelihood is to be avoided by co-operative action to do away with unnecessary middlemen.

The health of the general public must be cared for by the setting up of institutions by the nation and by the communities to the greatest possible extent. Physical culture especially must be furthered by suitable instruction and by providing ground and accommodation for games and gymnastics, swimming and bathing etc. The standard of education of the people is to be raised by the nation and community by means of free schooling. Girls must be compelled to attend classes in cooking and domestic economy.

The following must also be included in the scheme of education :

Erection and support of libraries, reading rooms, people's palaces, juvenile institutes and various forms of recreations of science as well as of arts etc. provided by public funds.

## *2. The application of legal force*

### *(a) Prohibition of Production and Sale.*

The most radical means of removing the alcohol danger by phy-

sical methods appears to be the legal prohibition of the production, sale and import of *all* alcoholic drinks (Prohibition), at least of all drinks which contain more than 2 1/4 p. c. of alcohol.

And yet the carrying through of this prohibition as long as the social causes are not removed which lead to the stupifying of the senses or to the lashing of them by stimulation will be haunted on a thousand of secret paths, while on the other hand the desire for any intoxicating agency will lead to alcohol being replaced by some worse stimulant (e.g. æther, morphia, opium, hashich, cocain), « Prohibition » legislation alone, without energetic contemporary action for the improvement of the economic conditions and for the international uplift of the proletariat, is nothing else deliberate hypocrisy on the part of the propertied classes. They wish to make it appear as if they earnestly intend to uplift the proletariat. Meanwhile they only want to remove the most unpleasant consequences of drunkenness from the public eye and at the same time are really opposing the granting of necessary sums of money for an earnest fight against alcoholism by the betterment of the condition of the people. In the new ten « Dry States » of the U. S. A. (Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Alabama, Oklahoma, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and West Virginia), the production and sale of liquors within these States is forbidden. But as the Federal Law decides over the Inter-State import, the separate States cannot prevent this. Consequently the secret sale of liquors was not restricted and the Prohibition Law does not hurt the alcohol capitalists, which was the real intention of the legislators. Further the « dry States » are very thinly populated, without big towns and chiefly inhabited by farmers, whose employment does not encourage the use of alcohol. In the larger towns on the other hand « prohibition » is a farce, the secret sale of liquor flourishes. Complete prohibition (Prohibition of production, import and sale) exists only in Iceland (since 1st. of January, 1912), but still only for beverages containing more than 2 1/2 p. c. of alcohol.

Prohibition of spirits exists in the districts of the North Sea. By international agreement the delivery or exchange of spirituous liquors to individuals on board ships or belonging to ships is forbidden.

In certain English and German colonies in Africa the sale of spirits is either totally prohibited or the sale to the natives is prohibited.

Prohibition is only practicable in such countries in which there is no home production of alcoholic beverages or if this production is stopped and if the importation of all goods can take place in only certain fixed places and under strict inspection.

Prohibition is very necessary in the tropics because in hot climates, alcohol, when taken even in small quantities, destroys the will power, and in consequence of the strong feelings of thirst it is taken in large quantities with dire consequences for the health, power to work and welfare of the natives as well as the whites. The natives especially, in their undeveloped condition, are unable to withstand the influence of alcohol. It is taken in large quantities and in consequence the natives are ruined and destroyed.

The prohibition of rural home distilling is also very necessary because this practice is the cause of increased drunkenness. The home distilleries are to be found only by small estate landowners who are tempted to take advantage of the easy opportunity of forgetting the trials of their troubled existence in strong drink and so they are lead to abuse of alcohol and become depraved and their need increases. Prohibition should be carried out in the form of the prohibition of the delivery of liquors at least of all spirits to children and juveniles. Alcohol has a more destructive effect upon the young organism than upon the organism of an adult. Whoever gives alcohol to children commits a crime.

#### *(b) Reduction of the number of public houses.*

The second form of legislative action by State and municipality has to do with the places where alcoholic drinks are sold, especially the public houses.

In contradiction to the trade freedom which in our days is assured to all other trades in almost all countries, special license premise are required for this trade in some States only for the sale of spirits, in Italy only for the sale of drinks containing more than 20 p. c. of alcohol.

The licenses premises must be obtained either from the State or the Municipality under the following conditions :

“ The personal qualities of the proprietor ” (his moral character must be good) or a fee must be paid, which in some countries, e.g. in North America, is so high that the number of such licensed places must remain few.

or— The need for such places must be acknowledged or by the magistrates deciding on the question of necessity, or the question is submitted to the vote of the male inhabitants (Local option) or the question is decided on the basis of the maintenance of a certain proportion between the number of public houses and the number of inhabitants. Local conditions must be considered and it is provided that such licensed premises be a certain distance from factories, schools, hospitals and cemeteries.

or— All licenses for the sale of spirits are handed over as a monopoly to a company for purpose of working them in purpose of public utility. (Gothenburg System.)

or— The sale is fixed at a certain quantity for every inhabitant and the sale is allowed in the public houses only, when a certain quantity of food is also purchased. (Stockholm system.)

The champions of these various measures are to be found in all political parties. These all act on the assumption that the greater the number of opportunities of drinking alcohol the greater is the seduction.

The correctness of this view is however not yet proved. An increase in the number of places for the sale of intoxicating drinks may lead to an increase in the excessive drinking of alcohol, while on the other hand it is not yet proved that a reduction of the number of such places will of necessity reduce drinking unless at the same time real educational and social measures are taken.

Further the reduction of licenses means that in place of small, modestly furnished saloons are put large public houses, built by the big capitalists (brewers and distillers) with all sorts of enticements (luxuriantly appointed rooms, music etc), which tempt people to visit them, spend more time in them, and consequently drink the more.

For this reason the big proprietors are eager champions for the reduction of licenses since these, in order to increase their sales, have to advance money for mortgages on houses for loans and furniture etc. to licensed victuallers and are glad when, instead of many small concerns which pay only with difficulty, they have a few big customers or even their own licensed premises.

On the other hand also when the saloon is at some distance from the home or the workroom namely in the country, the more easily carried spirits are drunk instead of beer.

Further the granting of licenses gives the authorities the possibility of political influence, which may be unfavourable to the minority parties, over the licensed victuallers and thereby to exert influence on the holding of committees and meetings. Local option does not do, away with the evil as it can be practised by any political party which is in the majority.

The Gothenburg System hands the sole right to sell liquors to a public utility society. The drinks must be sold at high prices, in order thus to put them beyond the reach of the drinker as much as possible. The profit goes to the State and Municipality and must be employed for purpose of public utility. This system which exists in Sweden (Bilag) and in Norway (Samlag) has not suppressed abuse of liquors, especially as both State and Municipality in consequence of the profits they receive by the sale— have no interest in restricting the sale but are glad when they can avoid levying taxes to cover unavoidable expenditure for public utility. The Stockholm System (Dr. Bratt) which has been in existence since February of the present year, provides that every inhabitant over 25 years of age shall be able to buy spirits at only one fixed place and not more than a litre a week. This is controlled by booking the quantities and a legitimation ticket.

There is another regulation to the effect that licensed public houses are not allowed to sell more than a certain quantity of spirits for profit and that the extra profit resulting from a big turnover must be handed over to a society which establishes refreshment houses where only guests who order food may receive a glass of spirits (4 1/2 centilitres) or of beer four-tenth litre.

It remains to be proved whether or not this system is practicable in large towns. In any case the free sale of non intoxicants is to be encouraged without any restrictions whatever.

*(c) Limitation of time for selling liquor.*

The limitation of the time during which liquors may be sold, in shops as well as in public houses, is too approved by members of all political parties. The following measures must be demanded :

Prohibition of the sale of liquors at night time, and also of spirits on pay days, from the time when payment of wages begins, and on Sundays. But all such measures are useless, if at the same time the social conditions which lead to excessive drinking are not re-

moved. Without this all prohibition is a one sided measure which can be used tot the disadvantage of the workers,

Licensed premises where there are female attendants and which are in reality disguised brothels can only be successfully combated by making it compulsory that women be employed in such places only when they have become of full age, that they be paid fixed wages without any share in the profits from the turnover, with full board, while at the same time the carrying out of the regulations be supervised by placing the premises under Trade Inspection.

The following demands must be presented to the State and municipal administration :

The erection and control of saloons, public houses and establishments where it is not compulsory to drink alcoholic drinks and where good non-alcoholic beverages are provided. The use of such premises must be allowed without exception to all political parties.

Further— The erection and support of refreshment houses with coffee, tea, milk, cocoa and lemonade as well as waiting rooms in connection with public works and institutions (workshops, railways, tramways, legal and military establishments and military practice grounds) connected with the sale of suitable soft drinks.

#### *(d) Taxes as means of fighting.*

It is absolutely useless to try to combat the abuse of alcohol by raising taxes or monopoly which increase the price of liquors. In this way it is much more to the interests of the State that the consumption of alcohol increases, and on the other hand, as the alcohol becomes more expensive those labouring classes which are driven to its use by their economic and mental misery only become obliged to lower their standard of living. To increase the cost of living means to injure the poorer of the poor.

Taxes on the lighter alcoholic drinks (wine, beer, fruit wine etc.) only force on an increased consumption of brandy.

So long as the States obtain a large portion of their income from the taxes on spirits, they cannot have any interest in the reduction of the consumption of liquor, or in forbidding it, especially when the producers of spirits are the big landlords, who, as in Prussia and herewith in the German Empire, are in possession of the ruling power in politics.

Nevertheless to their opposition to the taxing of the alcoholic

drinks it is the task of Social Democracy—as soon as such a tax as an accomplished fact of law—to put forward every effort in order that a big portion of the money drawn from the tax, especially that of spirits taxation be devoted to combat the alcoholic danger.

*(e) The fight against alcoholism by means of penal laws.*

Laws for dealing with drunkenness in accordance with which the victim is punished, are quite unfitted to restrict the abuse of alcohol. Such coercive laws only amount in the end to exceptive legislation aimed at the poorer classes, while the rich easily escape from their consequences. The drunkard ought not be surrendered to the lawyer, but, like every other sick person, should be taken in hand by the physician.

Since the inclination to drink alcohol is a form of disease, the majority of drunkards are psychopathically affected. Therefore public homes for inebriates under medical superintendence should be erected and supported out of public funds in order to cure drunkards.

Drunkards, who are a danger to others and especially to their own family, should be kept in such institutions until recovery is effected. The family should be supported—when necessary—by State or Municipal funds during this period.

Special care is to take by the municipalities for the children of drunkards.

Punishment must be imposed on those who induce for drinking liquors such persons who are coming from inebriates homes or who are giving alcohol to them.

To regard drunkenness as deserving more severe punishment is as wrong as to punish a sick person for being ill and correspond to the religious folly, which regards illness as sin which must be cured by punishment.

In exchange to this, attention ought to be paid to the Pollard System. (This system has been in use since the beginning of the present century by Judge Pollard, St. Louis, U.S.A.) This system provides, in such punishable cases, in which offenses have been committed under the influence of alcohol by persons who previously have never been convicted before, that the penalty be not imposed when the person concerned undertakes to abstain from all intoxicating liquor.

This conditional withholding of the penalty is a sufficient encoura-



gement to overcome the desire for drink only when temptation arising out of the conditions of life is not stonger.

### 3. *The influence by education*

The educational influences to fight against the alcohol danger are divided also into two classes.

The educational influences having as their object « total abstinence »,

The educational influence having « moderation » as their object.

#### (a) *Abstinence and Temperance.*

If every drop of alcohol were poison, then total abstinence would be the only right course. But alcohol is, as we showed at the commencement, up to a certain point not equally dangerous for all persons, but that there is a limit of moderation for every person, within which alcohol may be taken without injury so that for some persons temperance, moderate drinking will do.

In connection with certain activities certainly,—such as when uninterrupted strained attention is required, to avoid danger to one's own life or the life of others—total abstinence is absolutely necessary for some time immediately before undertaking and during such tasks. This applies to shipping and railway traffic and in attending to dangerous machinery etc.

The psychopatic persons whose feelings and wills are abnormal—that is those who in consequence of nervous weakness are unable to control themselves the limit corresponds with total abstinence. For such persons, every drop of alcohol is poison, because it robs them of the power to be moderate. And since through the feverish activity of capitalistic methods of production, the number of those who are weak of nerves in this way is increasing enormously, henceforce it is necessary for a large number of workers as they themselves know, to be total abstainers, in order not to be reduced to greater poverty.

The first propagandistic task is therefore to instruct and enlighten the masses regarding the nature of alcohol and its danger in order that everyone may know whether total abstinence or moderation is necessary for him. It is therefore the duty of State and Municipi-

pality and of all organisations of labourers to scatter this knowledge by speech and writing and illustration (Wandering exhibitions).

(b) *Special organisations.*

The education of the people so that they will act upon this knowledge is the task of political and trade union organisations. The organised workers must show unorganised ones an example of moderation of alcohol. The total abstainer and the moderate drinker must not be made object of disrespect but must strengthened in their convictions.

Special organisations for temperance or total abstainers are admitted for socialists only in connection with the socialist movement. There can be no neutral organisations because the emancipation of the workers from the alcohol danger means their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism.

Whoever will fight against capitalism, cannot be politically neutral, but must join the Socialist Party.

Bourgeois organisations—as dependent on the present economic order of Society leave the most important causes of the alcoholic danger—the impoverishing economic conditions—untouched, even if they are not engaged in fighting the labour movement and so assisting further vitiation of the conditions.

The interest of such organisations in the fight against alcoholism, goes only so far, as the producing power of the worker is lessened and the necessary care for the victims of alcohol increases the taxation of the propertied classes.

On the other hand, the labourers who join bourgeois anti-alcohol societies hold themselves apart from the political and trade union solidarity of their class fellows.

For this reason the German Social Democratic Party Congress in Leipzig in 1909 declared :

“ Inasmuch as the political and trade union activity of the labour movement is rendered more difficult by the existence of bourgeois total abstinence societies, this Party Congress calls upon party members who are abstainers to refrain from joining such societies. ”

(c) *Drinking Customs.*

Organised workers should see to it, as far as their influences reaches, that in all their meetings, the custom of drinking leading

to the abuse of alcohol be abolished, as well as the customs of standing tread when new members enter a work, etc.—general treating—the custom of treating the workmen when the roof is put on a building and also the customs of pledging healths and drinking toasts in social gatherings, customs which have developed into a caricature in students' drinking bouts. These drinking customs have come down from the most uncivilised days of the past—have been carried over from summoners in the country and are unworthy of recognition by enlightened workers.

*(d) The compulsion of drinking.*

Organised workers must also combat with all their might the most dangerous inducement to drink—the compulsion to pay for a drink in a restaurant. These places are no longer visited only for pleasure and voluntarily, but chiefly because certain personal matters must be attended to. (For example the restaurant building is used as labour exchange or for the payment of benefits and wages. Or it is used as a place for supplying workers with food in the vicinity of their work, when unmarried or travelling workers have no home, or for public purposes—politics, trade unions, co-operative, educational matters).

In addition to this come the vast majority of the population—the workers and lower middle classes, whose homes are too small to allow of social intercourse with friends and for whom the restaurant is the only possible place on such occasions.

This regular visiting of the restaurant leads to the regular habitual consumption of alcoholic beverages and this is also increased because the food in the restaurants is especially heated and spiced.

No-alcoholic drinks are sold at a high price in order to increase the sale of beer in the breweries' interest as the restaurants are generally owned by the brewery companies. The worse form of this compulsion is found in those restaurants which are to be found in work rooms, the canteens and in case they are leased to men who are in positions of authority over the workers.

The following measures are necessary to combat this evil :

1.) Legislation must be demanded as follows :

The prohibition of the sale on credit, or the sale or delivery of

alcoholic drinks in place of wages by employers or their representatives to persons in their employ (Truck-system; house beer in breweries).

Prohibition of labour exchanges in connection with public houses etc. and the sale of alcoholic drinks in shops and lodging houses.

Compulsion for the employers to furnish suitable drinking water and cheap non-alcoholic drinks at the work place.

## 2.) Tasks for the workers' organisations :

The class conscious political and industrial organisations of the working class movement are recommended to get rid of everything that encourages drinking in their meetings, whether they be social gatherings, or connected with the political or economic struggle, in all festivities, on the May-Day-Holiday and when benefits are paid out, at the labour exchanges, sick fund offices, etc. all obligation and encouragement to take alcoholic drinks should be abolished and non-alcoholic drinks be provided.

In any case it is the duty of the organised workers to completely refrain from indulgence in spirits during strikes and lock-outs and to encourage the non-unionists to do the same.

The use of rooms and halls for meetings or sittings etc. should be paid for and the indirect compensation of the owner by the sale of drink should be abolished. (Abolition of drink compulsion.) Where it is not possible to pay rent the organisation should pay the expense out of the members-contributions and when necessary, the contributions should be increased in order to remove the obligation to take a drink. The members have to pay more heavily when they have to pay for drinks and that is why many stay away from the meetings.

A direct grant of money must be made from the trade unions or the Party to assist in the support of People's Palaces. It is also a duty of the co-operative societies to erect refreshment houses where alcoholic drinks are not sold—wherever this has not already been done by State or Municipality.

In the juvenile institutes and in connection with all meetings etc. for juvenile under the age of 18 alcoholic should under no circumstances be sold.

By scientific and artistic means, young people as well as adults are to be instructed and entertained, so that they will never feel need for alcohol.

## VII. DECISIONS OF THE PARTY AND OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The principles laid down in this article for the war waged upon alcohol, were confirmed in the following resolution which I carried before the German Socialist Congress on the 20th. of September 1907 in Essen and was adopted unanimously :

### RESOLUTION :

“ The dangers to the workmen arising from alcoholism have grown with the development of capitalism. All these conditions which have helped to make him poorer have also tended to increase his desire to drink too much, and have made the satisfaction of this desire more dangerous—such conditions, for example, as excessive hours of work, insufficient pay, and insanitary dwellings and workshops. Through this industrial and social disorganisation, and the drinking habits thereby engendered, the workman is forced and accustomed to the inordinate use of alcohol. This habit of drinking has also this peculiarity, that when it becomes confirmed, he loses the power any longer to control it, even when the prime economical cause has disappeared. The middle-class temperance opponents, as a rule, look on drink habit as the cause of the peoples’ misfortune, and— not wholly without design—he ignores any study of the original and social conditions in which the man’s thirst arose. On the other hand, he tries by coercive penal laws, to force the so-called evil will of the drunkard, and, as a consequence of such laws, the latter has to pay twice over for a guilt originally brought on by the conditions of the society under which he lives. Capitalism and the State, the advocate of capitalist interests, have only this amount of interest in the drink question, that they suffer harm through the ruin of the workman and his diminished productive power.

### *The Congress declares :*

“ That the evils of alcohol can neither be removed nor palliated by coercive or penal laws nor by the imposition of restrictive taxation. Such coercive laws only amount in the end to exceptive legislation aimed at the poorer class of the population, while the rich

easily escape from their consequences. The drunkard ought not to be surrendered to the lawyer, but, like every other sick person, should be taken in hand by the physician. Public homes for un-ebriates under medical superintendence should be erected and supported out of public funds. The limitation of public houses will only drive the drunkard from open indulgence in the taverns to private drink in his own home. Taxes on the lighter alcoholic drink only force on an increased consumption of brandy. But the higher the tax on brandy, the more the poorer people as diminishes to no large extent its consumption, are plundered.

*« As a means of combating this evil, the Congress recommends :*

(1) Shortening of working day of 8 hours at most. (2) The abolition of night work, or at least reasonable shifts of duty at night with sufficient intervals of rest. (3) Abolition of the truck-system in alcohol. (4) Abolition of grocers' licenses and small clubs. (5) Increased sanitation of the workroom and more humane methods of work. (6) Protective legislation for children, young people and women. (7) Adequate wages. (8) Abolition of those protective taxes which increase the cost of land and living. (9) Extension of public schools in accordance with the resolution of the Mannheim Conference. (10) A thorough housing scheme with people's palaces, reading halls, and public recreation grounds. (11) Also, the trade unions are recommended to get rid of everything that encourages drinking in their meetings whether they be educational gatherings, labour exchanges or outpay of strike funds, while at the same time, by word and writing, to enlighten the children and young people as to the mischievous effects arise from the abuse of alcohol. Children must be prevented from being served with alcohol. Not only then will they engage in the old conflict against the real evils of drinking, but the class conscious political and industrial organisations of the working class movement will seek to improve their industrial conditions; and instead of seeking, in the abuse of alcohol solace and forgetfulness, they will encourage a fight against capitalism. As a result of this conflict they hope to abolish poverty and industrial enslavement, and to find contentment, satisfaction and joy.

The German Socialist Congress with met at Leipzig in 1909 completely prohibited the drinking of spirits, for policy reasons. The resolution runs as follows :

« The increase of the taxes on spirits which has been decided upon by the agrarian-clerical reactionary majority in the Reichstag has the object of placing a large part of the burden of the income of the Empire, which has been increased by the insane armaments policy, upon the shoulders of the poorest of the people. At the same time the maintenance of the « Kontingentierungs » policy assured a yearly extra profit of 50 millions marks to the big land-owners at the expense of the people who drink spirits. In order to oppose this scandalous exploitation of the people and at the same time to take steps to counteract the evils of poverty, both of body and mind, which are caused by spirit drinking among the masses of the people, the Congress appeals to all members of the Party and all workers to refrain from drinking spirits. The Party organisation and the Party press are asked to take active measures to secure the energetic carrying out of this decision. »

This boycott on spirit drinking has been and will be successfully carried through so that the consumption of spirits is decreased. But since the decision is only bounding to the Party members and since the majority of spirit drinkers and just the most immoderate of them are not organised in the Socialist Party the abuse of alcohol could not and cannot entirely removed by such a Party decision.

Various German trade union congresses have also passed resolutions against the excessive drinking of alcohol.

The Australian Socialist Congress in 1903, after hearing an address by Dr. Frölich, carried unanimously the following resolution :

« The Congress recognises in the drinking habits of the people a serious obstacle in the way of the successful prosecution of the Labour struggle, and an immense drawback in the way of efficient Socialist organisation. No ways should therefore be left untried of grappling with the serious evil.

The first way of working in this direction is to improve the economic condition of the people, and in order that this may be effective, it is necessary to enlighten the people on the injurious and destructive effects of alcohol.

The Congress therefore recommends to all its branches and to every comrade to encourage every movement that tends to discourage the drinking habit, and to abolish, as an important step towards this result, the sale of drink at all meetings of the Party. The comrades who are total abstainers are recommended to take part especially in the agitation of the temperance societies, and these latter on their part ought to take care that members do not neglect their duty to their political and industrial organisations.

Our Swiss comrades have adopted the following plank in their platform :

« We resolve to combat alcoholism ; we demand such employment of the tenth of the alcohol tax set aside for this purpose as will give the best support to working men and their organisations in making them independent of the saloon, i.e., the construction of public pleasure resorts, assembly halls and reading rooms, concerts, lectures and museum visits. »

The Dutch comrades include local option in their election platform.

The comrades in Norway, Sweden and Finland demand total abstinence.

The 21st. Socialist Congress in Norway, held in Stavanger, Easter 1912, passed the following resolution :

« This Congress regards the war against the drunk evil as a fundamental condition for the uplift of the working class. The societies and press of the Party must break off every connection with alcohol capital. Efforts must be put forward to bring about the greatest possible limitation of the liquor traffic, with prohibition for the whole country. »

The Party Congress in Abo 1899 unanimously decide to include the following demand in the Party programme :

« General prohibition laws for the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. »

The same demand was accepted by the Congress held in Forsca 1903 for the Party programme which is in force today.



In Sweden also the complete prohibition of all alcoholic drinks is included as a demand in the Party programme.

In Denmark and England the limitation of licenses premises for the sale of spirits is demanded by our comrades.

## VIII. THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL DRINKS AND TAXATION OF SAME, AND « ALCOHOL » CAPITAL

The kinds of alcoholic drinks consumed in a country depend largely upon the kind of raw product which the climate of the country produces.

In southern countries wine predominates. This is also the oldest of intoxicating drinks. Knowledge of the processes of wine making existed in prehistoric days.

But also the knowledge of the method of beer brewing existed in Egypt 2000 years before Christ (barley beer or wine), but it was only in the 8th. century A.D. that beer was first made from hops in Germany and became the main drink in the countries where wine was possessed only in small quantities.

The art of distilling from wine a liquid which was still more intoxicating than wine itself, was first discovered by alchemists in the middle ages. They named the distilled product « Alcohol », a word of Arab origin,—spirits of wine—burnt wine—or latin *aqua vitæ*, *spiritus vini*, water of life.— In the 16th. century fermented grain was used for distilling this liquor, just as wine had been used and later not only barley but also rye and other kinds of corn.

The poverty caused by the Thirty Years War led to an increased use of spirit in Germany.

Since at the beginning of the 19th. century the discovery that a fermented beverage could be distilled of distillation of spirits has been a supplementary business among the big landlords, especially in Prussia, which was the chief centre in the world for the production of spirits in the middle of the last century. Since the seventies Russia has been a keen competitor. At the present time Germany, Russia and Austria are the chief producers of potatoe whisky. The « Whiskey Triple Alliance. »

The strength of spirits is calculated according to the amount of

absolute alcohol. Ordinary spirits contain 80 p. c. in volume, and rectified spirits contain 95 p. c. of alcohol.

Wine is chiefly drunk in the South where it is cheap. It contains, as does the wine of the United States of America 15 p. c. of alcohol, in Germany and in Switzerland it contains 10 p. c. and in other countries 12 p. c.

It is very difficult to statistically determine the quantity of wine consumed but only in a few countries is there any control over the quantity (taxation) of wine consumed, and no control over the quantity of fruit wine consumed (that is wine containing 4—7 p. c. alcohol).

Beer has about the same percentage of alcohol everywhere. Stable sedimentary fermented beer contains 3 1/2—5; unstable surface fermented beer 1 1/2—2 p. c.

Spirits are sold in Russia containing 50 p. c. volume of alcohol, in Germany some time ago 25—30 p. c., at present in the average 15 p. c. volume, in Italy the Act of 1912 prescribes that a license must be obtained for selling spirits containing more than 21 p. c. of alcohol.

In calculating the consumption of alcohol consumed, not only the quantity but too the strength should also be taken into account and comparison is possible only on the basis of the quantity of absolute alcohol contained.

If the consumption per head of the population is calculated, the whole of the population is taken into account, whereas the actual consumers are persons who are at the very least 15 years of age, so that a comparison will show that more alcohol is consumed in districts where there are many children than where there are few, if the children are not taken into consideration.

In regard to the abuse of alcohol the figures for the consumption give no information as they only show the total annual consumption.

According to the figures for the annual consumption the person who drinks only one-tenth of a litre of spirits a day, that is he who keeps within the limits of moderation, is credited with drinking 36 1/2 litres a year and so is the man who is living totally abstaining during the week but drinks 7/10 (seven-tenths) of a litre of alcohol every Sunday regarded as equal consumer.

The annual consumption of alcoholic drinks and the quantity of

alcohol per head, per annum according to statistics and estimates for the last years are given below :

	Total quantity of alcohol	Wine (Litres)	Beer (Litres)	Spirits L of absol. alcohol
France	21.6	160.0	45.0	6.8
Italy	14.4	118.0	1.9	2.9
Belgium	12.8	4.6	230.0	5.4
Switzerland	12.0	70.0	71.0	3.8
Denmark	9.9	1.5	87.0	11.6
Great Britain	9.5	1.2	117.0	1.0
German Empire	9.0	5.8	106.0	2.9
Austria-Hungary	9.0	30.0	42.0	8.0
Bulgaria	7.5	31.0	2.7	0.5
United States	6.3	2.6	78.0	5.2
Sweden	5.6	0.6	50.0	6.0
Rumania	4.6	19.0	2.0	4.0
Russia	3.4	4.0	5.0	2.8
Norway	2.4	1.1	13.0	3.1
Finland	2.3	0.5	5.0	2.0

The low figures for alcohol and whiskey consumption in Russia are explained by the fact that out of the 125 millions inhabitants there are 20 million abstaining Mohammedans and 5 million abstaining sect members, so that the consumption per head of the number of inhabitants to be considered is not 3.4 but is 4 litres of absolut alcohol. In addition to this the rural population which drink less than the industrial are in the overwhelming majority. Thus in 1908 the consumption per head in rural districts was 2.2 and in urban districts—7.7 litres of absolute alcohol.

Where there is an improvement in the condition of the people beer drinking takes the place of spirit drinking, as in Germany. In calculating the expenditure of the different classes of the population for alcohol it must be remembered that alcohol in beer costs one—third to one—half more expensive than the alcohol in spirits.

The duty on alcoholic drinks constitutes an important part of the income of almost all States. The biggest in Russia with 26 p. c., U. S. A. 25 p. c., Great Britain 23 p. c., Germany 20 p. c., Holland 16 p. c., Sweden and Belgium 15 p. c., Denmark 12 p. c., France and Norway 11 p. c., Austria-Hungary and Switzerland 9 p. c.

Portugal and Bulgaria 4 p. c., and Italy 2 p. c. The total amount of duty raised annually is 5,000 millions of Marks.

Many millions are invested as capital in vineyards, beer breweries, distilleries, etc. In Europe alone there are 2 million premises for the sale of beer, and these are for greater part the property of or dependant on breweries.

Distilleries are generally in the hands of Landlords, the nobility, rulings princes and the Church.

The capital invested in alcohol production is an incentive and a protection for the misuse of alcohol. The immense sums of money make it possible not only to establish enticing premises but also by co-operation with the capitalistic press it can advertise and through its political influence it can prevent governments, authorities and legislation from doing any injury to the Trade in order to combat the alcohol danger.

Governments and Capitalists alike are interested in the excessive use of alcohol. Large numbers of the members of the propertied classes are profit sharers because they hold shares in breweries, distilleries and vineyards. Every decrease in consumption means less to them. The States cover a large portion of their expenditures by taxes on alcohol. A decrease in the consumption would compel the State to put taxes on something else and this would probably not be borne, as the drink duties are, by the poorer classes of the population.

For this reason Governments and alcohol Capitalists are interested in the campaign against excessive drinking of alcohol only in so far as this causes other burdens in the shape of providing poor relief, etc., hospitals and prisons or causing the ability of the worker to be reduced and his value as an object for exploitation to be lessened.

The emancipation of the working classes from the yoke of alcohol must therefore be the task for the working classes alone. This must be done by means of explaining and by the influence of the working classes on the economic and political conditions in favour of the working classes as against the interest of the Capitalists and Governments (1).

---

(1) Emmanuel Wurm : *Alkoholfrage und Sozialdemokratie*. Referat auf dem sozialdemokratischen Parteitage zu Essen 1907. Berlin

## SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES

The alcohol contained in alcoholic drinks has just the same effects as other nerve stimulants (e. g. Coffee, tea, tobacco) and acts as poison as soon as the strength and quantity exceed certain limits which are fixed for each individual.

This limit depends on the individuality and the social surroundings of the persons drinking and these also again affect his individual characteristics.

The effect of alcohol is that at first the nerves are excited and apparently invigorated and afterwards they are paralysed, stupified and deadened.

Alcohol gives strength neither to the body nor to the mind.

The weaker the body and mind are, whether because of youth, heredity, illness, under-feeding or over-exertion, the greater are the stupifying effects of alcoholic drinks and the greater the inability to take the drinks in moderation.

The limit of moderation is not the same for all persons nor for the same person at different times but is dependent upon the physical and mental fitness of the drinker.

According to the individual effects of alcohol the danger is to be avoided either by moderation or total abstinence. Condition in both cases is self-control, and this like every moral demand depends upon conditions of life. Poverty leads to abuse of alcohol—but alcohol drinking also leads to poverty.

The fight against the alcohol danger is not alone the task of individual hygiene but above all of social hygiene.

The abuse of alcohol is a social evil.

Under the capitalistic method of production with its enormous extension of alcohol production, its strong capitalists profits on mass consumption of alcohol, with the inclination of impoverishing the people socially and physically, the abuse of alcohol has become a

---

1908 Buchhandlung « Vorwärts » (Social Democracy and the Alcohol Question. Address to the Essen Congress 1907).

*Die Alkoholgefahr, ihre Ursachen und ihre Bekämpfung*, and *Die alkoholischen Getränke und ihre Besteuerung*. Hamburg 1912, Erdmann Dubber. (The Alcohol Danger, its causes and means of combatting it; together with « Alcoholic Drinks and Taxation »).

phenomenon of masses of the people, the effects of which grow more and more destructive. The more miserable the conditions of the people are the greater be their lack of power to withstand the abuse of alcohol.

At the same time excessive drinking of alcohol is a tremendous obstacle in the way of the uplift of the working classes. It renders them incapable of opposing the causes of their poverty, rendering the workers indifferent to the efforts made by his own class and thus becoming a help to the ruling classes.

## RESOLUTION.

On the basis of these considerations this Congress declares :

« The alcohol danger can only be rooted out, if at the same time the economic and intellectual needs of the masses of the people are satisfied.

As the Social Democracy in all countries have taken up the task of protecting the workers in so far as their economic and intellectual interest are concerned under the system of capitalist domination, so must they also adopt all means that are suitable to fight against the alcohol danger.

Accordingly State and Municipal Authorities were appealed to adopt all measures which would improve the social and economic position of the working class population, such as :

Effective national and international legislation for the protection of workers as set down in the demands of the international Socialist congresses.

Abolition of all indirect taxes and monopoly which help to increased cost of living. Measures to be taken against the artificial raising of ground and house rents.

Improvement of the education of the people by means of free schooling and also special attention to the instruction of the danger of alcohol.

The erection and support of libraries, reading rooms, Peoples' and juvenile Palaces and dramatic and artistic productions, all of which should be paid for out of public funds.

Further meeting and assembly halls, for the use of all political parties without distinction refreshment houses, without any

compulsion to take alcoholic drinks and with the provision of non alcoholic drinks, and also the establishing of waiting rooms in connection with public works and institutions (work rooms, railways, public buildings, military barracks and drill grounds).

Prohibition of the sale of spirits to children and juveniles.

In exchange the Congress declares :

That the complete or partial prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages is not fitted to defeat the alcohol danger unless at the same time effective social measures are taken to do away with the evil, but only would lead to frauds which could not be controlled. Prohibition is only practicable when home production can be prevented and the import of all goods is placed under strict supervision.

The increasing of the price of alcoholic beverages by means of taxes and monopoly does not decrease the misuse of alcohol, but only has the effect still further plundering the poorer people.

The penalising of the drunkard is ineffective and is in the nature of an exceptive law directed against the poorer classes since the well-to-do are easily able to escape.

To punish drunkenness is useless and on exceptive law against the poorer classes as the rich ones do easily escape. Drunkards are to be surrendered to Inebriates Homes under medical superintendence and at the same time those dependent on them should receive assistance from the State.

At the same the Congress recommend the following to the political and trades union organisations of the workers as exceedingly important steps to be taken :

To scatter broadcast the knowledge of the danger of alcohol and drinking customs.

In all meeting, etc., to abolish the compulsion to take alcohol beverages, to provide for the sale of cheap non alcoholic drinks and when necessary to abolish the compulsion to take alcoholic drinks by payment of rent.

In case of strikes and lockouts to avoid the use of spirits.

To prohibit the sale of alcoholic drinks in Juvenile Institutes and in all meetings for juveniles.

The Congress also recommends that in addition to the political and trades union activities, that co-operative action be taken to combat the misuse of alcohol, by lessening the burden of the

increased cost of food and living and thus enabling the people more ably to resist to the danger of alcohol.

That special organisations either of moderate drinkers or abstainers are useful only when connected with the Socialist movement of the workers.

Bourgeois organisations as well as neutral ones do not fight the economic and political causes of the alcohol danger, so they are useless for labourers as they separate them from the political and trade union solidarity of their class follows.

Finally the Congress declares :

That, different as the political and social conditions may be in different countries and different as the manner of combating the alcohol danger may be for Socialist Parties and Trades Unions all Socialist are of one mind in declaring that this fight must be carried on in future more systematically and with greatest energy, in the interests of the emancipation of the proletariat and the final victory of Socialism.

---