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The Second International 1889-1914



The History and Heritage

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Второй Интернационал 1889-1914:
история и наследие

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INTRODUCTION

A century ago, on July 14 1889, Paris became the venue of an international socialist congress, which inaugurated the Second International. It was timed to coincide with the centenary of the fall of the Bastille and the opening of the World Industrial Exhibition in the French capital. Drawing on the traditions of the French Revolution, the congress organisers urged the working people to prepare to storm "the Bastilles of capitalism". They, and the progressive public at large, perceived the World Exhibition not only as a display of scientific and technological advances and a testimonial of the bourgeoisie's enterprise, but also as evidence of the growing strength of the working class, which had by that time turned into the major productive force of society. The congress added substantially to the notions about this class, demonstrating its increasing social and political importance. The representatives of hundreds of thousands of workers' parties and professional unions assembled. They declared themselves to be the heirs of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the followers of the First International. The participants in the congress, "the apostles of new ideas",¹ as Paul Lafargue called them sought to make the congress the "starting point of international cooperation of the world proletariat"² for the purpose of "the emancipation of labour and all mankind"³ through the socialist reconstruction of society and by securing peace among the nations.

Having united nearly all of the various workers' organisations on this basis, the Second International in the quarter-

¹ *Protokoll des Internationalen Arbeiter-Kongresses zu Paris. Abgehalten vom 14. bis 20. Juli 1889*, Nürnberg, 1890, S. 2.

² *Ibid.*, S. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 121.

century of its existence up to the fateful August 1914, made a major contribution to the development of the working-class movement and to significantly build up the social and political role of the working class. Thanks to the efforts of its revolutionary section, which played the first role, it promoted Marxist hegemony in the international working-class movement, and helped millions of working people gain grater political awareness. It was now capable of launching more organised and vigorous actions, of developing more efficient tactics and strategy, and of making headway in the campaign for better economic and political conditions. It strengthened the international solidarity and cooperation of workers' organisations in all countries against reactionary forces, against monopolies, militarism and colonialism. Its effort made it possible to enhance the role of the working class as the vanguard and the main strike force of the movement for social progress and the preservation of peace.

Despite major successes of the working-class movement in the late 19th—early 20th centuries, it failed to prevent imperialism from unleashing the First World War. Opportunists emerged as the stronger group in the clash between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends within the Second International that grew progressively intense before the outset of the First World War, and won a decisive victory in the major workers' parties as the war began and the reactionary elements increased their activities. Their betrayal of the internationalists principles signalled the downfall of the Second International.

But this does not cancel out what the organisation managed to achieve in 1889-1914. As Lenin said, "the Second International rendered historic service, it has achievements to its credit that are *είς ἀεί* (everlasting) and which the class-conscious worker will never renounce—the creation of mass working-class organisation—co-operative, trade union and political—the utilisation of the bourgeois parliamentary system, and of all the institutions in general of bourgeois democracy, etc."¹ In the history of the Second International lie the roots of the revolutionary and the opportunist trends, and the sources of the split in the present-day international working-class movement. Proponents of these

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 504.

trends have often found themselves on the opposite sides of the fence, but the common effort to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to safeguard the future of mankind now insistently demand their cooperation.

This is the cause of the renewed interest in the activities of the Second International that can be seen now, a hundred years after its emergence and 75 years after its fall. Despite the tremendous differences between the social and political situation of a century ago and of today, the ideas and the experience of the Second International are still a living source and an important mainstay of the movement for peace and social progress, in particular of the Communists, the vanguard of this movement. The lessons of the work and the decline of this organisation are a warning of the danger of underestimating the threat posed by imperialism, which has created the possibility of a nuclear war capable of ending civilisation, of the disunity of progressive forces and the split in the working-class movement, especially at the turning points of mankind's evolution. Opportunities for the examination of these matters have been substantially expanded by archive research and the publication of the papers of the Second International and some of its leaders, work that has been largely initiated by Georges Haupt.¹

The lessons and the experience of the Second International have been subject to a variety of interpretations and have provided subject-matter for numerous debates.²

¹ See: *Bureau Socialiste Internationale*, Vol. I, 1900-1907, Paris, 1969; *Karl Kautsky und die Sozialdemokratie Südosteuropas. Korrespondenz 1883-1938*, Frankfurt-New York, 1986, et al.

² See: historiographic reviews in: *The History of the Second International*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1966 (in Russian); I. Krivoguz, "V. I. Lenin and the Soviet Historiography of the International Working-Class Movement after 1848" in: *The Historiography of the Working-Class Movement and the Socialist Revolutions in Foreign Countries*, Leningrad, 1973 (in Russian); I. Krivoguz, *The Main Periods and Laws of the International Working-Class Movement Prior to October 1917*, Moscow, 1976, Chapters 4 and 5 (in Russian); *The International Working-Class Movement. Problems of History and Theory*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1976, Chapter 12 (in Russian); Vol. 3, Moscow, 1978, Chapter 13; G. Haupt, *La Deuxième Internationale. 1889-1914. Etudes critiques des sources. Essai Bibliographique*, Paris, 1964; *Critique of Modern Bourgeois and Revisionist Views of the Ideological Struggle at the Time of the Second International*, Moscow, 1984 (in Russian).

One of the principal points of controversy is the appraisal of the role the Second International had in the international working-class movement. Characteristically, attempts to depreciate its role and contribution usually go hand in hand with the effort to downplay the importance of the common interests of the working people of all countries, to exaggerate their differences and even put the working-class movement in different countries in adverse positions. Occasionally, the Second International has been regarded as a meaningless agglomeration of different countries' workers' organisations, and its real activities were reduced to sporadic meetings of their representatives and isolated joint actions. It was in fact regarded as a "mailbox" that could not seriously influence the mass working-class movement. The devaluation of the Second International is, as a rule, a result of placing excessive stress on the working people's economic struggle outside of political and ideological context and without considering its role in the development and dissemination of the revolutionary theory.

The character of the Second International has been distorted by the insistence that the social-reformist trends within it, including right-wing revisionism and centrism, were Marxist. This view obscures or ignores the irreconcilable distinctions between Marxism and opportunism, as well as between Marxism and the extreme, leftist trends, i.e. anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism.

The differences of opinion are often rooted in incorrect evaluations of the correlation of the different trends (especially the revolutionary and the opportunist ones) within the Second International. Overstating the potential of social reformism by its adherents, and sometimes opponents, reduces the work of this organisation to reforms and ultimately denies the hegemony of Marxism in the international working-class movement, either in general or only in the early 20th century, thereby underestimating the revolutionary trend, isolating the Russian working-class movement, and even opposing Leninism to the working-class movement in other countries. Although some believed that, as compared to the contributions of the First International, the Second International of 1889-1914 was a step forward, and others, that it was a step backward, both groups identified it with the opportunist Second International of 1920-1940, which was also frequently referred to as the Second Interna-

tional. As a result of this historical mix-up, social-reformism of the 1920s and 1930s turns out to be the sole heir of the Second International of 1889-1914, and the revolutionary trend is denied an important part of its historical contribution and roots.

Both adherents and opponents of Marxism have been known to exaggerate the potential of the revolutionary trend in the Second International, which makes it impossible to uncover the real reasons why in some countries opportunism came to prevail in the working-class movement. The Second International was a fiasco, and the international working-class movement divided.

In defiance of scientific objectivity unsound conclusions were voiced concerning the evaluation of the Second International. This has provided material for ideological and political speculations. On the other hand, demands that, for objectivity's sake, all trends within the International be regarded as equally legitimate and significant irrespective of their place in the working-class movement and the extent to which they promoted the objective interests of the working class and that no well-substantiated and accurate appraisals be formed to avoid "labeling", serve to curb the attempts to get to the essence of processes and events and to profit by the lessons of history.

The diversity of approaches to the history of the Second International and the widely diverging estimates of its role and the correlation of forces within it are largely determined by the different ideological and political views and allegiances of the people who have researched this subject.

Works by bourgeois authors, from Landelin Winterer and Werner Sombart to Günther Nollau¹ were often based on a determination to uncover the vulnerable spots in the working-class movement so as to map out the ways and means of combating it. Other similarly minded authors, who did not subjugate their works directly to ideological and political aims but painted an objective picture of the various aspects of the Second International's work, still fail to re-

¹ L. Winterer, *Le socialisme international*, Paris, V. Lecoffre, 1890; W. Sombart, *The Labour International*, St. Petersburg, 1906; Günther Nollau, *Die Internationale. Wurzeln und Erscheinungsformen des proletarischen Internationalismus*, Köln, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1959.

veal its essence and in fact distort the general picture.¹

The works of such prominent figures in the Second International of 1889-1914 as Emile Vandervelde, Filippo Turati and Eduard Bernstein are considered the starting point of the Social-Reformist interpretation of its history.

Authors of social-reformist orientation, from Thomas Kirkup, Jean Longuet, and Paul Louis to G.D.H. Cole, Julius Braunthal, Karl-Ludwig Günsche and Klaus Lantermann² have all emphasised and exaggerated everything that bolsters social-reformism and played down and even, to some extent ignored the revolutionary trend, especially Leninism.

Left-wing authors, whose views range from anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism to Trotskyism and anarcho-Marxism, juggle with fragments of the Second International's history for the sake of "political expediency" using their research to prop up the stands of the corresponding trends and groups.³

A Marxist analysis of the most important aspects of the activity of the Second International of 1889-1914 was inaugurated by Frederick Engels and the leaders of this organisation—Karl Liebknecht, August Bebel, Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Karl Kautsky and many others. Many of Lenin's works dealt with the history of the International. Of

¹ Erika Rikli, *Der Revisionismus*, Zürich, Girsberger, 1936; Elie Halévy, *Histoire du socialisme européen*, Paris, F. Alcan, 1948; Lewis Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement*, New York, Harper, 1953; James Joll, *The Second International 1889-1914*, New York, Praeger, 1956, et al.

² Thomas Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*, London, Black, 1892; Jean Longuet, "Le mouvement socialiste internationale."—*Encyclopédie socialiste, syndicale à cooperative de l'Internationale ouvrière*, t. VI, Paris, 1913; Paul Louis, *Cent cinquante ans de pensée socialiste*, Paris, M. Rivière, 1953; G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. III, *The Second International 1889-1914*, London, 1956; Julius Braunthal, *Geschichte der Internationale*, Bd. I, Verlag J.H.W., Dietz Nachf. GmbH., Hannover, 1961; Karl-Ludwig Günsche, Klaus Lantermann, *Kleine Geschichte der sozialistischen Internationale*, Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, GmbH, Bonn-Bad-Godesberg, 1977.

³ Edouard Dolleans, *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier 1870-1920*, Paris, Collin, 1953; André Gorz, *Stratégie ouvrière et néo-capitalisme*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1964; Rudi Kutschke, *Versuch, Lenin auf die Fusse zustellen*, Berlin (W.), Wagenbach, 1974.

considerable interest are writings on various aspects of the International by Rosa Luxemburg, Leon Trotsky, Yulian Marchlewski, Karl Radek, Grigory Zinovyev, Yakov Sverdlov and many other figures in the revolutionary trend. The road traversed by the Marxist trend in the historiography of the Second International has proven to be a controversial one. For a long time, a vigorous campaign against opportunism made many of the followers of this trend¹ pass a negative judgement on the activity of the Second International in the early 20th century or even taken as a whole and identify it with opportunism, which exploited its heritage. They also underestimated the influence of Marxism, and played down the contribution of revolutionary Social-Democrats. They opposed Leninism to the political line of the Second International. The best works of that period² threw light on some of the aspects of the Second International's evolution, the contribution made by Engels and Lenin to its work, and the role of centrism. However, the negative appraisals of the Second International that were supported by Stalin have made a lasting impact on the treatment of this subject in research and textbooks.³ This has hindered the development of this branch of historiography.

¹ See: G. Seidel, *Essays on the History of the Second International 1889-1914*, Priboi, 1931 (in Russian); Karl Radek, *The Second International and Its Historical Role*, in: L. Lenz, *The History of the Second International*, Moscow, 1931 (in Russian); Karl Grünberg, *Die Drei Internationale*, Kena, Fischer, 1931; L. Ryklin, *The Second International (1889-1914)*, Moscow, 1933 (in Russian); Bela Kun, "From the First to the Third International", *Bolshevik*, No. 18, 1934.

² See: K. Pol, "The Bolsheviks in the Prewar Second International", *Proletarian Revolution*, Nos. 2-3 (109-110), Nos. 4-5 (111-112), 1931; L. Lenz, *The History of the Second International*, Op. cit.; Kh. Lurie, *Engels and the Foundation of the Second International*, Moscow, 1935 (in Russian).

³ See: Zdenek Šolle, *Dělnické hnutí a II Internationale*, Praha, 1951; Del Rosal Amaro, *Los congresos obreros internacionales en el siglo XIX*, Mexico, Grijalbo, 1958; I. Galkin, *The Second International. The First World War*, Moscow, 1952 (in Russian); N. Krutikova, *A Propos Lenin's Struggle Against Opportunism in the World Arena*, Moscow, 1955 (in Russian); U. Foster, *The History of the Three Internationals*, Moscow, 1959 (in Russian); Roland Bauer, *Die II. Internationale (1889-1914)*, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1956; Felicja Figowa, *Miedunarodówka*, Katowice, "Ślask", 1956; R. Palme Dutt, *The International*, Moscow, 1966 (in Russian).

As this trend was gradually overcome,¹ an opportunity appeared to continue the research into the labour movement of the late 19th—early 20th century in different countries, and to follow up on the doctrine of the Second International as expounded by Engels and Lenin.² The result of this new stage of the research into the subject, which also drew on works by many progressive historians,³ has been summed up in the second and third volumes of the collective work *The International Working-Class Movement. Questions of History and Theory* (Moscow, 1976 and 1978).

Research has confirmed Lenin's view of the Second International of 1889-1914 and substantially expanded our knowledge about its heritage. It has been proven that the Second International added to the substance and form of the working people's international solidarity, from the campaign to legally restrict exploitation to the effort to stop the arms race and aggression, from May Day demonstrations to regular meetings, which coordinated the activities and joint actions of workers' organisations in different countries. It has been ascertained that the major achievement of the revolutionary trend within the Second International was the predominance of Marxism, its dissemination, and ascent to a new, Leninist stage. We now have a clearer idea of the role of the Second International in the effort to raise the class and political consciousness of millions of the working people, help them step up their action and introduce a

¹ See: S. Belich-Franich *Druga Internacionala*, Belgrade, 1955; I. Krivoguz, "The International Labour Movement and the Second International" in: I. Krivoguz and S. Stetskevich, *Essays of the History of the First and Second Internationals*, Moscow, 1958 (in Russian); Milan Hübl, *Z dějin II Internacionály*, Praha, Stát. nakl. polit. lit., 1961; Mijo Haramina, *Drasković Blagota. Radnicki pokret i socijalis am Zagreb*, "Naprijed", 1962.

² See: I. Krivoguz, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, Moscow, 1964; *The History of the Second International*, I, II, Moscow, 1965, 1966 (both in Russian); Janos Jemnitz, *The Danger of War and the Second International* (1911), Budapest, Akad. Kiadó, 1972.

³ See: Georges Haupt, *Programm und Wirklichkeit. Die internationale Sozialdemokratie vor 1914*, Berlin, Luchterhand, 1970; *Socialism and the Great War. The Collapse of the Second International*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972; Leo Valiani, *Questioni di Storia del Socialismo*, Torino, Einaudi, 1975.

greater degree of organisation in achieving it. The Second International helped involve a large number of the working people into the labour movement, thus helping the working class to move to the forefront of social and political struggle as the vanguard of the forces promoting social progress. Much more has come to light about how the Second International helped the workers' parties and trade unions to streamline their methods when campaigning for democracy and better socio-economic conditions for the working people, and against imperialism, colonialism, militarism and war.

Recent research has traced the transformation of anarchism into anarcho-syndicalism, analysed the social-reformist revisions and the centrist distortions of Marxism, the growth of opportunism and the spread of nationalist moods in the majority of workers' parties, all of which made it impossible for them to make the necessary changes, weakened international solidarity and finally led to the collapse of the Second International and the division of the working-class movement.

The diversity of the heritage of the Second International's activities is evident; this precludes uniformity in one's approach to it. Back in 1919, Lenin wrote that the Communist International founded at that time "gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross".¹ The present-day communist movement, which has grown out of the Communist International and which has become "the most influential ideological and political force of our time",² has multiplied the achievements of the Second International. It has changed the world and the histories of nations, rallied the people to the struggle against exploitation and aggression, the effort to which the Second International made an important contribution, and has itself risen to a qualitatively new stage of its development in the 1980s.³

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 307.

² *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A New Edition*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 19.

³ See: I. Krivoguz, *The Labour Socialist International (1927-1940)*, Moscow, 1979; *The Ideology of International Social-Democracy in the Period between the Two World Wars*, Moscow, 1984 (both in Russian).

The complicated process of the consolidation of the social-reformist trend, which blew up the Second International by its own apostasy, opposed the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the attempts of the working people's most advanced and determined section to follow in its example, was completed in 1923 when the Labour and Socialist International was formed.¹ As the social-reformists themselves admitted, it was unshakeable in its opposition to any joint action with Communists,² its anti-fascist resolutions remained on paper, and many of its parties surrendered "almost without striking a blow in defence of the working-class movement".³ In 1940, the Labour and Socialist International fell apart. Later, its participation in the Resistance and its campaign for democratisation won the social-reformist trend quite a few followers. However, many of its leaders opposed deeper democratic changes and socialist revolutions in several European countries, thus antagonising many of its supporters among the working masses and finally ended up in an alliance with imperialism and aggravated the Cold War against the socialist countries and the communist movement at large. The Socialist International, which was formed in 1951 and united the social-reformist parties, countered the communist ideology with the ideology and policies of "democratic socialism", but deep changes taking place in the world and the Cold War forced the social-reformists (in the 1970s) to revise and update their ideological and political principles intact. It has managed to promote its influence in Latin America and Africa. Having failed to put the principles of "democratic socialism" into practice anywhere, the Socialist International still attracts working people in capitalist countries by its campaign for detente, disarmament and social progress. The CPSU Central Committee said in its address to the 17th Congress of the Socialist International: "We place a high value on the efforts of the Socialist International as an influential political force in the world arena."⁴ The Programme

¹ Karl-Ludwig Günsche, Klaus Lantermann, Op. cit., S. 97-110.

² Ibid., S. 107.

³ G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. V, *Socialism and Fascism, 1931-1939*, London, Macmillan and Co. LTD, New York-St. Martin's Press, 1960, p. 316.

⁴ *Pravda*, 23 June 1986.

adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress has reiterated the Communists' desire to cooperate with socialist, Social-Democratic and workers' parties: "However great the divergencies between various trends of the working-class movement might be, they present no obstacle to a fruitful and systematic exchange of views, parallel or joint actions to remove the threat of war, improve the international situation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and uphold the interests and rights of the working people."¹

The trends that cooperated and clashed within the Second International and differed in their estimation of issues of the principles and results of society's transformation, should now pool their efforts to save humanity from a nuclear catastrophe. A search for ways and forms of such cooperation is a major feature of the new political mentality.

¹ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A New Edition*, p. 79.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The emergence of the Second International was historically logical. Thirteen years after the official dissolution of the First International, which "laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism",¹ a fresh effort to unite the working-class movement of all countries became an objective necessity. This was obvious to the movement's participants.

The Hague Congress's approval of the ideas expounded at the London Conference signified the triumph of Marxism in the First International. This approval made it the most influential trend in the international working-class movement and gave it an edge over anarchism, trade-unionism (operatism, Lassalleanism) and the versions of social-reformism. However, this did not mean that all participants in the movement were ready to recognise the leading role of Marxism. Many of them, and especially newcomers to the movement, had to acquire independent political experience first. In the course of the struggle to achieve the acknowledgement of the leading role of Marxism, it became apparent that the ways and means used by the First International no longer fit the new situation. However, the hope of the First International that "more favourable conditions will again bring together the working men of all countries to common struggle, and the cry will resound again louder than ever ('Proletarians of all countries, unite!')"², was realised. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 307.

² Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States. From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor*, New York, International Publishers, 1947, Vol. I, p. 452.

need for another international association of the working people stemmed from newer and deeper social and economic changes, which promoted the growth of the working class and its movement, furthered its solidarity, expanded the working people's international contacts, and further spread Marxism.

* * *

Major political events occurred in the 1860s-1870s: serfdom was abolished in Russia, the Northerners' victory over the Confederates ended Negro slavery in the USA, the so-called Meiji revolution and the ensuing reforms took place in Japan, the German Empire was established, Italy was unified. These years also saw the consolidation of the bourgeoisie in France, the liberation of the Balkan peoples from the rule of the Ottoman Empire, and the formation of the world market. All this contributed to the rapid development of capitalism and its expansion to more countries. In the 1870-1880s alone, world industrial production doubled. The length of railroads grew three times, and the capacity of naval steam vessels, four times. Twice, in 1873 and 1882, the world economy was hit by overproduction crises. These crises ruined many petty producers and deprived large numbers of working people of their jobs. They promoted the concentration of capital and the increase of exploitation.

Along with accelerated technological progress, a major feature of industrial development in the 1870s-1880s was an almost universal increase in the size of the working class and a corresponding change in its composition. By the early 1890s, the number of industrial workers in the world had reached 25 million. In Europe, the proletariat made up over one-fifth of the population.

More than one-tenth of the workers came from non-proletarian families, those of bankrupt artisans and peasants. Approximately one-third of the work force were women. The number of children working in factories continued to grow. On the whole, the national composition of the proletariat was becoming increasingly diversified.

As before, it still consisted primarily of unskilled workers, but technological progress was raising the overall educational and professional level and the proportion and number of skilled workers. The majority of the workers were em-

ployed in agriculture, the handicrafts and retail trade, and worked at small or medium-sized enterprises. However, the rapid growth of manufacturing and mining industries, as well as of transport, increased the number and ratio of workers employed in these branches. The concentration of production resulted in a higher concentration of the proletariat in large enterprises and in the developing industrial centres.

The expansion of production and technological progress set higher standards for the work force, changed the conditions of its enlargement and increased the needs of the workers. Action by an increasing number of workers forced the industrialists to raise the wages, mostly for the more organised and skilled layers of the employees. By the late 1880s, the average wage of an industrial worker was about 10 per cent higher than at the beginning of the decade. The workers' demands also forced the industrialists to reduce working hours. In the 1880s in most West-European countries and the USA the workday was 12 hours, as compared to 13-16 hours in the 1870s.

In some capitalist countries, the ruling circles were forced to pass laws shortening the working day, preventing professional injuries, reducing the use of child and female labour and introducing state-sponsored social insurance programmes. But at that time, even Sunday was not a universal day off, there was no insurance against unemployment, and even the laws restricting exploitation were often ignored. Industrialists persistently tried to intensify labour. As a noted researcher Jürgen Kuczynski wrote, with the reduction of working hours, the intensity of labour per hour increased everywhere.¹

Of course, working conditions, pay and the living conditions of the workers in different countries, in different branches of industry, different professions, etc. did not change equally. For example, in the USA, wages were higher than in Europe, but due to the price increases they were not always sufficient to pay for food, clothes and housing. Furthermore, there were great variations in pay for different ethnic groups.

¹ See: Jürgen Kuczynski, *Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*. Berlin, Tribüne, Verlag und Druckereien des FDGB, 1953, Bd. VII: *Die Theorie der Lage der Arbeiter*, 1952, S. 297.

Industrialisation was turning the working class into the principal productive force of society, while its social and political role was nowhere as important. The bulk of the proletariat was still completely unaware of its own real interests. Bourgeois parties, state bodies, the church, the arts, and school ensured the dominance of bourgeois ideology by brainwashing the workers into unquestioning obedience to the exploiters and instilling a false belief in the generosity of those in power and the notion that the workers were better off to rely on their own diligence and their employers' charity. The expansion of the public education system, which did no more than give workers an elementary education, was also used to instil respect for the existing order. As a result, the workers' emancipation from the influence of bourgeois ideology was slow.

Furthermore, numerous bans and restrictions hindered the public activity of the working people who had gained an awareness of their interests. In some countries, such as Japan and Russia, the majority of the population had no political rights. But even in the countries that had representative bodies by the early 1890s, out of every thousand, only 265 people could take part in the elections in France; 82, in Italy; 73, in Austria; 62, in Sweden; 30, in Holland; and 22, in Belgium.¹ Apart from the fact that the more advanced workers did not have the same opportunities as the bourgeoisie to use the freedom of the press, speech and assembly, the right of workers' organisations were not universally recognised, their activities were restricted from above and often banned altogether. In Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and some other countries, propogating socialism entailed a severe punishment.

Nevertheless, the 1870s-1880s were "a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world".² Engels wrote that "the working-class movement is advancing more and more to the forefront of current politics".³

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Nr. 1, Bd. 1, 1890-91, S. 56.

² V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Moscow, 1974, p. 49.

³ Friedrich Engels, "Die europäischen Arbeiter im Jahre 1877", in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, Bd. 19, 1962, S. 119.

It was of decisive importance that the masses were gaining independent experience. Increasing exploitation and poverty, the widening gap between poverty and wealth, deterioration of the workers' relations and ever more frequent clashes with the employers and the authorities who always took the latter's side, made the workers realise that the interests of the exploiters' and the exploited are contrary, so their striving for social justice was enhanced, and they were convinced of the need to replace the existing system with socialism, the effort in which their own vigour and organised action was essential. This realisation was aided by the work of legal and underground workers' associations, which were involved in protests, spread socialist ideas and used the example of the Paris Commune of 1871 to convince the masses that a just system was attainable.

Of course, the diversity of concrete conditions made it impossible for workers to attain a high uniform standard of class and political awareness, organisation and involvement in the revolutionary struggle. The working-class movement developed unevenly. But in the second half of the 1880s, a wave of workers' mass protests washed over nearly all the capitalist countries. As far as we can judge drawing on dated statistics, which was far from exhaustive, the strikes were more massive and better organised than before. For the most part, they had an offensive rather than defensive nature. There were as yet very few political strikes, but since the authorities took steps to protect the employers, some strikes that advanced economic demands had a political significance. Political slogans were put forward more often at meetings and demonstrations, which in those years assumed a truly massive scale. The most popular slogan among the workers in many countries was one for the establishment of an 8-hour working day.

The working-class movement originally reached the greatest scope in the United States, which was first in the world in industrial production. In 1885, hundreds of thousands of American workers went out into the streets demanding an 8-hour working day. On 1 May 1886, they held a general strike involving over 350,000 people. Large numbers of workers were able to get their employers to reduce working hours, and 185,000 even won an 8-hour working day. Their

success infuriated the reactionary quarters. On 4 May, at a mass meeting of workers demanding an 8-hour working day, a bomb was thrown at the police—clearly a provocation. This served as an excuse to brutally smash the meeting and make short shrift of its most active participants. Seven of them were sentenced to death by hanging.

But this did not stop the workers' action. Engels wrote: "I consider the entry of the mass of hereditary American workers into the movement a major event of 1886".¹ In 1886-1890, American workers held 6,682 strikes involving 1,634,000 workers.

In England (not counting Wales, Scotland and Ireland), 219 strikes were staged in 1885-1889, or almost twice as many as in the previous five years. In the United Kingdom as a whole, 517 strikes took place in 1888, and 1,211 in 1889, involving 119,000 and 360,000 people respectively. In 1886, London witnessed violent meetings of the unemployed. The ban on strikes provoked a mass demonstration on 17 November 1887. In the spring of 1889, thousands of gas industry workers forced the employers to reduce the working day to eight hours. In the summer of the same year, a strike was launched by London dock workers who, having gained the support of all workers employed on the Thames, won a pay rise. "In 1889", wrote Lenin, "a young and fresh movement of untrained and unskilled labourers" began in England.²

In France, 923 strikes took place in 1881-1890, or several times more than in the 1870s. The most persistent workers' action took place in the second half of the 1880s. In 1886, over 3,000 miners in Decazeville were on strike for five months fighting for a pay rise and abolition of illegal deductions from the wages. The gendarmes and the troops instituted a regime of terror, but, supported by the country's progressive forces, the miners scored a partial success. In early 1889, workers' meetings and demonstration advanced the demand for an 8-hour working day.

¹ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, April 29, 1886" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, 1967, S. 477.

² V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of *Letters by Johannes Becker, Joseph Dietzgen, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, and Others to Friedrich Sorge and Other*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, 1977, p. 375.

In Italy, the second half of the 1880s witnessed 1.5 times more strikes than in the first five years of the decade. The strike movement assumed the greatest scope in 1888 and 1889. The masses also protested against the country's colonial conquests in Africa.

The scene was very much the same in many other countries. In March 1886, Belgium was shaken by workers' unrest in Liège and a major strike at the mines and glass works in Charlerois. In the spring of 1889, a strike on the Viennese city road set off a series of strikes throughout the country. In summer, a strike was launched by Kladno workers and miners in the other Slavic regions of Austria-Hungary. In the spring of 1889, a four-week strike was held by 90,000 Ruhr miners; miners' strikes flared up in other provinces of Germany as well. Almost 200,000 miners took part in the struggle for an 8-hour working day and permission to set up workers' committees at factories.

The growth of mass action promoted the strengthening of workers' associations which, as a rule, initiated such strikes. By the end of the 1880s, trade unions, the most popular form of proletarian association, were mass bodies not only in England but in a number of other countries as well. They began to appear in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and in some Asian and African countries. The overall number of trade-union members reached about 2.5 million. In England, the trade unions embraced about 900,000 workers, in the USA, 700,000, in Germany, 350,000, in France (where they were known as syndicates), over 200,000, in Australia, 100,000, and in Belgium, about 60,000.

Substantial distinctions still remained between the organisational standard of the working-class movement in different countries and in different industries and trades. But everywhere there was an influx of new members and the increased efforts to set up new unions. Having assumed a mass character, the trade unions acquired a chance to launch more determined action. No longer willing to confine their activities to protection of solely professional interests, they took demands common to all workers at a given enterprise, in a given district, in an industry, and even throughout the country. Strikes, meetings and demonstrations had become a regular method of their campaign, with the trade unions working to increase its scope and raise it to a higher organisational level.

The structure of most unions remained on professional basis, a heritage of the guild system. Workers in the different trades employed at the same factory belonged to different unions embracing any number of people. Some of these unions had a membership of a few dozen, and others, of up to a few thousand. Greater unity was achieved in Germany by the free trade unions (production-based trade unions which embraced all factory workers). Some of the newly established unions in other countries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, were also formed on these lines.

The awareness of the need for joint action led to the establishment of associations of such narrowly professional bodies on an almost nationwide scale, i.e. amalgamated trade unions in England, syndicate federations in France, and branch associations of production-based trade unions in Germany. Later, the various trade unions in England and other countries began to set up local territorial councils (labour exchanges in France, labour chambers in Italy). Following the example of the British Trades Union Congress, national associations of trade unions in the different industries began to appear in other countries as well: in 1873, in Switzerland (the Swiss Workers' Association); in 1879, in Australia; in 1881, in Spain (the Working People's Federation); in 1881-1886, in the USA (the American Federation of Labor); in 1882, in Italy; in 1883, in Norway; and in 1886, in France (the National Federation of the Syndicates).

In order to improve the social and economic conditions of the working people, the trade unions had to engage in political struggle. Campaigning for labour protection laws, the majority of British trade unions supported the Parliamentary Committee. In Australia, trade unions began to set up parliamentary committees in the states in 1884. The American Federation of Labor and some of the trade unions incorporated into the Order of the Knights of Labor took part in the election to legislative bodies, advancing the demand for an 9-hour working day, labour protection legislation and workers' rights. In 1888, the AFL congress decided to hold mass demonstrations and strikes on 1 May 1890. Despite repression, Germany's free trade unions maintained close contacts with the banned Social-Democratic organisations and voted for those who advocated the promulgation of labour protection laws and shorter working hours. In

France, the National Federation of the Syndicates declared the need for public ownership of the means of production and demanded legalisation of the 8-hour working day. Belgian, Italian, Austrian and other trade unions also became involved in political campaigning despite the bans and reprisals instituted by the authorities. In Italy, part of the syndicates formed an association under the name of the Workers' Party (Partito Operaio Italiano).

Other workers' associations grew alongside with the trade unions. By the late 1880s, about 300,000 workers were members of consumer and producers' cooperatives, and hundreds of thousands took part in the work of mutual aid funds and voluntary insurance societies. In Germany, the trade unions initiated a large number of consumer cooperatives, which were united by the General Cooperative Union and eventually turned into a major force in the struggle for improving the working people's social and economic conditions. At that time, the cooperative movement had gained the widest currency in Belgium, with the workers calling the tune in it. Belgian cooperatives acted as insurance bodies and mutual aid societies, and opened centres in which workers' associations, canteens and chemists' shops servicing workers were located. In France, mutual aid societies included tens of thousands of workers and held national congresses starting in 1888. The growth of the cooperative movement culminated in the establishment of the Cooperative Union in 1885. In some countries, cooperatives and sick funds were the only mass workers' organisations. These organisations also became involved in the campaign to improve the working people's life, and gradually came to take part in the ideological and political struggle.

As time passed, a conflict between bourgeois and proletarian trends became manifest in the trade unions, cooperatives and other workers' organisations, and socialist ideas gained a stronger foothold. In England, the United States and Australia bourgeois-reformist influence was still prevalent, but in Belgium the trade unions and cooperatives stated their socialist leanings and joined the Belgian Labour Party (Parti ouvrier Belge). In Germany, their majority was closely associated with Social-Democracy. The bulk of the trade unions in France, Italy, Austria and some other countries also displayed definite socialist orientation.

* * *

An important feature of the working-class movement of the 1870s and 1880s was the creation and consolidation of workers' parties that were striving for socialist reform. A period began of "the formation, growth and maturing of mass socialist parties with a proletarian class composition".¹ In 1871, only Germany had a workers' party, but by the late 1880s, such parties functioned in 16 countries.

As a rule, workers' parties emerged on the basis of sections of the First International by uniting socialist groups and trade unions, and sometimes cooperatives and mutual aid societies. A special place in their formation belonged to the newspapers published by socialist groups, which shaped and popularised their ideological and political platforms.

To stress their indissoluble link with the working class, some of the parties that emerged at that time called themselves workers' parties; others, emphasising their final goal, assumed the name of socialist parties. Yet others, seeking to fuse both features, declared themselves socialist workers' parties, and some, which attached primary importance to democratisation as a means of campaigning for socialism, took on the name of Social-Democratic or Social-Democratic workers' parties. By the end of the 1880s, these parties united thousands, and some of them even tens of thousands of more class-conscious workers and other labourers.

What they had in common was the desire to build a classless society and the recognition of the need to replace capitalism with socialism, i.e., to abolish the rule of bourgeoisie and exploitation of man by man, and to establish working-class state power and public ownership of the basic means of production. Regarding the working class as the principal force of such transformation, these parties sought to enhance its social and political prestige and help the workers to become more politically aware, active and organised. Seeking to provide necessary conditions for this effort, they campaigned, above all, for better social and economic conditions for the working people and the expansion of democratic rights. All this found expression in these parties' programmes, which "rested on the recognition of the basic

¹ V. I. Lenin, "August Bebel", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1980, pp. 295-96.

principles of scientific communism".¹

Naturally enough, they did not yet have a clear and uniform idea of the conditions that would make the transition to socialism possible, or of the socialist system itself. Not infrequently, the ideas of scientific socialism were formulated somewhat vaguely and were combined with social-reformist, Blanquist and anarchist ideas. The distinctions between individual conditions and the development level of the working-class movement itself could not but give rise to a wide range of demands advanced by workers' parties and to certain differences of opinion. However, they were gradually becoming aware of their common goals, principles and objectives, as well as the importance of international solidarity.

Workers' parties found it impossible to wholly borrow the organisational forms used by bourgeois parties. Drawing on the experience gained by older workers' organisations, from the National Chartist Association to the sections of the First International and the various workers' unions, and comparing notes among themselves, they had to work out their own organisational forms. Usually starting with federations of autonomous unions, workers' parties sought to attain more solid organisational unity by strengthening the powers of single leading bodies: the presidiums, the central committees, or the congresses. Recognising that merely agreeing to the party programme was not enough, these parties demanded that their members were actively engaged in party work. These tendencies made themselves felt at the earliest date and most strongly in those parties which had incorporated more or less the same type of organisation. Seeking to exert an influence throughout the country, each party worked to set up territorial branches which formed the main link of its structure. But many were forced to adapt to the repressive laws, to act illegally, to set up centres abroad and to expand the party functions of legal groups—parliamentary factions.

Despite the restrictions and reprisals, workers' parties managed to organise meetings and demonstrations and to set up networks of clubs and groups, in which they explained the essence and the consequences of capitalist exploita-

¹ *The International Working-Class Movement. Problems of History and Theory*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, p. 252.

tion, and discussed the working people's interests, goals, principles and political and economic demands. Wherever possible, they used election campaigns, parliaments and local self-government bodies for their purposes, coming forward with concrete proposals aimed at improving the conditions of the working people. They also printed and distributed books, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and magazines that expounded their ideas. By the end of the 1880s the socialist parties published over 90 newspapers and magazines, including more than 20 dailies.

By that time, the influence of workers' parties had significantly increased. Over 20 years, the number of votes they received increased tenfold and reached 1,110,000. This secured them seats in many local self-government bodies and in the parliaments of Germany, France, Italy, Denmark and Holland.

The German Social-Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), headed by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, was at the height of its "heroic period", despite the continuing repressions and some significant losses. Working underground and using legal means, it had managed to substantially expand its influence among the masses (over the 1880s, the number of people voting for it had grown 2.5 times), and forced the authorities to reckon with it and even grant certain concessions to the working people. As Marx and Engels had hoped, it eventually became aware that many of the Lassallean ideas contained in its programme adopted by the Gotha Congress were unsound. Thanks to its close ties with the trade unions and other workers' organisations, the German working-class movement acted as a single united force and enlisted the support of the strata that were discontented with the existing system.

The French working-class movement was still lacking cohesion. However, determined action to protect the workers' and peasants' interests against the government and the bourgeois parties, as well as tireless popularisation of socialist ideas had won the French Workers' Party led by Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue a leading place in this movement. The Possibilists headed by Paul Brousse, who were at the helm in the Socialist-Revolutionary Workers' Party, exerted significant influence in Paris, but the French Workers' Party had an edge over it in the majority of the provincial political workers' associations, in the National Federation of the

Syndicates, and cooperated with the Blanquist Central Revolutionary Committee, which was headed by Edouard Vailant.

The progress of the British working-class movement, which was the first to assume a truly mass scale, was hampered in the 1870s-1880s by the dominance of trade-unionism, which confined the goals of the British Trades Union Congress and its Parliamentary Committee to improving the working people's conditions through reforms in collaboration with the Liberals. Systematic propaganda of socialism had been conducted since 1884 by the Social-Democratic Federation (SDF) led by Henry M. Hyndman and the Socialist League had been set up with the help of William Morris, Ernest Belfort Bax, and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who disapproved of Hyndman's readiness to make a deal with the Conservatives. Despite their small numbers and a certain vagueness of principle, these two organisations did a great deal to disseminate socialist ideas and popularise the demand for an 8-hour working day. Their activities promoted mass workers' action, and the establishment of new trade unions, and aided the emergence of the Scottish Labour Party headed by James Keir Hardie in 1889. Some socialist ideas were taken up by a group of intellectuals, which included Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Bernard Shaw. In 1884, they set up the Fabian Society, which advocated an evolutionary transition to socialism. In the country where back in the 1830s the National Chartist Association, the first proletarian party ever, was set up, the road to a strong workers' party proved long and complicated.

The rapidly growing working-class movement in the USA moved to the forefront of the worldwide campaign thanks to its mass and determined efforts for an 8-hour working day. But the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) set up back in 1876 managed to somewhat strengthen its organisations only by the late 1880s. On the whole, its influence was still weak and, as Engels wrote, the working-class movement "fumbled forth having neither a clear idea of its goals nor sufficient knowledge".¹

In Belgium, the Labour Party formed in 1885 united

¹ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, April 29, 1886" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, 1967, S. 478.

nearly all of the working people's associations—political unions, including the Socialist Party set up in the 1870s, the trade unions, cooperatives and mutual aid societies. Their unification and consolidation on the basis of the ideas championed by the First International was "a transition from non-proletarian socialism to proletarian socialism".¹ Headed by César de Paepe, Louis Bertrand and Edouard Anseele, the Labour Party launched a campaign for better economic conditions for the working people and universal suffrage. They forced the ruling circles to meet the workers halfway.

In Holland, the Social-Democratic Union (SDU) (Social-demokratisk Forbund) led by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, was set up in 1882. It began a popularisation campaign for socialism, initiated strikes and the movement for universal suffrage. Mass action compelled the government grant some concessions.

In Denmark, the Social-Democratic Union, which was set up in 1876 and re-organised in 1880, became a mass organisation and scored a number of successes by uniting the trade unions, setting up cooperatives and mutual aid funds, conducting educational work and taking part in parliamentary elections.

In Norway, the Labour Party formed in 1887 demanded universal suffrage and better labour conditions, and engaged in the propagation of socialist ideas. In 1888, the merger of socialist groups and trade unions resulted in the foundation of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Sweden headed by Hjalmar Branting.

In Austria, the lengthy process of the formation of the Social-Democratic Party, whose establishment was announced in 1874, was complicated by bitter controversies within it. However, after the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party was formed in 1887 and Victor Adler led the campaign to popularise socialist ideas, the Social-Democratic Party of Austria was re-established at the Heinfeld Congress of 1888 with the assistance of the SDLP of Germany. By the late 1880s, the General Workers' Party of Hungary, set up back in 1880, became somewhat more active.

In 1888 in Switzerland, 16 year after the dissolution of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Crisis of Menshevism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1972, p. 357.

the Social-Democratic Party founded in 1870, socialist groups in collaboration with some of the trade unions managed to build such a party anew.

In Italy, an important contribution to the effort to unite the more class-conscious workers and separate their activities from those of the Bakuninists and bourgeois radicals was made by the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagna set up in 1881 and headed by Andrea Costa, by the Italian Labour Party founded in 1882 in Milan (although its leaders, Giuseppe Croce and Constantino Lazzari primarily stressed economic campaigning), and by the propaganda of socialist ideas conducted by Antonio Labriola, Filippo Turati, and Anna Kuliscioff of the Socialist League.

The Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, founded in 1879 and headed by Pablo Iglesias, was vigorously popularising socialist ideas and demanded democratisation of the political system as well as better social and economic conditions for the workers. In 1888, the part of the trade unions that subscribed to its stand broke with the Trade-Union Federation which preached anarchist views and set up the General Labour Union. Propaganda of socialist ideas was continued by the Portuguese Socialist Party which was founded back in 1875.

In Poland, the first workers' political organisation, Proletaryat, founded in 1882 under the leadership of Ludwik Warynski, was smashed by the police. In 1888, Vtoroi Proletaryat (Second Proletariat), was set up and in 1889, the League of Polish Workers headed by Julian Marchlewski and Alfred Warski was established.

The Emancipation of Labour group set up in Geneva by Georgi Plekhanov in 1883 "laid the theoretical foundations for the Social-Democratic movement and took the first step towards the working-class movement" in Russia.¹ In Bulgaria, a socialist group was formed by Dimitr Blagoev, who became acquainted with Marxism in Russian. In the 1880s, socialist groups sprang up in Serbia, Romania and Greece. European immigrants founded such groups in Chile and Argentina. In 1887, the Socialist League of Australia was formed. By the late 1880s, socialist groups were also functioning in Cuba and Japan.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Ideological Struggle in the Working-Class Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1972, p. 278.

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The activation of the working-class movement and involvement of new countries in it served to promote international solidarity. Another factor contributing to this was the growing migration of the work force. By the late 1880s, about 18.7 million Europeans had left their home countries and settled abroad, 3 million in Europe, and the rest, in America, Africa and Australia.

The form of international association of organised workers worked out by the First International was in the 1870s too confined. When the General Council moved to the USA and, later, the First International was disbanded, the international contacts of organised workers entered a new phase. Workers' organisations of different types in all countries expressed the desire to expand cooperation, although no one had a clear idea of just how this could be done.

In the 1870s, this tendency was utilised by the anarchists who had been expelled from the First International. Realising that they would never get the majority of workers' organisations to approve their platform, they used the slogan of "anti-authoritarianism" to try and isolate the Marxists and establish control over the development of the workers' international contacts. James Guillaume and other anarchist leaders usurped the name of the First International and held international congresses in 1873, 1874, 1876 and 1877, forwarding invitations to everyone wishing to promote international contacts, from the trade unions to the SDLP of Germany. In fact, the range of participants in these congresses was restricted to representatives of some West European workers' organisations. Quite a few of them were opponents of anarchism, who increased their activities as the workers began to understand the need for political struggle and the formation of parties. Furthermore, the anarchists were fighting among themselves. The failure of their adventurist actions in the end of the 1870s weakened their international prestige and forced them to revise their ideas and tactics. Their unfounded claim to domination hampered the progress on international cooperation among the workers' organisations.

The striving for broader and more fruitful international interaction found expression at the international congress of workers' organisations convened in 1877 in Ghent on the

initiative of Belgian socialists. It was more representative than the congresses held by the anarchists and, what is most important, socialists clearly dominated it. The congress uncovered considerable difference of opinion between the socialists and the anarchists and rejected the latter's attempts to impose their ideology and tactics. On the initiative of César de Paepe, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Leo Frankel, Hermann Greulich and Louis Bertrand, the majority passed a resolution of the need to form workers' parties and to expand and consolidate the workers' international solidarity in their struggle against exploitation. "The ground on which workers of different European countries can again act resolutely together has been regained," wrote Engels about this congress.¹

After this event, only proponents of anarchism took part in the anarchist international congresses. But they found themselves in isolation and were pushed out into the fringes of the international working-class movement, and their congresses only hindered the international unification of the proletarian forces.

They did not attend the congress held in 1881 in Chur on the initiative of Belgian socialists and the SDLP of Germany. The congress stressed the need for a political campaign of the working class, and this further widened the gap between the socialists and the anarchists. Having voted for the revival of the International, the congress recognised that the time was not yet ripe. It emphasised the importance of furthering international cooperation among workers' organisations and instructed the French Workers' Party to prepare the next congress to be held in Paris.

But after the socialists and the anarchists parted ways, the revolutionary socialists guided by Marxism and social-reformists within workers' parties began to clash on points of policy. After the French Workers' Party split, the Possibilists used its mandate to hold international workers' congresses both to win support abroad for their policies in France, and to secure hegemony of social-reformism in the international working-class movement. In view of the fact that the need for international congresses had increased with the growth of the working-class movement, the Pos-

¹ Friedrich Engels, "Die europäischen Arbeiter im Jahre 1877" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 124.

sibilists convened the next congress in Paris as early as in 1883, and after that, in 1886. Representatives of European workers' parties and trade unions, and workers' organisations from other continents took part in these congresses. At the 1883 congress, the Possibilists and the British trade-union leaders issued resolutions calling for an international labour law and the repeal of laws that impeded international contacts. At the 1886 congress, the most powerful stance was displayed by representatives of the USA and Australia, where the working-class movement was at its peak. On the initiative of Belgian socialists, the congress approved the establishment of an international organisation that would push for an 8-hour working day and the convocation of an international workers' congress in 1889, the 100-year anniversary of the French Revolution, which was to be prepared by the Possibilists. By and large, it promoted the campaign for an 8-hour working day in France and other European countries. The idea of another international workers' congress was supported by the congress of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party held in 1887.

Leaders of the British Trades Union Congress, who opposed the increasingly political character of the campaign for an 8-hour working day, held an international workers' congress in London in 1888. Only legal European trade unions were invited to it. They sought to confine the activities of workers' organisations to the campaign for better economic conditions. But even this congress declared the need for setting up workers' parties. Calling on the working people to step up international propaganda of an 8-hour working day, it advanced the opinion that the international workers' congress to be held in Paris in 1889 should be timed to coincide with the World Exhibition and that it should set up an international workers' organisation.

The resolutions of the international workers' congresses held in the 1880s remained below the political and ideological level of the resolutions adopted by the London Conference and the Hague Congress of the First International. However, they did reaffirm their main ideas and reflected their recognition by a far broader circle, and even by the majority of workers' organisations. They promoted and consolidated international cooperation of organised workers, strengthened the socialists' hegemony in the international working-class movement, advanced the campaign for an

8-hour working day and demonstrated the almost universal desire to revive the International. But there was also another trend at the end of the 1880s: attempts by the trade unions to obstruct the ideological and political development of the international working-class movement became more insistent and a danger appeared that leadership in the effort to re-establish the International would shift towards the social-reformists, who were headed by the Possibilists at that time.

International congresses, which in the 1880s gave workers' organisations a chance to compare notes and discuss common problems, were an important but not the only means of strengthening international cooperation. A new and significant form of international solidarity were direct contacts between workers' parties, which expanded as new parties were formed. A special place in this matter belonged to the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany. Emigration of a large number of German Social-Democrats in the years when the Anti-Socialist Law was in force allowed it to establish close links with workers' organisations in many European countries and in America. This extended moral support and material help to the refugees, helped the SDLP organise congresses abroad, and aided in the publishing and distributing of its literature. In their turn, the refugees passed on their experience and contributed to the foundation of workers' parties in the United States, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and Argentina. The SDLP's success was a reference point for many workers' organisations and it stimulated their ideological and theoretical advancement and their political vigour. Engels was convinced, and rightly so, that the success of German Social-Democrats at the 1884 elections "will have a tremendous impact on Europe and America".¹ The SDLP, the French Workers' Party, the Belgian Workers' Party and other organisations supported each other during election campaigns. On the socialists' initiative, workers' organisations of Britain, France, Italy and some other countries conducted concerted action against Britain's aggression in Egypt. In the second half of the 1880s, French, German and Spanish socialists launched a joint campaign against the adventurist aggressive policies of their countries' ruling quarters.

¹ "Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, London, October 29, 1884" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, S. 227.

Another new form of international cooperation of workers' organisations (primarily, socialist) evolved as a result of the growth of the socialist press. The internationalist character of the majority of socialist publications manifested itself in their interest in the working-class movement in other countries, publication of articles on the work of socialist organisations abroad, and in moral and political support. The socialist press regularly carried essays by leaders of the working-class movement of other countries. Engels wrote: "Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels and Milan threads run in all directions and cross and recross one another."¹ In the late 1880s, all attention was focussed on *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the SDLP's central paper. At the same time, the Party's theoretical journal, *Die Neue Zeit*, became the publication in which socialists from many countries exchanged opinions and discussed common problems. For the most part, the publishers of *Justice*, *Le Socialiste*, *Avanti!*, *Gleichheit* and other socialist papers did their best to promote international discussion of pressing issues. This not only allowed socialist parties to compare notes but helped them realise that they had vital common interests and tasks and it promoted the working people's solidarity and the unity of the international working-class movement.

Consistent headway was being made by direct international cooperation among trade unions. In 1885, the German book-binders' union got in touch with its colleagues in Austria and Switzerland. In 1886, Göteborg hosted the first Inter-Scandinavian Workers' Congress, which advocated workers' participation in the political struggle and nationalisation of the means of production. It did a great deal to strengthen the trade-unions' and workers' parties' cooperation in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. In 1888, the miners' unions of England, France and Germany reached an agreement to hold an international miners' conference. An idea emerged to set up international coordinating trade-union centres in various industries.

Much more was being done to render international assistance to major working people's actions, especially in the se-

¹ "Engels to Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva, London, February 10, 1882" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, p. 329.

cond half of the 1880s. Workers in many countries responded to the Decazeville strike held in 1886. International aid was extended to London dockers and Ruhr miners who went on strike in 1889. Belgian workers made it impossible for the British employers to recruit strike breakers in their country. Australian workers sent £30,000 to the London strikers. International assistance became stronger after the American workers came out for an 8-hour working day and the reactionary quarters responded with reprisals against the activists of the working-class movement in Chicago in 1886. Meetings of solidarity with the victims of the reaction and with the movement for an 8-hour working day were held in Britain, Cuba, France, Italy, Spain and Russia. A resolution adopted at a meeting in London noted "the great danger to Public Liberty that arises from suffering citizens to be punished for resisting attempts to suppress the right of Public Meeting and Free Speech".¹ Everywhere, workers were collecting money for a fund for the defence of the convicted labour leaders in Chicago. In Cuba alone, \$955 was collected. Following the example of the American workers, other countries advanced the slogan of an 8-hour working day. An idea to hold simultaneous solidarity action on 1 May was born.

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In the 1870s and 1880s, the growth of the working-class movement was associated with the development and dissemination of Marxism. Its fusion with the working-class movement provided the basis for the emergence and activities of workers' parties, which, in their turn, expanded the sphere in which Marxism operated and gave a fresh impetus to its further development.

Leadership in the development and dissemination of Marxism still belonged to its founding fathers, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Their new works published in the 1870s and 1880s, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, *The Housing Question*, *Anti-Dühring*, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Volume Two of *Capital*,

¹ See: Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Vol. II, International Publishers, New York, 1955, p. 113.

Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy made a tremendous contribution to the working-class philosophy and outlook.

A major step in the development of political economy was the analysis of the turnover of capital and of social production, the study of the fundamental laws governing the realisation of the social product, which determine the proportions and economic crises, the theory of interaction between exchange and distribution, exposure of the main contradiction of capitalism, and the substantiation of its exacerbation and its eventual abolition by replacing private by public property.

Marx and Engels made a major contribution to the philosophical science by developing the issues of matter and motion, the basic features of materialist dialectics, the relationship between thinking and existence, cognisability of the world, the correlation between spontaneity and consciousness, chance and necessity, the individual and the masses, the interaction of the basis and the superstructure, the role of political coercion in history, the class essence and the partisan character of philosophy and the qualitative distinction between Marxist philosophy and the other trends. They also offered an analysis of Hegel's and Feuerbach's doctrines, and gave a minute account of the foundations of dialectical and historical materialism.

They added to the theory of social development by giving a detailed characteristic of the socio-economic formations preceding capitalism, bolstering the proof of the inevitability of socialist revolution, outlining the main features of the future communist system, analysing the essence, forms and the role of the family, private property and the state, and offering an exhaustive appraisal of the bourgeois state and bourgeois democracy. They strengthened the arguments in favour of the workers' winning state power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat for a socialist transformation of society, and outlined the prospects for the withering away of the state. Emphasising the general principles of the transition to socialism, Marx and Engels believed that their concrete forms will be determined by the prevailing specific conditions, which at that time were not yet ripe even in the most economically advanced countries.

They traced the emergence of Marxism, described its component parts viewed in their interaction, and explained

the principal distinctions between scientific and utopian socialism. Marx and Engels never deviated from objectivity, which benefited the working class, and resolutely opposed all attempts "To *accommodate* science to a viewpoint which is derived not from science itself (however erroneous it may be) but from *outside, from alien, external interests*".¹

Marx's and Engels' analysis of the lessons of the Communist League, the revolutions of 1848-1849, the Paris Commune and the First International was of fundamental importance to the Marxists when defining their social, political and ideological bearings. Of particular value for the formation of the socialist parties were the works that considered and appraised the processes and events that had occurred in the 1870s and 1880s in individual countries and the world at large.

Recognising that it was "quite useful to let the formal organisation of the International recede into the background",² Marx and Engels channelled their effort into fusing Marxism with the working-class movement. Engels wrote that it was necessary "to spread with increased zeal among the masses of workers the ever more lucid understanding thus acquired and to knit together ever more strongly the organisation both of the party and of the trade unions".³

In view of the widely differing nature of workers' organisations and the existence of different trends, including anarchism, social-reformism, etc., as well as the varying development standards of the elements of the working-class movement, Marx and Engels urged their adherents "to go in for any general working-class movement, accept its factische [actual] starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level".⁴ Engels wrote that "it is quite possible to keep up abreast with the general movement of the working class at each stage of this movement without sacri-

¹ Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part II, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 119.

² "Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, September 27, 1873" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, p. 268.

³ Frederick Engels, "Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*" in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1988, p. 631.

⁴ "Engels to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in New York, London, 28 December, 1886" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 377.

ficing or concealing our own special stand and organization."¹

Marx and Engels were doing their best to adapt the general principles of the First International to the concrete situation in each country and make them usable in the working-class struggle that "is being waged pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political and the economic-practical (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way."²

Encouraging the formation and consolidation of workers' parties, Marx and Engels wrote that each must have "a definite programme",³ and that "every workers' party of a big country can develop only through internal struggle, which accords with the laws of dialectical development in general".⁴ In their effort to help shape the tactics of workers' parties, they stressed that the need to protect the workers' immediate interests and introduce reforms should go hand in hand with popularisation of the revolutionary goals. But, as Lenin wrote, "Marx did not commit himself to matters of form, to ways and means of bringing about the revolution".⁵ Marx and Engels helped enhance the efficiency of the underground activities carried out by banned workers' organisations and taught the workers the use of "new weapons", the "new way of the proletarian struggle", democratic rights and freedoms and the electoral law.

Marx and Engels themselves were not members of any workers' party, which made it easier for them to become involved in the activities of each. They critically analysed the Gotha Programme of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party but tactfully refrained from public criticism and helped the Party to overcome confusion and stand up to the ca-

¹ "Engels to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in New York, London, 27 January, 1887" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 36, 1967, S. 598.

² Frederick Engels, "Supplement to the Preface of 1870 for *The Peasant War in Germany*", *Op. cit.*, p. 631.

³ See: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 362.

⁴ "Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, London, October 20, 1882" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, 1982, p. 332.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, "The Tax in Kind", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 377.

pitulatory moods of the social-reformists, the revolutionary verbiage of the adventurists and the spread of pseudo-socialist views. They channelled its activities in the right direction at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law and, generally speaking, contributed to its overall success. Marx and Engels took part in the work on the programme adopted by the French Workers' Party in 1880, supported Jules Guesde's and Paul Lafargue's campaign against the Possibilists, and helped consolidate the French Workers' Party. They persistently worked to emancipate the trade unions from liberal influence and to unite the revolutionary forces and form a workers' party in England. They criticised the sectarianism and the dogmatism that hampered the growth of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA, rendered support to revolutionary socialists in Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Poland and other countries, and helped workers' organisations to overcome anarchist, social-reformist and the bourgeois radicals' influence. Marx and Engels kept in touch with the revolutionary Narodniks and played a part in the popularisation of Marxism in Russia. "I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth in Russian which frankly and without equivocation accepts the great economic and historical theories of Marx," wrote Engels to Vera Zasulich in 1885.¹

By the 1880s, Marx's and Engels' circle of correspondents and their own correspondence grew substantially. Activists in the working-class and socialist movement corresponded with them. "The best people in all the working-class movements in many countries have full confidence in him (Marx.—I. K.). At critical junctures they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best," wrote Engels.² This is true of Engels himself, who continued to keep up the correspondence after Marx's death. His house in Regent's Park Road in London was a place of pilgrimage for socialists from many countries seeking his advice and support.

The publication of new editions and of earlier works of

¹ "Engels to Vera Ivanovna Zasulich, London, April 23, 1885" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 361.

² "Engels to Eduard Bernstein In Zurich, London, October 25, 1881" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 324.

Marx and Engels in different languages was of tremendous importance for the development and dissemination of Marxism. At the top of the list was the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the first volume of *Capital*, and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. New ideas were contained in Marx's and Engels' prefaces to the new editions of their works that had first appeared in the 1840s-1860s. Marx's and Engels' works were also reprinted in the papers and magazines published by workers' organisations: *Der Volksstaat*, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, *Eastern-Post*, *The Labour Standard*, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, *L'Egalité*, *La Plebe*, *La Emancipacion*.

Marx's and Engels' "importance as the spiritual leaders of the working-class movement grew continuously".¹ Marx's death on 14 March 1883, was a great loss. Engels wrote: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time."²

The advancement and dissemination of Marxism was promoted by the constant increase in the number of its followers, who not only shared its ideas but used it to deal with a growing range of general problems and, most important, the concrete issues posed by the working-class movement in the various countries. As the latter advanced, it became obvious that "an independent elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential ... for this theory provides only general guiding principles, which, in particular, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia."³ A great deal was being written about *Capital*, which was presented in a popularised fashion, albeit not always well enough, in works by Carlo Cafiero (Italy), Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (Holland), Gabriel Deville (France), Szymon Diksztajn (Poland), Auguste Vermelin (Sweden), Pavel Argunov (Russia), Henry Mayers Hyndman (Britain), and Karl Kautsky (Germany). Theoretical issues of Marxism were developed and popularly outlined in books, pamphlets and essays by Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Paul La-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, 1960, p. 26.

² "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, March 15, 1883" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 340.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Our Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, 1977, p. 212.

fargue, Jules Guesde, Karl Kautsky, Josef Dietzgen, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, William Morris and Antonio Labriola. The followers of Marx and Engels stressed a study of the conditions of life and the struggles of the working class, the need for a socialist change of society in each country, elaboration of well-substantiated programmes and the political course, and the improvement of the workers' parties' tactics. An important contribution to this effort was also made by Victor Adler, Leo Frankel, Daniel De Leon, Ernest Belfort Bax, Eleanor Aveling, Andrea Consta, Filippo Turati, Louis Bertrand, August Palm, Dimitr Blagoev, Pablo Iglesias and Julian Marchlewski, and many others.

The advancement and spread of Marxism took place against the background of sharp confrontation with the bourgeois ideology prevailing in the capitalist countries and especially its influence among the working-class movement, and the various social-reformist trends associated with it, and with revolutionary adventurism. The chink in its armour made by the First International and the effort of the workers' parties was substantially widened in the late 1880s. Neither repression nor the efforts of the liberals, bourgeois reformists and bourgeois radicals, who sought to use workers' organisations to promote their own ends, were able to put a barrier in the way of socialist ideas and the formation of independent workers' parties. The workers' experience and well-substantiated criticism levelled by Marx and Engels and their followers crippled the positions of social-reformists: Lassalleans, Proudhonists, Possibilists, et al., although some of them had been involved in the formation of workers' parties and retained some authority in the working-class movement of France, Denmark, Britain and Hungary. The anarchists, who undermined their own prestige by adventurist policies, lost a great deal of their former authority under the fire of Marxists' criticism and tried to find support in some syndicates with somewhat modified views. These changes (especially the fusion of Marxism with the working-class movement in many countries and the subsequent development of Marxist Labour parties along these lines) made Marxism, which was the most powerful trend since the early 1870s, the governing force in the international working-class movement. Even then, as Engels wrote about Europe, "Continental Socialism was almost exclusively the

theory heralded in the Manifesto".¹

The necessity of, and the prerequisites for an international association of workers' organisations headed by Marxists were quite ripe.

* * *

In the situation that had evolved, the Marxists could not allow the social-reformists to seize the initiative in the preparations for an international workers' congress scheduled for 1889. Their campaign began with the well-known St. Gallen Congress of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party. Beginning in April 1888, the Party leadership began to consider the possibility of holding a congress jointly with French workers' organisations. Engels believed that "the congress should be timed to coincide with the jubilee of the French Revolution of 1789 and the Paris Exhibition",² and that it should state its socialist principles and rebuff the anarchists. In October, the congress of the French Federation of the Syndicates, and in December 1888, the congress of France's socialist organisations decided to help prepare and hold an international workers' congress in 1889. Early in January 1889, the National Socialist Commission, which embraced the French Workers' Party and the Blanquists, set up an Organising Committee, which decided to invite all workers' organisations to the 1889 congress.³

However, Possibilists made an attempt to seize the initiative in this matter. In January, they came up with an agenda and rules that, if accepted, would have given them control over the congress and allow them to keep it within the confines of social-reformism. Seeking to establish their own hegemony, the Possibilists did not attend the conference of workers' organisations of Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium convened on Wilhelm Liebknecht's suggestion to discuss preparations for the congress.

¹ Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party. From the Preface to the German Edition of 1890" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. One, 1976, p. 103.

² "Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht in Borsdorf, London, 16 April, 1888" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, 1967, S. 54.

³ See: *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. A Letter by Paul Lafargue to Wilhelm Liebknecht of January 12, 1889*, 100.IV.2865, p. 1.

The conference took place on 28 February in The Hague on the premises of the *Recht voor Allen* newspaper offices. Represented at it, besides the workers' organisations of the above-mentioned countries, were observers from the Social-Democratic Union of Denmark and the Socialist League of Britain. Participants in the conference rejected the Possibilists' claim and decided that a general international workers' congress should be held in 1889, and that it would independently decide on its agenda and procedural rules. All workers' organisations involved in political struggle were invited to it. Each organisation was entitled to send one delegate. The agenda consisted of three points: international labour law; inspection of the workers' conditions at major and minor enterprises, including the cottage industry; ways and means of securing observation of the laws and regular inspections. The congress was scheduled to be held in Paris in September 1889. The Possibilists retained the right to convene the congress on condition that they complied with all the decisions passed by the conference. In the event that they refused, the congress was to be convened by the Belgians and the Swiss, with the immediate preparations being the responsibility of the Organising Committee operating in France.

The Possibilists declared their readiness for formal concessions but in fact refused to recognise the decisions of the Hague conference. They resolved to use Hyndman's support and get all workers' organisations to take part in the congress they were preparing, with the exception of the French Workers' Party, which they sought to isolate, and named a meaningful date, 14 July. The leadership of the Belgian Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany and the Swiss workers' organisations did not dare defend the decisions of the Hague Conference, especially because the leaders of the French Workers' Party suggested that they change the opening date to 14 July, also.

The agreement reached in The Hague, and the very convocation of an international socialist congress headed by Marxists, was on the point of falling through. Describing the situation, Engels wrote that "the convocation of the congress means either giving in to the Brousse-Hyndman alliance or struggling against it".¹ Giving in to social-re-

¹ "Engels to Karl Kautsky in Vienna, London, May 21, 1889" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, 1967, S. 216.

formists would have meant the defeat of the French Workers' Party and a build-up of the right wings of the workers' parties, including the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany. Engels put aside his work on the third volume of *Capital* and, as Lenin put it, "flung himself in to the fight with the ardour of youth" to defend the hegemony of Marxism at the international socialist congress.¹

Throughout March, April and May, Engels made most of the important decisions concerning the preparations for the congress, guided the activities of Paul Lafargue, one of the Organising Committee secretaries, Eduard Bernstein, who edited *Der Sozialdemokrat* newspaper, the organ of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party, and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who worked in the Socialist League. Engels edited documents pertaining to the congress, approved the printing and dispatch of leaflets, pamphlets and appeals and conducted a lively correspondence with Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and working-class movement leaders in the United States, Denmark, Austria and other countries. His main concern was to expand, as far as possible, the range of participants in the slated congress. Engels managed to rally nearly all participants in the Hague Conference and to win over the majority of workers' organisations. "You can be proud of having saved the congress," Paul Lafargue wrote to him.²

However, the Possibilists refused to negotiate. In April they addressed the Belgian Labour Party's congress, which had decided to send delegates to both the international congress planned by the Hague conference and the Possibilists congress. This decision livened up the Possibilists' activities, who were the first to publicly announce the plans for their congress. They capitalised on lack of coordination between the positions of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party leadership and the Organising Committee, and received the support of the social-reformists operating within a number of parties, including the SDLP.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of Letters by Johannes Becker, Joseph Dietzgen, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, and Others to Friedrich Sorge and Other", *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 369.

² *Friedrich Engels, Paul et Laura Lafargue Correspondance*, t. II, Editions sociales, Paris, 1956, p. 233.

It had proved impossible to prevent the Possibilists' congress, so the thing to do was to oppose it with a congress led by Marxists and to increase the number of its participants so as to make the advantage over the social-reformists self-evident. Late in April, Engels, Liebknecht and Bebel almost simultaneously persuaded the Organising Committee to act without wasting even a day. On 8 May the OC published an appeal which contained the terms of the congress's convocation drawn up at The Hague, and, in view of the escalating danger of war between France and Germany, added to the agenda the question of the abolition of armies and the arming of the people. It also changed the opening date to 14 July. The appeal launched the organisational and technical preparation for the congress.

Engels did a great deal to get workers' organisations in various countries support the Organising Committee and edited the address for the convocation of the congress, which was subsequently signed by 67 working-class movement leaders of 12 countries. On 1 June the announcement was made in *Der Sozialdemokrat* and reprinted in the socialist newspapers of all countries; it was also issued as a leaflet and sent to all workers' organisations.

Wherever possible, meetings of workers' organisations were held, at which delegates to the congress were elected. At many such meetings, especially in France and England, and in the press, a sharp polemic between the Marxists and social-reformists, who were on the side of the Possibilists, unfolded. On Engels' proposal, Eduard Bernstein published a pamphlet which proved that the Possibilists' effort to win control was causing a split in the international working-class movement. As early as 8 June, Engels wrote that "with the exception of the Social-Democratic Federation, the Possibilists have not a single socialist organisation on their side in the whole of Europe".¹

Engels continued his correspondence discussing issues that were of importance to the congress organisers. He explained why it was necessary to make its work quite public and why the attempts to bring back to life the old international organisation—the International Working Men's Association—were currently "as impracticable as they are use-

¹ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, June 8, 1889" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 382.

less".¹ "We have proven to the world, that nearly all socialists are Marxists," wrote Engels.² He also stressed that the international socialist congress and the congress convened by the Possibilists would differ as to their character and could therefore work hand in hand without a scandal, or even form an alliance on mutually acceptable terms. Engels believed that the Marxists' victory was certain, so he decided not to attend the congress but return to his work on the third volume of *Capital*.

* * *

The Congress of United Socialists, as the international socialist congress was called at the time so as to distinguish it from the Possibilists' congress, opened in Paris on 14 July, at 9 a.m. The Salle Petrelle, where the delegates met, was decorated with banners reading: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" "The goal of socialists is political and economic expropriation of the capitalist class and socialisation of production!" "On behalf of Paris of the June days of 1848, of March, April and May 1871, of the France of Babeuf, Blanqui and Varlin we are sending our greetings to workers of both hemispheres!"³ However, the hall was too small, and after 15 June the congress moved to the more spacious hall in the Rue Rochecouart. The list of delegates included 384 names from 20 countries. They held 393 mandates representing about 300 workers' and socialist organisations. On the evening of 17 July, the number of participants had already reached 407, and continued to grow in the next few days. The delegates represented hundreds of thousands of organised workers.

The international socialist congress of 1889 proved more representative than any other in the history of the working-class movement, differing from the preceding ones by the prevalence of Marxists, although social-reformists and anarchists also spoke.

The German delegation, whose members represented Social-Democratic and trade-union organisations in nearly all

¹ "Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, 28 June, 1889" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 240.

² "Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, 11 June, 1889" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 235.

³ *Protokoll...* 1889, S. 1.

parts of the German Empire, numbered 81 people. Although some of them leaned towards social-reformism, it was still the most united one at the congress. This, as well as the strong principles and experience of its leaders, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, secured it the leading role at the congress.

The French delegation was the largest (206 delegates and 211 mandates), the Marxists and Blanquists forming the majority and coming as a united front under the leadership of Paul Lafargue and Edouard Vaillant. Its cohesion was not as strong as that of the German delegation, though some of its members were anarchists or sympathisers, but its numerical size and its role as the congress organiser gave it a great deal of clout.

The British delegation represented only a small part of the working-class, and about a half of the country's socialist movement. Among the 19 delegates were William Morris, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and James Keir Hardie. Some members leaned towards anarchism, others towards social-reformism. The Belgian delegation was headed by César de Paepe and Jean Volders, who laid claim to leadership in the social-reformist trend. One part of the Italian delegation, led by Andrea Costa and Giuseppe Croce, was inclined towards social-reformism, while the other, headed by Severio Merlino, strove to gain control in the anarchist trend.

Despite the national distinctions, the Austrian delegation was strongly united, considered itself Marxist and supported the Germans against the anarchists. The delegation representing the Russian revolutionary movement had six members.¹

¹ They represented a large number of organisations, including the Society of Russian Workers in Paris, which published the *Sotsialist* newspaper; the Russian Social-Democratic Union; three groups of the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will); the International Workers' Educational Club (London), and even the Union of European Artisans in New York, whose members formed part of the US delegation. All these were emigré organisations. Lavrov stated that taking part in the congress were representatives of the Revolutionary-Socialist Group of St. Petersburg, the Armenian Group in Geneva and other similar organisations (*Protokoll... 1889*, S. 35). According to the statement carried by the *Berliner Volksblatt*, "Russian workers at mines and factories" declared their solidarity with the international socialist congress and requested Lafargue and Artenova (E. G. Barteneva—I. K.) to represent them (*Berliner Volksblatt*, 19. Juli 1889, No. 166).

Of the three Russian delegates who spoke on major issues, only Georgi Plekhanov, the representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Union, was a Marxist. The Swiss Social-Democratic Party and the workers' organisations sent six delegates, and the United States and Romania, five delegates each. The USA was represented by the Socialist Labor Party of the USA and individual trade unions, but neither the American Federation of Labor nor the Order of the Knights of Labor sent delegates. The Social-Democratic Union (SDU) of Holland sent four delegates, with only Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis being prominent in the movement. The Polish delegation also consisted of four people. The delegations of Denmark, Norway and Hungary each had three representatives, and Sweden and Spain had two members each. Also represented were the socialist movement of Argentina, the Association of Bulgarian students in Brussels, and the working-class movement of Finland.

At the very first meetings, Paul Lafargue, Edouard Vaillant and Wilhelm Liebknecht spoke about the character, purpose and significance of the congress. In the opening speech, Paul Lafargue referred to the 100-year anniversary of the French Revolution and said that after the revolution the bourgeoisie had turned the entire country into a Bastille for the workers. "You are brothers, and have only one enemy: private capital," he said addressing the congress.¹ Edouard Vaillant spoke of the tremendous international significance of the Paris Commune and stated that the struggle for labour protection law would give the workers a chance to better prepare for the overthrow of the rule of capital in order to ensure socialisation of the means of production and become free "in a social-democratic people's state".² He said that the congress was the beginning of "planned and unanimous action of the international proletariat and the socialist movement".³ Urging the congress, this "international workers' parliament", to carry on the ideas and the effort of the Paris Commune and the International Working Men's Association, Wilhelm Liebknecht said that it was the duty of the international working-class movement, which "has outgrown the dimensions of a single

¹ *Protokoll...* 1889, S. 2.

² *Protokoll...* 1889, S. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 3.

workers' organisation", "to fully implement the International Working Men's Association's programme, to make the national organisations even stronger, and to ensure greater unity of the international alliance".¹

Both Vaillant and Liebknecht spoke about the importance of peace among the nations for social progress, condemned the ruling quarters for setting one nation against another, and emphasised the need to replace their aggressive policies by "a democratic defensive policy of armed and organised people".² To demonstrate the fraternal feelings binding the French and the German workers, they shook hands to the accompaniment of general applause.

Vaillant and Liebknecht were elected congress chairmen and headed the presidium which consisted of 27 most prominent activists in the international working-class movement, as well as five workers delegated by the miners.

The "congress of united socialists" received messages from dozens of workers' organisations in many countries. They sent greetings, voiced their faith in its success, and told about their own efforts. The congress replied to each message, took a collection for the benefit of the striking Westphalian miners, and the families of the victims of the Saint-Etienne accident.

The procedural rules of the congress's work were approved only towards the end of the second day. The majority resolved to settle all questions by direct ballot with each deputy having one vote, and only in special cases to vote by nations, giving all representatives of each country one vote. The agenda worked out by the Hague Conference was enlarged by two new points, the unification of the congresses, and the delegations' reports on the state and progress of the working-class and socialist movement in their countries. Actually, the issues made the rest recede into the background.

The Possibilists' congress that opened at the same time in Paris in the Rue de Lancry proved much less representative than that of the "united socialists". Out of 571 delegates, 491 were sent by the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagna and the syndicates supporting it, whose ideas carried weight only in Paris.

The rest represented 92 workers' organisations in 12

¹ Ibid., S. 8.

² Ibid., S. 2.

countries,¹ with some of them (the Belgian Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Union of Holland, Italian workers' organisations) also acting as delegates to the congress of "united socialists". The representatives demanded that the two congresses unite. Prominent among the delegates were social-reformists; there were also some anarchists. The Possibilists, who were in control, rejected the idea of unification on the basis of a compromise and accused the German Social-Democratic Labour Party and the French Workers' Party of sowing dissent in the international working-class movement, and demanded that the congress of the "united socialists" be disbanded.

Referring to the supposedly supreme interests of the proletariat, the social-reformists taking part in the congress of "united socialists" insisted on uniting the two congresses "at any cost", as César de Paepe put it.² They were hoping to link up with the Possibilists and weaken the Marxist hegemony, and were supported by the Belgian, Italian and Dutch delegations. Nieuwenhuis's proposal to disregard the differences, set up a unification commission and unite the congresses on the basis of recognition of the legality and equal rights of all participants was supported not only by the above-mentioned delegations but also by some of the representatives of the USA, Britain and Denmark, and even some of the anarchists who still entertained hopes of reviving the International Working Men's Association in its Bakuninists version, i.e., on a federative basis.

The majority of the participants in the international socialist congress believed that unification "at any cost" was impossible. However, the followers of Liebknecht, who did not wish to miss the chance to unite all the elements of the international working-class movement, advocated a fusion on a sensible foundation through a compromise that would prevent the Possibilists from gaining control and secure the Marxist hegemony. Engels, who warned against extraordinary efforts to unite, wrote that "unification on rational terms is a very good thing"³ but clearly had some forebodings.

¹ See: *Names of Delegates Attending the International Workmen's Congress, held in Paris, July 15-20, 1889*, London, Co-operative Printing Society, 1889.

² *Protokoll... 1889*, S. 12.

³ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, 17 Juli, 1889" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 250.

The other group, following Vaillant, censured the Possibilists for collaboration with the French bourgeoisie, called their congress "the congress of splitters" and suggested that the international socialist congress open its doors to all representatives of workers' and socialist organisations taking part in the Possibilists' congress, naturally, excluding the Possibilists themselves. Jules Guesde and Victor Adler who sought to consolidate the majority, suggested that the congresses unite step-by-step. Finally, Liebknecht's proposal was passed by a majority vote and with the support of the delegations of 12 countries.

Many delegates to the Possibilists' congress recognised Liebknecht's plan as an acceptable basis for uniting the two congresses, but the Possibilists, who were vying for control, rejected it for all intents and purposes and passed a resolution demanding a verification of all mandates held by the delegates of the "united socialists'" congress on the national basis, hoping to use this ruse to oust the French Marxists. Despite the fact that this condition was clearly unacceptable, seeking to effect a union, the international socialist congress instructed its Presidium to begin negotiations with the leaders of the parallel congress and to refrain from either advancing or accepting any preliminary terms. However, the majority of the Possibilists' congress delegates insisted on the terms that had been advanced, thus eliminating the possibility for unification. Of course, the Possibilists and the British Social-Democratic Federation tried to pin the blame for the failure on the Marxists, but the Italian, the Dutch and some other delegates, who were outraged by their actions, left the congress. "The Possibilists," Paul Lafargue wrote to Engels, "are thoroughly demoralised; at the last session they had but 58 people, including delegates."¹ The Possibilists, who made unification on a sensible basis impracticable, alienated the fluctuating elements, some of whom joined the congress of "united socialists". Their effort to seize control over the international working-class movement fell through, as did their plans to discredit the French Workers' Party. The Possibilists' defeat weakened the position of social-reformists in general, and even impaired the situation of those who took part in the international socialist congress.

¹ F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 293.

The congress heard and discussed reports about the working-class movement in 17 countries and the actions initiated by miners, glass-blowers, sailors, waiters and women-workers. Analysis of the evolution of the working-class movement and its goals was made by August Bebel, Jules Guesde, Edouard Vaillant, William Morris, Pablo Iglesias, Adelheid Popp, Victor Adler, C. Palmgren, Klara Zetkin, Georgi Plekhanov, César de Paepe, Pyotr Lavrov, Jean Volders, and Saverio Merlino. Associating the socialist transformation of society with the seizure of political power by the working class and the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, the majority of speakers realistically appraised the correlation of class forces and named among the priorities of their campaign improvement of the workers' economic conditions, expansion of their political rights, protection of labour, organisation and education of the people, involving them in a political campaign, and staging mass actions. Specific plans and programmes were outlined with adequate consideration for the individual conditions prevailing in the various countries and the interests of the different strata of the working class. The experience amassed by the workers' parties, especially the German Social-Democratic Labour Party, was reviewed and examined, including their use of parliamentary elections, trade-union activities, and organisation of strikes. Speaking on the interests of women-workers, Klara Zetkin said: "Both with reference to the sacrifices and duties and with reference to the rights, we want to be neither more nor less than comrades-in-arms, who, other things being equal, will be admitted to the ranks of fighters."¹ Georgi Plekhanov's resolute statement that "in Russia, the revolutionary movement will win as the working-class movement"² was met with applause.

These concrete tasks of the working-class movement were supported by the overwhelming majority of the participants in the congress, including the social-reformists. The Marxists linked them up with the historical perspective of preparing the working people for revolution. "A new Commune will come," said Jules Guesde, "the old mistakes of the first will not be repeated, and the new commune will be victori-

¹ *Protokoll...* 1889, S. 84.

² *Ibid.*, S. 63.

ous.”¹ The social-reformists hoped that the necessary reforms would be accomplished through cooperation of the workers’ organisations with the bourgeoisie, and that the socialist system would be established as a result. “We are asking a great deal from the government,” said César de Paepe, “and we shall undoubtedly get what we want, gradually, little by little, step by step.”² The capitalist society will “die by itself, without any outside assistance,” said Victor Adler.³

In order to be able to deal with the matters of top priority, the Marxists and the social-reformists did not insist on a split, avoided mutual criticism and joined their ranks against the anarchists, who had become more active. Saverio Merlino said that legislation concerning the improvement of labour conditions was “an economic impossibility” and that fighting for it would mean “negation of the great principles of revolutionary socialism”.⁴ He also refused to recognise the need for the workers to seize political power and establish public ownership of the means of production.⁵ The anarchists were opposed to the campaign for universal suffrage and the workers’ participation in parliamentary elections. They were supported by Nieuwenhuis and some other delegates. Member of the Narodnaya Volya I (People’s Will). Bek also spoke out against Marxism.

Drawing on the experience of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party, some other workers’ parties and many trade unions, the Marxists managed to find convincing arguments in favour of the workers’ involvement in parliamentary elections. Wilhelm Liebknecht came out emphatically against Nieuwenhuis’s speech. Speaking on behalf of the majority of the French syndicates, Edouard Vaillant dissociated them from anarchism.

The reports and speeches, which took all of three days, covered all questions that had been entered on the congress agenda. The Presidium took due note of the opinions and ideas that had been voiced, as well as the delegates’ amend-

¹ *Protokoll... 1889*, S. 39.

² *Ibid.*, S. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 45.

⁴ *The Commonweal*. The Official Organ of the Socialist League, Vol. 5, No. 188, August 17, 1889, p. 259.

⁵ *Protokoll... 1889*, S. 65.

ments and additions to the draft resolutions proposed by August Bebel, Jules Guesde and Edouard Vaillant. At the last meeting held on 20 July, a vote was taken on the drafts, which had been edited by the Presidium. Many delegates were displeased because there was no time to discuss them, a circumstance that was used by the anarchists to sow a scandal and disrupt the voting. The police could have easily used this incident as an excuse to close the congress but, on Vaillant's appeal, the trouble-makers were evicted from the premises. Several Italians and Britishers, who sided with the anarchists, also left the congress. The rest of the delegates almost unanimously approved the resolutions.

In the resolution for the abolition of the standing armies and the universal arming of the people, the congress associated the campaign for peace and the struggle for socialism. It urged elimination of the standing armies, since it considered them to be tools of reaction and aggression, which were incapable of defending the country against a strong enemy, disrupted civilian life in peacetime and diverted manpower from production. Instead, it urged the formation of a people's militia that would safeguard peace and democracy and be able to repulse any aggressor. This would put an end to aggressive policies and ensure peace, "the first and essential condition of any workers' emancipation".¹ The resolution stated that war was "the dismal product of contemporary economic relations, which would disappear only when the capitalist mode of production was ousted by emancipated labour and international socialist victory".²

The resolution "On the Ways and Means of Realising the Demands for Labour Protection" called on the socialist and workers' organisations to use all available means in this campaign, including meetings, assemblies, demonstrations, the press, petitions, etc. It urged the delegates to demand that parliaments and municipal bodies pass such laws. The resolution stated that the workers must fight to get the governments of their countries to send representatives to the international conference convened by the Swiss government for the purpose of discussing labour protection laws. The congress instructed the Presidium to elect an executive commission of five members, which was to inform the confer-

¹ *Protokoll...* 1889, S. 120.

² *Ibidem.*

ence about the principles of labour protection evolved at the congress, to publish a weekly called *Der Achtstunden-Arbeiterstag* (*Le journal de huit heures*), and to advise all Socialists about the progress of the campaign for labour protection, reduction of working hours, and other related matters. It also passed a decision on the preparation and convening of the next international socialist congress. This resolution became the cornerstone of an international proletarian organisation, a new International "in the shape of periodical international congresses".¹

A single resolution was adopted on two issues—the labour protection law, and the limitation of working hours and inspection. It stated that only the proletariat organised on the national and the international scale was capable of abolishing exploitation and oppression. It should seize political power, expropriate the capitalists and establish public ownership of the means of production. The labour protection law was counted upon to improve the position of the working people within the framework of capitalist society, promote the growth of the working class's political awareness and organisation level, and create the conditions for the effective struggle for the achievement of their ultimate goal.

The congress demanded the establishment of an 8-hour working day for young workers, a ban on the labour of children under 14, shorter working hours (not more than six) for teenagers and a ban on night shifts and harmful work for women and young people. It urged the workers to fight for at least one day of rest a week, the elimination of the payment of wages in commodities or coupons usable only in company-owned stores, and middlemen when hiring manpower.

The resolution insisted on the introduction of strict control over the observation of the labour laws at all enterprises, including in cottage industries. This was to be executed by the inspectors elected by the workers.

The congress called on the workers to demand that their governments adhere to all the above-mentioned principles, and to campaign for the adoption of international labour protection agreement. The resolution made it clear that the workers had to fight for equal pay for equal work and for

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 32.

the abolition of discrimination on the basis of sex or nationality. An important demand advanced by the congress was complete freedom of associations and coalitions, for only organised workers had a chance to attain their goals.

At Raymond Lavigne's suggestion, the congress passed a resolution on an international May Day manifestation in 1890. It urged the workers to launch simultaneous manifestations in the different countries and demand that the authorities introduce an 8-hour day and comply with all the other decisions of the international socialist congress concerning better conditions for workers. The workers' action was to assume the shape that would best meet the particular conditions prevailing in a given country. Declining the proposal of four delegates to put down in writing "that a general strike is the beginning of a social revolution",¹ the congress unanimously² approved the May Day resolution which emphasised the importance of concrete joint action on the part of the international proletariat. "This is the best thing our congress has accomplished," wrote Engels.³

On the suggestion of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, the delegates (with one exception) voted for a resolution that summed up the main points of the reports on the progress of the working-class movement in the various countries and outlined the general prospects for the movement. It made it clear that the workers' organisations formed for the purpose of an economic struggle were unable to emancipate the proletariat, because the ruling classes resorted to political power. The resolution urged the workers to join socialist parties and use the elections to win political power without compromising with other political parties. In the countries where the workers did not have the right to vote, they should fight for democratisation and universal suffrage. All attempts of the ruling quarters to use force to obstruct "the peaceful development of society into a cooperative, industrial and social organisation" were declared inhuman.⁴

¹ *Protokoll... 1889*, S. 126.

² The Belgian delegation abstained from voting in protest against the Presidium's "incompetent work". The Russian delegation abstained in the belief that in 1890 a May Day manifestation in Russia was impossible.

³ "Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux, Eastbourne, 27 August, 1889" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 266.

⁴ *Protokoll... 1889*, S. 125.

Despite the fact that it had elements of Lassallean ideas, the resolution was an important step forward for the working-class and socialist movement in many countries. Like other documents of the congress, it gave the basis for the contention that the new international association of the proletariat had "from the outset, and almost without a struggle, adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials".¹

The congress of "united socialists", whose activities were closely followed by all workers' organisations and extensively covered by their press, closed in the evening of 20 July. The next morning, its participants held a rally at the Communards' Wall in the Père-Lachaise cemetery; their slogan was, "The Commune is dead, long live the Commune!"

The congress surpassed its organisers' expectations. It was a mighty demonstration of the international unity of workers' and socialist organisations in virtually all countries. "The most genuine fraternity prevailed at the congress," Paul Lafargue wrote to Engels.² "We have seen and felt that the workers are striving towards the same goal everywhere," said C. Palmgren.³ The *Vienesse Arbeiter Zeitung* noted the congress's large moral and political success and its impact on the working-class movement. "The International exists," wrote *Der Sozialdemokrat*, "...and the international workers' congress has proved its viability and substantially enhanced its strength and effectualness.... The internationalist character of the proletariat is a self-evident fact."⁴ *Berliner Volksblatt* pointed out "the importance of the workers' parliament, of which the world has never known the like".⁵

The congress proved to be the main event in the international working-class movement in the last quarter of the 19th century. It exerted an immediate influence on the International Miners' Conference working in Paris on 18-19 July, which discussed the miners' position in the different countries and districts, decided to establish and maintain direct contacts and promote solidarity among the miners in all countries. It suggested that each country set up a nation-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, 1973, p. 32.

² F. Engels, P. and L. Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 293.

³ *Protokoll... 1889*, S. 127.

⁴ *Der Sozialdemokrat*. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge, London, 17 August. 1889.

⁵ *Berliner Volksblatt*, 2 Juli 1889.

al association of the miners' unions. The conference paved the way for an international miners' congress and an international association of miners' unions (it was inaugurated in 1890). The socialist congress made a strong impact on the first international conference of printers' unions held in Paris in July 1889.

Liebknecht wrote in the preface to the congress Minutes published in 1890 that its success was enormous and that it opened up a new era in the development of the working-class movement. He also referred to the May Day demonstrations as "the first powerful action of the international proletariat encompassing the whole world".¹

The Possibilists' congress failed to suggest an acceptable alternative to the line defined by the international socialist congress. Its resolutions did not mention mass action but mostly contained recommendations to set up united committees of workers' parties' and trade union representatives, national trade-union associations, and an International Correspondence Bureau. However, the social-reformists were planning to take over the organisation of the next international workers' congress, and even instructed the Belgian Labour Party to convene it in 1891.

Anarchist leaders used the *Revolte*, *Attaque* and *Recht voor Allen* newspapers to try and convince the public that the congress of "united socialists" was a failure, and referred to the campaign for labour protection and participation in bourgeois parliaments as betrayal of the proletariat. In September, they held their own international congress in Paris, in which several delegates from four countries took part but not a single mass workers' organisation was represented. It concentrated on combating "sentimentalism" that had insinuated itself into the anarchist movement.

The significance of the international socialist congress was indirectly confirmed by the bourgeois press. Right-wing papers could not ignore it as totally as they would have liked, and viciously attacked the Marxists. The liberal democratic press had to admit that the programme advanced by the congress was realistic enough, and only tried to console itself by thinking of its reformist interpretations. In the European countries, the police was uneasy and prepared to suppress the May Day action. The German government

¹ *Protokoll... 1889*, S. V.

recognised that "the Marxist congress was much more significant than the other one, since all its participants were extremely revolutionary socialists. It has made it clear that the Germans were setting an example to all other nations by their organisation and successes".¹

Having foiled the social-reformists' attempt to move into a position of leadership in the international working-class movement and having repulsed the anarchists, the congress of "united socialists" promoted the international working-class movement and bolstered the Marxist trend in it. It paved the way for a new, Second International, whose emergence was an objective and clearly realised necessity for the progress of the working-class movement.

¹ See: Ludwig Brügel, *Geschichte der österreichischer Sozialdemokratie. 1889-1907*, Bd. IV, Wien, 1923, S. 61-62.

CHAPTER TWO

THE YEARS OF GENERAL UPSURGE IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

The years following the establishment of the Second International were a time of a general upsurge of the socialist movement. New workers' socialist parties were springing up, and the influence of the movement was increasing. Trade unions and other workers' organisations were also making rapid strides. The workers' mass economic and political activities were increasing in magnitude, and as a result the bourgeoisie was often forced to grant strikers concessions. The growing social and political role of the working class was inherently associated with the Marxist dominance in the international working-class movement and with its further progress and dissemination. These changes were occurring against the background of increasing international solidarity, which found its most vivid expression in the workers' annual May Day action, demonstrations and strikes. A major contribution to the progress of the socialist movement in the first half and the middle of the 1890s was made by the Second International.

The rise of the socialist movement was also rooted in the changes in the objective situation in which the working class struggle was taking place. A relatively peaceful period of the bourgeoisie's "untroubled digestion" continued. The number of industrial workers, concentrated mostly in Europe and North America, had reached by the late 1890s 40 million. The increasing level of quality labour, harsher exploitation and the introduction of new machinery raised labour productivity by 12.5 per cent as compared to the figures for the 1880s.¹ The accelerated partitioning of Africa and

¹ For approximate data, see: Yu. Kuchinsky, *The History of the Condition of the Working Class under Capitalism*, Moscow, 1970, p. 148, etc. (in Russian).

turning China into a semi-colony allowed the capitalist powers to expand their colonial system and to extract a steadily growing amount of vitally necessary resources from it. As a result, between 1890 and 1897, world industrial production rose by 18 per cent. The output of the mining industry increased by 30 per cent; processing industry, by 22 per cent, and machine-building, over 33 per cent. The railroad network lengthened by nearly one-fifth. In the first half of the 1890s, the tonnage of steam vessels already exceeded that of sailing ships. The volume of world trade rose by 23.5 per cent, substantially more than over the previous decade.

But in 1890, the speculative-Gründer Boom ended in a world overproduction crisis, which lasted longer than the earlier ones and developed like "a disease that gradually affected individual branches", with "overproduction in all its forms hitting the economic life with unprecedented force".¹ The crisis and its consequences continued to cripple the world economy until 1897.

The situation aggravated the conditions of workers and the other working strata. In Germany, in 1892, the unemployment reached 6.3 per cent. In England, unemployment reached its peak, 7.5-6.9 per cent in 1893-1894. In the United States, 16.7 per cent of workers lost their jobs by 1894. By 1897, unemployment went down to only 14.3 per cent. The situation was much the same in the other capitalist countries. In the industries, the working day was shorter by only half an hour, and the average real wages rose by only 2-5 per cent, i.e., at a slower rate than over the preceding years. The demand for skilled labour increased at a greater rate than its numerical strength, so that not only in Britain but in other countries as well the employers were willing to pay skilled workers much more than was actually warranted by their training, in order to keep them on the job. They were able to afford it thanks to the colonial superprofits. By their material well-being, this section of the work force differed significantly from both unskilled hereditary workers, and the bankrupt artisans and peasants who were joining the proletariat in steadily growing numbers. Some of these highly paid workers had a great

¹ L. Mendelson, *The Economic Crises and Cycles of the 19th Century*, Moscow, 1949, p. 635 (in Russian).

deal in common with the bourgeoisie, and formed the so-called workers' aristocracy, who openly supported bourgeois parties or sought to establish cooperation between workers' organisations and the bourgeoisie.

The import to Europe of relatively inexpensive American and Australian agricultural products, as well as changes in agriculture due to the economic crisis worsened the position of the rural population, three-thirds of whom were petty landowners having up to 5 hectares of land. Unable to produce more foodstuffs for sale, they went bankrupt or became dependent on middlemen or on their creditors, the banks. The ruin and exploitation of the peasant masses in the 1890s bred discontent even among the most backward labourers and provoked unrest among petty landowners and farm hands in Italy, Hungary, Russia, Romania, Austria, France, Germany and the USA.

The concentration of property and power, which had been accelerated in the crisis years, and the emergence of monopolies enhanced the reactionary mood and leanings of the bourgeoisie, which was alarmed by the end of its flourishing and by the growth of discontent among the working people. Conservative and reactionary leanings finally prevailed in the policies pursued by the British ruling circles. In Austria-Hungary, feudal and clerical reaction, autocracy and chauvinism were increasing. The violence of reaction turned the 1890s into a "bloody decade" in Italy. In France, the bourgeoisie was regrouping its forces and pushing harder to unite all reactionary elements. Making an extensive use of social demagogy, Wilhelm II led the reactionary assault, which sought to abolish universal suffrage and establish a military dictatorship in Germany. The autocracy continued its repressive policies in Russia. The activities of the major bourgeois parties in the United States began to display increasingly anti-democratic tendencies.

The ruling classes were particularly alarmed by the growth of the socialist movement, which became more obvious with the formation of the Second International. In Germany and some other countries, employers began to set up unions for the struggle against workers' organisations and the socialist movement in general. Bourgeois parties concentrated on social and economic problems, hoping to come up with a bourgeois alternative to the socialist programme that the masses would find attractive. On Wil-

helm II's initiative, in the spring of 1890 a conference in which representatives of a number of governments participated discussed the problem of reducing working hours and providing labour conditions that would allow "to protect the workers' health and spirit".¹ The church could no longer confine itself to rebuking the socialists from the pulpits or afford to ignore "the workers' issue". "What we propose," said Pope Leo XIII, "is an open revival of the Christian principles of relations between entrepreneurs and the workers, capital and labour."² Not only Catholics but Protestants as well became involved in the campaign. Priests "went to the masses".³ In Austria in 1894, the Christian-Social Party came up with a programme of action intended for the working-class movement.

But the ruling classes also instituted reprisals against organisers of mass workers' action, and suppressed the major protests with armed force. The build-up of military power (in the 1890s, the major European powers increased their military expenditure by one-fourth as compared to the 1880s) was not only to expand colonisation and suppress their rivals, but was also to be used against the internal enemy, the working-class movement. The arms race was greatly accelerated, and it became clear that Europe was heading "for the abyss of a world war of unprecedented scope and intensity".⁴

The activation of reaction, the growing military expenditure, militarisation in general and the threat of war aggravated the position of the working class and complicated the progress of the working-class movement, which, however, still managed to make headway in all principal directions.

* * *

The main directions of the working-class movement were toward solidifying, increasing its influence, and creating new socialist parties, which were now recognised to be the

¹ *Vorwärts*, 16 August. 1891. I. Beilage.

² *Berliner Volksblatt*, 12 Dezember. 1889.

³ See: Paul Lafargue, *Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1925, p. 24 (in Russian).

⁴ Friedrich Engels, "Die auswärtige Politik des russischen Zarentums" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, 1963, S. 48.

vanguard of the movement. Despite the diversity of conditions and lack of uniformity in the movement, the development of the socialist parties showed common tendencies.

Their commitment to the Marxist goals and principles of the working-class movement had become stronger. This was reflected in their new programmes. In the situation of a relatively "peaceful" capitalist development, the socialist parties channelled their energy into defending the immediate working people's political and economic interests, e.g., expanding the democratic rights and improving labour and living conditions, which necessitated a great number of concrete programmes and staging mass actions. This policy was bolstered by the campaign to expose the vices of capitalism, in particular, current reactionary trends and growing militarism, and was associated with more vigorous propaganda of socialist ideals.

The socialist parties encouraged the consolidation of trade unions, which by the late 1890s embraced over four million people and cooperatives uniting several million members and functioning in many countries, and other organisations, which expressed and defended the working people's diverse interests. They worked hard to spread socialist ideas, and managed to get the majority of mass workers' organisations to support them.

The people joining the socialist parties, whose membership exceeded 400,000 in 1897, and other workers' organisations were, by and large, the more class-conscious and skilled workers, including the workers' aristocracy, as well as office employees and other working strata. Socialist organisations of women and young people began to emerge. Since the mid-1890s, the socialist parties began to pay more attention to hired agricultural workers and the peasantry, as well as the other middle strata of the population. They sought to win over everyone who was discontented with the existing order.

A characteristic feature of, above all, mass socialist parties (of which there were nine) was better organisation and a well-developed press. The effort to raise the organisational standard was mostly channelled into strengthening the unity and building up the central bodies while preserving the democratic principles and even the autonomy of local or federative branches. The number of newspapers and magazines published by the socialist parties in 1897 reached 150.

Following in the steps of the German Social-Democratic Party, other socialist parties began to publish dailies and theoretical journals. The circulation of such newspapers was usually 5,000-10,000 copies (only a few had a circulation of 30,000, 50,000 or 60,000). They were inferior to large bourgeois publications in the number of copies but exceeding them in popularity. Socialist parties also published in increasing numbers leaflets, pamphlets and books. As Karl Marx put it, "the growth of literature was merely indicative of a corresponding growth of the international working-class movement itself".¹

Wherever an opportunity presented itself, the socialist parties used, in addition to demonstrations, meetings and strikes, "a new weapon, and one of the sharpest", "an entirely new method of proletarian struggle",² as Engels wrote, to defend the working-people's interests. This was an active participation in elections, parliaments, self-government and various other bodies. The number of votes cast for the socialists at the 1897 elections tripled, reaching 3.9 million. This won them 164 seats in the parliaments of nine countries. The parliamentary factions of socialist parties, whose role was becoming more important, were working to improve their tactics.

The socialists' decisive split from the anarchists and other leftist elements was primarily a result of the latter's opposition to participation in elections and parliaments (this was the stand adopted by Enrico Malatesta, Nieuwenhuis and many others). Some of the anarchists staged adventurist armed action (Spain) and acts of individual terror (France, Italy), while others turned to the trade unions for support, advancing the idea of a general economic strike in lieu of insurrection and revolution. Social-reformists (Peter Knudsen, Alexandre Millerand and others), who did not have a common ideological and political platform and staged poorly organised actions, provoked criticism by their insistence on collaboration with bourgeois parties, their tendency to confine all activities to work in parliaments

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 1.

² Frederick Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, 1976, pp. 195, 196.

and hopes for an evolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. Their position, however, did not preclude their cooperation with the Marxists in the effort to build up the socialist parties and other workers' organisations, in election campaigns and in parliamentary activities.

In Germany, headway made by the Social-Democratic Labour Party proved the unsoundness of the Anti-Socialist Law and became one of the reasons for Bismarck's resignation. In 1890, while the Law was still in force, the Party won one-fifth of the votes at the elections to the Reichstag, nearly twice as many as in 1887.

Having regained the right to act legally and adopted new Rules, the Party became a single all-German mass organisation built on democratic principles; it held annual congresses to elect party functionaries. The main links of the German Social-Democratic Party (its new name) were branches in electoral districts, which convened conferences and conducted organisational and popularisation work among the people. This was a big step forward, although the level of centralisation and the demands made on the party members were not completely adequate.

Thanks to the experience that had been gained, as well as Marx's notes on the Gotha Programme made public by Engels and the latter's critical analysis of the draft 1891 programme at the German Social-Democratic Party's congress in Erfurt, "Marx's critique was completely effective".¹ The programme adopted by the congress, written mostly by Karl Kautsky, contained a Marxist substantiation of the law of intensification of the class struggle in capitalist society, the victory of the working class and the transition to socialism. It stated that the working class "cannot effect the transfer of the means of production into the hands of society without having first gained political power".² Explaining this tenet, the Party's new central newspaper *Vorwärts* wrote: "There is no other way to save the German people than the dictatorship of the proletariat," although in the programme itself this was not mentioned.³ The German

¹ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, 24 October, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, Dietz Verlag, 1968, S. 183.

² *Programm der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands beschlossen auf dem Parteitag zu Erfurt 1891*, S. 2.

³ *Vorwärts*, 12 April. 1891.

Social-Democratic Party's new programme stated that the Party "perceives and declares itself united with the class-conscious workers of all other countries".¹

Fearing harsher repression, the Party did not include into its short-term programme the demand for the concentration of all power in the hands of popular representatives but confined itself to campaigning for "direct legislation by the people" and "self-determination and self-government".² It also did not include any agrarian programme.

Engels wrote about the Erfurt Programme: "The theoretical part of the programme is quite acceptable. The practical points contain all sorts of 'buts'."³

Under the leadership of Liebknecht and Bebel, the German Social-Democratic Party rebuffed leftist elements, which were urging the workers to seize power, and right-wing groups (Georg von Vollmar), which campaigned for a compromise with the ruling circles in the effort to introduce certain reforms, even if this would be a retreat from party principles. The left-wingers left the Party, an action that weakened their influence, but for the sake of unity, their split with the right-wing elements was not carried through to the end, and they continued to work in the Party.

In 1891-1897, police reprisals continued, and reactionary elements clamoured for a new anti-socialist law. But the German Social-Democratic Party persistently worked to expand the working-people's rights and improving their conditions. They organised mass and parliamentary action, built up their contacts with the growing free trade unions and co-operatives, and came up with programmes that expressed the interests of farm workers and poorer peasants. In 1897, besides *Vorwärts*, the Party had over 70 newspapers and other publications. Its popularity among the masses was unrivalled. At the 1898 elections, it received 2,107,076 votes, i.e. 32.4 per cent of the total. This secured the Party 56 seats in the Reichstag. Striving to consolidate its influence, the Social-Democrats announced that "the votes must

¹ *Programm der S.D.P. Deutschlands...*, S. 2.

² *Ibid.*, S. 3.

³ "Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, London, 3 December, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, 1968, S. 234.

not only be counted but also weighed".¹ The prospect of winning the majority in the Reichstag seemed realistic.

Thanks to its successes, the German Social-Democratic Party turned into "a shock force" of the international proletariat.² In those years, as Lenin later wrote, it "came closest to being the party the revolutionary proletariat needs in order to achieve victory".³ The German Social-Democratic Party was famous as "the most numerous, efficiently organised and educated party".⁴ The Erfurt Programme, the new rules and the party's experience served as reference points for workers' parties in many countries.

In the first half and the middle of the 1890s, the socialist movement made the greatest headway in Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Italy and Denmark. The Hainfeld congress opened up a truly illustrious period in the history of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Austria (SDLPA). Despite the continuing persecution, the backwardness of the majority of the population and the great number of nationalities inhabiting the country, the Austrian Social-Democrats worked very efficiently. The Party quickly became mass one. In 1894, it adopted the Rules which proclaimed it a single organisation and defined the functions of central, district and local branches. It demanded that the members popularise the programme's ideas and support the Party and recommended that each member work in a local organisation. The strong social-democratic organisations formed in Czechia, Galicia and Silesia enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy but remained part of the SDLPA, which also incorporated the Yugoslav Social-Democratic Party formed in Slovenia in 1896. In 1895, the central SDLPA newspaper, *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, became a daily. By 1897, the Party published 28 newspapers in German, Czech and Polish.

Along with the broad criticism of the existing system and propaganda of socialism, the Party organised mass cam-

¹ *Bericht an den Internationalen Arbeiter-Kongress in Zürich über den Stand der Sozialdemokratischen Bewegung in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1893, S. 17.

² Frederick Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 201.

³ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 34.

⁴ *Justice*, 27 July, 1891.

paings for the improvement of the working people's conditions and for the country's democratisation. In 1894, its congress announced that "it intends to work for universal suffrage by all means available to the working class",¹ including a general strike. The actions launched by the Social-Democrats forced the authorities to make a small concession—the establishment of a fifth electors' curia. At the 1897 elections, the SDLPA received nearly 37 per cent of these electors' votes and won 14 deputy seats in the Reichstag, thus gaining the opportunity to work through it. The powerful May Day meetings and demonstrations emphasised the party's internationalism. However, it did not have concrete programmes dealing with the national and the agrarian problems, which were particularly important and urgent in Austria.

The influence and the support of the Austrian Social-Democracy helped build up the Social-Democratic trend in the General Workers' Party of Hungary led by Pal Engelmann. On its model, the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party (HSDP) was formed in 1890, whose programme was concordant with the Hainfeld Programme of the SDLPA. In a relentless fight against the "gang of corrupt pseudo-socialists",² Pal Engelmann's group managed to unite Social-Democracy by 1894. The Party concentrated its efforts on strengthening the trade unions, intensifying economic struggle, and campaigning for universal suffrage, and laid the groundwork for an association of agricultural workers. The rapidly growing trade unions became the HSDP's base. However, the Party had no clearly defined agrarian programme and was not able to lead mass actions of the rural poor. Like the SDLPA, it had no programme as far as the national questions were concerned. In 1892, a Social-Democratic organisation was set up in Croatia, a part of the Hungarian Kingdom, and in 1894, the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia was formed in Zagreb, which soon adopted a programme based on the same principles as the Erfurt one.

¹ See: I. Krivoguz, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, Moscow, 1964, p. 67 (in Russian).

² *Bericht an den Internationalen sozialistischen Arbeiter-Kongress 1893 in Zürich über den Stand der Sozialdemokratische Bewegung in Ungarn*, Zürich, O. J., S. 1.

In Belgium, the Labour Party, which was still a federation of various workers' organisations and demanded that its members only subscribe to the Rules and the programme, managed to make the government introduce universal, although not equal suffrage, by mass demonstrations and strikes, particularly by the mass political strike of 1893, in which 35 per cent of the Belgian workers took part. This success strengthened its unity and increased its influence. In 1894, the Belgian Labour Party's congress adopted a Declaration of Principles. To preserve the Party's numerical strength, it fused the Marxist ideas of class antagonisms, the need to establish public ownership of the means of production and the benefits, and organisation of the masses and the political struggle with declarations about turning capitalism into a "collectivist system" by "encouraging altruism".¹ But the Declaration also stated the Party's intention to campaign for a "complex of political and economic reforms",² including universal suffrage, the transfer of the legislative rights and of the initiative to the people, abolition of the army, separation of the church from the state, nationalisation of banks, mineral resources, the land, industry and transport, democratisation of court procedure and administration, and improvement of the working people's conditions.

Having reached new heights at the elections, the Belgian Labour Party used parliament and mass demonstrations to build up its positions in local self-government bodies and expanded propaganda. The newspaper *Le Peuple* and the theoretical journal *L'Avenir Sociale* were of particular importance. It was the first party to set up mass youth organisations called Young Guards, and it conducted anti-imperialist agitation in the army. Party leaders Edouard Anseele, Louis Bertrand and Emile Vandervelde, who favoured gradual progress, rejected the left-wingers' anarchist suggestion to seize state power "by revolution".

In Italy, the effort to unite the socialists, led in part by Filippo Turati's and Anna Kuliscioff's *Critica Sociale*,

¹ J. Destrée, E. Vandervelde, *Le Socialisme en Belgique*, Paris, V. Giard et E. Brière, 1898, pp. 289-90.

² *Congrès International Ouvrier Socialiste de Zürich... 1893. Rapport sur la situation du Parti ouvrier et sur le mouvement Socialiste de Belgique*, p. 4.

resulted in 1891 in the merger of the Socialist League with the Labour Party, and next year, the establishment of the Italian Workers' Party. This party was established at a congress of workers' and socialist organisations in Genoa and was later renamed the Italian Socialist Party. This was a major step forward. "At last," Antonio Labriola wrote to Engels, "socialism as a political party has emerged in Italy, too."¹ Engels approved the results of its congress.

The Party had a mass character, did well at the elections and received 5 seats in parliament. The split with the bourgeois radicals and the operaists lowered the number of its members from 300,000 to 107,000, but the party leaders claimed that "it had solid forces, whose convictions and enthusiasms are unshakeable".²

In the mid-1890s, when spontaneous actions by peasants and workers in Sicily produced a revolutionary situation in Italy, the Italian Socialist Party still maintained that "the resistance of the oppressed brothers is in vain"³ and sought only to put an end to cruel reprisals. It staged mass and parliamentary protests against Italy's aggression in Ethiopia and stated its wish to see the Italian troops defeated. Over the "bloody decade", the Party was subjected to severe reprisals. The number of its members significantly declined. Its congress was forced to meet clandestinely. However, the cumulative experience of the Party helped it consolidate its unity, build up its central bodies and local organisations, and augment its political, social and economic programme. Its main newspaper, *L'Avanti!*, became a daily. At the 1897 elections, the Italian Socialist Party received 132,000 votes, which gave it 15 seats in parliament.

Substantial progress was made by the Social-Democrats in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In Denmark, the unfolding struggle of the rural bourgeoisie against the conservatives—big landowners and officials—assisted the success of the Social-Democrats' organisational and parliamentary activities. Having expanded their press, done well in the elec-

¹ Antonio Labriola, *Lettere a Engels*, Edizioni Rinascita, Roma, 1949, p. 68.

² *Rapport au Congrès International de Zürich (1893) sur la constitution et l'action du Parti des Travailleurs Italiens*, Imprimerie des ouvriers, Milan, 1893, p. 16.

³ Prof. Alfredo Angiolini, *Cinquant'anni di socialismo in Italia*, Firenze, G. Nerbini, Editore, 1903, p. 286.

tions and increased its representation in parliament and self-government bodies, the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark headed by Paul Knudsen campaigned to raise the workers' wages, reduce working hours and strengthen cooperatives. The attempt of the left-wingers, including Gerson Trier, who were discontented with these middle-of-the-road politics, to form a party that would have revolution as its immediate target was not successful. By the late 1890s, the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark numbered almost 30,000. Its relatively easy successes aided the spread of reformist illusions and made it difficult for this party to benefit by the experience of other workers' parties.

In Norway and Sweden, the evolution of Social-Democracy took another route. The 1891 congress of the Norwegian Workers' Party adopted a new programme formulated along the lines of the Erfurt one, and the Party itself assumed the name of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Norway. The Party's demand for universal and direct suffrage, free medical help, etc., as well as its involvement in the movement for the country's independence from Sweden attracted up to 15,000 new members. At the 1891 congress the Swedish Social-Democrats split with the anarchists and declared that an opportunity existed to stage a mass strike which would use violence against the exploiters. The Party, which was led by Hjalmar Branting and Alex Ferdinand Danielson, campaigned for better conditions for the working people and the country's democratisation, built up its local branches and the trade unions associated with it, led May Day demonstrations and strikes, and took part in parliamentary elections. Its membership was more than 21,000. In 1897, the party congress adopted a programme based on the Erfurt Programme of the SDLP.

In Switzerland, the period was marked by the declining influence of the reformist Grütli-Verein and the build-up of the Social-Democratic Party, which received one-seventh of the votes, although its programme was very moderate.

The socialist movement in Holland had experienced a crisis and there was a split in the party. After the defeat of the SDU in the 1891 elections, its leader Nieuvenhuis sided with the anarchist elements. Together they convinced the Social-Democrats not to take part in the parliamentary elections. They declared that economic issues should prevail over political questions and refused to support any resolu-

tion of the international socialist congress in which this was not the case; they also rejected the suggestion to rename the SDU into the Union of Socialists.

The minority, which believed it essential to conduct a political campaign, to take part in elections and fight for reforms, formed a Social-Democratic Workers' Party of the Netherlands in 1894. But its leaders, Pieter Jelles Troelstra, Hendrik Hubert van Kol and Willem Hubert Vliegen, limited the struggle for social transformations to winning the majority in parliament, as was written down in the Party's programme. The Union of Socialists was disintegrating, while the Social-Democratic Workers' Party was growing at a slow rate, and only in 1897 received 10,260 votes at the elections.

In Eastern Europe, the socialist movement was beginning to grow. In Bulgaria, the underground congress of Social-Democratic groups, convened in 1891 on the initiative of Dimitr Blagoev, founded a Social-Democratic party. Its second congress approved a programme drawn up along the lines of the Erfurt one. After the merger with the Social-Democratic Union in 1894, the party assumed the name of the Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria (SDPB). A compromise with bourgeois parties allowed it to get two of its deputies into parliament.

The workers' growing involvement and stronger mass action introduced substantial changes into the working-class movement of the Polish lands incorporated into the German and the Russian empires. In 1893, the Polish Social-Democratic organisations within the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, trying to counteract the increasingly persistent Germanisation policies, set up the Polish Socialist Party, which acted in the territories belonging to Prussia. That same year, some of the workers' organisations functioning in the Kingdom of Poland (belonging to Russia) united to form the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). It attracted working people by the dissemination of socialist ideas and the demand to establish an independent democratic Polish republic, but right from the beginning its leaders failed to accurately appraise the role of the proletariat in the national liberation struggle and recognise its allies, especially the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1893 part of the workers' organisations of the Kingdom of Poland, who criticised the nationalist trends and ideas within the PPS, set up

another organisation, the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland, which was headed by Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marchlewski and Leon Jogiches. It did important work popularising the ideas of proletarian internationalism and explaining the need for an alliance with the working-class movement in Russia. However, the Party underestimated the significance of the struggle for Poland's independence, and this undermined its prestige among the people. Despite the repressive measures, the workers' parties of the Kingdom of Poland, which were forced to act illegally, managed to consolidate their organisations.

In Romania, the growing campaign to disseminate socialist ideas led to the foundation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Romania in 1893. Its leaders, however, underestimated the economic struggle. At its congresses, sharp exchanges took place between the social-reformists and the followers of the revolutionary line (Al. Ionescu, Stefan Gheorghiu). In the mid-1890s, the Serbian socialist groups and workers' associations of Serbia, led by Andra Banković, formed a committee that prepared the ground for the establishment of a Social-Democratic party.

In Russia, as Georgi Plekhanov wrote to Engels in 1895, "over the past 10 years, the revolutionary movement has never been so strong".¹ Qualitative changes were under way in it. The leading role now belonged to workers' action. Narodism (Russian populism) was disintegrating. The centre of the Russian Social-Democratic movement had shifted to Russia from the émigré circles abroad. The Marxist trend "had already won over to its side the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia".² On Lenin's initiative, the Russian Social-Democrats moved on from propaganda work in groups to mass political agitation and were successfully leading workers' action. In 1895, Lenin set up the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which became the embryo of the future proletarian party.

Great strides were made by the socialist movement in France. Defence of the workers' interests in parliament

¹ *Marx's and Engels's Correspondence with Russian Political Figures*, Moscow, 1951, p. 345 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, 1973, p. 376.

and municipal councils, close contacts with the syndicates and formulation of an agrarian programme that considered the peasants' interests made the French Workers' Party popular at the elections and in 1898 it received 382,000 votes. It was the first socialist party "to systematically deal with the agrarian problems",¹ although the agrarian programme repeatedly discussed at its congresses was not flawless. By the mid-1890s, the French Workers' Party was already the most influential working-people's party in the country. It resolutely opposed chauvinism, the Panamanian venture and the colonial war in Madagascar. It also levelled scathing critiques against the French ruling circles for their alliance with tsarism, and advanced a bill which said, in part: "The standing army is to be abolished."²

The Federation of Socialist Workers (Possibilists) had by 1894 largely lost its influence. The French Party of Socialist Revolutionaries set up in 1891 by the followers of Jean Allemane, which intended to subjugate the political struggle to economic goals and had declared a general international strike the principal means of the revolution, was just taking its first steps. The group of independent Socialists in parliament, headed by Alexander Millerand and Jean Jaurès, sought to "augment the economic programme of socialism ... with the political programme of the radicals", but in the meantime, had no mass organisation of its own.³

Hoping to round up all the socialist trends in the country, the French Workers' Party advanced the slogan of "socialist concentration" and managed to unite its parliamentary faction with the parliamentary Blanquist groups and those trends. It seemed that the establishment of a united socialist faction with a large membership opened up fresh prospects. It was hoped that the parliamentary elections would place power into the hands of the Workers' Party. This illusion gave rise to too much enthusiasm about parliamentarism, which eventually led the French Workers' Party away from justly criticising the Allemanists' adventurist ideas and led to a neglect of strikes and the working people's economic campaign. Supported by the Blanquists and the anarchists, who became more active at that time,

¹ *Le Socialiste*, 19 Mai 1894.

² *Ibid.*, 20 Janvier 1894.

³ *Petite République française*, 15 Février 1893.

the Allemanists used this blunder made by the Workers' Party to promote their influence in the syndicates, which were offended by the Workers' Party waning interest in their activities. By 1894, the Party had no longer the determining influence on the syndicates, the majority of which were in favour of a general strike as a means of accomplishing a peaceful revolution. By and large, by the late 1890s, the French socialist movement was appreciably stronger than at the beginning of the decade, although the danger of a split in the mass movement far outweighed the successes of the united socialist parliamentary faction.

In Spain, the socialists consolidated their organisations and their press and increased the number of electors voting for them. However, the decisive impact on the country's working-class movement was still exerted by the anarchists, who were encouraging workers and peasants into adventurist armed action.

Some changes took place in the British socialist movement. The Socialist League, which opposed parliamentarism, turned into an anarchist group and soon left the political scene. In an effort to expose the bourgeois essence of the ruling circles' policies, the Social-Democratic Federation demanded parliamentary elections on an annual basis, the abolition of the House of Lords, the separation of the church from the state, Irish independence and the transfer of international politics into the hands of the people's representatives. Furthermore, they demanded a convocation of the federal parliament with the participation of the colonies' delegates, as well as the nationalisation of land, the establishment of the workers' control over the factories and railways (which would eventually be bought from the capitalists), and improvement of the working people's conditions. In 1893, in an attempt to undermine the influence of Hyndman, an unprincipled person who turned Marxist ideas into a dogma and was willing to collaborate with the English Liberals and French Possibilists, the Social-Democratic Federation (on the initiative of Ernest Belfort Bax) increased its efforts to strengthen its ties with the trade unions, and began to cooperate with the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany. By 1897 they increased its membership to 10,000.

The spread of socialist ideas among workers, in which

Eleanor Marx-Aveling, the founder of the League of Struggle for Eight Hours' Day, was particularly active, was paving the way for a mass socialist party. In 1893, representatives of many trade unions, some Fabians and members of the Social-Democratic Federation founded the Independent Labour Party (ILP) on James Keir Hardie's initiative. Its programme stated the need for an independent workers' political campaign and socialisation of all means of production and exchange. The ILP demanded the introduction of an 8-hour day, state-supplied old-age pensions (from the age of 50), work for the unemployed, a ban on child labour, and nationalisation of rail- and waterways. The Trades Union Congress also advocated socialisation of the means of production. The Independent Labour Party began to publish a newspaper, the *Labour Leader*, and by 1897 had branches in 206 constituencies. However, its actions were somewhat inconsistent, and this prevented it from becoming truly independent and winning a large membership.

The Fabian Society, which had for a long time been attempting to "permeate liberalism with socialism", in 1893 dissociated itself from the liberals. An alliance with small bourgeois groups finally allowed it to win its first seats in Parliament in 1896, and attain some success in the matter of "municipal socialism", or in other words, to get several municipal councils to improve transport facilities, gas and food supplies and the communal services.

In the early 1890s, thanks to the progress of the mass working-class movement in the USA and Canada, the leading role in the Socialist Labor Party passed on from the émigrés to American workers. This has made it possible for the socialists to step up their activities in the American Federation of Labor and in the declining Order of the Knights of Labor, and to interest these organisations in supporting the demand for socialisation of the means of production and distribution. By 1897, the membership of the Socialist Labor Party exceeded 55,000. But by the mid-1890s, it encountered growing resistance to propaganda of socialism from the AFL leaders and the declining Order of the Knights of Labor. The relationship between socialists and the workers who were members of these organisations was further complicated as a result of the activities of Daniel De Leon, who led the SLP, because he was unable to find a Marxist solution of specifically American problems

posed by the country's working-class movement, although he did advocate socialist revolution and sharply criticised its opponents. De Leon considered all strata of the population with the exception of workers a "reactionary mass" and opposed the SLP's cooperation with the democratic farmers' movement, which was forced to be reckoned with at that time. He also haughtily declared all mass workers' organisations which had not yet recognised the need for socialism to be reactionary. He advocated the socialists' withdrawal from them, and agitated for the establishment of a separate alliance of socialist trade unions. From the mid-1890s, "the Socialist Labor Party... was more isolated from the American Workers than ever before in its history".¹ Dogmatism and sectarianism provoked indignation even among its own members. In 1897, several socialist groups led by Eugene Debs set up a Social-Democratic Party, which declared that its target was to popularise socialism and use parliament to promote the working people's interests.

In 1890, a Social-Democratic Federation of Australia was formed, and two years later, the trade unions' vigorous political activities led to the emergence of the Labour Party in that country. It campaigned for better social laws. In 1891-1894, an independent socialist organisation was founded in Chile. In 1895, the Socialist Party of Argentina was established. The Socialist Republican Party of Ireland founded by James Connolly in 1896 declared itself to be Marxist. The first steps were made by socialist propaganda in the workers' organisations in Finland and Japan.

The varied activities of socialist parties, which grew and became much stronger in those years, advanced them to the forefront of the working-class movement, making them recognised leaders of the working people.

* * *

The consolidation of the socialist parties' leading role in no way detracted from the contribution made by the trade unions, cooperatives and other mass working people's organisations to the working-class movement but even helped them to gain in importance, especially in Central Europe and

¹ Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Vol. II, 1955, p. 279.

in East-European countries, by encouraging their growth, strengthening their unity and socialist orientation, and showing them how they could expand and step up their activities.

Bourgeois reformism was still exerting considerable influence on the trade unions, especially in the United States, Britain and Australia, but chinks were already appearing in its armour. Many members of the American Federation of Labor, the Order of the Knights of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress (1894) supported the fundamental idea of socialism, public ownership of the means of production and distribution, i.e., they followed the socialist line. Attempts by bourgeois parties and the clerical circles to expand their influence in the working-class movement, especially in Belgium, France and Germany, by strengthening the trade unions adhering to bourgeois-reformist and social-Christian policies were not successful. However, they did manage to split the trade-union movement and secured the bourgeoisie strongholds in it. In Finland and Japan, the bourgeoisie's influence on the first workers' organisations was rather insignificant. The Australian trade unions did not yet share socialist ideas; realising that the bourgeois parties would never do anything to promote workers' interests, they founded their own Labour Party.

In the 1890s, the majority of the trade unions supported socialist ideas and more or less joined the socialist movement. In Belgium and Hungary the trade unions adhering to the socialist line were members of socialist parties. In Germany and Austria, they retained independence but closely cooperated with the socialist parties. In France, Italy and in some other countries, the trade unions advocating socialist ideas maintained contacts with various trends of the socialist movement and different socialist organisations, revolutionary socialist, social-reformist and anarchosyndicalist.

In the 1890s, as a result of the extensive involvement of the masses and stronger solidarity, the new trade unions recruited members on the basis of the "production principle", i.e., all employees of a factory or in a branch belonged to the same union. However, the old trade unions founded on the guild principle were slow in changing over to this principle. The earlier tendencies towards cooperation between the different unions functioning in the same district, establishment of territorial trade-union associations, consolidation of trade unions in each branch, and formation

of national trade-union centres had become much stronger. In 1890-1892, an all-Germany association of free trade unions (of socialist orientation) headed by the General Commission was formed. In 1892-1893, a general Austrian trade-union centre (General Commission) and the Italian Federation of the Chambers of Labour came into being. In 1894, a similar organisation, the Trade Union Council, appeared in Hungary. The Federation of the Syndicates and the National Federation of Labour Exchanges, which was formed in 1892, provided the basis for the General Confederation of Labour (France) set up in 1895. The central association of Swedish trade unions was set up in 1897. In the same year, the first nationwide branch trade-union organisation, the Metal-workers' Union, was founded in Japan. In 1898, national trade-union centres were set up in Belgium and Denmark, and in 1899, in Norway. The British Trades Union Congress, whose membership exceeded 1.5 million, acquired a truly mass character, although in the second half of the 1890s it was again dominated by people who allied themselves with the Liberals. In the USA, the Order of the Knights of Labor had fallen apart, and the leaders of the American Federation of Labor restricted admittance to unskilled workers. The trade-union movement advanced sporadically and differed from country to country. But by and large, it had made great strides and become more vigorous. This was a testimony to more advanced class consciousness of the workers and a higher organisational standard, and facilitated mass action.

The cooperative movement was also growing and gaining in strength and importance. Often encouraged by socialists, new cooperatives appeared in nearly all capitalist countries. The producers' and sellers' cooperatives united hundreds of thousands of small producers (artisans and peasants). Consumer cooperatives included hundreds of thousands of factory and office workers. In Belgium, cooperatives were members of socialist parties and firmly adhered to the socialist line, though they retained complete independence and even took part in the work of cooperative associations sponsored by the bourgeoisie. In Germany, being involved in the activities of the General Association controlled by the bourgeoisie, trade unions advocating socialist principles not only campaigned for improving the working people's conditions but also contributed to the Social-Democratic

Labour Party's ideological and political action. In France in 1895, the socialists initiated an Exchange (i.e. an association) of socialist consumer cooperatives. Due to the development of trade unions and cooperatives, an increasing number of people were getting involved in the working-class movement, joining socialist parties and taking part in mass action, which was making an increasingly stronger impact on the course of events.

In the first half and the middle of the 1890s, the mass working people's actions reached unprecedented dimensions and displayed new qualities. The traditional forms, meetings and demonstrations staged by socialist parties, which advanced such important political demands as the introduction of universal suffrage and an 8-hour working day and putting an end to colonial plunder and militarisation, increased in number and range. In some countries, working people began to regularly use the elections to cast their votes for the programmes and candidates of socialist parties. Alongside the escalating mass action, the significance and character of strikes also changed.

According to the data available which is, regrettably, incomplete in 1890-1897 over 25,000 strikes involving 6.8 million people took place in the major countries alone. The strike movement was advancing by leaps and bounds. It reached its peak in 1893, and in 1896 saw another powerful upsurge. On the whole, during the period under consideration, 2.9 million people took part in strikes in the USA, 2,460,000 in Britain, 550,000 in France, 370,000 in Italy and 270,000 in Germany. In Russia, despite the ruthless reprisals and a strict ban on the strikes, over 270,000 people participated in strikes.

Participants in the strike movement showed better organisation and stronger solidarity. While in 1890 a strike averaged 233 participants, in 1893 the figure was 466, and in 1896, 274. Typically, the average number of participants was the largest in Russia (381) and in Britain (340). More and more frequently, the strikes came to involve several enterprises, and even all the enterprises belonging to one company (for example, all Pullman railways went on strike in the USA).

The majority of the strikers advanced only economic programmes, but they were becoming more ambitious and radical. Better organisation and staunchness shown by the

workers made 40 to 50 per cent of the strikes successful. "Impulsive and spontaneous strikes have become the means by which broad sections of workers are joining us," wrote Engels.¹

Strikes were becoming increasingly political. Objectively, any strike conducted despite the legal ban and thus breaking a law or a regulation was political. This was the case in Russia, often in Italy, occasionally in the USA, Britain, France and some other countries. A new kind of action was a strike staged by socialists, supported by trade unions and advancing political slogans, for example, a workers' political strike in Carmaux (France, 1892) and a mass political strike in Belgium (1893). The rapid growth in the number and efficiency of strikes had a tremendous significance; however, some syndicalists and the anarchists siding with them exaggerated the potential of the strike movement and began to agitate for a general or even a worldwide economic strike (in place of a political revolution) as the decisive means for overthrowing capitalism and preventing war.

In Italy, Hungary, Russia, Romania, Austria, France, the USA and some regions of Germany, the mounting action of urban factory and office workers, coincided with the unrest, and even revolts among the rural proletariat and petty landowners. In Italy and Hungary, this created an explosive situation. However, cooperation between urban and rural workers was just beginning, and their action was not sufficiently coordinated.

The increase of mass activity was a force the ruling circles had to contend with; it was the decisive factor in the protection of the workers' interests and even resulted in the improvement of their conditions. For example, it led to the reduction of hours in the working day, an increase in nominal wages, better labour protection, more extensive insurance benefits and restrictions on child and female labour: "The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance," wrote Engels, "will possibly check the *increase of misery* to a certain extent."² Furthermore

¹ "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London, 1 May, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 95.

² Frederick Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 431.

the workers' higher self-awareness, organisation and social and political vigour served to increase their social and political role.

The more prominent social and political role of the working class, the rise of the socialist movement and the greater impact of the socialist parties on the people's struggle were closely associated with the further development and dissemination of Marxism and the establishment of its leadership in the international working-class movement. The increasing scope and vigour of the activities of socialist parties and other workers' organisations enhanced the significance of their collective experience and efforts for the development of the revolutionary theory, especially when it came to dealing with the problems that arose from class struggle during a "relatively peaceful" period of world history.¹

Until the very end, Engels remained the leading researcher of fundamental and current problems of Marxism. Marx examined in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* published by Engels in 1891, in the third volume of *Capital*, (which Engels completed and prepared for press), in his prefaces, introductions and afterwords to the new editions of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, a number of Marx's and his own works, and in his new essays *Can Europe Disarm?* and *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*. He also directed the theoretical research and political thought of socialists in many countries. The publication of some of his letters to Joseph Bloch, W. Brogius, Rudolf Meyer and Franz Mehring was of great importance. It was significant that an increasing number of problems of Marxism were being analysed by more and more socialists in many countries, and that the results of their research were being published in books, pamphlets and essays in theoretical journals and newspapers of socialist parties. Among the most popular works were those by Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Victor Adler, Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring, Ernest Belfort Bax, Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Daniel De Leon, Antonio Labriola, Georgi Plekhanov and Dimitr Blagoev. In Rus-

¹ "Engels to Johann Philipp Becker in Genf, London, 20 November, 1876" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 34, 1966, S. 227.

sia, Lenin's first works were published and dealt the final ideological and political blows to Narodism and exposed the bourgeois core of "legal Marxism". Lenin offered an in-depth description of capitalist development in tsarist Russia and substantiated both the need for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and proletarian hegemony in the fomenting of a revolution.

The Marxist economic doctrine was enriched by the analysis of the capitalist mode of production in general, as a unity of production and turnover, as well as the specific forms and types of capital in the commerce, credit and money circulation, the particulars of capitalist development in agriculture and its social consequences, the mechanism of the distribution of surplus value among the various groups of exploiters, and the process of concentration and centralisation in industry and finances. The causes for the tendency of the rate of profit to decline as well as for the formation of trading profit were elucidated. The groundwork was laid for the study of trusts, the expansion of the functions of banks, state interference into the economy and the growing export of capital. A thorough examination was made of the emergence and development of the various forms of property. This research left no hope for the transition to socialism through a build-up of the state-capitalist sector ("state socialism") and the assistance of the bourgeois state to production cooperation. It showed that it was necessary to replace capitalist ownership of the means of production by the public ownership. When the Lasallean theories "of the iron law of wages" were convincingly refuted, the possibility for the trade unions to work successfully, stage efficient strikes and improve the working people's conditions under capitalism was confirmed. Fundamental ideas concerning the development of the economy, productive forces and production relations at the different stages of communist society were furthered.

Of great significance for the Marxist philosophy in those years was research into the correlation between reality and conception, necessity and fortuity, technology and science, economics and politics, the interaction between the basis and the superstructure, refining of ideas on the development and succession of socio-economic formations, the essence of the various forms of the state and the laws of revolution and the role of historical personalities. Marxist scho-

lars developed historical materialism and the various issues of history, which was to "be studied afresh",¹ as well as the methods of analysing social processes and events. A study of the history of European countries (including Russia), the lessons of the revolutions and the working-class struggle, especially in 1848 and 1871, and the experience acquired by the working-class movement in Germany, Britain, France, Italy and the USA permitted one to make a number of important conclusions. Of major significance was the well-substantiated refutation of the illusion that the state has a supra-class character and that a "free popular state" can exist in society composed of antagonistic classes. The clarification of the class character of bourgeois monarchies and republics was also quite important. Engels wrote about the bourgeois republic: "It is ... a wholly baseless illusion to regard it as essentially socialist in form or to entrust socialist tasks to it while it is dominated by the bourgeoisie."²

Summing up the lessons of past revolutions clarified the fact that bourgeois revolutions were promoting the interests of the minority while using the unaware majority, whose action went farther than was convenient to the bourgeoisie, as a tool, and that proletarian revolutions should be not only revolutions accomplished by the conscientious minority in the interests of the majority, but also revolutions of the conscious majority of the population pursuing its own ends. Engels believed that "the time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past"³ and, like other socialists, repeatedly stressed the importance and complexity of involving in proletarian revolutions not only the majority of the working class which necessitated "a revolution in the heads of the toiling masses"⁴ but also other working people, "the greater part of the middle strata of society,

¹ "Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin, London, August 5, 1890" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 393.

² "Engels to Paul Lafargue in Paris, London, March 6, 1894" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 477.

³ Frederick Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850'" in: Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, pp. 199-200.

⁴ "Engels to Max Oppenheim in Dresden, London, 24. März 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 64.

petty bourgeois and small peasants",¹ although it was considered unlikely that the latter groups would completely cease supporting the bourgeoisie.

The need for a transition period from capitalism to socialism was scientifically substantiated, as was the necessity of state authority with political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, at its core. A democratic republic was regarded as the only political form through which the working class would be able to gain access to state power, and, along with the Paris Commune, as a specific form of proletarian dictatorship in the situation when the old state machine is destroyed and replaced by a new one.

Proceeding from the premise that "when there is no reactionary violence, there can be no question of any revolutionary violence either",² Engels, like many other socialist leaders, did not consider a peaceful victory of the working class impossible and even hoped that in the not-too-distant future, the workers' parties would get the majority vote and come into power in Germany and France. However, unlike some, he warned that "it is a ten-to-one chance"³ and that the ruling classes would resort to violence which would have to be combatted with revolutionary violence.

Proletarian struggle was tied in with the national problems of Europe. Their resolution was perceived as a *sine qua non* for the unification of the working class. "Without restoring autonomy and unity to each nation, it will be impossible to achieve the international union of the proletariat";⁴ "as soon as the working class comes to political power, all excuses for national dissent will be removed".⁵

The development of the struggle and a possible victory of the working class in the West European countries was asso-

¹ Frederick Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850'" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes. Vol. 1, p. 201.

² "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London, 7 October, 1892" in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 489-90.

³ Friedrich Engels, "Antwort an den ehrenwerten Giovanni Bovio" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, 1962, S. 280.

⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p. 30.

⁵ Friedrich Engels, "Den tschechischen Genossen zu ihrer Maifeier eine Erinnerung aus dem Jahr 1848" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 403.

ciated more closely than before with safeguarding peace among the nations. Peace in Europe was very much in the vital interests of the working class and was at the same time regarded as the most favourable condition of its victory. Socialists were convinced more firmly than ever that "the victory of the proletariat (will—I. K.) abolish class antagonisms and strife between nations and bring about peace and happiness in the civilised countries".¹

Marxists realised that "no social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed".² They recognised that in 1848 and 1871 the situation was not ripe for proletarian victory, assumed that in the 1890s, such conditions existed and oriented themselves for the abolition of capitalism at first in the centres of its origin, where its potential seemed almost exhausted and proletarian victory near. Therefore, despite the remnants of feudalism in Germany, and even in France and Britain, revolutionary socialists believed that these states would shortly experience socialist revolutions. They thought that, besides the support of the majority of the population, a necessary condition of success was international cooperation by the proletariat, even though the current opinion was that revolutions would start not simultaneously, but rather begin in one country, be supported in another, and completed in yet another, so that the socialist system would initially be formed within the framework "of one nation".³

But it was also recognised that in Russia, where the development of capitalism already caused permanent change, in Italy and in some other countries, where capitalism stood at a lower level than in Britain, Germany and France, bourgeois revolutions were brewing. Engels foresaw that a revolutionary cataclysm in Russia could well be much more powerful and acute than in other countries and could even trigger off working-class action in Western Europe, whose

¹ Frederick Engels, "To the National Council of the French Workers' Party on the Occasion of the 23rd Anniversary of the Paris Commune" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p. 277.

² Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 21.

³ "Engels to Otto v. Beonigk in Breslau, 21 August, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, 1967, S. 477.

success would change the future of Russia. After socialist revolutions in West-European countries and with their assistance, "the countries which have just managed to make a start on capitalist production, and where tribal institutions or relics of them are still intact, will be able to use these relics of communal ownership and the corresponding popular customs as a powerful means of considerably shortening their advance to socialist society".¹

Marxists believed that the victory of the working class in Western Europe was a matter of the next 10 or 15 years. Engels, for one, maintained that the socialist society, which even then gave rise to a great deal of discussions, should be considered as "continuously changing and advancing".² He even stated: "We have no final goal. We are *adherents* of evolution, and we have no intention to dictate any final laws to mankind."³ The appearance of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* refuted both Lassallean and other faulty conceptions of communism and provided a scientifically grounded idea of the main features of the two phases of this social formation, without, however, prescribing any concrete forms and methods of attaining them or dealing with all the problems that might arise.

In the 1890s, revolutionary socialists believed that "the world is advancing rapidly enough towards a world war or a world revolution, or both",⁴ and so concentrated on working out a political line and improving the means and methods of struggle in the currently prevailing conditions and in the future battles.

Of major importance was the doctrine of the development of the socialist parties with reference to the conditions and objectives of the 1890s. The Marxists attached primary importance to the links with the working class, considered it their mainstay and tried, as Engels put it, "to tell the

¹ Frederick Engels, "On Social Relations in Russia" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, 1973, p. 403.

² "Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin, London, August 5, 1890" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 393.

³ "Interview Friedrich Engels' mit dem Korrespondenten der Zeitung 'Le Figaro' am 8. Mai 1893" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 542.

⁴ "Engels to Hermann Schlüter in New York, London, 19 June, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 416.

workers the truth and nothing but the truth no matter what"¹ in order to win their confidence. The more class- and politically-conscious workers formed the core of socialist parties, however, admittance was also open to "individuals from every class of society", but not "any groups representing capitalist, middle-bourgeois or middle-peasant interests".² As some of the socialist parties had by that time turned into truly mass organisations, new members often came from among the intellectuals, office workers, and other middle-class strata, the danger of succumbing to bourgeois influence was enhanced. However, Engels, as well as most other socialist leaders believed "that this is no grief", as "we can well digest them. But this process must be encouraged".³

The prevalent opinion was that mass parties could not attain the unity of ideas or strict discipline, especially the leaders' "dictatorship", which they used to have as smaller workers' organisations. To reach a more or less prominent position in these parties, it was not enough to have certain talents and a good theoretical background; as Engels wrote, "one had to have adequate knowledge of the conditions of party struggle and a thorough grasp of its forms, tested personal integrity, firmness of character, and, finally, voluntary presence in the fighters' ranks".⁴ He stressed that the leading positions should be closed to unstable persons and especially to those who deviated from the party programme and rules and forced alien views on others.

Noting that "the masses only learn from the consequences of their own mistakes, by feeling things with their own skin"⁵ Engels felt that for the education of the masses and

¹ "Engels to Pasquale Martignetti in Benevent, London, 13 January, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 343.

² Frederick Engels, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 466.

³ "Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht in Berlin, London, 24 November, 1894" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 39, 1968, S. 322.

⁴ F. Engels, "Antwort an die Redaktion der 'Sachsischen Arbeiter-Zeitung'" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 70.

⁵ "Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin, London, 5 August, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 437.

in order to "assimilate and educate the multitude of new elements"¹ in the socialist party a free exchange of opinions was necessary and possible in the atmosphere where there is an agreement in general but differences in opinion concerning forms and methods of the struggle. That is, a left and right wing could exist in the party. Major importance was attached to the independence of these parties' press from the party leadership and even the party congress, and its ability, "while remaining *within* the limits set by the programme and recognised tactics, to freely criticise some steps or others taken by the party, as well as to question the programme and the tactics without, however, overstepping the boundaries of party ethics."² Engels maintained that the socialist parties needed "a socialist science", which, he wrote, "cannot exist without freedom of development".³ Fully aware of the diversity of conditions, the Marxists were convinced that it was "ridiculous to try to squeeze the movement in the different countries into the same form".⁴ They directed the working-class movement through their action and theoretical ideas, but did not seek to unify the relationships between socialist parties, trade unions and other workers' organisations, which were fairly diversified or to force everyone to formally recognise the leading role of these parties.

At that time, considerable progress was made in the development of the socialist parties' tactics. Their opinion was that "for each country, the best tactic is that which shows the shortest and surest way to the goal",⁵ and they made a special effort to study and to take into consideration the specifics in the conditions and the goals. Generalisation of experience made them conclude that, as Liebknecht said, "should the conditions change twenty-four times

¹ "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Mount-Desert, London, 9 August, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 440.

² "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London 19 November, 1892" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 517.

³ "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London, 1 May 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 94.

⁴ "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London, 19 November, 1892" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 518.

⁵ "Engels to F. Wiesen in Baird, London, 14 March, 1893" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 46.

a day, we would change our tactic twenty-four times".¹ However, even while prepared to modify their tactics, the Marxists refused to enter into compromises with bourgeois parties and allowed only short-term and limited cooperation in elections and parallel action with individual opposition nationalist parties in representative bodies. Engels, who urged socialists to take part in truly nationwide movements, was for their temporary cooperation with bourgeois radicals and republicans, but also warned them against losing their independence. He was against the participation in radical republican governments, in respect of which the socialists were to act as an extreme left opposition striving to deepen the revolution.

A summary of the experience amassed by the socialist parties confirmed the need to fight for an equal universal suffrage, to make a broad use of election campaigns and representative bodies to criticise the bourgeois system, explain socialist ideas and programmes, introduce changes into the legislation and force the governments to modify their policies to the advantage of the working people. It was at that time that the Marxists laid the groundwork for parliamentary tactics that would "never miss the slightest opportunity to achieve even small improvements for the workers and are at the same time implacable on questions of principle".² This was viewed as a reliable way to winning the majority and the right to power, which, as Engels put it, "would make the authorities go against legality, that is, place us in a position that would be the most advantageous for carrying out a revolution".³ Of course, not everyone realised, like Engels, that the effort of the socialist parties was not to be confined to this campaign, and that this tactic could very soon prove unacceptable.

The Marxists encouraged demonstrations and strikes as a means of political struggle. Political strikes in particular were recognised as a very useful weapon in the arsenal of means and methods used by the socialist parties. The slogan

¹ *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zürich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893*, Zürich, 1894, S. 44.

² V. I. Lenin, "August Bebel", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1977, p. 298.

³ "Engels au Paul Lafargue in Le Perreux, London, den 12 Nov. 1892" in Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, 1968, S. 514.

of a universal strike advanced by anarchists and syndicalists was, however, rejected not only as an unsound alternative to revolution but also as clearly impracticable in the light of the contemporary standard of the workers' self-awareness and organisation.

Action undertaken by the peasantry, who constituted a significant part of the population and a major productive and political force nearly everywhere in Europe, prompted the socialist parties to launch a campaign for winning over the peasants, since without their support, it was impossible to transform society. Marxist research into the agrarian and peasant question was stepped up, especially in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy and Russia. Socialists maintained that the development of productive forces was dooming peasant property to extinction and planned, after the victory of the working class, to pass over large landed estates to rural proletariat's associations and give the peasants a chance to become convinced by themselves of the advantages of collective farming which enjoyed the support of society. Engels emphasised stratification among the peasantry, whence stemmed the need for a differentiated approach to its various strata. He believed that the socialists should unconditionally support agricultural workers, do their best to prevent direct robbery and cheating of small peasants, and convince the rich peasants and the peasants of medium means that a transformation of society was inevitable. However, some leaders of the working-class movement, who sought to win the support of the largest possible number of peasants at elections, suggested that the socialist parties declare their determination to protect the property of all sections of the peasantry, including the richest, which signified a serious deviation from the scientifically substantiated policy for the sake of immediate political gains. Other socialists did not believe that an alliance of the working class and the peasantry was at all possible. Daniel De Leon maintained that to become the workers' ally, "the middle class will have to be sold at auction by the sheriff",¹ in other words, lose his property. Engels combat-

¹ Daniel De Leon, *Reform of Revolution. Address Delivered under the Auspices of the People's Union, at Well's Memorial Hall, Boston, January 26, 1896*, Published by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, New York, 1924, p. 26.

ed both left- and right-wing tendencies on this matter in his work "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", in which he scientifically dealt with the question of a differentiated approach to the peasantry and mapped out the methods to be used by the socialist parties to involve the peasants into the campaign for a socialist transformation of society. This subject was also researched by Karl Kautsky, Agnini and some other socialist leaders. However, it required a great deal of time and effort to draw up agrarian programmes. In Russia, Lenin's works formed the foundation of the agrarian policy in which the working class in alliance with the peasantry was to assume leadership in a democratic revolution.

Despite the unwillingness of many socialist leaders to consider the possibility of intensified power struggle, Engels examined it and concluded that in the changed conditions "a new revolutionary tactic should be found".¹ He believed that the people's armed action, barricade fights, would have a better chance of success if the lessons of the past were recollected and, most important, a significant part of the army were won over to the side of the socialists.

The Marxists were also concentrating more effort on the campaign against militarism and war. They spoke out against military expenditures and demanded that the regular armies be replaced by people's militia, which would guarantee national security but also make it impossible to use the troops either against its own people or for the purpose of aggression. Mindful of the working people's interests, socialists sought to keep Europe peaceful and prevent armed conflicts between European powers. But they also realised that, although the governments were forced to take some heed of the working-class movement, it was not powerful enough to prevent a war. Up until 1892, Russian tsarism was viewed as the most likely potential source of war, because it was a traditional mainstay and bulwark of European reaction.

In the situation that was complicated by the French-Russian alliance, the socialists decided that in the event of war, they would still do their best to ensure the aggressor's defeat and the victims' victory. The French socialists, who opposed revanchism and the alliance with tsarism, recognis-

¹ "Engels to Paul Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, 3 November, 1892" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 505.

ed the need to defend the country against German invasion. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which fought against the Kaiser's aggressive policies, considered it its duty to defend the country against Russia and France. Engels believed that in that situation, the Social-Democrats should strive to give the defence action a revolutionary character so as to pave the way for their advent to power and make Germany's victory over the aggressors "the victory of revolution".¹ But he also wrote that "the chance and obligation to carry out a revolution will fall to *those who will suffer defeat*".²

In 1893, Engels thoroughly examined the internal crisis of Russia and the weakening of tsarism. He reached the conclusion that the latter was no longer able to act as a stronghold of reaction in Europe and ceased to present a serious threat to its peoples. This was the pivotal concept of the new Marxist approach to European security. Having analysed the correlation of forces on the continent, Engels wrote: "I insist: disarmament, and thus, guaranteed peace is possible; it is even fairly easily attainable." The socialist parties responded by stepping up their action for cutting down the armed forces and military expenditure, and the transition from standing armies to people's militia. However, this drive was fruitless because the bourgeoisie needed a regular army not only to uphold its rule internally but also to pursue its policies of conquest that encompassed territories lying far beyond Europe.

In the first half and the middle of the 1890s, Marxism gained a much firmer foothold. The socialist parties were developing the theoretical principles underlying their domestic and foreign policies in the context of the specific historical conditions existing in their countries. The course they were going to follow against the background of more and more relentless class struggles and bitter international conflicts was emerging with increasing clarity, as did the prospects for a communist transformation of society.

The progress of Marxism was associated with the broader spreading of its basic ideas, which was taking place despite

¹ "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London, 29 September, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 162.

² "Engels to Charles Bonnier in London, London, 24 October, 1892" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 503.

the bourgeoisie's stubborn resistance. Of major importance were new editions of earlier and publication of new works by Marx and Engels. The volume of their followers' and popularisers' writings was also increasing. Marxist ideas were discussed in parliaments, at meetings and demonstrations, in mass newspapers, journals, leaflets and pamphlets issued by the socialist parties. Part of this stream of publications was "all kinds of rubbish, which claimed to be party literature".¹ Certain figures in the working-class movement were inclined "to put more of their own ... conjectures [into Marx's works] than what is actually contained in them",² wrote Engels. There was also a tendency to regard Marx's and Engels' ideas and utterances as a "collection of dogmas".³ Social-reformists, a section of anarchists and syndicalists recognised only those Marxist ideas that appeared to bolster their own views. Some of the bourgeois ideologists who had fallen under the spell of Marxism, including Werner Sombart and Pyotr Struve, tried to use some of its individual tenets to promote their own ends. It is therefore not surprising that the notions about Marxism that had gained extremely wide currency did not always adequately reflect its actual substance and the development level it had attained by that time.

* * *

A characteristic feature of the 1890s was the emergence of a new form of international solidarity and cooperation in the working-class movement that became rooted in quite a number of countries. May Day manifestations staged on a regular basis ever since 1890, to which Engels referred as "the first international *action* of the struggling proletariat was the most important phenomenon."⁴ The demonstrations were initiated and directed by socialist parties, trade unions and other workers' organisations, that were either

¹ "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, London, 8 March, 1892" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 295.

² "Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin, London, 12 April, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, 1967, S. 383.

³ "Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, 4 May, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 101.

⁴ Friedrich Engels, "Der 4. Mai in London" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, 1963, S. 60.

members of the Second International or supported it. "May 1," stated the leadership of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Austria, "is the day of class-conscious proletariat, the day when it demonstrates its might and its hope for greater consciousness, the day when it shows the growth of its potential to the ruling classes."¹

In 1890, May Day demonstrations, meetings and strikes involving thousands of workers were held in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria (including Czechia), Hungary (including Croatia), Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Portugal, Romania, the Kingdom of Poland, the USA, Argentina, Mexico and Cuba. On 4 May, a meeting of 300,000 workers took place in London. Beginning with 1891, May Day action became a feature of political life in Russia and Ireland, and since 1893, in Greece. "International May Day demonstrations are tremendously popular," Swedish socialists noted.²

The forms of May Day action varied greatly, and were determined by circumstances. So as not to make the workers the target of reaction, the action sometimes took place on the Sunday nearest 1 May. This occasionally gave rise to debate, but Engels maintained that "the movement will not suffer from this lack of unity, and such purely formal unity would not be worth the price we should have to pay for it in Germany and possibly in England too."³

The demand for an 8-hour working day was common to all May Day minifestations. If the situation allowed, the workers also demanded better labour conditions, social security, more rights for the working people, broader democratic freedoms, universal suffrage and reduction of military expenditure and the armed forces. They also protested against the ruling circles' aggressive and reactionary policies. May Day meetings and demonstrations were widely used to popularise the ideas of socialism and the working people's international solidarity, and to explain the socialist parties' policies. "*May 1 means renovation*," read the May

¹ *Bericht der Sozialdemokrat. Arbeiterpartei Österreichs an den Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongress, Zürich, 1893*, S. 6-7.

² *Bericht über die Arbeiterbewegung in Schweden dem Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Kongress 1893 in Zürich*, S. 13.

³ "Engels to Paul Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, January 31, 1891" in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 404.

Day March. "As the juices rise in the trees, so ideas reach the brain, so socialism grows."¹ In France, Germany, Russia, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Italy, the authorities' attempts to forcefully stop May Day action led to clashes with police and armed forces.

The socialist parties in particular were clearly aware of the commonality of their goals and principles, as well as the need for international cooperation. Despite each party's complete independence, the international socialist movement was perceived by its leaders not as a mechanical sum of the parties involved in it but as an integral whole. "The community of the programmes and the tactics," wrote Jules Guesde, "this is what turns socialists not only in France and Germany but in the whole of Europe and America into a single party, a single army."²

The socialist parties were expanding their contacts: it became a common practice to send representatives to other parties' congresses, exchange emissaries who brought tokens of solidarity on the occasion of major actions, print reviews of the working-class movement abroad and articles by socialist leaders and exchange delegations to study each other's experience. They even extended material and financial aid. To bolster the stand of the German Social-Democrats in the 1890 elections, French and American socialists sent them 29,300 marks. In 1896, significant material support was given to the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Austria, which was preparing for an election. In 1897 alone, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany sent 14,600 marks to the socialist parties of Austria, Holland, Italy and Slovenia. The socialist parties' unselfish assistance had become a regular practice; it was of particular value to the parties that were just getting established.

International contacts among other workers' organisations were also strengthening. In 1890, miners and textile workers set up international trade-union secretariats or federations; later, their example was followed by railwaymen, metalworkers, clothes-makers, fur-dressers, potters, shoemakers, etc. Like the International printers' secretariat established in 1889, they convened international trade-

¹ Maurice Dommanget, *Histoire du Premier Mai*, Société Universitaire d'éditions et de librairie, Paris, 1953, p. 365.

² *Le Socialiste*, 12 Octobre 1890.

union conferences, assisted the unions to learn from each other and organised mutual support. Regional congresses of the Scandinavian countries' worker organisations (held in 1890, 1892, and 1897), were a regular event at which the socialists were recognised leaders. The year 1891 witnessed the first international socialist students' congress.

More substantial international support was now given to major strikes. The German printers, who went on strike in 1891, received large sums from American and French workers. Workers of many countries extended material assistance to the strikers in Carmaux (France, 1892). "With all our hearts, we wish our Austrian brothers success in the struggle against those who exploit them,"¹ wrote American miners in 1896, who sent the money they had collected to their striking Austrian colleagues. In 1897, British machine-builders waging a bitter campaign received 262,876 marks from German and 11,644 dollars from American workers. International solidarity strikes were occasionally staged. In 1893, miners in a number of districts in Belgium and France went on strike as a token of support for the British miners' strike.

A special place in the development of international solidarity belonged to Engels. Although he was extremely busy preparing Marx's works for press and conducting his own research, and often unwell, Engels closely followed international developments and the progress of the working-class movement in Europe and the United States until his final days. He corresponded with dozens of activists of workers' organisations in 16 countries, took an active part in the exchange of opinions of urgent and significant issues, and responded to all important events in the socialist movement. He wrote: "Marx and I ... shouldered the main burden of the work as go-betweens for the national movements of Socialists and workers in the various countries. This work expanded in proportion to the expansion of the movement as a whole."¹ Engels' death on 5 August 1895 was a great loss to the world socialist movement, though by that time, largely thanks to his efforts, the international unity of the movement and the priority of Marxism in it had already been consolidated. They were also promoted by the con-

¹ *Justice*, 21 March, 1896.

² Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1986, pp. 1-2.

gresses of the Second International held in 1891 and 1893, which Engels helped prepare, as well as the congress of 1896, which took place after Engels' death. *Le Socialiste* was completely justified to say: "It is to our international congresses that we owe the class solidarity now reigning among the ranks of the international proletariat."¹

* * *

The international socialist congresses of 1891, 1893 and 1896, the congresses of the Second International, were milestones in the history of the international working-class movement of the 1890s.

The participants represented all the socialist parties, many socialist groups and the overwhelming majority of trade unions, with the exception of those with avowed bourgeois leanings. Despite the fact that the ideological and political standards set for the participants in the congresses were getting gradually higher, and that the split with the anarchists was by that time final, the congresses attracted an increasing number of participants. In 1891, there were 372 delegates from 16 countries, in 1893, 438 delegates (after the expulsion of the anarchists) from 20 countries, and in 1896, 700 delegates from 22 countries.

To prepare and hold a congress, coordinated and energetic action of Marxists in all countries was required, especially to combat the opposition of the anarchists and some social-reformist groups, who tried to undermine Marxist hegemony in the international working-class movement.

The congresses concentrated on the problems common to the working-class movement in all capitalist countries, especially in Western and Central Europe. Their main purpose was to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among workers' organisations on the basis of common interests.

Preparations for the congresses mirrored the diversity of objective conditions and goals of the working-class movement in different countries and the distinctions between the awareness level, experience and organisational standards characteristic of the different groups and national sections of workers, as well as the difference of opinion existing between representatives of the parties, trade unions and

¹ *Le Socialiste*, 20 Août 1893.

other organisations. But leadership was still in the hands of revolutionary socialists, adherents of Marxism. Thanks to their campaign against the anarchist and social-reformist trends, the congresses passed resolutions that were well up to the standard of development reached by Marxism.

Each congress was a milestone in the international working-class movement; each had its own characteristic features.

It proved much easier to prepare and convene the second socialist congress scheduled for 1891 than the first one. It was the responsibility of the commission set up by Swiss workers' organisations, which took its time deciding the date and venue of the congress. Meanwhile, basing themselves on the decision of the international Possibilists' congress (1889), the Belgian Labour Party announced the convocation of an international workers' congress in Brussels in 1891, and was supported not only by the Possibilists, the Social-Democratic Federation and the Fabians, but also the British Trades Union Congress, the largest workers' organisation. Social-reformists reckoned to dominate the congress.

Engels was the first to sound the alarm. He wrote: "The Belgians have played a trick on us that endangers our congress."¹ Indeed, the convocation of a second parallel congress would have appeared an attempt to split the international working-class movement; it was unrealistic to hope that the majority of mass workers' organisations would agree to take part in it. However, the Marxists' participation in a congress convened on the decision of the Possibilists' congress of 1889 would have signified their betrayal of the decisions of the international socialist congress of 1889 and the victory scored at it. Either way, Marxist hegemony in the international working-class movement would have been weakened.

Again it was Engels who found the way out. He suggested that the Belgian Labour Party leadership and the Swiss commission collaborate on precisely defined terms: the convocation of a congress in 1891 by representatives of both congresses of 1889, their complete equality, preliminary joint definition of the terms of representation, and the congress's sovereignty, i.e. its right to independently confirm

¹ "Engels to Paul Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, 15 September, 1890" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 37, S. 452.

the mandates and work out the agenda, the rules, the voting procedure, etc. Engels believed that this would give the Marxists, who could capitalise on the prestige of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party and the French Workers' Party, a chance to call the tune. Should the Belgian Labour Party leaders refuse to cooperate, they would become guilty of a split, thus undermining confidence in their good faith and allowing the Marxists to involve the majority of mass workers' organisations in the work of the congress. The SDLP and the FWP leaders supported Engels' plan. These parties' congresses proposed to hold an international socialist congress in 1891 in Brussels. At the international conference of French, German, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Swiss socialists held on their initiative on 16-17 October, a representative of the Belgian Labour Party, whose leaders had taken into account the split and the weakening of the French Possibilists, suggested that an international workers' congress be convened in 1891. On the basis of this compromise, on 19 October the Swiss commission announced its decision to convene an international workers' congress in Brussels in 1891, and reached an agreement on cooperation with the BLP leadership based on the terms proposed by Engels. The compromise removed the danger of a split in the international working-class movement and built up Marxist influence.

The Marxists sought to attract the largest possible number of workers' organisations. Engels, in particular, persistently worked towards this goal. The Marxists' line signified their striving for unity in the working-class movement, and made it possible for them to bolster and expand their influence on the various mass working people's organisations. Early in March 1891, the Swiss and Belgian workers' organisations published an official address on the convocation of the Brussels congress. It read, in part: "All workers' and socialist parties, associations and groups are invited without any exception."¹

For all practical purposes, preparations for the congress were headed by Jean Volders. He kept in touch with the leaders of socialist parties, and was the person to whom suggestions and criticism were addressed. He formulated the

¹ *Vorwärts*, 3. März 1891.

goals of the congress as the creation of "an international fraternity of all class-conscious proletarians of the world for the purpose of the collective discussion of political and social reforms".¹ The Belgian social-reformists hoped to seize the initiative, find sufficient backing at the congress, and give it a social-reformist character.

The Marxists had ample grounds for concern. The Italian Marxists were unable to attend the congress. In Russia, the Marxists were not yet really in touch with the mass of the workers and did not receive a mandate from them. Right- and left-wingers continued to make trouble in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. In the British labour movement, Marxist ideas were far from prevalent. In France, the Workers' Party was the most influential but not the only socialist organisation. Engels was not sure that the representatives of smaller countries' socialist organisations were completely reliable. Engels warned: "A single error made by us, a single missed favourable chance may in the future necessitate a great deal of useless but unavoidable work."²

Jules Guesde suggested that the forthcoming congress set up a General Council. The BLP leaders welcomed this suggestion in the hope that they would be able to seize the leadership in a General Council set up in Brussels. Engels opposed the proposal. He maintained that the argument about the formation, functions and composition of the General Council would drive a wedge between the French, the British and the Germans and give the social-reformists a chance to consolidate their influence. "This would lead to new splits and throw the movement years back,"³ he wrote. Engels also said that "the movement had assumed too great, too wide a scope to be confined within these, much too narrow boundaries".⁴ He succeeded in placating Jules Guesde and convinced the other Marxists who had originally supported the idea. Of tremendous practical importance for strengthening the Marxists' position at that time and for their launching immediate ideological and theoretical preparatory

¹ *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism*, Vol. 200, file IV, Reg. No. 589, p. 2.

² "Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux, London, 20 July, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 138.

³ "Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux, The Firs, 17 August, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 147.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

work for the Brussels congress was the publication of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' prefaces to new editions of *The Civil War in France* and *Wage Labour and Capital*. Another important factor were a Marxist draft programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, written with Engels' assistance and critique by Marxists of anarchist and social-reformist ideas.

Nearly everywhere, the election of workers' delegates to the congress proceeded under complicated circumstances. Ever since the early months of 1891, the bourgeois press began vicious attacks against the forthcoming congress. "The Brussels congress is scoffed at everywhere in the press," wrote Antonio Labriola in February.¹ In some countries, the authorities instituted harsher reprisals against the socialists. However, despite opposition, the growth of the working-class movement and the success of the effort to advance and disseminate Marxism determined not only the socialist character of the international workers' congress in Brussels but also the prevalence of the Marxist trend.

The second congress of the new International opened on the morning of 16 August in the Maison du peuple in Brussels. Present at the opening ceremony were a large number of guests and a veritable army of reporters. The interest in the congress was so great that the next day its venue was transferred to St. Michael's Hall, which had more room for the public. The congress was covered also by bourgeois press. Bourgeois reporters exaggerated the rumours about the difference of opinion allegedly existing among the delegates and predicted the congress's early split and inevitable failure.

Sensing that they would not do very well in Brussels, the most active opponents of Marxism, Brousse and Hyndman, failed to make an appearance. The Possibilists and the Social-Democratic Federation were poorly represented. That was a natural result of the disintegration of the Possibilists' party and the failure of Hyndman's anti-Marxist intrigues. Furthermore, the ratification of the mandates led to the expulsion of overt anarchists, who openly stated their opposition to Marxism and the socialist parties. There were only four of them, three Belgians and one Dutchman.

¹ Antonio Labriola, *Lettere a Engels*, Edizioni Rinascita, Roma, 1949, p. 6.

This was a significant and revealing action: the split with anarchism was not only ideological but organisational as well.

In the work of the Congress 372 delegates from 16 countries took part, representing a much larger number of working people than the delegates to the international socialist congress of 1889.

The Belgian delegation was the largest. Its leaders Jean Volders and Emile Vandervelde occupied a social-reformist stand, but did not dare to openly voice their opposition to Marxism. Their hope to play first fiddle at the congress was quite vain: their old allies turned out to be too weak and unreliable.

The French delegation was the second largest (65 members). A significant portion of this delegation was composed of representatives of the French Workers' Party. It was headed by Jules Guesde. This group contributed little to the debate. It unconditionally supported the Social-Democratic Party of Germany but avoided an open confrontation with the rest of the French delegation made up by the Allemanists, Blanquists and representatives of the syndicates.

The German delegation was half the size of the one that attended the Paris congress of 1889, and the SDPG representatives were less united than they had been. Party leadership had to restrain the activities of Vollmar's followers and stand up to the anarchist sallies of the "young", and at the same time secure the delegation's unity when voting on the principal issues. Despite the difficulties it was facing, the SDPG still played the leading role at the congress. "The Germans," wrote Friedrich Adolph Sorge to Engels, "guided the congress and will guide the next one."¹ What secured the SDPG a place of such prominence was its success in the fight against reaction, the effort to organise the masses, and the discussion of the issues included in the programme.

The British delegation had 28 people. The majority were representatives of the new trade unions; representation of the old ones was weak. The delegates of socialist organisations were the minority: the Fabians, the Social-Democratic Federation, etc. Their position was hampered by internal dissent.

¹ *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism*, Vol. 1, file 5, Reg. No. 5247, p. 1.

The Austrian delegation (11 members) was the ally of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the French Workers' Party.

The nine members of the Dutch delegation were headed by Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis. Among the rest (Swiss, American, Romanian, Polish, Hungarian, Norwegian, Italian, Spanish, Danish and Swedish delegations), that of the United States was the most representative. The weak Bulgarian, Argentinian and Finnish socialist organisations were unable to send delegates.

Neither Russian Marxists nor the People's Will were represented. Georgi Plekhanov sent a report which was distributed among the delegates. It read, in part: "We have prepared the ground for scientific socialism. ...We have made it our obligation to cover Russia with a network of workers' societies... Until we have done that, representation of the Russian social-democracy would be fictitious."¹

After the eviction of openly active anarchists, several trends became manifest at the congress. The most influential trend was Marxist. It included the gathering of strength to rebuff anarchism, limit the influence of social-reformism, and the aid to trade unions and other mass organisations in making a step towards Marxism, and thereby attaining a higher standard in their work. The second trend, social-reformism led by Emile Vandervelde and Jean Volders, had the Labour Party of Belgium as its stronghold. The third trend included semi-anarchists with Nieuwenhuis as its spokesperson, and the Dutch delegation and the group of the German "young" as its mainstay. The fourth trend did not have a clearly defined platform. It was merely a shadow of the old trade-unionism and syndicalism, whose representatives stressed the importance of trade unions and the economic struggle. This trend encompassed parts of the British and the French delegation.

The agenda, which featured 11 points, all of them imperfectly formulated, was approved almost without debate. Later, however, two issues were merged, one postponed until the next congress, and three were removed altogether. The delegates almost unanimously passed the resolution on the need to campaign against piece work and payment

¹ *Georgi Plekhanov's Literary Heritage*, Collection VIII, Part 1, Moscow, 1940, pp. 91, 98 (in Russian).

based on it, which was being used to increase exploitation and competition among workers. The congress did not hear the delegations' reports on the development of the workers' and socialist movement in individual countries: they were mimeographed and distributed among the delegates.

In actual fact, the Brussels Congress discussed six issues. Special commissions were appointed to draw up resolutions on three of them, which saved a great deal of time. Voting was done on the national basis—each delegation had one vote, its use being decided by the majority vote of the delegation members.

The eight sittings in four days were devoted to the primary issue, labour protection legislation and the ways of introducing it. Emile Vandervelde's report and the resolution he proposed were drawn up along the lines of social-reformism. First, they contained definitions based on the Lassallean concept of the state, which obscured the class nature of the bourgeois state. Second, labour protection laws were regarded as an end in themselves, outside their significance for the future of the proletariat's class struggle. Third, the tasks of the working class and the socialists were treated very narrowly. Vandervelde believed that the only objective of propaganda in the campaign for labour protection was a proof of the hostile attitude of governments to such laws. As for the methods of the struggle, he referred only to "energetic agitation" and the "means corresponding to the situation",¹ as well as the possibility of voting for the bourgeois candidates who championed labour protection laws.

The delegates sent by the London unions and the representative of the French syndicates spoke about the need for the trade unions' international organisational unity in order to eliminate competition between the workers of different countries, and efficiently combat the high customs tariffs that exacerbated the workers' condition.

August Bebel gave the debate a completely new direction. He resolutely stated that the principal task of Social-Democracy was not to introduce labour protection laws but "to explain to the workers the essence and character of con-

¹ *Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des Internationalen Arbeiter-Kongresses zu Brüssel. 16-22. August 1891*, Verlag der Expedition des *Vorwärts* Berliner Volksblatt, Berlin, 1893, S. 8.

temporary society so as to make its disappearance as quick as possible.”¹ He associated the campaign for labour protection and reforms with the proletariat’s revolutionary goals, and made it clear that the socialists had to fight for reform and concessions from the bourgeoisie not only to improve the workers’ condition but also to abolish the bourgeois system. He said that as far as the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was concerned, any other opinion was incompatible with its party membership.

August Bebel’s speech against the reformist spirit of Vandervelde’s report and resolution was met with enthusiastic support. Abraham Cahan (USA) and Leo Frankel (Paris) demanded that the resolution stipulate that the proletariat would continue the class struggle until the abolition of capitalism, and that “political power must be seized by the working class”.² Victor Adler noted the revolutionary principles of the Austrian Social-Democracy and called on the delegates to use parliamentarism, suffrage, elections and labour protection in order “to revolutionise consciousness and thereby attract the poorer strata, who should accomplish this revolution”.³

The social-reformists did not decide to defend Vandervelde’s stand. The commission revised the resolution he had proposed. The new version emphasised that in the matter of labour protection, “the congress stands on the soil of the class struggle” of the proletariat, and urged the workers to set up independent organisations to fight against the rule of bourgeois parties and to use their political rights “for emancipation from wage slavery”, a goal that cannot be attained without “the abolition of class domination”.⁴ This version was approved by the congress; the reformists were defeated.

The next question, “the attitude of the workers’ organisations in all countries to the Jewish question”, was settled along the principles of proletarian internationalism. Condemning anti-semitism as a tool used by the bourgeoisie to split the ranks of the working people, the delegates emphatically stated that the road that would lead the oppressed

¹ Ibid., S. 11.

² Ibid., S. 12.

³ Ibid., S. 13.

⁴ Ibid., S. 14, 15.

Jews to emancipation lay through socialism. A unanimously adopted resolution called on the Jewish workers to join "workers' organisations of their countries".¹

Subsequently, the Socialists and the social-reformists clashed only during the discussion of the resolution submitted by the delegation of women Social-Democrats. It stated that all Social-Democratic parties must demand complete equality between men and women. Expounding its ideas, Paul Singer criticised the bourgeois women's movement and explained that equality implied equal access to all occupations. Vandervelde agreed that equality was a good thing in principle, but maintained that women should confine their activities to housekeeping. His speech provoked a storm of indignation, and the vote for the resolution submitted by the women's delegation was almost unanimous.

In the debates on the right of coalitions, on the strikes, on the boycott and on the trade-union movement, priority belonged to the trend that tried to exaggerate the role of the trade unions and to associate trade-unionism and syndicalism with revolutionary aspirations. Arthur Groussier, representative of the French syndicates and member of the commission working on the resolution suggested on its behalf that each country form committees that would unite all national workers' organisations and help them establish stable international contacts. He also posed the question of how the trade unions should be organised so as to be able to build the foundation for a socialist state. As he saw it, the trade unions' task was to reduce the working day and raise the wages, as well as supply political education for the workers. Strikes and boycotts were recognised as an efficient means of struggle only when conducted on an international scale.

The draft resolution urged the trade unions to work, "above all, for a transformation of the capitalist economy into an economy with a fair distribution of the product of labour"² and "to lay the cornerstone for a society of equals".³ Strikes and boycotts were named as the only weapons the working class had against capital. However, it was recommended that they resort more frequently to

¹ Ibid., S. 16.

² Ibid., S. 17.

³ Ibidem.

negotiations and arbitration courts. It was suggested that the trade unions conduct socialist agitation, exchange information, campaign for the right to set up coalitions (specifically, international trade-union associations), and take the hiring of personnel and public works into their hands. The unification of the proletariat on an international scale was foreseen as the beginning along the route of the uniting of the trade unions.

This pretentious platform, which ignored the socialist parties and the experience of political struggle gained by the working people had a clearly trade-unionist and syndicalist character. But the Marxists' open opposition to it could well alienate representatives of mass trade unions and syndicates. Therefore, the speaker on behalf of the SDPG Wilhelm Bock said that in principle, the draft resolution was acceptable, even if some of its provisions would be hard to realise. On behalf of the Germans, the Austrians, the Swiss, the Dutch and the Romanians, he proposed a draft resolution which stated that the trade unions must act as a weapon of the class struggle, strive to involve the masses in their work and build up their finances. Strikes and boycotts were recommended as a weapon that cut both ways but was nevertheless necessary in the defensive and offensive actions for the workers' political and economic interests. Another recommendation was to fight for the freedom of coalition and the expansion of international contacts and mutual assistance of workers in all countries and in the most efficient forms.

This plan received the support of the British, Polish, Dutch, Austrian and French delegates and even the representative of the majority of the French delegation, who proposed only some minor additions. The first project was unanimously rejected.

The plan submitted by Bock included declarations noting the increase of the workers' economic and political oppression by the bourgeoisie, the campaign for better conditions for the working people within the framework of bourgeois society, and the desirability for centralising trade unions on a national and an international scale by setting up secretariats. The plan was carried by the overwhelming majority of delegates, with a small part of the Belgians and Frenchmen opposing it. Thanks to the authority and experience of the German Social-Democratic Party and the theoretical

and ideological weakness of trade-unionism and syndicalism, the Marxists scored a success and moved to the forefront of the movement involving the majority of mass trade unions and syndicates.

The sharpest debate flared up over the question of the attitude of the working class toward militarism. Dissociating his platform from both chauvinists and pacifists, and emphasising the proletarian internationalist stand of the socialists, Wilhelm Liebknecht said: "The enemies of German workers are not French workers but the German bourgeoisie, the enemy of French workers are not German and British workers but the bourgeoisie of their own country."¹ He exposed the class essence of militarism as a tool of the exploitive classes used to plunder the peoples and suppress the revolutionary movement. He prophesied that the imminent war would assume a tremendous scope and bring untold misery. "The proletariat, which is carrying the banner of culture," said Liebknecht, "should take care to prevent this."² As he put it, "the victory of socialism is the only means of abolishing militarism and removing the threat of war between nations".³ The resolution he submitted on behalf of the commission stated that "only the creation of a socialist social system abolishing exploitation of man by man can put an end to militarism".⁴ The resolution called on all peaceful forces to join the Social-Democracy. Holding the ruling classes guilty of preparing and possibly unleashing a world war whose consequences would primarily lie on the shoulders of the workers, the resolution urged the proletariat to protest against chauvinism, fight militarism and military alliances of the world powers, and to set up an international association of the working class.

Nieuwenhuis opposed the commission's proposal and submitted his own draft, which pointed the finger not at nationalism and chauvinism but on national distinctions in general. He pinned the blame for wars on all governments without special consideration of their goals or the character of the war, and called on all peoples to stop work in response

¹ *Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des Internationalen Arbeiter-Kongresses zu Brüssel. 16-22. August 1891, S. 25.*

² *Ibidem.*

³ *Ibid.*, S. 26.

⁴ *Ibidem.*

to the declaration of war.¹ Developing his programme, Nieuwenhuis said: "When the governments will declare war, then will revolution take place."² He advocated the use of violence against the ruling classes, saying that the workers must use armed force in a civil war against the bourgeoisie of their country. Termination of work was identified as civil war, but neither the situation in which the workers could be successful nor their tactics were examined at all. The function of the socialist parties and other workers' organisations was to issue appeals. He was banking on a spontaneous outburst, not from the proletariat, but the nations at large.

In his long speech, Nieuwenhuis insisted that only chauvinists considered it necessary to distinguish between defensive and aggressive wars, attacked the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and stated that "large nations are less internationally minded than small ones",³ "Chauvinism", he said, "is a threat to our entire socialist movement."⁴ The ideological and theoretical feebleness of the report and its tawdry style completely overshadowed the very real danger of chauvinism making its way into the working-class movement and the complexity of defining the true character of war.

Nieuwenhuis's platform was opposed by Edouard Vaillant, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Jean Volders. Liebknecht said that acceptance of this programme would make a laughing-stock of Social-Democrats should the war begin, and might endanger the outcome of their work. "The general world strike is nothing but a demagogic phrase," he stated.⁵

Most delegations rejected Nieuwenhuis's programme, as they did the suggestion that the commission's plan incorporate the idea of staging a general strike at the outset of the war which was proposed by a section of the British delegation. Included into the commission's draft was only the demand for replacing the standing armies by the people's militia, and mention of dynastic interests as a source of wars. In the end, all 16 delegations voted for Liebknecht's draft.

¹ Ibid., S. 28.

² Ibid., S. 27.

³ Ibid., S. 28.

⁴ Ibid., S. 27.

⁵ Ibid., S. 29.

Thirteen of the delegations were completely unanimous. In this manner, supported by social-reformists, the Marxists managed to suppress the semi-anarchist trend.

The final sitting of the congress adopted a resolution which said that demonstrations of international solidarity advancing the demand for an 8-hour working day and calling on the workers to take part in the class struggle should be held on 1 May, but that it was not necessary to stop work, since in some countries that was not practicable.

Closing the congress, Jean Volders noted that it had shown the "unity of the directions of the fighting proletariat, which is the guarantee of the final victory of the working-class movement".¹ The last sitting ended in singing revolutionary songs and hailed the future socialist revolution.

Engels wrote that at the Brussels Congress, "the Marxists have, in all the questions of principle, as in the questions of tactics, won all the way around."² The congress isolated the most convinced anarchists from the socialist movement. It rejected both overt social-reformism, which ignored the question of the class struggle, and trade-unionism, which did not recognise the need for the workers' political independence. The attempts of their followers to get the revolutionary socialist resolutions voted down failed. The fact that the representatives of the trade unions and the syndicates allied themselves with the Marxists was a major victory that showed that these mass organisations were becoming involved in the campaign for socialism. Along with the mass workers' organisations, the new International, which had declared itself Marxist, incorporated a large number of social-reformists and a section of semi-anarchists, who were forced to recognise the leading role of Marxism. "Open opposition to us as a whole no longer exists," wrote Engels.³

He also stated that "we have every reason to be satisfied" with the Brussels Congress.⁴ The socialist press in every country hailed its success and voiced appreciation for the outcome of its work. *Le Socialiste* particularly stressed the

¹ Ibid., S. 35.

² "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, London, 2 September, 1891" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 38, S. 150.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibid., S. 151.

split with overt anarchism and the recommendation to set up the national and international secretariats of workers' organisations. "Socialism," the paper wrote, "has nothing in common with anarchy."¹ *Vorwärts* referred to the Brussels Congress "as a turning point in the history of the proletariat."²

August Bebel wrote in *Die Neue Zeit*: "The unity of the international working-class movement is a fact which no one can any longer deny."³ The Viennese *Arbeiter-Zeitung* particularly concentrated on the recognition of strikes as a weapon in the class struggle and the recommendation to set up international workers' secretariats. "Socialism," wrote Hyndman in *Justice*, "is developing from a sought-after ideal to practical reality."⁴

The anarchists were outraged. Their newspaper the *Commonweal* referred to all participants in the Brussels Congress as "reactionary political swindlers."⁵

The bourgeois press, which had gone on about the imminent split in the socialist movement and the failure of the congress, had to pretend that nothing had happened and did its best to play down the significance of the resolutions passed in Brussels. Extreme reactionaries in France and Germany tried to use them as an excuse to step up the anti-socialist campaign.

* * *

In January 1892, in conformity with the resolution of the Brussels Congress for the preparations for the next one, leaders of the Swiss workers' organisations formed an Organising Committee. The third congress was to be held in 1893 in Zurich. The socialist press of all countries welcomed the news of the beginning of the preparations for the next international congress. An OC address invited the workers' parties and associations that "recognise the necessity of organising workers and their political activities".⁶

Right-wing leaders of the British Trades Union Congress

¹ *Le Socialiste*, 26 Août 1891.

² *Vorwärts*, 27. August 1891.

³ *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 49, Bd. 2, 1890-1891, S. 713.

⁴ *Justice*, 12 September, 1891.

⁵ *The Commonweal*. A Revolutionary Journal of Anarchist Communism, London, Vol. 7, No. 278, 29 August, 1891, p. 104.

⁶ *Vorwärts*, 4. Oktober 1892.

made an attempt to take the initiative into their hands, hoping to drive a wedge between the trade unions and the socialists and prevent the new congress from functioning along socialist lines. They managed to get the TUC congress to decline the invitation to Zurich and receive approval for the decision to convene an international workers' congress in London to discuss the legislation on an 8-hour working day (to be held earlier than the Zurich Congress).

The Organising Committee was stunned. However, Engels stepped in and helped the socialists act promptly and as a united front. Workers' organisations in France, Germany, Spain and Italy refused to accept the TUC's invitation and advocated the convocation of the congress in Zurich. At the congress of the French Workers' Party, Paul Lafargue levelled criticism against right trade-unionists for their attempt to split the international working-class movement. The congresses of the French Federation of the Syndicates and the French Workers' Party passed appropriate decisions. *Vorwärts* wrote: "The German Social-Democrats and trade unions, as well as the French fraternal party and workers' parties and other workers' organisations in other countries, must now side with these actions."¹ The idea of holding the congress in Zurich was staunchly supported by the Congress of the Socialist Party of Spain, the leadership of the Socialist Party of Italy and the congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

Supported by a number of socialist parties, the Organising Committee sent the trade unions and other workers' organisations of Britain a letter explaining that the Zurich Congress was being convened on the decision that had been supported in Brussels by the British delegation, among others, in particular by the representatives of the trade unions. It again invited all workers' organisations of Britain to take part in the Zurich Congress.

By mid-November, nearly all major workers' organisations had declared their readiness to attend the Zurich Congress. The OC published its draft agenda. The TUC found itself in isolation; its attempt to convene an international workers' congress in London was doomed to fall through. One by one, the trade unions began to accept the invitation to the Zurich Congress. "We are glad to learn that the dif-

¹ Ibid., 28. Februar 1892.

difficulty created by the mistaken resolution of the Glasgow Trades Congress has at last been definitely got rid of,"¹ wrote *Justice* on 11 February, 1893.

On 26 March, on the initiative of the Organising Committee, a preparatory conference was held in the Maison du peuple in Brussels. Representatives of the SDPG, the FWP and the Blanquists, the ILP and some trade unions of Britain, the BLP, Swiss workers' organisations, and Dutch Social-Democrats took part in it. It approved the provision of the invitation that obliged the congress participants to recognise the need for workers' participation in the political agitation, and decided that, like the previous ones, the Zurich Congress would enjoy complete sovereignty. The conference drew up draft rules and named 6 August as the opening date.

Beginning in March, socialist newspapers in all countries printed and discussed the workers' organisations' suggestions to the Zurich Congress. Their volume testified to a lively and unprecedented interest of the broad strata of organised workers in the new international socialist congress.

The delegates to the congress were elected between April and July. In April, Engels' home became the meeting ground of socialists, deputies of the German, French and British parliaments. Late in June, the socialist press carried the appeal of the Organising Committee "To the Workers of All Countries!", which confirmed the date, the terms of the convocation, the rules and the draft agenda of the congress.

It soon became clear that because of the parliamentary elections in France scheduled for 20 August, the French Workers' Party would be unable to take part in the congress. The FWP and the SDPG suggested that the congress be postponed until late September, but the other workers' organisations of France promised their presence at the congress in August, and the British workers' organisations were against the postponement of the congress, too. In view of this, as well as of the concern expressed by socialists in many countries, the Organising Committee decided to let the date of the congress stand.

The socialist press welcomed the convocation of the Zurich Congress and made it clear that it expected great things

¹ *Justice*, 11 February, 1893.

of it. "The international Social-Democracy," wrote *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, "is pressing forth faster than ever."¹ By the opening date, the Organising Committee printed 21 pamphlets reporting on the progress of the working-class movement in individual countries in German, English and French.

The Third International Socialist Congress opened on 6 August in a festively decorated concert hall of Zurich. Its 438 delegates represented workers' and socialist organisations of 20 countries. Ten thousand workers held a demonstration to greet the congress.

At the congress, 117 people represented the Social-Democratic Party, the Grütli Association (Grütli-Verein), the Trade Union Association and individual workers' organisations of Switzerland. The delegation leaders Karl Bürkli and Hermann Greulich were reformists but did not openly oppose Marxism.

The German delegation, which numbered 98 people, was headed by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.

As *Justice* put it, "the English delegation to the Congress is perhaps the most numerous that has ever attended an International Congress, and it is certainly the most mixed".² Among its 65 members were old and new trade unionists, the Social-Democratic Federation delegates and the Fabians.

The French delegation consisted of 41 members, including Blanquists, independent socialists, Allemanists and syndicalists, but had only two FWP representatives.

Austria (together with Czechia) sent 34 delegates headed by Victor Adler. The Italian delegation had 22 members, including Antonio Labriola and Filippo Turati. The 17 Belgian delegates were very active. Among the rest, important places belonged to the Dutch delegation which, as in Brussels, was the semi-anarchist mainstay, and the Russian delegation, which had only one member, Georgi Plekhanov, who carried the mandates of the Emancipation of Labour group, the Russian Social-Democrats in New York, and, most important, the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic group. He made a report and a speech, which meant that the congress recognised the Marxist trend as the major one in the Russian revolutionary movement. Represented at the congress were also workers and socialists of Bulgaria, Austria, Denmark,

¹ *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 21. Juli 1893.

² *Justice*, 12 August, 1893, p. 4.

Hungary, Norway, Romania, Serbia, Spain and the USA. All parts of Poland sent delegates. The two workers' organisations in Brazil sent their mandates to the SDPG leaders. There was no doubting the extensive representation, and the internationalist and socialist character of the congress.

The congress became a battleground for Marxists, social-reformists and proponents of anarchism. Even the discussion of the mandates, the procedure and the agenda took up all of five sittings.

Opening the congress, Karl Bürkli noted the rapid growth of the socialist movement and international solidarity, and insisted that even then, the proletariat was gaining access to political power and that its nearest target was "peace, freedom and the well-being for all".¹ Anarchists attacked the wording of the invitation, protesting against the phrase about the need for political struggle and even organisation of the workers, and demanding that the congress open its doors "for the masses",² i.e., the anarchists. Nieuwenhuis, Auguste Keufer, Gustav Landauer and some others declared that the terms specified by the invitation restricted the freedom of the minority and went against the appeal "Workingmen of all countries, unite!". Furthermore, they violated the principles of "genuine internationalism".

The wording of the invitation suggested by the Organising Committee and the preparatory conference was defended by J. Hunter Watts (Britain), Charles Bonnier (France), Abraham Cahan (United States) and Pablo Iglesias (Spain). Of decisive significance was the speech made by August Bebel. He firmly dissociated his position from that of the anarchists, criticised the views of semi-anarchists, cited well-considered arguments in favour of the workers' participation in the political campaign, and stated that "all trade unions have the class struggle as the basis of their activities". At his initiative, Austrian, German, Polish and British socialist leaders suggested that the congress declare: "Implied by political action is the use by the workers' parties of their political rights and legislative bodies, or their attempts to control them to protect the proletariat's interests and to attain political power."³ That was a line of demarcation

¹ *Protokoll... 1893*, S. 1.

² *Ibid.*, S. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 6.

both with the anarchists and the reformists.

Following this incident, the anarchists began to consider the wording of the invitation "the lesser evil". All the delegations voted for the invitation, though not unanimously, with the exception of the sole abstention of the French. The definition of political action was also approved by the majority, although the semi-anarchists and the reformists got the Dutch and Belgian delegations to vote against it, and the French and the Polish ones to abstain. The Marxists won the support of the majority, but even so this necessitated Bebel's further explanation that the definition of political action was spearheaded against left-wingers and sectarians, that its recognition was not mandatory for the trade unions, and that each political party was entitled to its own interpretation of political action. In accordance with these decisions, 14 anarchists were evicted from the congress, which then elected Paul Singer, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Daniel De Leon, Charles Bonnier, Filippo Turati, Georgi Plekhanov and some other prominent members of the movement to its Presidium. The rules proposed by the Organising Committee were approved, as was its 10-point agenda.

This congress stood out as a result of the delegates' vigour. Forty-eight people spoke at the plenary meetings alone despite the fact that the questions and draft resolutions had been discussed earlier in special commissions. Many of the delegates spoke at their sessions.

When debating the question of an 8-hour working day in all countries, only the particulars were subject to discussion. The overwhelming majority voted for the resolution proposed by the Swiss delegation. It considered the campaign for an 8-hour working day a precondition for the complete liberation of the working class, stressed the role of the trade unions and the proletarian parties in the struggle for the legal introduction of an 8-hour working day and the need for national and international proletarian unity, diversified means of spreading propaganda, and the use of parliamentarism and the economic methods of struggle.

The most heated debate flared up around the Social-Democrats' stand in case of war. In one of the commissions, the Dutch semi-anarchists proposed general termination of work and conscientious objection to military service as a response to the declaration of war. Part of the British dele-

gation maintained that to preserve peace, it is enough to strengthen fraternal feelings among the nations, and saw no reason to associate the campaign for peace with the struggle for socialism. The Germans considered it necessary to confirm the resolution of the Brussels Congress, giving it a sharper edge against chauvinism.

The majority in the commission supported the Germans' proposal. At the congress sitting, Georgi Plekhanov cited the arguments in its favour. He stated that the general strike proposed by the Dutch delegates was at that time impracticable due to the weakness of workers' organisations. And when they had grown strong enough, they would no longer have a need for such a strike. As for conscientious objection to military service, Plekhanov believed that the French and German authorities would suppress this attempt by force, and that even if it succeeded, "civilised Europe" would find itself defenceless against the Russian tsar's cossacks.

Plekhanov's arguments were elaborated upon by Wilhelm Liebknecht, Stanislas Mendelson (Poland), L. Zalka (Hungary), Victor Adler, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Christian Racovsky (Romania). Daniel De Leon, Louis Héritier and Filippo Turati found the idea of a general strike attractive but unrealistic. Jean Volders supported the draft resolution and, drawing on the experience of Belgian Socialists, suggested that it mention the need to conduct a special propaganda campaign in the barracks against war, and urge the socialists to vote against war credits in parliaments, protest against militarism and demand disarmament.

Nieuwenhuis declared the draft resolution unacceptable. He accused the German Social-Democrats of chauvinism, as they considered it acceptable to defend Germany in a defensive war, and tried to enlist Plekhanov's and the Frenchmen's support against the Germans and the Austrians. He urged a general strike and conscientious objection to military service, and tried to bolster his stand with falsified references to the International Working Men's Association and the international trade-union congress of railwaymen. His proposal was supported by only two speakers and four delegations: the Dutch, the Australian, the Norwegian and the French. Fourteen delegations voted against it. The commission's draft, with the addition suggested by Volders, was approved by 14 delegations, the rest abstained. The

Marxist resolution passed in Zurich was a step forward in comparison with the resolution on the same issue adopted by the Brussels Congress, containing as it did a more unequivocal condemnation of chauvinism and obliging socialists to carry out a special anti-war propaganda campaign, specifically, in the barracks and in parliament, to vote against war credits and to demand disarmament.

The debate on May Day action was reduced to an argument about tactics. Victor Adler attacked the SDPG for changing their demonstrations to the nearest Sunday and demanded that they cease working on 1 May in any case. August Bebel said that termination of work on that day was to the workers' disadvantage, since it would tie their hands and might possibly put them in a serious situation. The resolution passed by the congress encouraged the Social-Democrats to increase the scope and sharpen the edge of May Day action, to conduct demonstrations under the slogan of an 8-hour working day and "social change", and to persuade the workers to stop work whenever at all possible.

When discussing Louise Kautsky's resolution on the means to protect the interests of working women, two conflicting viewpoints, the proletarian and the bourgeois, arose. The first demanded an 8-hour working day for women and a 6-hour day for young girls, a ban on night work, four weeks' maternity leave and equal pay for equal work, and stressed the need to involve women into the class struggle, trade unions and socialist parties. These tenets were elaborated by Louise Kautsky, Anna Kuliscioff and Klara Zetkin, as well as by representatives of the Czech, Russian, Spanish, British and Dutch delegations.

A very different view was expounded by the Belgian delegate Eugénie Claeys. She refused to link the women's question with the working-class movement. Furthermore, she declared that men are women's worst enemies. She opposed women's participation in the working-class movement, and insisted that the ideas of the draft resolution were unrealistic and even harmful. Her position was supported by H. H. van Kol.

However, champions of the bourgeois stand proved in the minority. After a short discussion, the majority voted for the draft resolution proposed by Louise Kautsky with the amendments suggested by delegates of Russia, Britain,

Germany and some other countries. This was an important accomplishment of the congress, as distinct from the two earlier ones, which discussed the women's question on a firm basis but much too generally.

In Zurich, the most important issue was that of "the social-democrats' political tactics". German, French, Belgian and some other delegates put in a great deal of work on the commission entrusted with the preparation of a draft resolution. The result of this work was reported by Emile Vandervelde.

The draft resolution pointed out the need to organise workers for class struggle on the national and the international level and to involve workers in the political campaign aimed at popularising socialist ideas and introducing reforms. It was noted that representatives of workers' organisations should sit on all legislative and executive bodies so as to exert an influence on their activities and "gain political power",¹ which must be changed from a tool in the hands of capital into a means for the emancipation of the proletariat. Allowing the parties to decide which forms and types of political struggle to employ, the resolution emphasised that "the revolutionary end of the socialist movement—the complete transformation of modern society, economically, morally and politically".² It urged the socialists to fight for popular sovereignty, democratisation of the electoral systems, representation and legislation, a fight that must not lead to compromise and alliances "detrimental to our principles and independence".³

Expounding on the details of the draft, Vandervelde said that "the question of power will be solved not in parliament, because parliaments ... falsify the people's will".⁴ He saw an alternative of the handling the legislative functions and initiative over to the people.

The draft resolution enjoyed extensive support. Speakers on the issue talked about the importance of parliamentarism and the need to build it up through organisational work among the masses. They also spoke about combating parliamentary corruption. Wilhelm Liebknecht stated that

¹ *Protokol... 1893*, S. 40.

² *Ibidem.*

³ *Ibid.*, S. 40-41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 42.

the goal of political struggle was "to take the legislative machinery into our own hands".¹ When discussing the flexibility of tactics, he said: "There are neither revolutionary nor reactionary tactics, but only tactics leading to revolutionary or reactionary goals."²

The question of parliamentarism revealed differences of opinion. Wilhelm Ellenbogen insisted that the class struggle should be waged in parliaments.³ Willem Hubert Vliegen maintained that parliamentarism should be restricted so as to avoid corruption, while Jules Caumeau (a French syndicalist) urged to put an end to parliamentary corruption by abolishing parliaments and "declaring a social revolution".⁴

The attitude to compromises also gave rise to some controversy. Vandervelde held that in case of strong, advanced proletarian parties, "any compromise is betrayal of the working-class cause",⁵ while recognising that the weaker parties were entitled to a compromise with bourgeois parties without relinquishing their principles if that would promote their efforts towards democracy. Turati, on the contrary, considered compromises an acceptable form of work used by the stronger parties and out of the question as far as the weaker parties were concerned, because the latter would not be able to use compromise to further their goals. The majority, including Wilhelm Liebknecht, Willem Vliegen, Wilhelm Ellenbogen and Harry Quelch, announced their rejection of compromises.

The general definitions contained in the draft resolution, however, were almost unanimously approved. Eighteen delegations voted for it. The Dutch delegation abstained, and the Norwegian one was absent, and could not take part in the vote.

The resolutions on the agrarian question and the national and international trade-union organisations prepared by corresponding commissions were passed almost without debate. The first read that land must become public property, and considered involvement of agricultural labourers into the

¹ Ibid., S. 45.

² Ibid., S. 44.

³ Ibid., S. 45.

⁴ Ibid., S. 46.

⁵ Ibid., S. 42.

efforts for socialism as a major task of Social-Democracy. It was decided that the agrarian question would be discussed in more detail at the next congress, to which the parties were to submit reports on their work in the countryside.

The first section of the draft resolution on the organisation of trade unions was somewhat controversial. On the one hand, it recommended all trade unions to base their struggle against capitalism on the political principles of German Social-Democracy and to set up national, international, territorial and branch associations and trade-union secretariats, and to conduct information exchange. On the other hand, the British trade unions were declared a model of this type of organisation. The resolution stated that trade unions would "become the foundation of the future organisation of society",¹ and that for this reason, their consolidation should be considered as important as the working-class effort to gain political power.

In the course of the debate, Jean Volders submitted his own draft of the first section, which mentioned neither the principles of the German Social-Democracy nor the British trade unions or the role of trade unions as such in the future society but suggested concrete steps to be taken in order to consolidate the national and international unity of the trade-union movement. Most delegations voted for Volders's draft.

The other section of the commission's draft resolution met with general approval. It stated that the trade unions must take part in political struggle and be guided by the principles of international Social-Democracy. It also stressed the need to consolidate the contacts between the trade unions of the United States and Australia with those in Europe, to eliminate competition from unorganised workers, and to step up Social-Democratic propaganda among the immigrants and refugees.

The congress dissociated itself from anarcho-syndicalism and defined the line to be followed by the development and organisational unification of trade unions, as well as the ideological and political direction of their work.

The congress approved Victor Adler's resolution on the campaign for universal suffrage without discrimination on the basis of sex or race, and on international aid in the

¹ *Protokoll...* 1893, S. 50.

struggle for democratisation. The commissions' resolutions on the world strike and international organisation of Social-Democracy were not considered. The next congress was scheduled for 1896 in London. The right to take part in it was granted to organisations complying with the terms specified by the invitation approved by the Zurich Congress.

The high point of the Zurich Congress was the speech Engels made at its last sitting. The delegates welcomed the news about his being a guest of the congress with stormy applause. He talked with many delegates and was present at the Presidium's sessions. He was elected to the honorary presidium and implored to make a speech. Engels delivered it in the three official and equal languages of the congress—English, French and German.

Engels said that over 50 years, "socialism had developed from small sects into a mighty party which made the entire official world tremble".¹ He urged the socialists to be guided by Marxism and fight for the masses. "So as not to degenerate into a sect," he said, "we must allow discussion, although the general principles must always be respected."² On the subject of the socialists' international contacts, he said: "Free association, free contacts upheld by the congresses are enough to secure us victory."³

On the request of the Presidium, Engels declared the congress closed and hailed the world proletariat. The hall resounded for a long time with applause and greetings addressed to Engels. Then the delegates sang the *Marseillaise*.

The congress was the centre of attention for the organised workers in all countries. Nearly all socialist papers carried detailed reports of its progress. During the time of its work, it received over 130 telegrams and messages, with the largest number arriving from Germany, Czechia, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, and France. The congress itself sent messages of greetings to the striking British miners and strikers in other countries. It also collected 770 francs for the benefit of the British miners.⁴

The socialist press placed a high value on the results of

¹ Friedrich Engels, "Schlussrede auf dem Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongress in Zürich" in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, S. 408.

² Ibidem.

³ Idib., S. 409.

⁴ *Protokoll...* 1893, S. 12.

the congress's work. "The Zurich congress," wrote *Le Socialiste*, "was a step forward for all proletarians, even the least class-conscious ones, on the road to tighter discipline, organisation and the elaboration of tactics."¹ The success of the congress was noted by *Vorwärts*, *Justice*, *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Le Peuple*, and *Lotta di classe*. These papers welcomed the further separation of socialism from anarchism and pointed to the leading place held by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Engels' speech was reprinted by nearly all the socialist papers.

In some countries, the outcome of the Zurich Congress was discussed at meetings of Social-Democrats. The overwhelming majority of organised workers approved and supported the congress's decisions.

The bourgeois press made it a point to exaggerate the differences that had surfaced at the congress. It tried to injure the national dignity of the French and some other nations, hoping to turn them against the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and set the different groups of socialists against each other. Despite generally known facts, some bourgeois papers insisted that the congress was a failure and that its decisions had no real meaning.

However, even the ratings of the bourgeois press were nothing to the campaign launched by the anarchists and the other overt opponents of Marxism in the working-class movement. This time, it was especially vicious and energetic.

In spite of this, the resolutions of the Zurich Congress promoted the dissociation of socialists from anarchists, the involvement of new sections of the proletariat into political struggle and the work of trade-union organisations; they enhanced the spread of socialist propaganda and consolidation of the workers' organisations' international contacts; they also helped to popularise and introduce the methods of struggle and the forms and means of organisation recommended by the congress.

* * *

Leaders of the British workers' and socialist organisations who were in charge of the preparation and convocation of the next international socialist congress in London began

¹ *Le Socialiste*, 20 Août, 1893.

their work in 1895. A preparatory committee they had set up reached an agreement with the Organising Committee which had prepared the Zurich Congress and still functioned in Switzerland that the London Congress would assume the name of the Socialist and Trade-Union Congress and that it would be financed more or less equally by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Zurich Organising Committee. The invitations to the congress issued by the London committee in March 1896 stated the congress's sovereignty and stressed that it was open only to those who recognised the need to organise the workers and involve them in political struggle. Prior to the congress, the London preparatory committee received over 90 suggestions from socialist and workers' organisations in nearly all countries which intended to take part. Their analysis allowed to shape the agenda, which incorporated seven items. "We should like," wrote *Justice*, "the fruitful outcome of the congress to acquire much greater significance and, indeed, a more international character than a congress of any other class of society."¹ On 26 July 1896, the day before the congress was to open, socialists held a rally in defence of peace in Hyde Park. It attracted 150,000 people. Speeches were made by prominent working-class movement leaders from many countries. The resolution passed by the rally said: "There is no controversy between workers of different nations; their common enemy is the landowners and the capitalists". It also said that the overthrow of the capitalist system was the only way to prevent war. The resolution demanded the introduction of an 8-hour working day, expansion of electoral rights and socialisation of the means of production. It was suggested that, in order to attain their goals, the workers should "wrench the contemporary political machine of the class of capitalists from their hands."²

The anarchists were also getting ready for the congress. On Pyotr Kropotkin's advice, they campaigned to be elected to the congress as trade-union representatives, hoping to force a discussion on the socialists. On the evening of

¹ *Justice*, 25 July, 1896.

² *Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiter- und Gewerkschafts-Kongress zu London vom 27. Juli bis 1. August 1896*, Berlin, 1896, S. 2.

26 July, the British, French, Czech, Italian, Swiss, German, Spanish and Dutch anarchists, who had arrived to take part in the congress, held a meeting in London. They decided to use the press and the visitors' seats in the congress's meeting-hall and to promote their goals.

The congress organisers did not expect to come up against an organised international anarchist faction, whose action disrupted the carefully thought-out rules. As long as the militant anarchist section was active, the congress found it impossible to begin the discussion of the issues featured on the agenda.

The delegations first met at 9 a.m. of 29 July, prior to the opening of the first plenary meeting, to elect the congress leadership and check the mandates. The large British delegation (over 400 members), which included representatives of trade unions, the Social-Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, other socialist groups, parliament deputies and even delegates of the "workingmen's church" conducted the procedure in an amicable atmosphere and almost ceremoniously. Taking part in the work of the congress were between 224 and 327 British delegates.

It took a very short time to check the mandates of the Russian delegation. The London congress was the first in which representatives of Russia's organised proletariat took part. The delegation had eight members, with six being Social-Democrats holding mandates from workers' organisations functioning in Russia.

No trouble arose when checking the mandates of the Belgian, US, Swedish, Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Polish, Australian, Portuguese, Serbian and Croatian delegations.

In the other delegations, however, things were not so smooth. The Germans expelled six anarchists and recognised 46 mandates, to which two were later added. The Italian delegation expelled seven overt anarchists, which reduced its number to 13, some of whom were anarchist sympathisers. The Swiss expelled three anarchists, the Spaniards, two, and the Danes, one. The Dutch delegation, which had 14 members, was predominantly anarchist, the five-person minority was unable to expel them and decided not to split. A bitter conflict flared up in the French delegation. Fifty-six delegates out of 113 were representatives of the French

Workers' Party and the independent socialists headed by Paul Lafargue and Jean Jaurès; they demanded that several anarchists who had mandates from the syndicates be expelled. However, the majority (57 people), including the Blanquists, the Allemanists and representatives of many syndicates and the anarchists themselves opposed the anarchists' expulsion. The conflict became very bitter, and the French delegation was late for the opening of the congress.

The hall seating 2,000 was full. The galleries were filled with public. About 700 delegates sat in the stalls. They represented workers' and socialist organisations of 22 countries. Among them were Marxists, social-reformists, trade-unionists, syndicalists, anarchists and semi-anarchists.

Opening the congress and greeting the delegates, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee Edward Cowey noted the need for the workers' political independence and called on the delegates "to be tolerant as to means, but determined as to the end".¹ Paul Singer, who was the next speaker, said, among other things, that "Frederick Engels is dead, but his spirit, his work, his example remain".²

The clash with the anarchists began immediately after the speech delivered by Paul Singer, who proposed that the congress confirm the wording of the invitation and the definition of political struggle adopted by the Zurich Congress. The anarchists, headed by C. Cornellissen, Nieuwenhuis and Enrico Malatesta, began a row. Their followers in the galleries joined in it and the sitting had to be closed.

The next day, the Organising Committee took steps to prevent the anarchist sympathisers from making their way to the galleries. Volunteers took it upon themselves to maintain order. The discussion concerning the anarchists' admittance to the congress produced a number of opinions. Some resolutely demanded that the terms of the Zurich Congress be strictly observed. Jean Jaurès said: "If we want to turn capitalist society into socialist, we must use political power, the power of the state, and so we must fight for it and capture it for the working class."³ He explained that this stand did not detract from the importance of the

¹ *International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress, London, 1896*, p. 7.

² *Ibidem.*

³ *Verhandlungen...*, 1896, S. 6.

economic struggle and the contribution made to it by the trade unions, which fought for the workers everyday interests, and educated and trained the masses. Hyndman's contention was that anarchists could not be considered Socialists but that they joined trade unions "only to destroy them".¹ He stated that the anarchists were deliberately forcing a discussion on the congress hoping to wreck it.

Others, while disapproving of anarchism, still called for tolerance and requested permission for the anarchists to take part in the congress. That was the stand of James Keir Hardie. Urging "a close unity of all fighters,"² Tom Mann advocated complete freedom of opinion.

The anarchists capitalised on this stand. Demanding "freedom of opinion", Nieuwenhuis opposed the terms of participation approved in Zurich and the "monopoly" of Liebknecht and other "parliamentary socialists".³ Reiterating his rejection of parliamentarism, he sought to win over to his side the trade-union delegates who were not content with the parliamentary campaigns which were the focus of attention for many socialist leaders. However, his speech only served to expose the incompatibility of anarchism and the socialist movement.

The Zurich terms, i.e., the anarchists' expulsion, were supported by 18 delegations. Within each, excepting the British there was complete unanimity on the subject. The French and the Dutch delegations voted against the expulsion. The French delegation reached this decision by a one-vote majority. In this connection, the minority of the French delegation, 47 representatives of the French Workers' Party and the "independent socialists", announced that it was dissociating itself from those "marching under the anarchist banner". The congress granted them the status of an independent delegation, thus giving them the right to take part in the work of the congress commissions.

The Dutch anarchists did not leave the congress. They called themselves "anti-parliamentary communists" and tried to provoke the Presidium into expelling the group under this name from the congress, which would have given the anarchists another excuse to launch a demagogic attack

¹ Ibid., S. 7.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibid., S. 8.

against the congress. But the Presidium referred the question to the mandate commission.

The procedure of confirming the mandates occupied two and a half meetings. Several times, the anarchists led by Landauer and Malatesta provoked loud altercations. Despite the resolute opposition of Adler and Millerand to anarchism, the mandates of some of the British, Dutch and French anarchists were confirmed by the congress, due largely to the support of Vaillant and Allemane, and the indecision of many delegates. All in all, 22 anarchists were evicted, including Germans, Czechs, Italians and Spaniards. Having done this, and confirmed the Zurich terms, the London Congress foiled the plans nurtured by the international anarchist faction. Five hundred and eighty-nine mandates were recognised as valid.

Nieuwenhuis and his followers, as well as a number of French and British anarchists remained among the delegates. A segment of the delegates was not really aware of the danger posed by anarchism, and some even sympathised with it.

For the first time in the history of the Second International, the London Congress discussed the agrarian question. The draft resolution submitted by the pertinent commission contained three general tenets. It stated the need to introduce public ownership of land, win over the rural proletariat to the side of the workers' parties, and to instruct each party to draw up an agrarian programme, on the basis of an analysis of the specific features of the agrarian question and the composition of the rural population in its country. Emile Vandervelde noted that the socialists were unanimous on one point only, i.e., the need to introduce public ownership of land, and differed on all the others. His opinion was that the socialists should not concern themselves with defending the interests of small peasants and tenant farmers but should work with agricultural workers and through them spread their influence in the army. Paul Lafargue said that the socialists should try and undermine the influence of reactionary quarters among the rural population. Bruno Schoenlank warned that the transfer of land into the ownership of the existing "class state" would not give the people access to it or improve their condition.

With minor amendments, the congress unanimously approved the draft resolution submitted by the agrarian commission. Many believed that, since it was drawn up with-

out consideration for Engels' analysis of the peasant question in France and Germany, such a resolution would give the necessary freedom of action in the further study of this problem.

As soon as the congress went on to discuss the question of political struggle, Nieuwenhuis declared that "it is more and more the intention of the Congress to change the economic basis of the ancient International"¹ and turn into a sectarian and purely parliamentary assembly. On these "grounds", nine Dutchmen refused to continue to take part in its work. Their example was followed by a number of French anarchists, who left the congress as a sign of protest. On behalf of the minority of the Dutch delegation (five persons), Vliegen stated that it represented the Dutch Social-Democracy and intended to take part in the work of the congress as a delegation in its own right.

The commission's draft resolution on political action summed up the experience that had been accumulated, pointed out the achievements, and outlined its prospects. It read, in part: "This Congress understands political action as the organised struggle in all forms for the conquest of political power." For "the establishment of the International Socialist Republic, the conquest of political power is of paramount importance".² Proceeding from this, the resolution suggested that workers in all countries demand, independently from bourgeois parties, equal and universal suffrage, as well as legislative initiative for the people and the right to settle major state and local problems by referendum. It also advanced the slogan of self-determination for all nations on the platform offered by Social-Democracy. It was explained that "colonial extension is only another name for the extension of the area of capitalist exploitation in the exclusive interests of the capitalist class".³ The guises under which colonialism was spread—dissemination of the Christian religion, civilisation, etc., were exposed. The resolution also stated that emancipation of women was part of the emancipation of the working class, and that women in all countries should become involved in political

¹ *International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress, London, 1896*, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

action and political organisations together with the workers.

The draft was attacked from two sides. The French anarchist Joseph Tortellier told the delegates that the French workers were "engaged in economic and trade-union struggles for their emancipation" and tried to convince the congress that it was not necessary for them to become involved in a political campaign. His position was that emancipation of the working class could be attained by refusal to pay taxes and revoking "household property".¹

Representative of the old British unions D. Hennessey insisted that the demand for the workers' independence from all bourgeois parties be struck out from the resolution. He was supported by the Fabians, who believed that the worker must "have his hands free", since he would never get into parliament if supported by his party alone.

Defending the draft resolution, Jean Jaurès, Peter Curran August Bebel and Enrico Ferri did their best to make it clear to the delegates how important it was for workers to take part in political and parliamentary action. They put forth well thought-out arguments against anarchism, trade-unionism and the Fabians' views. Jean Jaurès got carried away and referred to strikes as "a war against capitalism waged with one's hands crossed",² while August Bebel declared: "Vote more! The more of you go to the ballot for your own class, the better."³ They, and the other champions of the draft resolution completely overlooked the fact that the power struggle was likely to become acute. They did not keep in mind the problem of violence and the fact that armed action, as Engels wrote, would require a change of tactics. Although the resolution referred to all forms of power struggle, the speakers discussed only elections and parliamentary action. Clearly, the resolution was incomplete and insufficiently concrete.

The overwhelming majority voted for the draft submitted by the commission. For many workers' organisations, this decision was a major breakthrough.

Having lost all hope to recruit allies at the congress, the anarchists met on 29 July in St. Martin's Hall and, on Nieuwenhuis's suggestion, declared themselves "a conference

¹ Ibidem.

² Ibid., S. 18.

³ Ibid., S. 19.

of revolutionary communists and communist anarchists".¹ In the evenings both those who had been expelled or left the congress, and those who continued to attend its sittings and do their best to disrupt its work gathered there. There was no real unity of opinion, but a few common dogmas. The need for the state or any form of power, specifically, proletarian dictatorship, was unconditionally denied. General strike was declared a means to be used for attaining the objective. It was decided to concentrate on propaganda and practical work in the trade unions and in cooperatives. Marxism was labelled a "fatalistic and jesuitical doctrine" and proclaimed "the main evil".²

This conference, which lasted three days, became the headquarters of anti-socialist anarchist propaganda whence lampoons and mocking slandering the congress and its leaders made their way to anarchist and bourgeois papers.

The congress, on which the attention of workers the world over was focussed, continued its work oblivious of the anarchist conference. The absolute majority of deputies voted for the resolution "On Education and Physical Development" proposed by Sidney Webb, to which additions had been made by Klara Zetkin and James Keir Hardie, who sought to emphasise its class character. Emma Ihrer suggested a number of practical steps, e.g., setting up commissions to do more efficient educational work among children, publication of literature, etc. The resolution demanded a ban on child labour, the protection of teenager labour, better working conditions and equal educational opportunities for all. The proposal was accepted without debate.

The resolution on the organisational questions was also passed unanimously. It recommended to try and create an international bureau that would include representatives of workers' and socialist organisations of all countries. The provisional committee of elected delegates from different states was instructed to devise a plan for seeing this project through by the next international socialist congress. The resolution also mentioned the need to improve and streamline information exchange among international workers'

¹ *Der Londoner Kongress. Zur Beleuchtung der Vorgänge auf demselben*, Verlag von Gustav Friedrich, Berlin, 1896, S. 53, 57.

² *Ibid.*, S. 70.

organisations, unfold socialist propaganda in the ports and on board the ships among the émigrés leaving for America in order to involve them into the socialist movement there.

The congress' resolution on the economic policy stated that exploitation could be abolished only by introducing public ownership of the means of production, which could be done by the proletariat's capturing state power. The resolution revealed the link between the political and the economic campaign. It clearly defined the place of trade unions as organisations fighting for the workers' most immediate needs, educating the masses and serving as a reserve of the Social-Democracy. The elimination of a great number of the organisations and their unification into solid mass groups was named as an important task. The trade unions were recommended to campaign for the repeal of taxes, labour protection, freedom of associations and meetings, an 8-hour working day, payment of unemployment benefits, equal pay for equal work for women, etc. It was noted that "Strikes and Boycotts are necessary weapons to attain the objects of Trade Unions".¹ The resolution confirmed that May Day action should preferably be staged on 1 May.

The resolution analysed the new developments in economics, including the growth of monopolies. It said that monopolies suppressed free competition, and that economic chaos and crises with their dire consequences, such as unemployment, were growing steadily worse. Monopolies dictated the prices and the wages, and this undermined the workers' position. The resolution stated that in order to be able to resist monopolistic practices, the trade unions must unite, place equal emphasis on the economic and the political effort, and launch a campaign to expose the monopolies' anti-populist self-serving activities. It was suggested that a special international bureau be formed to closely follow the developments in the field.

With a few minor amendments, this resolution received almost unanimous support.

No debate was provoked by James Keir Hardie's resolution on the need to campaign for democracy and an amnesty for political prisoners, although it did recommend the establishment of cooperation between workers and em-

¹ *Verhandlungen...* 1896, S. 29.

ployees on the basis of the "community" of certain interests.

The congress unanimously approved the report on the international conference of socialists—deputies to parliaments—held on 29 July in London, and recommended setting up an Interparliamentary Commission in which socialist members of parliament of all countries would be represented.

The debate, which was waning, again became heated when the "war issue" was taken up. The theoretical part of the resolution, worked out by the relevant commission and presented to the congress by Emanuel Wurm, did not differ essentially from the anti-war resolutions passed by the Brussels and the Zurich congresses. However, it stated unequivocally: "It is neither religious nor national differences that to-day cause war. The root matter is to be sought and found in the economic conditions of the various countries, and in nothing else. Nation to-day is set against nation in the interests of the capitalist class."¹ This statement could serve as a point of departure for the study of the new contradictions and the changes in the criteria used to determine the character of wars. Furthermore, the draft resolution stressed the need for the proletariat to capture power, and explained the unsoundness of the pacifist slogan "Lay down your weapons!"

But the practical section of the draft resolution was much less forceful. It made no mention of either a special anti-war propaganda campaign (for instance, in the barracks), or voting against war credits. It advanced only the most general demands for the abolition of standing armies and for the arming of the people, as well as for establishing arbitration courts for peaceable settlement of international conflicts; should the governments refuse to submit to the decision of such a court, letting the people themselves settle the issue of war and peace. Protesting against secret diplomacy, the draft stated that the working class was able to fulfil these demands if it could influence legislation and unite the nations.

Once again, the anarchists tried to insist on a general strike to be held at the outset of the war. The representatives of the French delegation's majority, who sympathised

¹ *International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress*, p. 42.

with them, voted against the arming of the people and the use of parliaments to influence the governments' foreign policies. The British reformists attempted to get the congress to approve the slogan "Lay down your weapons!". Greulich and some others lost no time trying to present the idea of arbitration courts and of referring the question of war and peace to the peoples for decision as a reformist and pacifist plan designed to preserve eternal peace under capitalism. However, the draft resolution was finally approved in almost its original version.

Another conflict flared up when the wording of the invitation to the next congress came up for discussion. When the Presidium suggested that unlike the Zurich definition, the new one should openly state that the anarchists were not invited and emphasise its determination to safeguard the next congress from anarchist interference, the French anarchists and some of the anarchist sympathisers protested loudly, but the overwhelming majority supported the Presidium. Respecting the opinion of the majority of the British delegation and fearing to alienate the trade unions, the congress declined the SDF's proposal to refuse admittance to the trade unions that voted for the Tories or the Liberals at parliamentary elections.

It was decided to hold the next congress in Germany in 1899 or, should this prove impossible, in France in 1900.

The London Congress dissociated the Marxists even more from the anarchists, summed up the common experience, specified the tasks and the prospects for the political struggle of the working-class and the trade-union activities, improved the ideological and political guidance over the mass working-class movement, and revealed some new trends in world development and the strengthening of the working people's solidarity.

As its predecessors, the congress was immensely popular. It received dozens of messages of greetings. In its turn, it unanimously passed a resolution welcoming "the representation of Russian working-class organisations at an International Congress".¹ It also voiced its solidarity with the struggling peoples of the East.

Using the "information" supplied by the anarchists, bourgeois newspapers spread ridiculous rumours about the con-

¹ Ibid., p. 29.

gress and made a lot of noise about its split. The *Commerce* voiced its indignation that the police were far too tolerant and failed to break it up.

In *Les temps nouveaux* and *La Sociale*, the anarchists accused the congress of sectarianism and jesuitism, and abused Marx, the Marxists and Marxism.

But the socialist press voiced its appreciation of the congress's work and explained its decisions. It focussed on the critique of anarchism and the effort to strengthen the unity of the world socialist movement. Writing for *Justice*, Theodore Rothstein gave a precise description of the Marxists' struggle against anarchism and reformism. Liebknecht wrote: "We are a party, a combat party, and an international congress is a parliament and a headquarters where we must discuss and define the means and terms of the class war."¹ "Socialism," *Justice* wrote, "is the most powerful of all the emerging forces affecting mankind."²

* * *

The work of the Second International, the international socialist congresses of the 1890s made an essential contribution to working-class struggles and the progress of the working-class movement. Their resolutions summed up the experience accumulated by the movement and offered Marxist solutions to the problems that arose in the years of the "peaceful period".

Directing the effort of the workers' organisations for a socialist reconstruction of capitalist society, they also outlined the practical ways to achieve progress. They proposed concrete measures for strengthening international solidarity and workers' cooperation, for the consolidation of the socialist parties and extension of their influence over broad sections of the working people. They pointed out the path for enhancing the struggle and combining political and economic action, securing better conditions for the workers, making the state system more democratic and attaining social progress. They also taught the workers to use strikes, demonstrations, elections and representative institutions, helped develop and unite the trade unions, and popu-

¹ *Justice*, 15 August, 1896.

² *Justice*, 19 September, 1896.

larised socialist ideas. They advanced general slogans and suggested concrete steps to intensify the people's anti-war activities. The congresses were the first to point out the changes under way in capitalist development, and to realise that they called for modifications in the line pursued by the socialist parties and other workers' organisations.

The socialist congresses elaborated and passed their resolutions in an atmosphere of fierce opposition from the anarchists whose vigour was boosted by the desolation of the people suffering from the consequences of the economic crisis who were joining the working-class movement. The victories over the anarchists scored at the congresses by the Marxists supported by social-reformists were unable to halt this trend, which was insinuating itself into some of the trade unions and assuming the shape of anarcho-syndicalism.

The revolutionary and socialist thrust of the resolutions was usually attained in the struggle against the opposition from social-reformists, who in those years, however, acted in collaboration with the revolutionary socialists guided by Marxism on many matters, including the consolidation of workers' organisations and the promotion of political struggle, especially through parliament.

Many of the resolutions were worked out and adopted in the setting of opposition from reformist trade-unionism, which usually sided with liberalism, or pseudo-revolutionary syndicalism, which was close to anarchism.

Some, essentially Marxist, resolutions were a result of a compromise with social-reformists or trade-unionists and syndicalists on individual issues. At that time, such tactics were justified by the need to consolidate and raise the ideological and political standard of mass workers' organisations that were becoming involved in the campaign for socialism.

Although some of the resolutions showed that even revolutionary socialists occasionally became over-enthusiastic about parliamentary successes, and that their ideas of the future exacerbation of the power struggle were overly simplistic, by and large these resolutions were a source of many valuable ideas and recommendations and made an important contribution to the development of Marxism, by confirming its supremacy in the international working-class movement.

Despite the fact that the resolutions were not compulsory for the workers' organisations embraced by the Second International, their moral and political authority among organised workers was very significant. Their popularisation and implementation helped raise the self-awareness, vigour and organisational standard in general of the workers and working people and that in turn served to build up their socio-political role.

CHAPTER THREE

AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

In the late 1890s and the first few years of the 20th century, the Second International reached a controversial phase in its history. The working-class movement began to feel the impact of profound social and economic changes, i.e. the entry of capitalism into its higher development stage, imperialism. The "peaceful" period lasted until 1904-1905, but in the late 1890s-early 1900s, the increasing contradictions of capitalism brought on by the domination of monopolies, had already significantly changed the situation of the working class and the other working strata, engendered a new atmosphere for struggle, and gave rise to new tasks and problems.

The end of the 1890s witnessed an upsurge in the world economy, but at the beginning of the 20th century, a world economic crisis was experienced that spanned about three years. This crisis was felt most in heavy industry. From 1898 to 1904, overall world industrial production rose by 25 per cent, agricultural production by six per cent, and the volume of trade, by roughly 11 per cent. And, most important, the growing concentration of production and capital and the increasing strength of monopolies had offset qualitative changes.

This objective and natural process had grave consequences for the working class and all working people. The rule of monopolies and the use they made of the bourgeois parties and the state apparatus led to increased exploitation, above all of workers, whose number in industry, in transport and commerce was, by 1905, over 70 million in capitalist countries. Although labour productivity had risen substantially, as did the workingmen's awareness, vigour and the organisation, real wages rose very slowly due to the resistance of the monopolies, which did their best to stem

the growth of wages and raise prices for consumer goods. At the same time, the introduction of new labour organisation systems, e.g., those suggested by Frederick Winslow Taylor or Charles Eugène Bedaux, accelerated the tempo and increased the intensity of the working day. The employers frequently neglected labour protection measures, so one or two persons out of every thousand of the employees (50,000 people) were killed annually. However, there was an army of the unemployed to fill the vacancies (their number never went below 1-3 per cent of the work force, and rose to 5-10 per cent during crises).

In order to increase exploitation and isolate the various groups of workers, the monopolies also capitalised on the distinctions between these groups. The migration of the work force and the formation of the proletariat in a number of Latin American and Asian countries added new nationalities to the international body of workers. Workers of oppressed nations received much lower wages than those of developed countries. However, even the latter's wages differed significantly from category to category. In the colonies, the natives' wages were about 7 times lower than those of metropolitan workers. Economic booms and plunder of the peoples living in the colonies allowed the monopolies to widen the gap between the pay received by highly skilled labour and the rest of the workers. This was intended to expand the ranks of workers' aristocracy who had some interests and goals in common with the bourgeoisie. Along with harsher exploitation, the distinctions between individual groups of workers were becoming more pronounced.

Although the economic upsurge livened up the business of the middle strata, monopolisation significantly curtailed their independence. The economic crisis of 1900-1903 was fatal for many small farmers, craftsmen and traders, who either went bankrupt or were controlled by the monopolies. This process was expanding and accelerating. As a result, the polarisation of the classes in capitalist countries into the majority of the exploited strata who were unaware of their own objective interests, and the exploitive minority who dominated the economy, ideology and politics was becoming deeper and more distinct.

To counterbalance the danger involved in the growing polarisation, the bourgeoisie increased its political and ideological pressure on the working strata, as well as exploita-

tion. Consolidating the forces of reaction, the monopolies were doing their best to restrict the democratic freedoms and rights of the working people, workers' organisations and even parliaments. They obstructed the adoption of laws that could promote the working people's rights. More vigorous efforts were made by the unions that were set up to combat the working-class and socialist movement, as well as by militaristic societies advocating the use of force against the internal and external enemies of the ruling classes. The bourgeoisie skilfully used the remnants of feudalism and the prestige and influence of the church. At the insistence of monopolists, the governments began to resort more frequently and extensively to police and the troops to smash the mass demonstrations, and to use courts against workers' organisations and their leaders. They were supported in these actions even by bourgeois-democratic organisations, which feared the growth of the socialist movement, since they saw it as a threat to bourgeois ownership and the capitalist system of exploitation.

Concentrating primarily on the suppression of the Socialists, imperialist ideologists sought to strengthen bourgeois influence over the working people by stepping up nationalistic propaganda, which presented the interests of the bourgeoisie as the interests of the nation at large. They strove to unite the working men of the ruling nations by instilling in them the idea of their superiority, to set them against the oppressed native population, and to arouse their interest in the plunder of colonies and dependent countries. In Germany, this line was pursued by Wilhelm II, Bernhard von Bülow and the Pan-Germanists; in Britain, by Cecil J. Rhodes, Joseph Chamberlain and the rest of the Jingoists; in the USA, by John Burgess, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt and the other expansionists; in France, by Paul Déroulède and Théophile Delcassé, among the other revanchists; in Italy, by Francesco Crispi and the irredentists; in Austria-Hungary, by Dezsö Banffy, Georg Schönerer and Aloys Achrenthal. The same purpose was served by the use of social demagogy on the occasion of government action against some of the more odious social phenomena. This was a characteristic feature of Theodore Roosevelt's anti-trust speeches, Giovanni Giolitti's "new course", the policies pursued by Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau and David Lloyd George. On the whole, by the late 1890s and at the begin-

ning of the new century, the ruling class had already begun to become increasingly reactionary.

The establishment of monopolistic rule and the partitioning of the world exacerbated the exploitation of colonies, semi-colonies and other dependent countries by a handful of imperialist powers. This bred discontent and indignation among the oppressed peoples, infringed the interests of the nascent national bourgeoisie, and sharpened the contradiction between the colonies and the metropolitan countries. This more and more often assumed the form of violent conflicts. Cases in point were China, the Philippines, Egypt, South-Western Africa and Venezuela. At that time, the leading imperialist powers began a fight for a re-partitioning of the world, brought about by the widening gap between the capitalist countries' development levels and the interests of their monopolies. Although it possessed the largest colonial empire and the greatest weight in international trade, Britain was considerably behind the USA in the scope of industrial production, and Germany was breathing down its neck. France, which had a sizeable colonial empire, was ceding its positions in industrial production and trade not only to the United States but to Germany as well. The determination to re-carve the world produced imperialist wars: the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. It also gave rise to increased global competition and conflicts between these countries. In 1904, when an Anglo-French alliance was added to the Franco-Russian one, international tension mounted even higher and the arms race accelerated. By 1903, the armies of the eighteen European powers numbered 3.5 million and the military expenditure, 12 billion marks. Naturally, the taxpayers had to pay for this, and the danger of war mounted.

These changes altered the objective background of the working-class movement and made it reconsider its goals. Of course, in capitalist society, productive forces have room for development even now, but in the early 20th century, the capitalist society already began to have a minimum of adequate material conditions for the emergence of new, socialist production relations, something that did not exist in the 19th century. This made the prospects for the workers' fight for political power quite realistic. There was also a chance to win over to their side the strata that

opposed monopolisation, from the middle classes to the oppressed colonial and dependent nations. The image of a common enemy, imperialism, had become more distinct.

However, the dominance of monopolies and the reaction that closed its ranks and was thrusting forth hindered the workers' advance toward political power, complicated the development of the working-class movement, and made it difficult for the proletarian fighters to involve the majority of the population, all potential allies. This gave an urgency to the attainment of the democratic objectives: repulsing the reaction, eliminating the remnants of feudalism, and barring the way for aggressive policies and imperialist wars.

Right from the beginning, the working people realised they would have to try hard to combat imperialism, but the complications in the progress of the working-class movement, procrastination and the socialists' somewhat belated reaction to new developments as well as their inertia when drawing up a new and relevant stand made a new upsurge in the working people's action against imperialism possible only in 1905.

* * *

The people's protest against the consequences of monopolisation found a direct expression in the growth of the strike movement. In 1898-1904, workers in the seven major capitalist countries—the United States, Italy, France, Britain, Germany, Austria and Russia—staged 43,900 strikes. This was twice as many as over the seven preceding years. About 7.5 million people were involved in them, nearly 1.5 million more than in 1891-97.

In Germany and Italy, the number of strikes held over the two seven-year periods by comparison rose 4.5 times; in Russia, two times; and in the USA, 1.5 times. The number of strikers increased 4 times in Italy, and more than doubled in France and Germany. Their number also rose substantially in Russia. Only in Britain, the number of both strikes and strikers declined, nearly by 2-2.5 times.

With the exception of England, the strike movement tended to grow and expand even in the crisis years. In 1902, the number of people taking part in strikes was about twice that of 1898. The year 1903 showed a decline in partici-

pants, but the number of strikes grew. Employees of small factories, i.e., a wide cross-section of the population were becoming involved in the movement. The persistence and determination of strikers is exemplified by the fact that in the years 1899-1904, France lost 20,195,270, and Britain, 17,083,540 man-days due to strikes.

During these years, the strike movement was the most successful in the United States (48.8 to 35.3 per cent of the strikes yielded results), Britain (26.7-31.8 per cent) and France (21.7 to 29 per cent). It was much more difficult to get results in Germany and Austria. However, in Austria (as well as in France and Britain), the share of failed strikes decreased, while in Germany and the USA, the percentage increased to the end of the period.

A large number of major actions met with an international response and made an impact on the working-class movement in many countries. In 1897, the principal events of this kind were the 30-week general strike of British machine-builders, a strike staged by South Wales miners, and a strike involving 200,000 miners in Pennsylvania, Virginia and some other states in the USA, which was called "the spontaneous uprising of an enslaved people".¹

In 1898, the greatest impression was made by the spontaneous demonstrations under the slogan "Bread and work!" in Sicily. The shooting of demonstrators by the police only served to throw fuel on the fire. On 6 and 7 May, workers of Milan and Florence went into the streets. Troops were promptly dispatched, and the fighting began. Hundreds of workers were killed. These bloody reprisals created an explosive political situation.

In 1900, the syndicates were able to involve nearly a half of French dock workers into a strike. Broad responses were evoked by the May Day demonstration in Kharkov, in which 10,000 people took part, the strike launched by the employees of the Taaf Valley railway company in Britain, the miners' strike in Czechia and Moravia involving 70,000, the miners' strike in the USA with 144,000 participants, and the four-day political strike of 20,000 workers in Genoa.

In 1901, the most significant action occurred at Obukhov Factory in St. Petersburg, where the workers advanced a

¹ Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 345.

political programme and put up a heroic resistance to the police.

The year 1902 was especially rich in workers' action. In February and March, a major strike and a political demonstration took place in Batumi (the south of Russia). In April, a mass political strike flared up in Belgium; 300,000 workers, demanding equal right of voting, held out for a week against the police and the troops. In May, striking miners in Pennsylvania (USA) clashed with the troops sent to suppress them. A mass political strike demanding universal suffrage was held in Sweden; 116,000 workers took part in it and forced the authorities to compromise. In Barcelona (Spain) workers held a general strike, with barricade fighting against government troops ensuing. A major sailors' and dock workers' strike took place in Denmark. A powerful political strike and mass meetings shook Rostov-on-Don (Russia). Its participants had to take up arms against government troops.

In 1903 a mass strike began in the south of Russia, 200,000 workers taking part in it. A major political strike was launched in Holland. In August, textile workers in Crimmitschau went on strike. It was the "toughest and most persistent of all economic conflicts of that period" in Germany.¹ In 1903, miners in Colorado (USA) launched a series of strikes that continued well into 1904. The workers were declared outlaws and fiercely resisted the bourgeois militia.

The summer of 1904 witnessed serious unrest in the Russian army. In autumn, the workers in Baku oilfields staged a powerful strike. At the same time in Milan, a mass political strike was launched, spearheaded against the brutal reprisals against Sicilian workers. It was followed by workers' action in Genoa, Rome and almost all of northern and central Italy. The five-day action terrified the government.

In addition to the mass actions of the proletariat, democratic movements that united peasants, intellectuals and other strata were also of great significance. One such movement that evoked a lively response abroad was the involvement of the more advanced part of the French intelligentsia in the so-called Dreyfus case. It was a drive against

¹ B. Aisin, *The Upsurge of the Workers' Movement in Germany in the Early 20th Century*, Moscow, 1954, p. 83 (in Russian).

reaction and chauvinism, and took place in the late 1890s. In 1901, Spain witnessed major peasant action against the clergy. Monasteries were set on fire, and their lands divided among peasants. In 1901-02, 30,000-strong student strike in Russia created international acclaim. In 1902, peasant unrest also became very strong there.

These facts indicated an upsurge of the class struggle everywhere. This was especially true of Russia. The nature and scope of the action launched by the Russian proletariat, as well as the more energetic efforts undertaken by socialists, gave Karl Kautsky grounds for writing, in 1902, that "the focus of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action is shifting to the Slavs".¹

* * *

The working masses' resistance to the results of monopoly capital's rule increased their consciousness and organisation and accelerated the growth of the working-class movement. Another factor operating towards the same end was the increased effort of the socialist parties, which by that time had acquired hundreds of thousands of new members. By 1904, the socialist parties in 22 countries published 134 dailies and had 296 other publications. The circulation of the more than 70 papers published by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was 600,000. The printed organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, *Sozialdemokraten*, was the most popular newspaper in the country. The circulation of books, pamphlets and leaflets, issued by the socialist parties, was also growing. In more and more countries, the major works of Marx and Engels, as well as the earlier and new works of their followers, were being printed in increasing number. During the draft, the socialists distributed 370,000 anti-war leaflets and 20,000 socialist pamphlets in Belgium alone. A vigorous effort was sustained by local Social-Democratic organisations in Russia and the newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark) which was edited by Lenin.

Socialists began to pay more attention to young people. The membership of the Belgian Young Guard organisation grew to 15,000. Even in the army, underground socialist,

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1901-1902, S. 41.

anti-imperialist groups began to spring up. In the first few years of the 20th century, youth socialist groups appeared in France, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Germany, Austria and Czechia.

A number of socialist parties stepped up their campaign among the rural proletariat. On their initiative, congresses of agricultural workers were held in Hungary and Italy, where a National Federation of Hired Labour and Poor Farmers was set up.

The prestige of socialist parties among the people was growing perceptibly. While in 1898, socialists took part in the elections in 15 countries, in 1904 they used this opportunity in 21 countries. Over that period, the number of votes cast for them grew from 4,516,000 to 6,686,000. The increase was particularly significant in the USA (5.5 times) and Italy (2.5 times). In 1903, 3,011,000 people, or over 36 per cent of the electors, voted for the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Thanks to mass support, in 1904 socialists had 261 representatives in the parliaments of 15 countries. Working on the municipal bodies of 13 countries were 3,654 socialists.

The years 1898-1904 witnessed accelerated growth of the trade unions, the working people's organisations with the largest membership. In 1904, the trade unions of 15 European countries, the USA and Australia embraced 8.5 million people. At that time, the increase in the trade-union membership was particularly great in Italy (four times) and Germany (three times). This tendency was also pronounced in Austria, Hungary, Sweden, the USA and France. Only in England was the growth of the trade unions slow. In the years 1901-1904, their membership even declined due to the pressive measures. Of course, the growth of the unions was not uniform, and the organisational standards continued to vary. By 1905, 49 per cent of industrial and transport workers and the employees in commerce were trade-union members in Denmark, 26 per cent in Britain, 24 per cent in Sweden, 23.9 per cent in Germany, about 20 per cent in France, 15.9 per cent in Hungary, 13 per cent in Austria, 8.5 per cent in Belgium, approximately eight per cent in the USA, and six per cent in Bulgaria. Among the different industries in the same country, the organisational level also varied. The weakest unions were those of agricultural workers: they included only 0.05-0.3 per cent of the

total number of workers.

The process of the trade-unions' consolidation was slower than the growth in membership. In Britain, many unions still remained outside the TUC and the Committee of Labour Representation. In the United States, the American Federation of Labor encompassed only about 70 per cent of trade-union members and was mostly concerned with protecting the interests of white-collar workers, considering its activities in the context of bourgeois parties' policies. In France, the General Confederation of Labour united only 20 per cent of trade-union members in 1904. In Italy in 1902, the federations of branch trade unions and the chambers of labour set up the Central Resistance Council to coordinate the activities of all unions. In 1904, this drive resulted in the foundation of the General Workers' Federation, which included nearly 60 per cent of all union members.

The unions closely associated with the socialist parties showed the strongest cohesion. Among them were the free trade unions of Germany (their General Commission incorporated three-quarters of the country's unions), the trade-unions of Austria and Sweden which worked on the basis of social-democratic principles, and the unions which were members of workers' parties (in Belgium and Hungary).

The effort to strengthen the ties among the trade unions was obstructed not only by the substantial bourgeois-reformist influence, which was particularly strong in the United States and Britain, but also by the activities of trade-union associations set up by the various bourgeois-reformist, including Christian, trends, which held themselves aloof from the mainstream. Furthermore, since the 1890s, the trade-union movement in a number of countries had become dominated by anarchists, who were promoting anarcho-syndicalist ideas and tried to isolate the trade unions from the socialist parties. They even advocated confrontation with all parties in general. But by and large, in the years 1898-1904, the potential and prestige of the trade unions as defenders of the working people's immediate interests and organisers of mass action were increased. This was mostly due to the growth in their membership, their consolidation and stronger Social-Democratic principles in their work.

The working-class movement was bolstered by the rapid development of cooperatives, which several million people

joined at the turn of the century. In 1904, the consumer, credit, construction and agricultural cooperatives in Europe alone had about 5.5 million members; the majority of them were working people. Participation in cooperatives, especially consumer ones, somewhat improved the workers' material condition. Although a large number of cooperatives stressed their non-political stance, their members gradually began to take part in it. Some of them were inclined towards bourgeois reformism, others—towards Social-Democracy. In Germany, having been expelled from the General Cooperative Union, the workers' cooperatives associated with the Social-Democratic Party of Germany set up (in 1903) a Central Association of German Consumer Societies which embraced about 600,000 people. In Belgium, the cooperatives remained the mainstay of the Labour Party. Although the progress made by the cooperatives in improving the workers' condition sometimes gave rise to unrealistic expectations, their efforts were essential for educating and organising the workers and involving them in the working-class movement. Cooperatives following the Social-Democratic line made a contribution to this also by popularisation of socialism.

* * *

The advancement of the socialist parties, which led the working-class movement, was uneven and controversial at the turn of the century. The growing realisation of the need to pool efforts came up against ideological and political dissent. The search for ways to deal with new problems caused regroupings of forces, and the old trends acquired new traits.

The newly formed socialist parties drew both on the experience gained by the working-class movement in their countries and on the ideological and political level of the international socialist movement as reference points, which made a beneficial impact on their development; particularly it is true of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. In 1898, the congress of local underground social-democratic organisations was held in Minsk and inaugurated the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). However, severe repression and the lack of unity among social-democrats complicated the formation of the Party. Its ideological,

political and organisational foundations were evolved in the struggle against the legal Marxists, who wanted to make Marxism serve bourgeois interests, and the Economists, who tried to confine the working-class movement to the narrow boundaries of the campaign for better material conditions for working people. It took several years of tireless work and the publication and distribution of the all-Russia newspaper *Iskra* to unite the revolutionary socialists. This task was accomplished under Lenin's guidance in the years when Russia had already become a knot of specific contradictions engendered by the autocracy and the contradictions common to all capitalist countries. The situation was aggravated by the sway of monopoly capital, so the country was fast moving towards a popular revolution. This allowed Lenin to define the ways and prospects for the revolutionary change in Russia and the general aims of the working-class movement under imperialism.

The Second RSDLP Congress which was held abroad in 1903 (in Brussels and London) adopted the Party Rules, Programme and political line. This was a result of advancing and adapting Marxism to the changed conditions and the goals of the working class, its immediate preparation for revolution.

The Second RSDLP Congress was enthusiastically welcomed abroad; however, socialists did not yet really grasp the fact that the changes in the conditions and goals of the socialist parties' work set new standards for all of them. Furthermore, they did not fully appreciate the significance of the congress.

Meanwhile, the RSDLP split. In 1903-1904 many of its organisations rallied round Lenin's platform and his concept of a revolutionary workers' party as the monolithic leader of the revolutionary movement. The name "Bolsheviks" was attached to them. The minority, called "Mensheviks", who included Juli Martov and even Georgi Plekhanov, deviated from the course of the Second Congress and adhered to the view prevailing among the socialists at the time that in the class struggle, "the initiative and purposeful leadership by Social-Democratic organisations are of extremely small significance".¹

The foundation of new socialist parties was another

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Nr. 42, Bd. 2, 1903-1904, S. 490.

important development of the time. In 1899, the Labour (after 1903, Social-Democratic) Party of Finland was founded. In Japan, D. Kotoku and Sen Katayama created the Social-Democratic Party of Japan, and after it was banned, they formed the People's League (1903). In 1903, the Social-Democratic Party of Serbia was formed, and in 1904, the Socialist Party of Canada.

The changes that had occurred or were under way in the socialist movement were substantial but not identical. In Spain, Portugal and Belgium, the socialists stepped up their activities and enhanced their influence. In Holland, the Social-Democratic Union found itself in a blind alley, reconsidered its initially negative attitude towards parliamentarism and merged with the Social-Democratic Labour Party into the Social-Democratic Party of Holland. All workers' organisations cooperated in the Committee of the Struggle for Universal Suffrage which was founded upon the suggestion of Social-Democrats. In Switzerland, the Grütli-Verein, local socialist unions and a number of other workers' organisations united to form the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland (1901), which was dominated by the Grütli-Verein. In Hungary, a period of strife between revolutionary socialists, social-reformists and left-wing elements disrupted party unity. This period was ended by the Tenth Congress held by the Social-Democratic Party in 1903, where a new programme drawn up along the lines of the Erfurt Programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was adopted. It united the various elements of the working-class movement and channelled their energy into a campaign for more democracy. In the Kingdom of Poland, the Social-Democratic programme drawn up by Rosa Luxemburg (in spite of the fact that it rejected the demand for the Polish independence) and the work of Felix Dzerzhinsky, who recently escaped from exile, combined to restore Social-Democratic organisations. In 1900 these organisations, together with the social-democrats of Lithuania, founded the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, (SDPKP and L), which maintained close contacts with the RSDLP. In Romania, the determination of Social-Democratic leaders to make the movement serve national-democratic goals in 1899 disrupted the party's activities and put an end to the activities of the majority of local branches. However, the most dedicated members of

the working-class movement, especially Stefan Gheorghiu and Alexandru Constantinescu, continued to stage strikes and demonstrations and teach socialist groups.

In Bulgaria, where in 1899 the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party had scored its first success at the parliamentary elections, the Marxists dissociated themselves from the opportunists ideologically, politically and organisationally. The mounting class struggle and the growth of the working-class movement promoted the influence of Marxists, who emphasised the proletarian character and revolutionary goals of their party. They opposed collaboration with the bourgeoisie "in a common cause" advocated by Janco Sakasoff and his followers, i.e., introduction of minor democratic reforms. After a bitter conflict, in the early 1900s, a split occurred between the Tesnyaki ("narrow-minded"), who, under the leadership of Dimitr Blagoev, sought to unite the party, and the Shiroki ("broad-minded"), who opposed them. In 1903, the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (Tesnyaki) excluded the advocates of "the common cause" policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (the Shiroki) from the Party, and worked out ways of enhancing its influence among the masses. On its initiative, in 1904, the majority of the trade unions formed a General Workers' Syndicate Union.

In Austria, mounting national conflicts split the Social-Democratic Labour Party into six independent national Social-Democratic branches forming a federation in 1897. The general congresses convened biannually. The executive committee, which was set up to coordinate action, concentrated on immediate democratic tasks. The programme on the national question adopted in 1899 in Brünne (Brno) demanded equality of the nations and respect for national languages and cultures. It urged the socialists to fight for the transformation of Austria into a democratic federative state. It did not mention the need for the international unification of workers and associated the Social-Democrats' advent to power only with the struggle for universal suffrage and a majority in parliament. In 1901, the Hainfeld programme was replaced. The new one focussed on the legal means of the struggle for universal suffrage and downplayed propaganda for socialism.

In Italy, the Socialist Party campaigned against the reactionary regime with the bourgeois radicals and a section of

the liberals. Its success and the opposition's victory at the 1900 elections ended the "bloody decade". A liberal government came to power. The Socialist Party was growing quickly and was expanding its propaganda and its activities in parliament and the municipal bodies. Despite Antonio Labriola's warning, many socialists began to entertain the idea of a gradual transition to socialism. Party leaders Filippo Turati and Leonida Bissolati absolutely supported the liberal government. However, Turati, a very cautious man, declined Giovanni Giolitti's offer of a ministerial post in 1903. In 1903-1904, more energetic mass action by the working people, who protested against the growing exploitation, undermined the Socialist Party's cooperation with the liberals. In the trade unions, it was opposed by anarcho-syndicalists, whose leader was Arturo Labriola. He tried to use Marxism to boost the slogan for a general economic strike and dissolve the workers' party in the trade unions. People who were emphasising the "character of the proletarian action as continually revolutionary and irreconcilable with the existing State" were coming to the forefront in the Socialist Party.¹ The socialists were becoming indignant with the unconditional support Turati and his followers gave the liberals. As a result, at the Socialist Party's congress of 1904, the majority sided with Enrico Ferri, who advocated an independent policy for the Socialist Party. The congress forbade the socialists to support the bourgeois government.

In Britain, the more advanced workers were striving for unity. In 1898 the socialist organisations got together and began to cooperate. Increased class struggle prompted the conference where 68 trade unions, the Independent Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society were represented, to set up a Committee of Labour Representation. The conference rejected the principles of the socialist movement advocated by the SDF and decided to form a "workers' group" in Parliament, which would join forces with any party in order to get the bills promoting the workers' interests passed. A very moderate programme of reforms was adopted. Keeping to this course, the Committee of Labour Representation, headed by James Ramsay MacDonald, began to turn into a truly mass political work-

¹ *Justice*, 5 March, 1904.

ers' party in the early 1900s. In 1904, the organisations constituting it had about a million members. The Social-Democratic Federation, which had broken with the Committee, continued to popularise socialism but remained smallish and was going through an unsettled and controversial time.

In the United States, the various groups of socialists, who refused to subscribe to the sectarian policies pursued by the Socialist Labor Party headed by Daniel De Leon, merged and formed the Socialist Party of the United States headed by Eugene Debs, Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger. The decisions of its congresses stated that the workers should seize power and establish public ownership of the means of production. It worked in trade unions and among farmers, and staged actions in defence of the democratic freedoms and against militarism. By 1904, it had branches in 33 states and over 24,000 members.

In France, the consolidation of the socialist organisations, which had begun to make itself felt in the mid 1890s, was complicated by the differences in attitudes towards the Dreyfus case. While Jean Jaurès resolutely denounced the line of the reactionary military quarters, Alexandre Millerand, Jules Guesde and Edouard Vaillant decided to take a neutral stand in the battle between reaction and progress. Nonetheless, in the autumn of 1898, when the chauvinists and the opponents of the republic became more active, all six socialist organisations set up a Vigilance Committee on the initiative of the French Workers' Party. The Committee later turned into the Committee of Socialist Union which launched preparations for a unity congress. However, beginning in the summer of 1899, another and more serious cause for dissent appeared in the person of Alexandre Millerand, who accepted a ministerial post in Waldeck-Rousseau's reactionary government without obtaining the permission of his organisation. He justified his actions by pointing out the need to protect the republic and improve the working people's condition. A bitter controversy sprang up among the socialists. Millerand and Jaurès, who vindicated his action believing that a socialist's participation in a bourgeois government was the first step in the proletariat's effort to capture state power, proved to have many allies, who came to be known as the ministerialists. Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, the majority in the French Workers' Party and the Blanquists headed by Edouard Vaillant condemned

Millerand's conduct as a transgression from the principles of the socialist movement and betrayal of working-class interests. The unity congress held late in 1899 censured the socialists' participation in bourgeois governments by a majority vote. It was deemed to be in conflict with the principle of the class struggle, with one reservation—its permissibility under extraordinary circumstances. This compromise allowed for the establishment of a unified socialist party. However, the French Workers' Party delegates, disgusted by the ministerialists' behaviour, left the next congress (1900), which was to complete the unification. The Blanquists walked out of the following unity congress held in 1901, demanding that Millerand be expelled from the Party. The ministerialists—"independent socialists", Possibilists, a section of Allemanists and a number of local socialist groups—formed the French Socialist Party (FSP), which stated as its principal goal the defence of the republic and improvement of the workingmen's conditions. It stated that "socialism ... is a product of the evolution of democracy and the new forms of production".¹ Millerand, who shared the blame for the repressions with the government, did not justify the hopes pinned on him by the social-reformists; he also proved useless to the ruling quarters, and was expelled from the French Socialist Party. The Party was still small and was finding it hard to obtain recognition among the masses.

To counterbalance the ministerialists' activities, the majority of revolutionary socialists, including Blanquists and some other groups, founded the Socialist Party of France (SPF) on the initiative of the French Workers' Party in 1902. Five-sixths of its members were former members of the French Workers' Party. Rectifying the mistakes of the FWP, the SPF worked in the trade unions and supported the strike movement. Its congress which was held in Rheims in 1903 condemned revisionism and ministerialism. However, many considered its leadership guilty of the split in the socialist movement, which made it difficult for the SPF to expand its influence among the masses.

The fragmentation of the country's socialist movement (apart from the FWP and SPF, it embraced a number of organisations not incorporated in these two parties) was

¹ Weill, Georges, *Histoire de Mouvement social en France. 1852-1902*, Felix Alcan, Editeur, Paris, 1904, p. 322.

used by anarcho-syndicalists, who were able at that time to consolidate their position in the trade unions. As the working-class movement grew, so did the need to re-establish the socialists' unity. Assisted by the international socialist movement, a commission was set up in France for the purpose of uniting the socialists late in 1904. It worked out a platform for a single socialist party and prepared the unity congress of French socialists which took place in 1905.

Late in the 1890s, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which had hoped to gradually "digest" its social-reformists (Georg von Vollmar et al.), was unexpectedly attacked by the first heralds of a new version of social-reformism. Its founding father was Eduard Bernstein, who at that time resided in London. Together with August Bebel, he was instructed to study and publish Engels's literary heritage. In 1897-98, he set forth a complete system of views in the articles that were carried by *Die Neue Zeit* and some other publications. The system was also expounded in a letter to the SDPG Congress, and in the book *Die Voraussetzung des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of Social-Democracy) which was published in 1899.

He insisted that many of the ideas advanced in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Capital* and other works by Marx and Engels were either erroneous or dated, and stated that "the further development and improvement of the Marxist teaching should begin with its criticism".¹ He used the pretext of development to discard dialectics and materialism. "Dialectics," he wrote, "is a traitor in the Marxist doctrine, a trap laid in the way of logical thinking."² He urged a return to Kant's philosophy.

The main thrust was directed against the Marxist analysis of capitalism and the tenet substantiating the inevitability of socialist revolution. Bernstein wrote that the theory of surplus value was allegedly based on a mere hypothesis and was impossible to substantiate. He perceived the economic boom of the late 1890s as the beginning of the epoch of universal well-being, and used information of transitory significance to arrive at the conclusion that small farms and

¹ Eduard Bernstein, *Die Voraussetzung des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*, Stuttgart, 1899, S. 19.

² Ibid., S. 26.

enterprises were stable enough, that the share of propertied strata grew both in town and the countryside, and that overproduction crises were a thing of the past due to the establishment of cartels and trusts. He denied the tendency towards impoverishment of the proletariat, and declared that the contradictions of capitalism were decreasing, and that the class struggle was dying down.

Bernstein announced also that what Marx and Engels had said about the dictatorship of the proletariat was accidental, erroneous and "extinct". He believed that the socialists had first to "update the existing state along certain principles so as to make it a lever of social reforms", and then "to abolish it, try to divide it into a number of totally independent communities or free groups".¹ Rejecting violence and mass action as destructive, he confined the tasks of Social-Democracy to the political organisation of the proletariat and a legal campaign for reform through collaboration with the bourgeoisie. He viewed the cooperative movement as one of the best ways to build socialism. It was his conviction that colonialism promoted the progress of the colonies and helped the monopolies to amass wealth. He argued that this would facilitate their incorporation into socialism. Stressing the pragmatic character of the course towards collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the priority of immediate gain, Bernstein wrote: "That which is usually named the end goal of socialism is nothing to me, while movement is everything."²

Having absorbed the ideas of the Fabians, Possibilists and other social-reformist trends, Bernstein worked out an ideological, theoretical and political platform of social-reformism adapted to the changed situation. Elaborating on its various aspects, social-reformists demanded that the SDPG renounce Marxist philosophy and its leading role in the free trade unions. They advocated directing the main effort at the middle strata in town and the countryside, and supported colonialism and protectionism. The mouthpiece of these views was the magazine *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. At the same time, realising that the majority of party members would view revision of Marxism with disfavour, some social-reformists preferred to act on the quiet and told Bern-

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Nr. 30, Bd. 2, 1896-1897, S. 101.

² Eduard Bernstein, *Op. cit.*, S. 169.

stein: "One does not pass decisions on what you demand, one does not talk about it, one acts."¹ In an attempt to reconcile the social-democrats to the idea of a revision of Marxism, they wrote: "The 'destruction of capitalism' and 'growing into socialism' is, in principle, the same thing.... 'The Right' and 'the Left' in the party both adhere to the proletarian platform."²

The SDPG leaders tried to persuade Bernstein to give up the idea of revising Marxism. Bebel wrote to him that he was "no longer occupying a Social-Democratic platform".³ To check Bernstein's attempts to use Engels's literary heritage, the SDPG took Engels's writing under its immediate control. In 1898, the German Social-Democratic press featured the first critical pieces against revisionism by Georgi Plekhanov and Rosa Luxemburg. "Bernstein's followers," Rosa Luxemburg wrote, "are sacrificing the principles of the class struggle for the sake of temporary success thus assuming an *opportunist stand*".⁴ Somewhat later, Karl Kautsky, Klara Zetkin, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Franz Mehring, to cite but a few, also became involved in the polemic against revisionism. Liebknecht made it clear that the revisionists' objective was "to turn Social-Democracy into a bourgeois party".⁵

Among the works spearheaded against revisionism were newspaper and magazine articles, Karl Kautsky's book *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme* and Rosa Luxemburg's *Social Reform or Revolution?* Revisionism was discussed and condemned at the SDPG congresses, which confirmed the party's commitment to Marxism. The world economic crisis that broke out in the early 1900s exposed the unsoundness of many of Bernstein's ideas. The SDPG Dresden Congress held in 1903 stated during a discussion of social-reformist action that it "most resolutely condemned the revisionist intention to change our

¹ *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism*, Vol. 204, file I, Reg. No. 144, p. 20.

² *Vorwärts*, 16. Oktober 1898.

³ Victor Adler *Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky*. Wien, 1954, S. 265.

⁴ Rosa Luxemburg, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Bd. II, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951, S. 26.

⁵ Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Kein Kompromiss. Kein Wahlbündniss*, Berlin, Verlag: Expedition der Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1899, S. 1.

tested and victorious tactic founded on the class struggle".¹ This seemed sufficient and, despite the revolutionary social-democrats' insistence, revisionists and the social-reformists sharing their platform were not expelled from the Party.

The struggle waged by revolutionary socialists against ministerialism in France and revisionism in Germany evoked a response in all socialist parties, forcing them to take a closer look at the differences between Marxism and social-reformism.

* * *

As before, at the turn of the century the progress of the socialist movement was innately associated with the development of Marxism. The stress was on the political line of Social-Democracy, which had to be adapted to the situation when reaction, militarism and the colonial policies were becoming more aggressive, and international conflicts grew ever more serious. Theoretical research made it clear that compromise between the socialists and the bourgeoisie was impossible and that participation of the former in bourgeois governments was out of the question. It also substantiated the need for social revolution and the futility of the attempts to replace it with reforms.

An important contribution to this field was made by Liebknecht's work *Kein Kompromiss*, August Bebel's and Jules Guesde's speeches and articles, Kautsky's work *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme* and *Die soziale Revolution* (The Social Revolution), Rosa Luxemburg's *Social Reform or Revolution?*, speeches made by Pablo Iglesias, Dimitr Blagoev, V. Dragović and Ernest Belfort Bax. They contained a thorough analysis of the changing situation and a clear awareness of the sharpening edge of the class struggle and the fact that the capitalist countries were "approaching a revolutionary epoch".² They recognised that revolutionary coercion may be necessary.

¹ *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands. Abgehalten zu Dresden vom 13. bis 20. September 1903*, Berlin. Expedition der Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1903, S. 418.

² Karl Kautsky, *The Social Revolution*, London, The Twentieth Century Press, 1909, p. 48.

An important place in the Marxist analysis of social and economic processes belonged to the works of Karl Kautsky, Paul Lafargue, Paul Louis and John A. Hobson, a British radical. In his book *Die Agrarfrage*, Kautsky made a significant addition to Marx's *Capital* with his systematic analysis of capitalist development in agriculture. He toppled the revisionists' ideas about the stability of small farms and the community of interests of all sections of the peasantry. He supplied the agrarian programmes and the agrarian policies of the socialist parties with a more profound theoretical foundation. Hobson published the work entitled *Imperialism. A Study*,¹ which, as Lenin wrote, contained "a very good and comprehensive description of the principal specific economic and political features of imperialism".² Lafargue made it clear in his work that the rule of trusts signified "a new stage in the evolution of capitalism"³, made the overproduction crises worse and the policies of the ruling quarters more aggressive and reactionary. It infringed on the interests of a broad cross-section of the population and fanned up their discontent, thus promoting revolution. In his *Essai sur l'imperialisme*,⁴ Paul Louis stated that imperialism was the last stage of capitalism, and that the contradiction between imperialism and the movement for socialism was becoming the principal one of the epoch.

At that time, Marxist philosophy was largely advanced by the works of Plekhanov and Labriola. Plekhanov's essays contained a well-argued refutation of revisionist criticism of dialectics and materialism, and proved the applicability and scientific soundness of dialectical materialism even in the changed conditions. Labriola lashed out against attempts to revise the philosophical foundations of Marxism, making short shrift of bourgeois philosophers and political writers who wrote about "the crisis of Marxism" and were urging the socialists to give it up.

¹ John A. Hobson, *Imperialism. A Study*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1954.

² V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1977, p. 195.

³ Paul Lafargue, *Les Trusts Américains*, Paris, V. Giard et E. Briere, 1903, pp. V, VI.

⁴ Paul Louis, *Essai sur l'imperialisme*, Paris, E. Lachaud, 1904.

In those years, Marxism grew through the effort of revolutionary socialists, who were fighting against revisionism. The emphasis was mostly on the defence of the foundations of Marxism and the political line that had been evolved on their basis in the "peaceful" period. Revolutionary socialists were also careful to notice and give a Marxist appraisal of the new trends and events, whose warped interpretation was used by revisionists and social-reformists (their stands were roughly the same) to revise the political course followed by the socialist parties. Many revolutionary socialists shared Rosa Luxemburg's view that "the only radical means against opportunism is to move on, to advance the tactics, and to raise the revolutionary standard of the movement".¹ This is how theoretical thought could receive a boost.

However, in a number of cases, revolutionary socialists failed to find solutions for some of the urgent problems, e.g., the use and extent of compromises in political struggle and the socialists' participation in bourgeois governments. They did not derive sound conclusions from the analysis of the changed situation. Despite the fact that theoretical research was energetic and extensive, it did not always pace with the rapidly occurring socio-economic changes.

One exception was the revolutionary Social-Democracy of Russia, the Bolsheviks. The ripening popular revolution demanded a new approach and new solutions. Lenin outlined the way to attain the goals of a popular revolution led by the working class, the prospects for it growing into a socialist revolution. "We stand for the consistent development of the ideas of Marx and Engels and emphatically reject the equivocating, vague, and opportunist 'corrections' for which Eduard Bernstein, P. Struve, and many others have set the fashion," wrote Lenin at that time.² Even considering the specifics of Russian problems, the search for their solution with due reference for the social and economic changes was a real breakthrough that had general significance, although this was not recognised out-

¹ *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism*, Vol. 209, file I, Reg. No. 407, pp. 5, 6.

² V. I. Lenin, "Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 355.

side of Russia at that time. Even in those years, Lenin's works made an important contribution to the development of Marxism in the new situation.

At the same time, the rapid and heavy influx of new strata of workingmen into the working-class movement and the socialist parties began to exceed these parties' ability to "absorb" the new elements and to make sure that the newcomers attain a clear conception of the ideas of scientific socialism. Even the strongest parties felt a shortage of personnel, especially well-trained propaganda workers, as well as of the money, needed to expand the press.

As a result, some of the people who were joining the working-class movement remained outside the Marxists' sphere of influence and succumbed to the influence of other trends, namely, social-reformism and anarchism.

Besides, as Eduard Bernstein justly noted, "a large section of French socialists ... and an even greater section of British socialists side with the Marxist teaching only in part".¹ This was true of a significant number of Belgian, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch and Swiss socialists.

Finally, due to the fragmentary education of many propaganda workers, who oversimplified Marxism, "extremely wide sections of the classes that cannot avoid Marxism in formulating their aims had assimilated that doctrine in an extremely one-sided and mutilated fashion. They have learnt by rote certain 'slogans', certain answers to tactical questions, *without having understood* the Marxist criteria for these answers".² In other words, they failed to get to the roots, the foundations of Marxism.

In the changed situation anarchism assumed a new form. The desperation of some of the workingmen in the years of the economic crisis began to give way to more cheerful moods during the economic boost of the late 1890s. Anarchism sustained a number of crippling blows at international socialist congresses. Attempts to convene an international anarchist conference and "an international revolutionary workers' congress" were a failure. Only as late as the summer of 1904, the anarchists representing a number of European countries were able to set up an inter-

¹ *Vorwärts*, 6. Mai 1899.

² V. I. Lenin, "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, 1974, pp. 42-43.

national anti-militarist association advocating a general strike at the outset of war. The headquarters of this association was in Amsterdam.

More and more anarchists were reverting to the course mapped out by their London international congress of 1896: joining cooperatives or trade unions, declaring them the core of the future socialist society, and trying to enlist workers' support by the demand for a general economic strike as the means of prompt transformation of society. Georges Sorel, the theorist of anarcho-syndicalism described the trade unions and the cooperatives as elements of the new social organisation¹. He demanded the workers' emancipation from exploitation by the "politicians", including socialists, since in his opinion, the workers may become temporarily involved in a political campaign if it directly promoted their economic interests. The stand of anarcho-syndicalism was also shared by anarchists in Italy, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Holland and some other countries. Capitalising on the working people's struggle for change against the backdrop of the economic crisis that flared up in the early 1900s and their dissatisfaction with the incompetence displayed by some of the socialist parties, anarcho-syndicalists consolidated their influence in many syndicates and other organisations involved in the working-class and socialist movement. Although the socialists came up with irrefutable arguments against the general economic and a general anti-war strike, many socialist parties became too enthusiastic about parliamentarism and neglected the workers' immediate demands and the potential of strikes, and thereby lost a chance to put up a barrier in the way of anarcho-syndicalist influence. Confusing the people who felt the need for social change and were ready to fight for it, anarcho-syndicalists were crippling the revolutionary trend and aggravating the differences in the working-class movement.

But the gravest internal menace to the movement was the now much more energetic social-reformist trend. This was especially true of its new branch, revisionism, which was a version of opportunism adapted to the conditions existing under imperialism and the ascendancy of Marxism

¹ See: G. Sorel, *L'Avenir socialiste des syndicats*, Paris, Librairie G. Jacques & Cie, 1901.

in the international working-class movement. The French social-reformists—independent socialists and Possibilists—sided with Bernstein, who, like the German social-reformists (Georg von Vollmar, Max Schippel, Eduard David and some others), viewed ministerialism as the vehicle for the realisation of their hopes. Bernstein's ideas and Millerand's practical actions were welcomed by social-reformists in all countries where this trend existed. In England, it was supported by the Fabians, many members of the Independent Labour Party and trade union leaders. They insisted that the socialists should go along with colonialism and advanced the idea of a "socialist colonial policy". In Belgium, revisionism and ministerialism were supported by Edouard Anseele and Emile Vandervelde, who declared that a country could go over to socialism through reforms introduced by the cooperatives. In Sweden, a champion of this trend was Hjalmar Branting, in Holland, Pieter Jelles Troelstra and Van Kohl, in Denmark, Christian Knudsen and other Social-Democratic leaders, in Switzerland, Hermann Greulich, in Austria, Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Wilhelm Ellenbogen, in Poland, Felix Daszynski, in Bulgaria, Janko Sakasoff and the other Shiroki, in Italy, Francesco Saverio Merlino, Filippo Turati, and Leonida Bissolatti, in the United States, Victor Berger, and in Russia, Y. D. Kuskova, S. N. Prokopovich and other Economists.

In each country, social-reformism had its own features, but revisionism and ministerialism provided a common ideological and political platform for all its national versions. This stand was shared even by those who only half-heartedly agreed with Marxism or did not recognise it at all. Hailing revisionism, bourgeois ideologists and researchers wrote about the "crisis of Marxism" and urged rejection of its "extremes".¹ Some even went so far as to announce its demise.²

Revisionism and ministerialism encouraged the activities and unification of all types of social-reformism. This became possible because imperialism was beginning to exercise

¹ See: Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, *Die philosophischen und soziologischen Grundlagen des Marxismus*, Wien, C. Konegon, 1899.

² See: An. Weissengrün P., *Das Ende des Marxismus*, Leipzig, 1899.

a greater ideological, political and economic impact on a certain section of the working people involved in the working-class movement, especially white-collar workers and some middle strata. Revisionists and ministerialists reflected the goals of these strata and enjoyed their support.

Revolutionary socialists began to close their ranks and liven up their work in a campaign against revisionism and ministerialism. This effort also had an objective foundation: the working people's growing discontent with harsher exploitation and the onslaught of reaction. The socialists proceeded from the vital interests of all working people and were supported by their more aware sections.

The consolidation of the opposite revolutionary and opportunist trends sharpened the conflict between them. In the early 20th century, their differences in France, Bulgaria and Russia even produced an organisational split. In the prerevolutionary situation in Russia, which set specific demands to the workers' party, the Bolsheviks were forced to dissociate themselves organisationally from those who failed to understand what these demands were and were not aware of the special role of the proletariat in the brewing people's revolution and the prospects of this revolution. This group included the Mensheviks, who considered themselves Marxists.

However, in most countries, an organisational split between the revolutionary socialists and the opportunists in the working-class movement had not yet occurred. Despite bitter controversy, neither the former nor the latter, when in the majority, tried to expel the minority, while the minority formally acquiesced to the decisions of the majority. Both were concerned, above all, with the unity of the socialist parties and sought to extend their influence. At that time, many socialists viewed revisionism merely as a mood or a trend within Marxism and tended to underestimate its dangers. Proceeding from this premise, Enrico Ferri wrote that "the unity of the party does not imply the superiority of one (trend.—*I. K.*) over the other, but the fraternal co-operation in a work of great variety, in which every one may follow his own nature, without hating the other or attacking him personally".¹ In the changed situation, this

¹ *The International Socialist Review*, Vol. V, July 1904—June 1905, Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1905, p. 44.

view was fraught with dangerous consequences.

In a number of countries, the socialist movement could not overcome the impact of bourgeois nationalism. On the one hand, in the late 19th-early 20th century, socialist leaders in Britain, Germany, Italy, France and Holland were inclined, to some degree, to justify the colonial expansion and even the armament of their countries by the people's alleged gain and pseudo-patriotism. On the other hand, socialists of oppressed nations, including Norway, Poland, Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire, who were involved in the national liberation struggle, did not always manage to strike a balance between the campaign against national oppression and the movement for social emancipation that would best promote the interests of the working class. They were not able to work out a Marxist alternative to the bourgeois concept of national emancipation and help the working class to find an independent place among the front ranks of the fighters for national liberation. In both cases, the spread of nationalistic moods in the working-class movement boosted social-reformism.

As we can see, the specifics of the development of Marxism, the way it was gaining ground, the influence of anarcho-syndicalism, the emergence of revisionism that livened up and united the social-reformist elements, and the nationalistic moods and tendencies that surfaced at the turn of the 20th century—all this served to complicate the progress of the working-class movement, and especially of the socialist parties. Lenin wrote in 1899: "International Social-Democracy is at present in a state of ideological wavering."¹ Jules Guesde anxiously stated: "Although socialism is growing, it seems to me that, while gaining magnitude, it is excessively losing depth. It seems that its backbone is not as strong as it used to be."² This in fact was the case.

* * *

In spite of the obstacles in the path of the international working-class movement during the late 19th-early 20th

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Our Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 210.

² *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Paris. 23. bis 27. September 1900*, Berlin, 1900, Verlag: Expedition der Buchhandlung Vorwärts, S. 22.

century, the people's growing resistance to the pressures of imperialism strengthened their international solidarity. In 1900, the International Socialist Students' Congress set up an International Socialist Students' Secretariat. Since 1900, international conferences of representatives of the socialist press became a regular feature. In 1901, on the initiative of the German free trade unions and the Scandinavian Trade-Union Confederation, the first international conference of leaders of national trade-union centres was held in Copenhagen. It founded an international trade-union secretariat that was to organise information exchange and convene regular international trade-union conferences. In 1904, the Secretariat embraced 12 national trade-union centres which united over 2.3 million people.

International socialist congresses were essential for the international consolidation of the working-class movement.

The next congress after 1896 was being prepared in complicated circumstances. Its convocation in Germany in 1899, as the London Congress resolution had planned, was made impossible by a wave of repressions. The SDPG Presidium passed on its powers to the French socialists, although Wilhelm Liebknecht was still the key figure in the preparations. In May 1899, the Unification Committee of the French Socialist Organisations convened a preliminary conference in Brussels, in which socialist leaders from France, Germany, Austria, Britain, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and the United States took part. It was decided to hold the next international socialist congress in Paris in 1900. The French socialists suggested that only the workers' organisations that had declared socialism as their goal should be invited. However, the SDPG leaders considered it inexpedient to restrict or isolate any trend except anarchism. They were supported by the majority, and the wording of the invitation remained the same as the one which had been worked out in Zurich and specified and confirmed in London. The agenda had 11 points, which included ones on the colonial policy, the capture of political power and collaboration with bourgeois parties, the struggle for universal suffrage and the referendums, and on the trusts.

Having been discussed by the socialist leaders of France, Germany and Britain and edited by Liebknecht, the address on the convocation of the congress in September 1899

signed by the French Committee on the Unification was printed and despatched to all workers' organisations. A great loss for the world socialist movement was the death of Wilhelm Liebknecht. Preoccupied with the affairs of the French socialist movement, the committee finally decided that the congress will open on 23 September 1900 only in the summer of that year.

On the eve of the congress, the socialist press and the congresses of socialist parties in many countries discussed the points on the forthcoming congress's draft agenda. Attention was focussed on ministerialism, although some regarded it as a feature peculiar to France, and to colonialism. The congress of the French Workers' Party denounced all brands of social-reformism and urged unity of revolutionary socialists. In a special edition of the *Socialistische Monatshefte* (Germany), revisionists publicised their ideas concerning nearly all points on the agenda. However, immediately before the congress, the SDPG congress clearly defined the party's line, especially in reference to the colonial question.

The international socialist congress, which opened on 23 September in Paris in Salle Wagram, assembled representatives of workers' organisations from 22 countries. Seven hundred and seventy-two delegates' mandates were confirmed, with their number subsequently growing to reach 925. The French delegation was the largest, followed by the British (95 members), the Germans (57), the Belgians (37), the Russians (23), the Danes (19) and the Italians (14). The rest of the delegations were small. Portuguese socialists sent their mandates to Jaurès, Australians, to Hyndman, and the Romanians had no representatives.

Anarchists were not present. However, the French delegation included a large number of anarcho-syndicalists, with Aristide Briand as their leader. The Argentinian delegate and a number of Italians were sympathisers.

The French delegation was a motley crew, representing all trends and shades of opinions present in the working-class movement at the time. The opposite poles were the ministerialists headed by Jaurès, and the Marxists with Guesde and Lafargue as their leaders. The majority in the delegation supported the ministerialists. When it instructed Jaurès to open the congress, the delegates of the French Workers' Party and the Blanquists left the meeting, and re-

turned only after their representatives were given seats on the Presidium of the Congress.

The unity of the British delegation was the result of a compromise reached by the Social-Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabians and the trade unions. The latter's representative, P. Curran, was elected head of the delegation.

Present among the delegates of the SDPG and the free trade unions were prominent figures in both the revolutionary and the opportunist trends. August Bebel was unable to attend the congress due to an illness. Paul Singer and the other SDPG leaders tried to take the edge off the debates both inside the delegation and at the congress meetings. Eduard Bernstein, who had a guest's status, was going to speak but received a warning that many Germans would protest against it so he gave up his intention.

The Russian delegation had 23 members, who held 29 mandates, with 12 belonging to the Bund, 9, the RSDLP, 3, the social-revolutionaries, and 5, a number of other organisations. The key figure in the revolutionary Social-Democratic section was Plekhanov. Four of their mandates were received from Russia through Lenin. One of them, sent on from Ufa, stated: "We recognise the need for resolute protest against the *Rabochaya mysl* (Workers' Thought) trend (the Economists.—I. K.) and its followers... We ... recognise that members of the Emancipation of Labour group adequately express our views, and entrust our votes at the international socialist congress to them."¹

The congress entered 12 points on its agenda. Commissions were set up to prepare draft resolutions on the various issues. When sharp disagreement flared up inside a number of national delegations, it was decided to grant each two votes.

After the commissions had discussed them, a number of issues were settled by the congress almost without debate. The first was the question of complying with congress decisions, practical implementation of the national agreement, and organisation and unity of action of socialist workers. Hendrik Van Kol's report served as the basis for the resolution of the establishment of an International Socialist Bureau (ISB) and the Interparliamentary Socialist Commit-

¹ *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism*, Vol. 336, file 1, Reg. No. 20974, p. 3.

tee (ISC). The ISB was to comprise representatives of the socialist movement of all countries. Its secretariat was instructed to collect and publish decisions of all international workers' congresses and reports on the work of national workers' organisations, prepare international socialist congresses, submit reports on the work of the ISB and the progress of the world working-class movement, issue manifestos on the key issues that had relevance for many socialist parties, etc. On Hyndman's suggestion, the congress chose Brussels as the site for the Bureau. The ISB's annual budget of 10,000 francs was to be collected from the membership fees paid by the socialist parties. It was also decided to found an international library and an archive.

The Interparliamentary Socialist Committee was to be made up of representatives of the socialist factions in parliaments. Its purpose was to organise simultaneous socialist action in parliaments against militarism and war and in defence of the workingmen's interests and rights.

The establishment of the International's permanent bodies was an important event, which was made necessary both by the workers' stronger striving towards international unity and the goals that the socialists were working to attain at that time. In specific, larger-scale and more significant international targets that arose against the background of expanding militarism and colonialism and the mounting war threat made these organisations necessary.

The resolution on the international law restricting working hours confirmed the corresponding resolution of 1889, stressing the need for joint economic and political action by the proletarian parties and the trade unions. It stated that female labour required special protective measures, and that wherever an 8-hour working day had already been introduced, it was necessary to fight for its further reduction. Some dissent was aroused by the Britishers' suggestion that a campaign be launched for the establishment of minimum wages. It was approved with the proviso that this effort could be made successful only by strong trade unions, and that minimum wages must be set with due consideration for the headway made by the working-class movement.

In conformity with the proposal submitted by the pertinent commission, the congress confirmed the resolution on May Day action passed by the previous congress, stres-

sing that termination of work was the most efficient form of such action.

An important place belonged to the discussion of the colonial question. Van Kol's report and the commission's draft resolution contained a number of new points. It was noted that colonial expansion, an inherent feature of capitalism, was fraught with conflicts between nations and bred aggressiveness. Explaining that the target of colonial policies was strictly higher profits for the bourgeoisie and the preservation of the capitalist system, the congress approved the resolution, condemned the colonialists' crimes, called on the socialists to fight against colonial expansion by all available means, to stand up to the colonialists' criminal policies, and to oppose colonial plunder. All socialist parties were obliged to make a study of the colonial question. In the colonies that had relevant conditions, the socialists were to promote the foundation of socialist parties, establish close contacts with them, and assist them to get in touch with the socialist parties of other colonies.

Voicing their support for the resolution, Hyndman, Quelch and P. Curran condemned the crimes perpetrated by the Britishers in India and China and in the Anglo-Boer War. They refuted the tales about colonisation bringing civilisation and a higher living standard for the metropolitan workers in its wake. "And even if now the Jingoists are triumphant about England having supposedly become such a wonderful country in which the sun never sets," said Curran, "I still say: there are thousands of places in England in which the sun has never risen."¹ The delegate of the Socialist Council of Guadelupa Moritz pointed out that the socialist movement had already been launched in the colonies, and that an urgent task was that of drafting "a socialist colonial programme".²

Although the Congress did not demand the right to self-determination for the colonial nations and did not consider the national liberation movement as the socialists' ally, it nevertheless defined the main directions of the working-class struggle against colonialism and mentioned the alliance between the proletariat of the metropolitan countries and that of the colonies.

¹ *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Paris, 1900*, S. 26.

² *Ibidem*.

Of major practical significance was the unanimously adopted resolution on an international organisation of seamen and transport workers. It defined the short-term goals to be striven for by the trade unions and the socialists working among these sections of the workers, who were still isolated from the mainstream, virtually unorganised and working and living in very poor conditions.

A number of new issues were raised in Rosa Luxemburg's report and the resolution "On Peace among the Nations, Militarism and Standing Armies". Believing that the congress must "say something new about the new developments in world politics", Rosa Luxemburg declared that the "socialists must no longer confine themselves to platonic declarations",¹ and that the mounting militarism, colonialism and the war threat demanded that the socialist parties in all countries expand political action and consolidate their unity. She suggested a number of concrete measures and explained that the daily effort against militarism and the threat of war could do a great deal to bring the socialist parties closer together, thus increasing their chances of success in a campaign for their ultimate goal.

The resolution which she submitted on behalf of the commission noted that war had become a permanent phenomenon, that war and militarism, especially the "world politics", were endangering "peaceful and normal development". The congress repeated the old demands—abolition of standing armies, institution of an international court, and the settlement of the question of war and peace by the peoples themselves, and exhorted the Socialists to go over "from more or less platonic demonstrations of international solidarity ... to energetic international actions in politics, to a joint struggle against militarism in world politics"². The socialists were to bolster their educational and organisational anti-militarist campaign among the young people, to vote in parliaments against military expenditure and allocating money for colonial ventures, and to launch international protests against war and militarism at appropriate times, on the initiative of the ISB.

The congress unanimously approved the resolutions of protest against The Hague conference designed to deceive

¹ Ibid., S. 27.

² Ibid., S. 28.

public opinion, against the oppression of the Poles and the Finns by the tsarism, of the Boers by Britain, and of Armenians by Turkey.

No discussion accompanied a resolution on the campaign for universal suffrage and direct popular legislation based on Pernerstoffer's report. This campaign was described as an essential condition for the workers' education and involvement into political action, and a step paving the way for the capture of political power.

The congress also passed a resolution on "socialism in the communities" and obliged the socialists to take part in the work of local self-government bodies and to use them in the campaign for broader democratic freedoms and better conditions for the working strata. It was recommended to set up national bureaus uniting representatives of the socialist parties in local government bodies, while the ISB was instructed to establish contacts between them, organise information exchange and convene an international conference. Although it was important in practical terms, this resolution did not preclude the interpretation of "socialism in the communities" in the spirit of "municipal socialism", which implied attainment of social justice through local representative bodies.

No discussion was necessary to adopt a resolution on the trusts, in which sound assessments of new developments and useful recommendations coexisted with old illusions and vain hopes. The resolution said that the trusts were a result of natural development and a higher standard of production, that their appearance would inevitably aggravate exploitation and oppression of the workers and raise the prices. However, it also stated, quite erroneously, that the trusts were an obstacle in the way of overproduction and so combated competition. The congress recognised that they were impossible to abolish and called on the socialists to campaign for laws that would oblige the trusts to make their contracts and reports public. It believed that the trusts would inevitably pass into the hands of the state, and that international trusts would appear. Failing to realise that the trusts tended to subjugate the state and paying no heed to the class character of the state, the congress stated that the workers' organisations should be rallied to the struggle for the expropriation of the trusts, identifying it with the campaign for "a transformation of capitalist into public produc-

tion".¹ It was also expected that the international trusts would become not only a higher step in economic development but would also regulate world production.

The social-reformists scored a success when the question of the conditions necessary for the emancipation of labour came up. Discussing the conditions of "effecting socialism", Wilhelm Ellenbogen did not mention the capture of power but concentrated on the significance of the trade unions and reforms. He declared that the "collapse of bourgeois rule" and the emancipation of the proletariat would be a consequence, not of the proletarian struggle led by the Social-Democratic parties and "unexpected developments" but the automatic outcome of "gradual organic evolution".² The goals of the Social-Democracy were restricted to the education and adequate organisation and preparation of the working class for the moment of "universal collapse".³

The resolution Ellenbogen submitted on behalf of the commission spoke, in general terms, about the proletariat turning into a class army that would expropriate the bourgeoisie and introduce public ownership of the means of production, the establishment of various workers' organisations and the campaign for democratic freedoms, but purposefully made no mention of the need to capture political power by the proletariat.

The representatives of the French Workers' Party raised their voices in protest against the "weak wording" of this draft. Lafargue said that the commission that had worked on the resolution refused to discuss and criticise Bernstein's views and failed to repulse the Belgians' speeches, in which they insisted that production cooperatives were able to ensure a transition to socialism in the conditions of capitalism. Citing well-substantiated arguments in favour of his opinion that "in modern society, production fraternities are guided by the same laws of capitalist production as private enterprises"⁴ and were unable to expropriate the bourgeoisie, Lafargue did not criticise the report and did not insist on amending and specifying the draft resolution, which was almost unanimously approved.

¹ *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Paris, 1900*, S. 31.

² *Ibid.*, S. 15.

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 16.

When discussing the question of the capture of political power and alliance with bourgeois parties, neither the commission nor the congress at large considered the means and methods for the power struggle. The problem of alliances with bourgeois parties was debated mainly as the issue of the socialists' collaboration with bourgeois parties in elections. The commission reached a conclusion that under certain conditions, such collaboration was possible and sometimes even necessary, but that in no case was it permissible to deviate from the principles of the socialist parties. It recommended to use alliances as a means to protect the political rights and freedoms of the individual and to win electoral rights, but warned that they were always dangerous and were to be formed as seldom as possible, preferably never. This section of the draft resolution did not produce dissent and was approved unanimously even if it did interpret the terms on which such alliances may be concluded very broadly and recognised the right of even local party organisations to settle this issue independently.

A controversy flared up on the issue of participation of individual socialists in bourgeois governments. Guesde, who considered compromises with bourgeois parties acceptable under certain circumstances, pointed out that as the class struggle became more and more bitter, such alliances would be increasingly difficult to form. He still believed that extraordinary circumstances could justify socialists' participation in bourgeois governments, but emphasised the difference of principle between sitting in a governmental body as a result of success in elections, and participation through the "charity" of the bourgeoisie. Guesde also said that participation by socialists in the work of a bourgeois government was not tantamount to "capturing political power", and that at most, it could produce half-hearted reforms. He spoke about the need to establish proletarian dictatorship.¹

Guesde resolutely opposed Millerand's entry into a reactionary government and cited arguments proving that it was disrupting proletarian activities, undermining the workers' class consciousness, and was detrimental to international proletarian solidarity.

Ferri, who also lashed out against Millerand, rejected

¹ Ibid., S. 22.

the very idea of a socialist accepting a seat on a bourgeois government in any conditions, and sharply opposed the socialists' alliances with bourgeois parties. But he also advocated unification of the two trends in the French socialist movement without distinguishing between "winners and losers".¹

Despite the differences between Guesde and Ferri, they submitted a joint draft resolution that advocated the use of both peaceful means and coercion in an effort to capture political power and expropriate the bourgeoisie politically. It also noted that participation of socialists in bourgeois governments went against the principles of the class struggle and socialism. The draft was supported by Vaillant. Criticising ministerialism, he said: "We want to remain a revolutionary party."² Although the Guesde-Ferri draft somewhat oversimplified the problem of the socialists' participation in bourgeois governments, its main points were supported by many revolutionary socialists.

Jean Jaurès and many socialists from other countries opposed those who censured Millerand's policy. Declaring his commitment to the class struggle, Jaurès unconditionally supported Millerand's activities, assessing them as "the commencement of the political expropriation of the bourgeoisie" and a "model of new tactics".³ He was convinced that the question of socialists' participation in bourgeois governments had a relevance to the socialist movement in all countries that had strong parties, and exhorted the socialists to occupy the place of the disintegrating liberal parties and to form "a new, resolute democratic liberal party".⁴

Hailing Millerand's activities, Anseele advocated the socialists' entry into bourgeois governments regardless of the circumstances, and stressed: "We stand for attaining our goals strictly through peaceful, legal means."⁵ Ignaz Auer voiced the hope that socialists in Germany would also soon get a chance to work in the government.

Seeking to prevent such a great difference of opinion that could lead to a split, Karl Kautsky anticipated the ministe-

¹ Ibid., S. 19.

² Ibid., S. 24.

³ Ibid., S. 21.

⁴ Ibid., S. 20.

⁵ Ibid., S. 23.

rialists' draft and submitted a skilfully worded draft resolution. It stated that political power cannot be seized "by a simple onslaught" but only "by lengthy and persistent effort aimed at political and economic organisation of the proletariat and by gradually winning seats in local representative and legislative bodies".¹ That no mention was made of the potential of revolutionary coercion was a serious concession to social-reformism. The draft stated that participation of an individual socialist in a bourgeois government "cannot be considered a normal beginning of the capture of political power"² and described such participation as "a temporary and exceptional step"³, a "dangerous experiment" that must be sanctioned and supervised by the Party. In any event, it was considered "a question of tactics, not of principle",⁴ that an international congress need not have discussed at all. The draft did not offer a clearly defined yardstick by which to appraise the socialists' participation in bourgeois governments and supplied an excuse for avoiding a discussion of Millerand's actions.

The congress accepted Plekhanov's amendments: a socialist was permitted to sit only on a government that was "consistently neutral"⁵ in the struggle between labour and capital, and he must quit his post if party members objected to his actions.

This draft was so much to the liking of the social-reformists that they refrained from submitting their own draft resolution and almost unanimously supported Kautsky.

Reporting on the results of the commission's work at a plenary meeting, Vandervelde sought to prove that Kautsky's draft resolution only defined the principle to be followed when dealing with this question, and that in each "genuinely constitutional country" a socialist may join the government, given the permission of his party. He recognised that Millerand made an error and prejudiced the working-class movement,⁶ but insisted that the Frenchmen should deal with this matter alone. Anseele welcomed Kautsky's draft for the rejection of violence. Auer and Jaurès

¹ Ibid., S. 17.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibid., S. 18.

⁶ Ibid., S. 18, 20, 21.

praised it for granting "freedom" and "leaving one's hands free".¹ The congress's right wing applauded this statement.

Guesde, Ferri and Vaillant attacked the draft. Defending his own and Guesde's draft resolution, Ferri showed that Millerand's actions were not fortuitous but presented a striking manifestation of the opportunist trend operating in the socialist movement of Germany, Italy, France and some other countries. He stated that Kautsky "recommended a bourgeois tactic with a socialist principle", and called his draft a "rubber" resolution². "Because of the contradictions in it," said Guesde, "the Kautsky resolution will greatly prejudice the proletarian movement".³ Vaillant said that Millerand and Bernstein belonged to the same trend, and that Kautsky had capitulated before Bernsteinianism and reformism. The left wing of the SDPG delegation was against Kautsky's draft, calling it "an old worn-out shoe".⁴ However, at the insistence of the SDPG leadership, which feared a split, the left-wingers did not publicly state their views.

The prestige of this party won the majority's support for Kautsky's resolution. It was passed by 29 votes against 9. Only the Bulgarian and the Irish delegations were unanimously against it. The French, Polish, Italian and US delegations each cast one vote against the resolution. There was also one vote against the resolution from the Russian Marxists. The fact that the congress approved Kautsky's resolution meant a big success for the opportunists.

The discussion of the issue of a general strike highlighted the Marxists' passivity, the anarcho-syndicalists' vigour and the presence of controversy among the social-reformists. Aristide Briand, who was supported by the Allemanists and the ministerialists, proposed to recognise a general strike, specifically, an international one, as "a revolutionary mode of action" and to put it "in the service of social revolution" and the struggle for reform.⁵ Although the majority in the commission declined Briand's draft, the Marxists failed to counteract the anarcho-syndicalist plan of a general economic

¹ Ibid., S. 25.

² Ibid., S. 19.

³ Ibid., S. 23.

⁴ *The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism*, Vol. 24, file 7, Reg. No. 28148, p. 1.

⁵ *ISK...* 1900, S. 32.

strike with the idea of a mass political one. Carl Legien declared that a general strike was impossible due to the weakness of the trade unions, and could only serve as an excuse for reprisal. He argued that it would result in a workers' defeat. He proposed a purely negative resolution that criticised and rejected Briand's ideas but did not offer any alternatives. The majority of delegations still voted for it.

Vagueness in the appraisal of the changes occurring in the conditions and goals of the working-class movement, as well as fear of weakening the socialist movement bound the hands of many revolutionary socialists in Germany and other countries. The wish to wait it out so as to gain a clearer idea of the changes under way was felt in the SDPG's proposal to convene the next congress in five years. However, after a discussion, the majority (32 out of 40) decided to convene the next congress in Amsterdam in 1903.

The Paris Congress of 1900 showed that the rapid growth of the socialist movement made it difficult for Marxists to raise the ideological and political standard of the working-class movement as a whole. In the changed conditions and as a result of the social-reformists' vigorous activity, this growth was accompanied by a decline in the ideological and theoretical level in tackling a number of urgent problems. The congress passed theoretically and practically important Marxist resolutions on peace and militarism, on colonialism, on reducing working hours, on universal suffrage, on the setting up of the International Socialist Bureau and the Interparliamentary Socialist Committee, and promoted the solidarity and cooperation of workers' organisations in all countries. However, the social-reformists did not allow the congress to get to the roots of the question concerning the trusts and strikes, and squeezed out certain concessions in the resolutions on local representative bodies, the conditions of the emancipation of labour, and rather serious concessions in the resolutions on political power and the socialists' participation in bourgeois governments. Revisionism, which put in question Marxist principles, and the softness of some revolutionary socialists, who sought to avoid a split, allowed the social-reformists to unite on an international scale and get the congress to recognise some of their ideas, and, most important, to win the right to take a more active part in the International and the working-class movement.

The socialist press was for the most part enthusiastic about the congress's achievements. It was especially pleased by the decision to set up the ISB. "The International has been restored," wrote *Le Peuple*. "A step has been made from declarations of international solidarity to an international organisation,"¹ joined in *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*. *Vorwärts* and *Die Neue Zeit* exaggerated the International's cohesion, passed over the grave differences of opinion at the congress in silence. These last two papers justified Kautsky's resolution. *L'Avanti!* welcomed the "new socialist tactic" allegedly outlined by the congress. *Justice* tried to convince its readers that "the Congress has been the most unanimous and harmonious that has yet been held".²

Ernest Belfort Bax criticised the SDPG delegation for indecision and wrote about the influence that the revisionists had over it. The fact that the controversy at the congress revealed the mounting threat of opportunism was pointed out by D. Harriman in *The International Socialist Review*. The *Zarya* (Dawn) magazine that Lenin helped edit and his newspaper *Iskra* (Spark) criticised Kautsky's willingness to give in to revisionism. The congress's concessions to opportunism were condemned by many revolutionary socialists. "It is being said here that you have taken Bernstein's side," wrote Antonio Labriola to Kautsky.³

Revisionists, and the social-reformists who sided with them, sought to exploit the success they had achieved at the congress. Writing for the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Bernstein tried to besmirch the congress's Marxist resolutions. He specifically attacked the one on colonialism, calling it a "reactionary utopia".⁴ Hoping to gain more, Bernstein was already quite critically evaluating Kautsky's resolution. "It is a product of a compromise," he wrote, "which is essentially a diagonal drawn between the hostile views of the French. It merely makes it palatable for both parties".⁵ In France, the ministerialists stepped up their effort to win ascendancy in the country's socialist movement, which produced a split in 1900-1901.

¹ *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 7. Oktober 1900.

² *Justice*, 6 October, 1900.

³ *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History*, Amsterdam, 1954, No. 2, p. 118.

⁴ *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 1900, Nr. 11, S. 710.

⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 715.

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A new development in the Second International after the Paris Congress of 1900 was the establishment of the ISB and its first steps. In the autumn of 1900, its Executive Committee arranged its headquarters in the Maison du peuple in Brussels. Its chairman was Emile Vandervelde, and its secretary, Victor Serwy. Only a few people attended the ISB's first session, which was held in December 1900, where they discussed organisational matters. In 1901-1903, the ISB came to comprise two representatives of the working-class movement of 13-17 countries. The representatives were appointed by the most authoritative organisations and approved by the others. The first action of the ISB was devoted to the Russian revolutionary movement. In the spring of 1901, the Executive Committee issued an appeal explaining the significance of the movement's powerful upsurge and calling on the socialists of all countries to step up solidarity action and expand assistance.

In 1901 and 1902, the ISB's annual plenary meetings issued manifestos condemning the crimes of the British colonialists in South Africa, the actions of the USA in the Philippines, the transgressions of the European powers, the United States and Japan in China, the persecution of Jews in tsarist Russia, the brutal repression of the workers of the Obukhov factory, the tsarism's oppression of Finland, and the anti-Polish line of Germany's ruling quarters. The ISB called on all workers to close their ranks in order to combat colonialism and chauvinism, and recommended the socialist deputies to protest in parliaments against the policies pursued by Britain in South Africa and mass repressions of the Turkish ruling circles in Armenia. It urged the socialist parties to make a constant and thorough study of international politics. The Executive Committee initiated international assistance for a mass strike in Holland, rose its voice in defence of the Russian revolutionary émigré arrested by Italian police, protested against pogroms in Kishinev, and exhorted the socialists to spare no effort to organise impressive May Day action.

There were demands that the ISB discuss the vital problems of the working-class movement, and in 1903, the Executive Committee organised an exchange of opinions concerning militarism between socialist parties. The ISB plenary

meeting held in 1903 approved this effort.

However, there was no unity in the ISB. While the majority of the participants in the plenary meeting voiced their solidarity with the ISP's opposition to the tsar's visit to Italy, the social-reformists representing the SDPG, the SDPD and the SDPN abstained, unwilling to encourage the socialists' criticism of their countries' foreign policies. When Vandervelde suggested that the socialists be recommended to work to eliminate competition between workers of different nations, to fight against discrimination against émigré workers and involve them into workers' organisations, many ISB members declared that the socialists must defend the interests of workers belonging to civilised nations and protect them against competition of Chinese and Negro workers. In other words, they adopted a chauvinist stand, which was not denounced.

The plenary meeting discussed preparations for the next congress and drafted its agenda. However, on request of the SDPG, the congress was postponed until 1904. Soon after the meeting, the SDPN set up a committee entrusted with the preparations.

The ISB plenary meeting held in February 1904 particularly stressed the revolutionary movement in Russia. Hailing the results of the Second RSDLP congress, it voiced its hopes for the "unification of all Russia's socialist forces".¹ The meeting approved the successful action staged by socialists in Italy and Germany in defence of Russian revolutionary émigrés and urged socialists to step up their struggle against the influence of tsarist policies on the political lines followed by their countries' governments. Its manifesto condemned the Russo-Japanese War as "a crime of the governments and capitalism" of Russia and Japan. It exhorted the proletariat of all countries, especially France, Britain and Germany, to "use all its energy" to combat the expansion of this war and achieve its termination and the preservation of peace.²

Having discussed the situation in Macedonia, the ISB, despite the somewhat negligent attitude towards the interests

¹ *Bureau Socialiste International. Comptes rendus des réunions, manifestes et circulaires*, Vol. 1, 1900-07, Paris, Mouton & Co., 1969, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

of the Balkan states on the part of Victor Adler, supported Plekhanov's and Vaillant's initiative. It expressed its sympathy towards these peoples, advocated their independence, Macedonian autonomy, and protested against both repressions there and the machinations of the European powers that posed a threat to peace.

The plenary meeting created a more specific draft agenda for the forthcoming international socialist congress and, in pursuance of the instructions of the Paris Congress, it formed an Interparliamentary Socialist Committee comprised of one representative from the socialist parliamentary factions of four countries, and two representatives from the socialist deputies of Holland.

Although during those years, the work of the ISB did not justify the hopes of many, it still promoted the cooperation of the socialist parties and their international action, which acquired particular importance against the background of the revolutionary upsurge in Russia and the Russo-Japanese War. Furthermore, despite the mounting controversy in the socialist movement, its activities helped overcome the difficulties that emerged when a new international socialist congress was being prepared.

* * *

In the summer of 1904, when the congress was held in Amsterdam, the situation in the world and the international socialist movement differed significantly from what it had been at the time of the previous International's congresses. The Amsterdam congress convened at the height of the Russo-Japanese War and on the eve of the first popular revolution in Russia. The contradictions exacerbated by the economic crisis had sharpened the edge of the confrontation between the working people and the imperialist reaction. Obviously, this could not but alter the conditions and goals of the working people's struggle, and made it necessary for the socialists to come up with new appraisals and solutions. Thanks to the considerable experience gained by the masses in the class struggle, the social-reformist elements siding with revisionists and ministerialists retreated under the pressure of revolutionary socialists, who supported the resolution of the Dresden Congress of the SDPG. Realising that the working-class movement was on the verge of making a

powerful thrust, revolutionary socialists hastened to revise the course to be pursued by the socialist parties, and adapted it to the new conditions and goals of the movement. In this, the Bolsheviks were the most successful of all.

At the International Socialist congress, which opened on 14 August, 1904 in Amsterdam's Concertgebouw, 483 delegates representing workers' organisations in 25 countries took part. All trends in the working-class and socialist movements with the exception of anarchists were extensively represented. Many delegates shared Plekhanov's view that "the noble name of a representative of socialist proletarians calls for lenience"¹ with respect to any organisations calling themselves socialist and sending a representative to the congress.

The most numerous and least united delegation was the British one. Its majority was, however, comprised of social-reformists. The French delegation was nearly as large. The leaders of the Socialist Party of France, Guesde and Vailant, were the core of the left, and the leaders of the French Socialist Party, Jaurès and others, of the right wing of the congress. In the German delegation headed by Bebel, the Marxists had an advantage, but, seeking to preserve unity, they had to take into consideration the stand of Bernstein and his followers. This prevented them from being sufficiently resolute.

The SDPG delegation was a sort of beacon for the delegations of the USA, Bulgaria, Hungary, Spain and some other countries, including Russia. One of the two votes at the disposal of the Russian delegation belonged to Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Bund, and the other, to the RSDLP. The Mensheviks had plotted to exclude the Bolsheviks from the delegation, but the latter's representatives, Lyadov and Krasikov, who were supported by Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, August Bebel and Victor Adler, managed to circumvent the Mensheviks' resistance. They were included in the delegation of the RSDLP, and took part in the work of the congress. They were also on two of its commissions. Waving aside the Mensheviks' protests, Lyadov and Krasikov handed out to the delegates the Bolsheviks' report to the Amsterdam congress "Materials Apropos the Party

¹ G. Plekhanov, *Works*, Vol. 16, Moscow, 1928, p. 314 (in Russian).

Crisis of the RSDLP" which was written under Lenin's guidance. This was the Bolsheviks' first action at an international socialist congress, and it helped clarify their doctrine.

The Polish and the Norwegian delegations had both followers and opponents of ministerialism and revisionism among their members.

The Belgian delegation, as well as the delegations of Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland and Argentina, were dominated by social-reformists. Their opponents were few.

The Austrian delegation headed by Victor Adler sought to maintain the unity of the congress by reconciling the revolutionary socialists and the opportunists. This was an effort that was supported by many delegates of other countries, including Italy. Expounding on this desire, Van Kol said: "Let us forget what brings us apart, and let us not forget what unites us."¹

As Plekhanov proposed, the opening meeting of the congress, (which had a festive atmosphere and where the delegates sang the *Internationale*) was turned into a show of proletarian internationalism. Plekhanov and Sen Katayama, who sat on the Presidium, voiced their protest against the Russo-Japanese War and exchanged handshakes and speeches. An ovation greeted this gesture. Unanimous support was extended to the resolution which stated the congress's solidarity with the socialists of Russia and Japan and urged the workers of all countries to "do their best to prevent the expansion of the war".²

The social-reformists, who made up the right wing of the congress, had considerable strength and tried to force their views on the congress. They managed to influence the resolution on social security and insurance for the workers. Hermann Molkenbuhr's report and draft resolution discussed the workers' impoverishment, their deteriorating health and worsening labour conditions. The draft exhorted the socialists to campaign not only for labour protection laws but also for insurance in case of illness, unemployment, etc., mostly at the expense of the state and without raising the taxes, and demanded that the insurance system be con-

¹ *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Amsterdam, 1904*, Berlin, 1904, S. 9.

² *Ibid.*, S. 10.

trolled and managed by the workers themselves. But the draft also provided for the workers' contributing part of the insurance money and did not link the campaign for insurance with the struggle for socialism. Delegates of the USA, the Socialist Party of France and of the Independent Labour Party of Britain opposed this last provision. Hillquit proposed to eliminate bourgeois-philanthropic phraseology and to emphasise the class interests of the proletariat and the proletarian character of the socialist movement. The overwhelming majority, however, voted in favour of Molkenbuhr's draft in its original version.

The revolutionary socialists managed to make some headway in the issue of trusts, although a serious discussion proved impossible due to the fact that the International's leaders were busy working on the commission for the international rules of the tactics, and the absence of the report of the Socialist Party of the United States. The draft resolution prepared by the commission and presented to the congress by Wibaut simply reiterated some of the provisions from the resolution on the trusts that was passed by the 1900 congress. It was returned to the commission as unsatisfactory without discussion. A new draft was not faultless but, unlike the 1900 resolution, it associated the struggle against monopolies with the proletarian struggle for political power. Noting that the growth of trusts increased the entrepreneurs' profits, aggravated exploitation, and sharpened class contradictions, the draft pointed out that the socialists would be able to effect socialisation of production only by capturing political power and that, for this reason, the workers must counteract the growing strength of capital with the might of their organisations as the only means of overthrowing capitalism. This draft received a majority vote.

The congress paid a great deal of attention to national problems. The social-chauvinists inclined towards nationalism did their best to influence their resolution. On the initiative of the British delegation, the congress discussed and approved its resolution on India. It said that the congress "severely denounces the contemporary colonial system and the socialists of all countries demand its abolition".¹ However, wrathfully condemning Britain's plunder of India,

¹ *ISK... 1904*, S. 19.

the resolution went no further than an appeal to campaign for India's self-government "under British sovereignty".¹

This resolution was supported not only by J. Hobson, member of the Fabian Society, but by Dadabhai Naoroji, a prominent member of the Indian National Congress. Demonstrating its solidarity with the peoples of India and other colonies, the congress unanimously approved this resolution.

In his report on the colonial policy as a whole, Van Kol suggested that protest action be launched against the expansion of the colonial system, especially enforced expansion. He exhorted the socialists to channel their effort into the campaign for reforms in the colonies, with their goal being self-government.

The draft resolution written by the commission on the colonial question mentioned the struggle against the colonial expansion and plunder, and for better conditions for the population of colonies. The socialist parties were exhorted to do their best to institute parliamentary control over the great powers' foreign policies, while the ISB was instructed to form a commission for the study of the colonial question and popularisation of socialist ideas in the colonies. Unlike the corresponding resolution of the previous congress, this draft did not mention the proletarian struggle against colonialism using all available means and the assistance to the emerging socialist movement in the colonies. This seemed like a concession to social-reformism; however, the phrase "complete emancipation of the colonies is the goal we are striving for"² rendered the draft adopted by the congress more determined.

Chauvinistic moods found expression in the draft resolution on emigration and immigration submitted by the delegations of Holland, Australia and the Socialist Party of the USA. It proposed to campaign for limiting the immigration of workers from backward countries to the more advanced ones. However, this draft met with stout opposition. A pertinent commission wrote a draft resolution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism urging the socialists to become more active when working among immigrant workers and to organise joint action of workers of different

¹ *ISK ... 1904*, S. 20.

² *Ibid.*, S. 24.

nations against capitalist exploitation. However, due to a shortage of time, the discussion of this question was postponed until the next congress.

Bitter controversy flared up on the issue of a general strike, which was considered in the context of the strike movement at large. This effort was initiated by revolutionary socialists, who proposed two draft resolutions. The draft submitted by the SPF appraised strikes as a weapon to be used to defend the workers' interests and a means of awakening their class consciousness. The SPF emphasised the link between the economic and political action and urged the socialists to spare no effort to support the trade unions and the strikes, and to do their best to achieve success. A mass strike was considered a means of securing, preserving and expanding the conditions for political action. It could become the starting point of revolution. In such a case, the mass strike was to be headed by the Social-Democracy, and its success, i.e., socialisation and the capture of political power by the proletariat, depended on how well-organised and class and politically conscious the working class was. However, this draft was not mimeographed in time, and many of the delegates had no idea of its existence.

The other draft, which became generally known, was proposed by the left wing of the Dutch delegation, led by Henriette Roland-Holst. For the most part, it more or less coincided with the draft submitted by the SPF, but, as distinct from the Socialist Party of France, the Dutch revolutionary socialists maintained that a mass political strike could be used as "the most extreme" means in a revolution. They underscored that conditions of a mass political strike were proletarian unity and the existence of strong and large workers' organisations, but did not mention that they should be guided by the socialist parties. The draft paid special attention to undermining the anarcho-syndicalist propaganda of the idea of "an absolute strike".

The two drafts were counterposed by an Allemanist one, which updated the idea of anarcho-syndicalists and suggested that the prospects for success of an international general strike be studied. They stated that such a strike could be prepared on a planned basis, and thereby become "a tool of emancipation".¹

¹ See: *ISK... 1904*, S. 26-29.

The majority of the commission supported the draft written by the left wing of the Dutch delegation, presented to the congress by Henriette Roland-Holst. Substantiating it, she emphasised the distinction between a mass political strike and the anarcho-syndicalist idea of a general economic strike. She pointed out the importance of carefully preparing mass political strikes so as to block the way to adventurism.

Jean Allemane attempted to prove that the idea of an international general strike would unite the workers and help them overcome the contradictions in the working-class movement. But he was supported only by a few delegates.

The social-reformists sharply criticised the idea of an international general strike, and insisted that all proletarian action should be confined to what was legally permitted. They ignored the distinctions between anarcho-syndicalist views and the concept of a mass political strike, tried to discredit the idea of any mass action and predicted that such activities would entail dire consequences.

The revolutionary socialists managed to expose the social-reformist ideas as unsound, and the majority vote was cast for the resolution supported by the commission. Only the Swiss and Japanese delegations refused to support it. The drafts proposed by the SPF and the Allemanists won six votes each. The victory of the idea of a mass political strike was an important success for the revolutionary socialists; it had a major significance for further expansion of mass political action.

The congress focused on the issue of the international rules of socialist tactics. There was a large-scale discussion, which was a battlefield for the revolutionary and the opportunist trends, who clashed more sharply than ever before. The commission that was instructed to draft the resolution was comprised of major figures in the international Social-Democracy. "This here is the real issue!" August Bebel said.¹ When the question came up for discussion, six proposals were advanced, and 40 people spoke at the five commission meetings—Jules Guesde, August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Kautsky, Georgi Plekhanov, Enrico

¹ Daniel De Leon, *Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress*, New York Labor News Company, New York City, 1929, p. 23.

Ferri, Victor Adler, Emile Vandervelde, Pieter Troelstra and Jean Jaurès. The Marxists held the initiative. Guesde was for the draft proposed by the SPF, which was based on the resolution of the Dresden SDPG congress and was aimed against revisionism. It did not demand a complete break with the revisionists but denounced revisionism and warned the parties against turning reformist. It stated: "The congress most resolutely condemns the revisionists striving to change our time-tested and successful tactics." It pointed to the exacerbation of the class struggle and stressed the need for overtaking power and, tactfully referring to the "rubber" resolution of 1900, stated that the Social-Democracy "cannot wish to take part in a government within the boundaries of bourgeois society".¹ The draft resolution exhorted the Social-Democrats to increase their efforts, strengthen their parliamentary factions, vote against war budgets, step up propaganda and the struggle against militarism and colonialism. It encouraged them to take a firm stance against oppression and exploitation, and to work for democratic freedoms and legislation aimed at improving the working people's conditions.

The draft submitted on behalf of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA by Daniel De Leon was directed both against revisionism and conciliatory tactics. It stated that "the working class cannot without betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, fill any political office other than one they conquered for and by themselves."² He demanded that Kautsky's resolution of 1900 which permitted "acceptance by the working class of a ministerial office post from the hands of a capitalist government" be repealed.

The SPF draft was approved by three-fourths of the commission. It promoted the proletariat's interests and conformed to the views of the majority of Social-Democrats. The Marxists were pushing forth. The social-reformists did not dare demand new concessions. Defending themselves, they were trying to at least save their old stand, i.e., get the "rubber" resolution confirmed. Jean Jaurès spoke three times, twice in the commission and once at a plenary meeting. However, only Anseele, Furnémont and Keir Hardie sided with him openly and unconditionally, while his other follow-

¹ ISK...1904, S. 31.

² Daniel De Leon, *Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress*, ... p. 6.

ers preferred to remain in the shadows. Jaurès tried to convince the delegates that a socialist party would be able to win success if it followed the same course as the SPF. He somewhat exaggerated the achievements of his party, presenting the rescue of the republican system in France as its doing. Jaurès idealised the bourgeois republic and the democratic freedoms. He underestimated the depth of the distinctions between a socialist and a bourgeois revolution. He believed that reforms would emancipate the proletariat. Initially, he insisted that his line did not contradict the resolution of the SDPG's Dresden congress, which formed the basis of the SPF draft, but later, he attacked the SDPG, tried to play down the significance of its work, and, under the slogan of the campaign for the independence of each nation and protection of "the minority's rights" at the congress, he opposed the "enforcement" of the German tactics.

Despite Jaurès's eloquence, the social-reformist stand was not a strong one. However at the critical moment, it was supported by the conciliators. Active participants in the discussion, Kautsky and Ferri tried to substitute abstract discourse for equivocal attitude to facts (for instance, Millerand's behaviour). They went out of their way to stress the distinctions between principles and tactics themselves. Ferri insisted that it was both permissible and advisable to allow different, revolutionary and opportunist, trends to coexist in a socialist party, and therefore opposed a break with the revisionists. Kautsky maintained that Ferri, who was Turati's ally, had chosen a much cleverer line of action than Guesde, who had broken with Jaurès. Both had hoped to employ sophistry to reconcile the SPF draft with the "rubber" resolution, and to fuse Marxism with opportunism. Ferri proposed to adopt a draft resolution which demanded that each country form a socialist party uniting all socialist organisations. The idea of joining forces would promote the proletariat's interests, and so Ferri's proposal was approved by Bebel and many other Marxists. But what they overlooked was the fact that while urging unification on a very broad platform of the decisions passed by the international socialist congresses and instructing the ISB to campaign towards attaining unity, Ferri's draft resolution did not draw the line beyond which a break with the revisionists would become inevitable. It was clear the whole

time that an unconditional merger with them would have meant a step backwards. This is what secured Ferri the support of the social-reformists, who grasped at the chance to use the draft to stop further dissociation and retain both their influence and their place in the socialist movement.

The social-reformists, who did not wish to tie their hands by complying with the general rules of socialist tactics, welcomed the suggestion of the Swiss delegation that each party be given a chance to test ministerialism as a "new method".

Victor Adler, whom Bebel regarded as "a revisionist in disguise",¹ was weighing the pros and cons of revisionism with "paralytic contemplativeness".² He tried to convince the delegates that not only the socialist movement but, indeed, each individual harbours two trends that are absolutely legitimate and equal. In the long run, his verbiage boiled down to the appeal to help Jaurès and not to "alienate" him and the "French proletariat" from the International by a resolution proposed by the SPF. Victor Adler demanded that the resolution be deprived of its bite, that its "teeth be pulled out".³ He believed that the congress was neither able, nor ought to assume the responsibility of censuring any trend thereby in essence "chaining down" the actions of individual parties or groups. Finally, Adler, who considered himself a Marxist, suggested, jointly with Vandervelde, four amendments to the SPF draft: to strike out direct censure of revisionism; to call the tactics proposed by the revisionists not revisionist but a "tactic of concessions"; to stop using the term "revisionism"; to confirm the "rubber" resolution of 1900. The purpose of the amendments, which completely altered the nature of the SPF draft, was to take revisionism out of the line of fire.

The social-reformists jumped at Adler's and Vandervelde's suggestions with alacrity. Amendments in the same spirit were proposed by the Independent Labour Party, specifically by James Keir Hardie. Pieter Troelstra declared that revisionism was a purely literary issue that did not warrant mention in the congress resolution. Others maintained that revisionism was a local German issue whose

¹ V. Adler, *Briefwechsel...*, S. 432.

² Daniel De Leon, *Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress*, ... p. 39.

³ *ISK...1904*, S. 45.

discussion belonged only in a SDPG resolution. Pierre Renaudel (the FSP) said that the ministerialists' only fault was that they were ahead of their time. He tied up the Adler-Vandervelde suggestion with the idea of the broadest unity of socialists in each country. Exhorting the Marxists to be pliant for the sake of preserving unity in the socialist movement, which actually meant unity with the opportunists, the social-reformists together with Victor Adler tried to win the fluctuating elements over to their side.

The heated discussion concerning the international rules of socialist tactics was, in fact, to decide whether revolutionary socialism, Marxism, would remain the leading trend in the International. Guesde, Luxemburg, Bebel, Plekhanov, De Leon, Vaillant, Rakowski, Rubanowitsch, Nemec (Czechia), Moor (Switzerland) and some other delegates levelled their criticism against revisionism in the commission and at the congress meetings. They all recognised the need for common, general principles by which the international rules of socialist tactics must be shaped. "If necessary," said Bebel, "I will change the tactics 24 times in 24 hours. But I shall never allow it in any degree to come into conflict with our principles."¹ The revolutionary socialists went to great lengths to explain the class essence of bourgeois revolution and the bourgeois republic and their distinction from socialist revolution and the socialist republic. They lashed out against the core of revisionism, the idea of class collaboration. Ministerialism in general and Millerand's holding a post in a reactionary bourgeois government in particular were unambiguously condemned. "If the radicals," one of the delegates said, "invite us to fill ministerial posts, they do so in order to turn us into tame domestic animals."² Scathing criticism was directed against the FSP policies. The Marxists stressed the basic character of their differences with revisionism and ministerialism and defended the principle of the class struggle. They pointed out that the growing influence of the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists among the workers discontented with revisionist policies was a consequence of the spread of revisionism. The majority of the revolutionary socialists supported the SPF's draft resolution. They were against a conciliatory course, includ-

¹ *ISK ... 1904*, S. 68-69.

² *Ibid.*, S. 65.

ing the "rubber" resolution, the Adler-Vandervelde suggestion, and other similar actions. They stated that Ferri's platform which proposed to unite all socialists was too broad. For instance some delegates, i.e., those representing the Tesnyaki, insisted that the Marxists needed to break with the revisionists because unity was only holding back the revolutionary struggle and prejudicing proletarian interests. A resolute speech was made by Daniel De Leon. Criticising Renaudel, who defended Ferri, Rosa Luxemburg said: "I do not want unity à la Renaudel; disunity is distressing, but it is better."¹

It was difficult for the Marxists to get the SPF's draft resolution approved and the amendments rejected by the commission. The social-reformists were using every means at their disposal. Troelstra, who was chairing the commission meetings, tried to prevent Guesde from taking the floor. The right-wingers put pressure on the delegates of the weaker parties trying to persuade them to refrain from voting if they intended to support the SPF's draft or, if they approved the Adler-Vandervelde suggestion, encouraging them to be more active and to use their vote. Despite their efforts, the SPF's resolution was passed by 27 votes to 3, while Adler's and Vandervelde's amendments were rejected by 24 votes to 16. The suggestions advanced by De Leon, the Swiss delegation and the Independent Labour Party were voted down. Ferri's draft resolution on unity was unanimously approved.

The right-wingers staged an unheard-of *démarche*. Anseele declared that the socialist parties of Russia, Japan, Spain, Bulgaria and Poland, which did not enjoy sufficient support at home, were not competent to deal with the issue of the international rules of socialist tactics and ought to abstain from voting. This list happened to include the parties whose delegates supported the SPF's draft resolution. But this attempt to hamper the position of the left wing failed. On behalf of the delegations mentioned by Anseele, Rosa Luxemburg resolutely protested against the division of the congress' participants into active and passive ones, and against depriving socialists of individual countries of the right to go to the ballot. However, the right-wingers continued to build up their pressure, with the conciliators condoning

¹ Ibid., S. 73.

their efforts. Immediately before the voting, under pressure from German revisionists, the SDPG leadership requested the substitution of the word "censures" to the word "declines" (revisionism) in the SPF's resolution. The subcommission by Kautsky introduced this change with permission of the SPF leadership, thereby weakening the first paragraph.

The right-wingers continued to brainwash the delegates behind the scenes, and Adler's and Vandervelde's suggestion was tabled by a margin of one vote (21 votes were cast for, and 21 votes against it). That was a critical moment. The draft resolution written by the SPF was passed by 25 votes to 4, with 12 delegates abstaining. The draft resolution on party unity was approved unanimously.

The revolutionary socialists managed to succeed with great difficulty. The social-reformists were forced to retreat, but they were far from routed.

The congress heard a report on the plans of the Interparliamentary Committee. At Roland-Holst's suggestion, it issued a greeting to the workers of Russia, which stressed the international significance of their struggle. It read, in part: "The workers of the world see themselves in solidarity with its (the Russian working class.—*I. K.*) struggle against absolutism... By fighting for its own emancipation the proletariat of Russia is fighting for the emancipation of the world proletariat."¹ The congress unanimously passed a resolution obliging the Social-Democratic parties to conduct a propaganda campaign for women's suffrage and for the introduction of corresponding legislation.

The Amsterdam congress recommended that the socialists hold May Day demonstrations under the slogans of the struggle both for better conditions for the working class, and for the preservation of peace. It passed a resolution condemning the persecution of Jews in Russia. It was decided to hold the next international socialist congress in 1907 in Stuttgart. The ISB did not receive the right to postpone its convocation.

Thanks to the stronger revolutionary trend in the international working-class movement and their own determination, the revolutionary socialists made significant progress at the congress. All of its resolutions were largely Marxist, with the exception of the one on social insurance and se-

¹ *ISK ... 1904*, S. 50.

curity, although they were somewhat flawed. Of particular importance were the resolutions on the international rules of socialist tactics and on strikes. Despite the support of the conciliators, the social-reformists and the followers of revisionism and ministerialism were defeated on nearly every issue. They failed to retain the positions in the International that the "rubber" resolution of 1900 had secured them. However, a decisive break did not occur. Although the congress revealed the increased threat stemming from the social-reformists' stepped-up activities, only the Tesnyaki, Daniel De Leon and Rosa Luxemburg demanded a complete break with the revisionists. Not one at all dared demand the expulsion of social-reformists from the International. They stayed in the working-class movement and continued to enjoy considerable authority and were active in it. The congress also exposed the growing strength and danger of the conciliators who used the slogan of unity and closer collaboration to prevent the revolutionary socialists from ultimately breaking with the social-reformists, and forced them to compromise with the revisionists and ministerialists for the sake of preserving unity.

The Amsterdam Congress was the focus of attention of socialists in many countries. "The eyes of the entire conscious proletariat are now turned towards Amsterdam," wrote *Het Volk*.¹ The congress received greetings from nearly every country. It definitely made an important contribution to the working-class and socialist movement, offering the proletariat a new weapon, a mass strike, associating the campaign against monopolies with the proletarian struggle for political power, defining the most urgent tasks of the socialists in the campaign against colonialism, and pointing out the significance of the revolutionary movement in Russia. It further strengthened the position of the revolutionary trend in the international working-class movement.

The revolutionary workers welcomed the congress with particular enthusiasm. However, the revolutionary socialists were not blinded by their success. They realised that even the most determined and drastic resolutions of the congress were not free of faults, because they failed to draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxists and revisionists and left a loophole for conciliatory policies. The Bolsheviks

¹ See: *The Socialist Standard*, September 1904.

were rather critical of the resolution on the international rules of socialist tactics, and considered the resolution on unity ridiculous and prejudicial. The resolution on the rules of tactics was sharply criticised for its inconsistency. Many revolutionary socialists realised that the outcome of the congress left a lot of room for anxiety: the revisionists had remained in the International and enjoyed considerable support.

The social-reformists were dissatisfied with the congress. In *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Engelbert Pernerstorfer repeated again and again that the socialists should collaborate with the bourgeois governments in the effort to introduce "radical reforms".¹ German trade-union leaders protested against the establishment of the international rules of socialist tactics. Vexed by their failure to get the Adler-Vandervelde suggestion approved, the social-reformists were out for the blood of those who had refused to supply the one vote they had sorely needed. *La petite République*, the paper of the French Socialist Party, carried publications in the Anseele spirit. The social-reformists refused to recognise the congress's decisions that did not promote their ends. Hoping to provoke them into attacking the Marxists the bourgeois press exaggerated the sharpness of Guesde's and Bebel's speeches, exaggerated the significance of Jaurès's defeat and loudly commiserated with him. "Our leader," the *Figaro* wrote, "has sustained a crushing defeat."² Bourgeois papers wrote that in Dresden, August Bebel smashed German revisionism and in Amsterdam, international revisionism. The *Vossische Zeitung* carried a long article entitled "The Rout of Revisionism".³ Sympathising and commiserating with revisionists, the bourgeoisie hoped that they would still be able to combat the revolutionary trend.

Like the majority of socialists, the conciliators welcomed the results of the congress. However, they tried to obscure the differences that had emerged at it and played down the dangers of revisionism. They spread reassuring half-truths about the congress's unity, and extolled the resolution on party unity as the crowning achievement of the congress.

¹ Edgard Milhaud, *La tactique socialiste et les décisions des congrès internationaux*, Vol. II, Paris, 1905, p. 171.

² Ibid., p. 176.

³ *Vossische Zeitung*, 24. August 1904.

In *Die Neue Zeit*, Karl Kautsky called the congress magnificent and, straining the truth considerably, wrote about its unanimity and the importance of the resolution on unity. The *Social-Democrat*, the organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, stated that the Amsterdam congress was the most successful ever and that it had put an end to opportunism. It hailed the resolution on unity. Seeking to depreciate the resolution on the international rules of socialist tactics, which angered the opportunists, Victor Adler protested against the congress defining or modifying the policies of any national workers' organisation. The socialist parties' "independence" that *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* preached, played into the hands of the social-reformists and allowed them to deviate from the resolutions of the socialist congresses.

The complications that the international working-class movement met with as a result of the changed background and the goals of the proletarian struggle at the turn of the century, lack of ideological and political clarity in the socialist movement as a result of the machinations of revisionists and ministerialists and stepped-up activities of social-reformists somewhat slowed down the progress and dissemination of Marxism and explains why the Marxists were rather slow in drawing up the programme and the tactics that would follow the changes under way in the movement. This also explains why the overall ideological and theoretical level of the working-class movement was dropping.

But Marxism was progressing. The revolutionary socialists of Russia, the Bolsheviks, were moving into its front ranks under Lenin's guidance. Drawing upon the consolidating revolutionary trend in the working-class movement, the revolutionary socialists in other countries also demonstrated their ability to move in the right direction and come up with Marxist solutions to new problems.

The fluctuations and instability in the socialist movement were being overcome by a gradual demarcation between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends. Despite the mounting controversy and a change in the correlation of forces between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends, Marxism, as the Amsterdam congress made clear, was still retaining its leading role in the International.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW UPSURGE IN THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The year 1905 opened up a new stage in the history of the Second International. The Russo-Japanese War and the revolution in Russia ended the "peaceful" period in the growth of capitalism, and ushered in the time of cataclysms. The first popular revolution in Russia was the most important event of that period. It was the high point in the upsurge of the world revolutionary movement that lasted up to the outset of the First World War. The first phase of the upsurge, which progressed in leaps and bounds, encompassed the Russian revolution of 1905-1907.

The specific features of the activities of the Second International in those years were determined primarily by the change in the objective conditions in its development, and also by the changes that it was undergoing itself, its potential in general, and the correlation between the various trends within it. Each of these factors, which interacted to produce a wide range of combinations, merits a special analysis.

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By 1905, the characteristically imperialist features of social, economic, ideological and political development common to a large number of countries had become much more pronounced. As a result of the economic boom of 1904-1907, world industrial production rose by 13 per cent, and world trade, by 18 per cent. This growth, by which the monopolies benefited the most, was associated with an increase in the number of industrial workers to 80 million. The worker was subjected to increasingly harsh exploitation and oppression. With the labour productivity rising in general by at least 10 per cent, the growth of wages

lagged behind the price growth almost everywhere, and in 1905-1907 the real wages were lower than before in most countries. Neither the wages nor the insignificant reduction of working hours and somewhat better social insurance could make up for the intensification of labour made possible by the spread of more sophisticated methods of exploitation. Even in the good years, from 3.7 to 5 per cent of British and from 5.9 to 6.9 per cent of American workers were unemployed. A significant number of workers were jobless in the other capitalist countries as well.

Exploitation of office workers and other middle strata was also getting worse. Despite the fact that at the time of the economic boom rural and urban petty producers and tradesmen did brisker business, they were becoming increasingly dependent on the banks that gave them loans and the corporations that monopolised the purchase, procession and retail trade of their produce. Taxes were steadily increasing.

To consolidate its ideological and political stand, monopoly capital used both a potpourri of social demagoguery and petty concessions, and harsher repressions against mass protest action. The bourgeois elements, from reactionary militarist groups to radicals, were closing their ranks against the growing socialist movement. To varying degrees, this was discernible in Theodore Roosevelt's course in the United States, the line of the British Liberal government, whose social policies were directed by Lloyd George, the policies of the French radicals (especially Clemenceau, who was in power in France), Joliot's Liberal government in Italy. It was evident in the actions of the Bülow government of Germany, which was preparing a new Anti-Socialist Law, the ruling quarters of Austro-Hungary, and the government of Russia shaken by the revolution. On the one hand, there were the anti-trust laws in the USA protecting strikes from court action by employers, better insurance in Britain, the separation of the church from the state in France, the introduction of universal suffrage in Austria and the elections, the Duma and the promise of democratic freedoms in Russia, and on the other, the autocracy's brutal mass reprisals against participants in the revolution, the shooting down of mass demonstrations in France, the use of the police and troops against strikers in the USA, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Portugal, and other countries. At

the same time the Catholic bodies in Germany, Italy, Belgium and France stepped up their political action, using social-Christian demagoguery to promote their own, and the finance oligarchy's interests. In virtually every country, reactionary elements extended ideological, political and financial aid to Russian tsarism. Many were willing to render military aid as well. Liberals, although they recognised that Russian life must be made more democratic, still disapproved of the "extremes" of the revolution and did not deny their support of tsarism.

The imperialist powers continued to expand the colonial system and increased its exploitation thereby dooming hundreds of millions of people to poverty and starvation.

A revision of the spheres of influence was the goal of the Russo-Japanese war that took 556,000 lives and cost \$2,500 million. In 1905 a war between France and Germany very nearly flared up over Morocco. In preparation for the war for the re-partition of the world, all the world powers increased their war budgets. In 1905-1906, Germany and Britain qualitatively increased their navies. France signed a treaty with Japan and promoted an agreement between Britain and Russia, which was the final point in the formation of an alliance between Britain, France and Russia against Germany and Austria-Hungary. International tension and the war threat were mounting.

The sway of monopoly capital exacerbated all contradictions, which had led to major cataclysms as early as 1905-1907, including the popular revolution in Russia, a new wave in the working people's movement for democracy and social progress in Europe and North America, a revolution in Iran and anti-imperialist outbursts in India, and triggered off a large-scale campaign for national liberation. The prime movers in these events were the masses, with the working class acting as their vanguard in the more developed capitalist countries. The scope of the movement, the involvement in it of large numbers of people, and the leading role of the working class were the features that differentiated the new upsurge from the earlier ones.

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The epicentre of the eruption was Russia, a knot of class and national contradictions of all kinds, which became

extremely embittered during the years of the tragic war with Japan.

The 1905-1907 revolution in Russia was the first popular outburst of the imperialist period. Its purpose was to abolish the autocracy and the other remnants of feudalism, opening up the way for socialism. It was to the advantage of the broadest strata, and above all workers and peasants, to see this goal attained. Involved in this effort were not only Russians but Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, the Caucasian and the Central Asian peoples. The bourgeoisie, which feared large-scale action of the masses it was exploiting, and seeking to attain a compromise with tsarism, was unable to lead the movement. The Russian proletariat proved "*sufficiently mature politically*" to wrench away "*the leadership of the movement from ... bourgeoisie*".¹

The working class was the leader and the principal moving force of the popular revolution. It had a revolutionary party which was steadily gaining strength and which defined and consistently pursued a Marxist line adapted to the situation of revolution. This line made use of all the methods of struggle and gradually united the majority of organised workers.

"A specifically proletarian weapon of struggle, the strike, was the principal means of bringing the masses into motion and the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave-like rise of decisive events."² Two-thirds of Russian workers were involved in the strikes. In 1905, there were 2,863,000 strikers, in 1906, 1,108,000, and in 1907, 740,000. An exceptional place belonged to mass political strikes in January, May and in summer, and, finally, the all-Russia political strike in October 1905, in which about two million workers took part. Participants in political strikes comprised the majority of all strikers.

The fierce resistance of reaction, which used armed force to suppress the mass outbursts, right from the start compelled workers and peasants to take up arms also. In urban and rural areas in the Urals, Siberia, the Volga area, the Transcaucasia and the North Caucasus, and the Ukraine, workers

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, 1974, p. 375.

² V. I. Lenin, "Lecture of the 1905 Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, 1964, p. 239.

tried to attain the revolution's main goals by force. The peak of this struggle was the December 1905 uprising in Moscow.

The Soviets of Workers' Deputies, a new type of organisation, designed to guide the mass strike movement and the armed action, workers' professional unions, which soon became mass bodies, were mushrooming.

A mighty wave of peasant uprisings swept over the country: there were more than 6,700 of them in three years. For the first time in world history, the proletariat formed and led alliances with the peasantry "*dozens and hundreds of times*, in the most diverse forms."¹

Actively involved in the revolutionary action were soldiers and sailors. A major uprising flared up on the battleship *Prince Potyomkin-Tavrichesky*.

The Russian proletariat extended all manner of assistance to the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations of the Russian Empire, which, in its turn, boosted working-class action against the autocracy. Their interaction, with the proletariat retaining its leading role, helped the Russian people start forming a united front against their oppressors.

The first popular revolution in Russia failed, but it did shake the foundations of the autocracy, wrenched a number of concessions that the revolutionaries subsequently used later. It identified the revolutionary elements and consolidated and strengthened them. Its lessons had a tremendous significance. As Lenin put it, "Without the 'dress rehearsal' of 1905, the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible."² The experience of revolutionary workers' party in a popular revolution, of the proletariat leading a struggle for democracy, of holding political strikes and uprisings, setting up the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, forming an alliance with the peasantry, involving the servicemen into the revolution and staging joint action with other oppressed nations had a truly worldwide significance. This was the Russian revolution's contribution to the world working-class movement, the most important ever. It gave a powerful impetus to the development of theoretic-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Aim of the Proletarian Struggle in Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, 1973, p. 371.

² V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—An Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 27.

cal issues, and above all, to the research conducted by Russian Marxists. Despite its failure to overthrow the autocracy, a revolutionary goal of the Russian working-class movement yet to be attained, the truly heroic struggle of the Russian working class made it the vanguard of the international revolutionary movement.

The enormous impact made by the Russian revolution was proof of this. Fighters for the working people's emancipation, democracy and national independence perceived it as a call for action and an inspiring example. "The Russian revolution," noted the Prussian Ministry for Internal Affairs with concern, "has overflowed the boundaries of the Russian Empire and is exerting an influence on the entire international Social-Democracy giving it a very radical aspect and adding a certain revolutionary energy that it has not yet had everywhere to this degree."¹ The experience of the Russian revolutionaries and the issue of the use of the "Russian methods" in other conditions provided subject-matter for an animated discussion between socialists and participants in national liberation movements. The solidarity campaign with the Russian revolutionary movement launched by workers' organisations and other progressive forces was gaining size. The impact made by the revolution promoted the working-class and democratic movements in European countries and awakened the oppressed peoples in Asia, America and Africa to the realisation of the need to fight for their rights.

Deeply rooted in many countries, the upsurge of the working-class movement in 1905-1907 encompassed nearly all capitalist states. Its characteristic features were an unprecedented increase in the number and scope of strikes, a larger share of mass strikes in general and political ones in particular, especially the people's powerful action for democracy and against reaction and militarism, which often ended in clashes with the police and the troops, and the beginning of unrest in the army.

Over the next three years, more than 31,000 strikes involving about 5 million people took place in nine different countries. The number of strikes and strikers was the highest in 1906. The year 1907 brought about a decline, but by and large, the movement remained stronger than in 1905.

¹ See: I. Krivoguz, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, p. 272.

The countries that produced the highest number of strikers were Italy, Austria, France and Belgium, where, in general they also had the broadest scope. In 1905-1907, each strike involved more workers than before. The strikes had a particularly mass character in Britain, Belgium, Italy and France, as well as in Argentina. Very persistent action was staged by strikers in Britain, Germany, France, Sweden and Canada.

The information about strikes found in contemporary press allows for the conclusion that the number of strikes advancing political programmes, from the demand to hire a certain person fired for political convictions to changes in the legislation and democratic reforms, had grown substantially in comparison to the preceding period.

The strike movement as a whole had an offensive nature. In 1905 in Germany, offensive strikes constituted 60.9 per cent of the total and involved 91.5 per cent of all strikers. The action of French workers, who demanded an 8-hour working day, had the same character. This was also true in Austria, Hungary, Britain and other countries, where working people campaigned for better conditions and broader rights. The greatest successes were scored by economic strikes in Austria, Sweden and France.

The strike movement of 1905-1907 was fused with a powerful campaign for more democratic electoral systems in a number of the German states, as well as in Austria and Hungary, as well as with the action for better legislation covering social issues and more extensive rights for the working people in Italy, France, Britain, Bulgaria, and Serbia.

The socialists were putting up a better fight in parliamentary and local elections, where more and more people were voting for workers' parties almost everywhere (Switzerland and the United States were the two exceptions), despite the onslaught of reaction. By 1906, workers' parties had won 6,235,869 votes in 12 countries, and by 1907, this number had reached 6,789,641. All in all, despite the fact that the socialists held fewer seats in the German and Italian parliaments, the number of socialist deputies in the 11 countries that had Social-Democratic parliamentary factions grew from 227 to 330, i.e., nearly by one and a half times. Among the members of the Danish parliament, 21 per cent considered themselves socialists; in Bel-

gium, the figure was 18 per cent, in Austria, 17 per cent, and in Germany, 10.9 per cent. In 1907, the SDPG had over 2,000 deputies in the community self-government bodies. In France, the socialists won 2,639 seats in the communes and in the municipal bodies. The Labour Party of Belgium had 441 deputies in the provincial representative bodies and the 193 communities (in 22 communities, its representatives constituted the majority). In Denmark, the Social-Democrats had 850 seats in 170 town and community self-government bodies. A large number of mandates in the local representative bodies was held by socialists in Austria, Italy, Britain, the United States and other countries that enjoyed bourgeois-democratic freedoms.

Mounting economic and political struggle assumed the form of clashes between the police and the troops with demonstrators and also spontaneous ill-prepared action in individual enterprises and towns.

An almost unbroken chain was formed by powerful economic and political actions of workers in different countries. In 1905, many of them had international significance. In January, the Ruhr miners staged a strike involving 240,000 people. In February, there were strikes involving a large number of Parisian workers, and in Belgium 80,000 miners.

Unprecedentedly large-scale action was staged on 1 May, 1905. Austrian workers demanded universal suffrage and direct elections. In Hungary, the people campaigned for more democracy. Mass strikes took place in Spain. In May and June, a wave of strikes swept over France in which strikers clashed with the police and the troops.

The autumn of 1905 was particularly eventful. Large-scale and successful strikes were held by the arsenal workers in France, as well as by employees of the naval department in Brest, Toulon, Cherbourg, and Lorient. The more class-conscious Hungarian workers stated: "Until now, we have been begging, but now we shall knock on the doors of parliament. We shall burst in and, if necessary, take up arms."¹ On 15 September, the first mass political strike in the history of Hungary was held in Budapest. It was accompanied by demonstrations. The Hungarian workers called the day

¹ See: T. Islamov, *The Political Struggle in Hungary in the Early Twentieth Century*, Moscow, 1959, p. 218 (in Russian).

Red Friday. In October, workers of all the Austrian railways went on strike. In late October-early November, mass demonstrations took place in Vienna and Prague. Tens of thousands of people went into the streets carrying posters saying: "Give us universal suffrage!" "What the Russian workers have achieved, we must achieve also!"

The workers' movement assumed impressive dimensions in Austria and Czechia (250,000 people took part in a demonstration in Vienna and 150,000 in Prague). The campaign for more democracy in Austria and Hungary struck the very foundations of the "patchwork monarchy".

In the autumn of 1905, a strike was launched by the electrical industry workers in Berlin. Throughout Germany, the solidarity movement began and rapidly gained momentum. "Had the workers chosen offensive tactics," trade union leaders believed, "the fire could have swept over all of Germany."¹ In November and December, powerful demonstrations involving thousands of workers who demanded democratisation of the electoral system in Saxony were held in Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz. A general political strike began in Helsinki. Having formed a Red Guard and elected a Soviet of Workers' Deputies, Finnish workers supported by the Russian revolutionary movement won autonomy and one of the most democratic constitutions of the time for their country. In Bulgaria, the first mass political demonstration and a mass political strike took place.

Quite a few powerful actions took place in 1906, thus in January, Hamburg witnessed a strike involving 100,000 workers who decided "to use all means available against each attempt to reduce the meagre rights of the people."² This was the first mass political strike in Germany. On the anniversary of the Russian revolution, workers in Prussia, Saxony, Hamburg and Lübeck conducted mass demonstrations demanding universal, equal, direct, and secret elections. Workers in Bavaria and Baden were able to expand their electoral rights.

At the Parliamentary elections in Britain, 335,000 voters (almost ten times the number of 1900) voted for the candidates nominated by the Committee of Labour Represen-

¹ See: B. Aizin, *The Upsurge of the Working-Class Movement in Germany Early in the 20th Century. 1903-1906*, p. 274 (in Russian).

² *Hamburger Echo*, 7. Januar 1906.

tation. "The principal outcome of the elections is the workers' dissociation from the bourgeois parties," wrote Ph. Rothstein.¹ A workers' faction began to function in Parliament and the ruling quarters were forced to agree to concessions. In May, about a million French workers went on strike and held demonstrations demanding shorter working hours. In the elections, the socialists won 12 per cent more votes than in 1902. This month was the peak of the French working-class movement of that period. The workers forced the bourgeoisie to grant them a weekly day of rest.

In Bulgaria, the miners of Pernik, whose strike had lasted throughout the summer, won freedom of association, an 8-hour working day and a pay rise. A general strike of railway workers took place in December.

Large-scale demonstrations of the masses continued in 1907. In Germany, for example, reaction and Social-Democracy clashed during the elections to the Reichstag. The Social-Democrats received eight per cent more votes than in 1903, although the reactionary quarters managed to deprive the Social-Democratic Party of Germany of two-thirds of the mandates it formerly held.

In the USA, a strike was launched by Goldfield miners, during which armed conflicts occurred between the workers and the troops. It began in spring, and ended with success in autumn. In spring, electricians in Paris and transport workers in Belfast (Britain) also went on strike. In Belfast, workers fought the troops that were sent against them. One of the major strikes of 1907 was that of the 40,000 agricultural workers in Ferrara (Italy).

In many countries, the upsurge of the working-class movement coincided with peasant action. In Hungary, the poorer peasants and hired labourers waged an active campaign for better conditions, and in 1907, the country already had 600 local groups uniting 50,000 hired agricultural workers who supported the Social-Democrats. In Czechia, "since the autumn of 1905, the peasantry took part in the struggle of the Czech proletariat for democratic rights."² Referring to the year 1906, the Austrian author-

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, 1905-1906, Bd. 2, S. 790.

² See: *A History of the People's Revolutionary Movement in Czechoslovakia*, p. 215 (in Russian).

ities noted: "The time of major peasant unrest has come."¹ In Finland, the Lapps held a congress, at which 400 delegates representing 50,000 people supported the Social-Democrats' policies. In Italy, a new form of peasant action was the establishment of cooperatives for joint use and cultivation of the land. The Romanian peasants' struggle against atrocious conditions and the landlords' arbitrary rule finally turned into an armed uprising. "The uprising of 1907," wrote V. Vinogradov, who did extensive research on the subject, "was one of the major revolutionary actions undertaken by the people in Europe in the early 20th century."² A wave of peasant demonstrations against higher taxes rolled over France. In Montpellier, 600,000 wine-growers took part in the demonstration against the government's tax policy. In some places, the peasants set fire to police stations and smashed prefectures.

Unrest among soldiers and sailors was spreading in a number of countries. In Germany, the crew of the *Frauenlob* cruiser raised a red flag. The Austrian battleship *Panther* followed the example of the Russian *Potyomkin* and arrested its officers. Sailors in Portsmouth (Britain) refused to obey the commanding officers' orders. In France, soldiers of the 17th regiment rose to the defence of the peasants. Their battlecry was, "We must defend our folks, they are getting killed!" Sailors' uprisings broke out on a number of Portuguese naval vessels.

Coinciding with the popular revolution in Russia, the powerful rise in the working-class movement and peasant action in other countries were the revolution in Iran, mass anti-imperialist movement and large-scale strikes of Indian workers, peasant unrest in the various provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the heroic struggle of the Army of Justice organised by the Korean patriots against the Japanese invaders, the establishment of a revolutionary organisation headed by Sun Yat-sen and the uprising in Ningxian in which workers were the principal force for the first time. These events differed substantially from the armed resistance to the German colonialists and earlier uprisings of colo-

¹ S.Ovnanyan, *The Upsurge of the Working-Class Movement in Austria (1905-1906)*, Moscow, 1957, p. 183 (in Russian).

² V. Vinogradov, *The Peasant Uprising of 1907 in Romania*, Moscow, 1958, p. 3 (in Russian).

nial and semi-colonial tribes and nationalities. They signified a new and much more vigorous stage in the national liberation movement, which was led by the national bourgeoisie and in which the proletariat played an important role.

All in all, 1905-1907 witnessed changes in the alignment of forces in the world: the working class became more active socially and politically and acquired increasingly determined allies, both in the middle strata, more importantly, in the peasantry of the capitalist states, and among the peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies who were becoming more and more active in the national liberation movement.

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The build-up in the social and political role of the working class was associated with the growth of the working-class movement and the consolidation of socialist parties. In 1905-1907, these parties substantially increased their membership. In 1907, 18 socialist parties embraced 2,414,000 people, an increase of over 20 per cent from the year 1904. By the spring of 1907, the RSDLP membership had reached 150,000. In one year (up to the summer of 1907), the membership of the SDPG had increased by 45 per cent and reached 550,000. The other socialist parties were in a similar situation. In the summer of 1905, they were joined by the Committee of Labour Representation reorganised into the Labour Party, a mass organisation which declared the "establishment of public ownership of all means of production"¹ as its goal. In 1907, the socialists of Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Province set up the South-African Socialist Association. Socialist unions were formed in Brazil and Bolivia.

The rapidly growing youth socialist organisations were becoming extremely valuable and useful to all the socialist parties. Added to the unions established earlier were now youth organisations in Hungary, Denmark, Finland, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. They embraced over 59,000 young people.

Socialists initiated and organised mass action for better labour conditions, against exploitation, for broader

¹ *Mouvement socialiste*, 1907, No. 188, p. 57.

rights and democratisation. Expanding their propaganda campaign, the socialist parties published about 400 newspapers, with more than a third of them dailies. They printed and distributed hundreds of leaflets, with copies running into hundreds of millions. There were more books and pamphlets expounding the policies, principles and goals of the socialist parties, especially the works of Marx, Engels and other leaders of the socialist movement. The RSDLP was making a noticeable contribution to this effort; it was skillfully using the opportunities for legal work that had expanded at the time of the revolutionary upsurge.

The efficiency of the socialist parties' organisational, political and propaganda activities was testified by an influx of new working strata into the working-class movement. In 12 countries, the number of people voting for the socialist parties rose by 8 per cent, and the number of mandates received by the socialists in parliaments, by nearly 50 per cent. Even in Russia, where the Second Duma did not have genuine rights and where the elections were not universal, equal, or direct and were held against the background of mounting political reaction, the RSDLP received almost 15 per cent of the mandates. If all the left-wing parties are taken as a whole, they received about 43 per cent.

The socialist campaign promoted the growth of trade unions, which were attracting more and more people by defending their economic interests. Over the years 1905-07, in 13 capitalist countries union membership rose from 7.6 to 10.44 million, i.e., by over 37 per cent. The mushrooming Russian trade unions embraced over 245,000 people as early as in 1907. In 1905-07, the number of trade-union members rose more than 2.5 times in Norway, doubled in Sweden and Hungary, and grew by 60 per cent in Italy. Their organisational standard rose. As a rule, it was not guild but production unions that formed and grew at the most rapid rate. Trade unions were becoming more active, making a larger contribution to political campaigns, especially in Russia, the United States, Britain and Romania.

Millions of workers were joining the cooperative movement, which was quite closely associated with the trade unions and agreed with the line pursued by the socialist parties. "The army of the proletariat," wrote Lenin, "is gaining strength in all countries. Its class-consciousness, unity, and

determination are growing not by the day, but by the hour."¹

How capably each socialist party was able to lead the mounting revolutionary movement was becoming increasingly dependent on the ability of the revolutionary socialists to develop Marxism and adapt it to the changing conditions, to rebuff revisionism, and on the relationship between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin were demonstrating such an ability and were making a place for themselves among the front ranks of revolutionary socialists.

Since the outset of the Russo-Japanese War, the Bolsheviks campaigned to expose its imperialist character. They declared their wish to see the tsarist government defeated, and thereby gained an advantage over the Mensheviks, who failed at that time to work out a clear stance. They further stated that it was necessary to begin practical preparations for revolution. They were planning to turn the imperialist war into a civil one against the autocracy. Having analysed the new situation, the Third Congress of the RSDLP pointed out that the proletariat "was being called upon to perform the leading role in the general democratic movement in Russia."² Lenin's assistants and allies in the work to map out this course were Leonid Krasin, Sergei Gusev, Alexander Badayev, Nikolai Bauman, Mikhail Tskhakaya, Bogdan Knunyants, and Fyodor Sergeyev, to name but a few. By exposing the weakness and treachery of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks tried to lead the revolutionary-democratic movement of the peasants as well as to strengthen the bonds between the workers, the poor peasants and the rural proletariat.³ They were also trying to win the intelligentsia, students, the other middle strata and the urban petty bourgeoisie over to the side of the workers. They campaigned for the unity of left-wing elements and combatted the S.R.s claim to leadership in the revolutionary movement. The Bolsheviks fought against the adventurist plans and tactics of the leftist groups, which at-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, 1972, p. 93.

² *Minutes of the Congresses and Conferences of the All-Union Communist Party (B.). The Third Congress of the RSDLP. April-May 1905*, Moscow, 1937, p. 472 (in Russian).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

tached absolute significance to armed struggle and even demanded an immediate socialist revolution. They worked to neutralise the damage done by the uncertainty and conciliatory behaviour of Popular Socialists and the Trudoviks.

The Bolsheviks advocated the formation of a provisional revolutionary government that would implement a minimum programme proposed by the RSDLP. Their Third Congress provided a Marxist solution to the question debated by the Social-Democracy for a number of years, i.e.—the socialists' participation not in a reactionary but in a revolutionary bourgeois-democratic government. It was stated that the Social-Democrats could accept a seat in a government "for the purpose of relentlessly combating all counter-revolutionary attempts and defending the independent interests of the working class."¹ This could be done only on precisely defined terms: strict party control of the representatives' activities while working on the government, complete independence of the Social-Democracy, and constant pressure upon such a government from organised and even armed proletariat.

The Bolsheviks worked out the means to consolidate the proletariat's leading role so as to place it "into the most advantageous conditions for the struggle for socialism."²

In his work "Two Tactics of the Social-Democracy in a Democratic Revolution" Lenin mapped out the prospects for the uninterrupted development of revolution, the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry for the purpose of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution and effecting an immediate transition to socialist revolution. He discussed how to turn a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.

Lenin regarded the revolutionary national liberation movement of the oppressed nations as an ally of the proletarian struggle. He emphasised the need and the possibility of joint action by the working people of all nations against the oppressors.

The Bolsheviks not only made it amply clear that in the situation prevailing at the time, proletarian victory was impossible without armed struggle and the use of coercion but

¹ Ibid., p. 474.

² Ibid., p. 472.

they also devised new tactics of armed struggle, the need for which had been pointed out by Engels.

Making an extensive use of parliamentarism for the revolutionary propaganda among the working strata and the preparation of mass action, the Bolsheviks realised that the bourgeois parliament should be abolished as soon as the working class was strong enough to do it and set up its own bodies of political power. Placing a high value on the revolutionary creative effort of the masses, they considered the Soviets centres of the uprising and rudiments of revolutionary power. Lenin forecast that they could become the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Bolsheviks exposed the unsoundness of the abstract and dogmatic tactics proposed by the Mensheviks. The latter believed that the democratic revolution should be led by bourgeoisie, that the idea of the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry and the growth of the revolution into a socialist one was utopian, that the time of armed uprisings was past, etc.

Aware that the workers were striving towards unity and that the establishment of a single proletarian party would consolidate the leading position of the working class, and seeking to get closer to the workers who were still siding with the Mensheviks and win their confidence, in 1906 the Bolsheviks held the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP. Through a compromise achieved on a revolutionary platform, the congress secured collaboration of the Bolsheviks, the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, the Mensheviks and the Bund. Within the boundaries of the united RSDLP, the Bolsheviks guided by Lenin, increased their campaign against opportunists and capitulators and were able to get the Fifth Congress held in the spring of 1907 to pass Bolshevik decisions on the key issues which determined the Party's long-term policies. Despite its defeat, the popular revolution bolstered the revolutionary trend and provided an impetus for the development of revolutionary theory.

Tested by the fire of the revolution, Lenin's ideas armed the Bolsheviks and made an important contribution to the development of Marxism. The failure of the popular revolution in Russia, which had taught the Bolsheviks a number of important lessons, did not diminish the value of the experience gained in the struggle nor did it undermine the rev-

olutionary theory, which by that time had made substantial headway.

* * *

The Russian revolution was welcomed and supported abroad, although socialists differed as to its lessons and its advancement of the revolutionary theory, especially their value for dealing with the problems of the working-class movement in their countries. While revolutionary socialists popularised the experience of the Russian revolution, sided with the Bolsheviks' line and tried to put them to use, social-reformists censured the "extremes" of the revolution, particularly the armed action. They disagreed with the Bolsheviks' policies and, treating the revolution as a bourgeois one, did not consider it possible to use its experience in the "civilised" countries. It turned out that among socialists, there was a fair share of fluctuating elements, who were initially enthusiastic about the Russian revolution but later became disappointed and questioned its outcome and ideas. The debate concerning the experience, lessons and ideas of the Russian revolution widened the ideological and political gap between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends and confronted the less determined and convinced sections with a difficult choice.

The consolidation of the revolutionary trend was rooted in the specifics of each individual country; the features of the revolutionary socialists' views and actions were determined by the situation prevailing in their country and by how the working-class movement was progressing there.

A significant step forward was made by the revolutionary, left-wing, Social-Democrats in Germany, who came to the conclusion that the working-class movement had entered a new stage, and that "the time has come when evolution becomes revolution".¹ They resolutely and daringly opposed the policies pursued by Kaiser Germany's ruling quarters and did their best to prepare the proletariat for a socialist revolution in the course of their campaign for democracy. Criticising the SDPG's reassessment of parlia-

¹ *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der SDPD. Abgehalten zu Jena vom 17. bis 23. September 1905*, Berlin, 1905, Verlag: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, S. 320.

mentarism, the left-wingers emphasised the decisive significance of mass action and raised the question of a mass political strike in Germany in its direct relationship to the campaign for more democracy. They believed that the social-democrats "must use any popular revolutionary movement and place it under their leadership in the service of their class policies"¹ and insisted that "at the time of open popular political struggle in Germany, the matter at hand is only the dictatorship of the proletariat as the last historically necessary goal".² These ideas were theoretically expounded upon in Rosa Luxemburg's book *The Mass Strike, the Party and the Trade Unions*.

The revolutionary Social-Democrats fought against militarism and campaigned for the establishment of a "headquarters" within the SDPG that would direct the effort. They maintained that a war between capitalist states could be turned into a war of the proletarians against their own bourgeoisie. Liebknecht developed this idea in his book *Militarism and Anti-Militarism in the Context of a Study of the International Working Youth's Movement*. He wrote: "He who has the youth has the army";³ his goal was to direct the socialist movement of the youth into revolutionary channels.

German left-wingers supported the Bolsheviks' tactics and exhorted the Social-Democrats to learn from their experience. They never ceased their effort to expose the bourgeois core of the various trends of revisionism, and criticised some of the SDPG leaders for being overly pliant in their attitude towards social-reformists. The German left-wing Social-Democrats were drawing closer to the Bolsheviks. At the Fifth RSDLP Congress, Rosa Luxemburg voiced agreement with their tactics.

The social-reformists were opposed to them. At the Cologne congress of the free trade unions, which the workers nicknamed the congress "of trade-union functionaries"⁴

¹ *Minutes of the Congresses and Conferences of the All-Union Communist Party (B). The Fifth Congress of the RSDLP. May-June 1907, Moscow, 1935, p. 454.*

² Rosa Luxemburg, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Bd. I., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951, S. 233.

³ Karl Liebknecht, *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*, Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow, 1917, p. 179.

⁴ *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, 17. Juni 1905.

it was stated that the SDPG effort was in vain, that the free trade unions were a mightier force than the Party and that the latter should cease its political activities. The congress demanded "peace in the working-class movement".¹ It prohibited discussion of the idea of a mass political strike and demanded that the number of economic strikes be limited. The social-reformists insisted that "the attainment of political power is no more than winning over the majority of the people by our ideas",² and demanded that the Party sacrifice revolutionary and internationalist principles so as to attract petty bourgeoisie. Preaching the need "to defend the fatherland" come what may and advocating the build-up of the German army, they ignored the character of the impending war and spread nationalistic and chauvinistic ideas among the workers. In total disregard to the facts, they considered the Russian revolution a strictly bourgeois one and, as Rosa Luxemburg said, "understood nothing and learned nothing".³

At the Jena congress of the SDPG held in 1905, Bebel delivered a critical speech against the right-wingers. The congress described the mass political strike as an "efficient method of the struggle".⁴ As Lenin wrote, this exercised "considerable influence on the entire international labour movement by giving support and strength to the revolutionary spirit of militant workers".⁵ In many German towns, workers were getting ready to launch a mass political strike and even expelled the opportunists from the Party. However, in February 1906, the SDPG leadership, which feared that the confrontation would increase, agreed to make concessions to the right-wingers. It decided not to conduct propaganda of a mass political strike and recognised

¹ *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des fünften Kongresses der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands abgehalten zu Köln a. Rh. vom 22. bis 27. Mai 1905*, Berlin, Verlag der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands (C. Legien)h 1905, S. 221.

² *Protokoll ... zu Jena, 1905*, S. 322.

³ *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der sozial demokratischen Partei Deutschlands abgehalten zu Mannheim vom 23. bis 29. September 1906*, Berlin, 1906, Verlag: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, S. 261.

⁴ *Protokoll ... zu Jena, 1905*, S. 143.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, "The Jena Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, 1965, p. 200.

that the trade unions need not have anything to do with it. After the defeat of the Russian revolution, many SDPG leaders renounced its experience and lessons. Even Bebel believed that the trade unions should remain neutral and recognised the possibility of a cultural colonial policy. As Lenin put it, those were "mistakes of a person with whom we are marching along the same route and which could be rectified only in this, Marxist, social-democratic way".¹

The left wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria demanded that "Russian be spoken". In 1906, at the SDPA congress, the leadership, which procrastinated on the matter of organising mass action, was subjected to unprecedentedly scathing critique. Victor Adler and other leaders declared that the key to the solution of all the problems was universal suffrage, but did not advocate granting this right to women. The revolutionary socialists initiated mass action that forced concessions from the ruling circles.

However, after the defeat of the Russian revolution and the SDPA's success at the elections, party leaders concentrated on parliamentarism increasingly leaning towards collaboration with the ruling circles, especially when dealing with the national question, which was becoming more heated. K. Renner developed the principle of national and cultural autonomy and a blueprint for a state made up of national communities not confined to a definite area. Their autonomy was reduced to cultural matters, the way of life and customs. Seeking to restrict national interests in this manner and turn the nations into "personal public organisations within a state",² Renner hoped to make his project acceptable to the Austrian ruling quarters. This played into the hands of the nationalists and threatened to split the proletariat, although the multi-national SDPA was still termed "a small International". However its main force was still the workers, and their mood was mostly revolutionary.

In the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary, whose base was formed by the trade unions and which "had no political workers' organisations proper"³, the leadership of the

¹ *Lenin's Miscellany*, XXVI, pp. 31-32 (in Russian).

² See: R. Schpringer, *The National Problem. (The Struggle between the Nationalities in Austria)*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 65 (in Russian).

³ *Die Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale, Berichte...* S. 163.

revolutionary Social-Democrats exhorted the workers to "follow the example of our Russian brothers and, should the need arise, rise to the defence of our rights as resolutely as the Russian revolutionaries have done".¹ The Party recognised the mass political strike as a weapon in the struggle for universal and equal suffrage and staged a number of such strikes. It also stepped up its campaign among the national sections of the working class and the peasantry.

However, the party leadership believed that the ruling quarters were going to do what they had promised to do and as a result did not use the available opportunities for unleashing really mass action. One of the leaders, Siegmund Kunfi, wrote that "the Hungarian Social-Democracy is now fighting for the bourgeoisie's chance to rise, it is a midwife of bourgeois society".²

The Tesnyaki in Bulgaria, who were fighting against anarcho-liberals and the Progressists, managed to consolidate their party ideologically and politically. In his book *Apropos the History of Socialism in Bulgaria*, Dimitr Blagoev developed a Marxist concept of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement and outlined its prospects. The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party of the Tesnyaki concentrated on organising mass action and popularising the experience of the Russian revolution. One of its prominent members, Kh. Kabakchiev, wrote that in the process of revolutionary struggle, "the political mass strike makes necessary and creates another, new means of struggle to be used by workers, i.e., *armed resistance*".³ The Tesnyaki were gaining prestige among the workers. The Shiroki considered petitions and demonstrations to be an extreme means and concentrated on parliamentarism in the campaign for minor reforms.

In a bid for more democracy, the Serbian social-democrats held political strikes and sought to use the experience gained by the Bolsheviks in Russia. Their newspaper *Radnik* carried articles by Lenin and other Bolsheviks. In 1906, the congress of Serbian Social-Democrats condemned the various manifestations of opportunism. In Romania, the

¹ See: *The History of the Hungarian Revolutionary Working-Class Movement*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1970, pp. 62-63 (in Russian).

² *Die Neue Zeit*, Nr. 27, 1905-1906, Bd. 2, S. 88.

³ See: O. Pantsuktilova, *The Working-Class Movement in Bulgaria in 1905-1907*, Moscow, 1956, p. 48 (in Russian).

consolidation of the revolutionary trend made itself felt in the transition from work in socialist groups to strikes and demonstrations; steps were taken to resurrect the Social-Democratic Party.

In the Kingdom of Poland, whose share in the strike movement of the Russian Empire was the impressive 47 per cent of the overall number of strikes and involved 45 per cent of the strikers, the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania headed by Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marchlewsky and Felix Dzerzhinsky organised mass economic and political strikes as well as armed insurrections of Polish workers and peasants, in spite of the fact that it did oppose the self-determination of nations, did not have an agrarian policy and underestimated the role of the Soviets and the Party. In the spring of 1906 it joined the RSDLP and supported the Bolsheviks at the London Congress.

The leadership of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) with Józef Pilsudski at its head was waiting for the moment when the Russian tsarism would be at its weakest so as to gather strength and win independence for Poland. The youth movement, with H. Walecki and M. Bielecki as its leaders, was also gaining in strength. They opposed the nationalists' position and maintained that the Polish revolutionary movement should be part of the revolution that had spread throughout Russia. The left-wingers had an advantage in the PPS leadership and campaigned for its cooperation with the RSDLP.

In Finland, an extraordinary congress of the Social-Democratic Party held in November 1905 elected a new leadership which did not rule out mass action, as the old one did. The right-wing leader I. Kari was expelled from the Party. Left-wing Social-Democrats were working to establish ties with the RSDLP, were active in the countryside and among young people, and helped the Party attain a success at the elections to the Sejm. The leftwingers in the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden, which was fighting for complete and unconditional recognition of Norwegian self-determination, advocated a mass political strike. They were opposed to Branting's view of parliamentarism and the alliance with liberals. Norway having attained independence, the country's right-wing socialists tried to boost the idea of monarchy, but the left-wingers were demanding a republic.

The Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland made a step forward when in 1906, its congress protested against the use of troops for suppressing strikes, and urged soldiers to refuse to comply with the officers' orders.

Even at the height of the strike movement, the Belgian Labour Party's congresses approved the proposals of reformist leaders to form an alliance with the liberals. Nevertheless, in 1907 when Vandervelde tried to gain support for a resolution approving the annexation of the Congo, the congress voted it down.

In Holland, the Social-Democratic Labour Party leaders, including Troelstra and Vliegen, became carried away with parliamentary struggle for very minor reforms and the promotion of cooperatives, adapted their policies to the interests of rich farmers, did not oppose colonialism and were not averse to cooperating with bourgeois ministers. In the pamphlet *Marxism and Revisionism*, Hermann Gorter and Anton Pannekoek exposed the true character of this opportunist course. The party congress criticised the left-wingers, but the latter did not dare to effect a break: Henriette Roland-Holst declared that their differences with the leadership were no deeper than the conflict between the left- and right-wingers in the SDPG.

Drawing on the resolutions of the Amsterdam congress, the Socialist Party of France initiated the socialists' unification. A joint declaration by the socialist organisations on unification stated that the French Section of the Socialist International must be "not a party of reforms but a party of the class struggle and revolution".¹ The unity congress of 1905 approved the Rules that provided for the party's centralisation, and mapped out party tactics in the spirit of the declaration. The ministerialists led by René Viviani and Aristide Briand found themselves outside the section.

This, however, did not mean that dissent was a thing of the past. Jean Jaurès, who founded *L'Humanité* and won the appreciation of both the workers and the socialists by his impassioned speeches in defence of peace, democracy and the Russian revolution, was still a captive of social-reformist illusions. The revolutionary socialists still led by Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue managed to gain support

¹ *Die Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale Berichte...*, S. 50.

for the decision according to which participation in a bourgeois government automatically placed a socialist outside the Party. However, a number of issues remained unsettled. While Lafargue tried to involve the syndicates into revolutionary action, Guesde insisted that they should confine their activities to "good reformist work"¹ and showed indifference towards the mass strike movement. Guesde was in error maintaining that a purposeful anti-militarist campaign was unnecessary, while Lafargue believed, quite erroneously, that a war between European powers was improbable.

The revolutionary socialists saved the Party from sliding to the right, but as far as its policies were concerned, the initiative passed to Vaillant and Jaurès. Rejecting Gustave Hervé's adventurist demand that any war be met with a general strike and an insurrection, the French Section defined the lines of struggle against militarism and the threat of war, from parliamentarism to general strikes and insurrections, and demanded disarmament of the bourgeoisie and giving weapons to the proletariat. It resolutely condemned colonialism and stressed the Section's internationalist principles. Believing the differences between the French Section and the General Confederation of Labour (GCL) to be a misunderstanding, party leadership did not do anything to get in touch with the syndicates nor to enhance the socialists' influence there. Concentrating on propaganda and parliamentary activities, which many workers found more or less futile, it regarded mass action as a supplementary means, thus playing into the hands of anarcho-syndicalists. In 1906, the GCL congress in Amiens adopted a charter that demanded relentless class struggle and expropriation of the capitalists, but also declared that the syndicates were the only legitimate organisation of the working class. The charter renounced political action and stated that the general economic strike was the means of changing society and preventing war.

In Italy, the social-reformists, including Turati, Bissolati and Bonomi, tried to confine political action of the Socialist Party to election campaigning and parliamentarism, turn it into an appendage of the parliamentary faction, and to confine its goals to liberalisation of the electoral system.

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Nr. 7, Bd. 1, 1906-1907, S. 231.

This depreciation of the position and the tasks of the Socialist Party was very much to the advantage of the anarcho-syndicalists led by Labriola and Leone, who advocated a revolution organised and accomplished by the trade unions. They opposed the monarchy, focussed mostly on mass action and strikes, and advocated a general strike. They used a great deal of "revolutionary" phraseology, but had adventurist inclinations. In 1907, anarcho-syndicalists set up their own trade-union centre, the Association of Labour Chambers.

The integralists, represented by Ferri and Morgari, to name only two, sided with the reformists. At the Italian Socialist Party congress held in 1907, the bloc of integralists and reformists defeated the syndicalists. At the reformists' insistence, the congress approved collaboration of socialists with the bourgeois parties and even discussed the possibility of their supporting a bourgeois government. Bissolati later wrote: "Integralism is nothing but disguised reformism".¹ The revolutionary socialists, who advocated the idea of mass proletarian action and were not at that time supported by the majority in the Italian Socialist Party, criticised both reformists and integralists.

The leadership of the Socialist Party of Spain was dominated by social-reformists. Leaders of the General Workers' Union advocated neutrality in the political campaign. This made it impossible for the socialists to suppress the anarchists who, having adopted an anarcho-syndicalist programme, penetrated many trade unions and enjoyed considerable authority among the workers.

Opportunists stood in the way of victory of the socialist ideas in the British labour movement, but in 1905-07, these ideas were gaining ground more rapidly than before. The transformation of the Committee of Labour Representation into the Labour Party (LP) signified the working strata's step towards the socialist movement and socialist parties. The Independent Labour Party's leaders discouraged it from developing a socialist programme. At their insistence, the ILP conference of 1905 stated its disapproval of the Russian methods of the struggle. But within the ILP, a left-wing trend led by James Larkin and Albert Victor Grayson was gaining strength. Criticising the Labour parlia-

¹ *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Nr. 11, 1906, S. 291.

mentary faction for toeing the bourgeois line to excess, they demanded more decisive action against government policies. Remaining outside the Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Federation sought, as Harry Quelch put it, "to indicate the right way".¹ It opposed colonialism and militarism, fought against reaction, and tried to involve the trade unions in political action. An increasingly notable role was performed by the revolutionary trend headed by Theodore Rothstein and John Maclean. Rothstein advocated Bolshevik tactics and principles. He attacked the Labour Party's leadership for their refusal to adopt a socialist programme and for giving in too much to the bourgeoisie. A segment of left-wing Social-Democrats advocated that the Social-Democratic Federation join the Labour Party in an effort to enhance their authority among the body of workers.

In the United States, revolutionary ideas were gaining ground more quickly in 1905-07 than during the preceding period. The small Socialist Labor Party of the USA headed by Daniel De Leon fought against the trade unions' neutrality in the political action, but, instead of stepping up work in the American Federation of Labor, it tried to set up new unions. The dogmatic and sectarian character of its activities gradually acquired an anarcho-syndicalist slant. The more popular Socialist Party stepped up propaganda of socialist ideas, conducted it in trade unions, including the AFL, and initiated and organised strikes. Its left wing led by Eugene Debs considered revolution essential and adhered to an internationalist stand, although its theoretical base was somewhat weak. Victor Berger, however, tried to confine its work to a campaign for minor reform and propaganda of the so-called national socialism, i.e., revisionism bolstered by references to the specific features of the American way. The right-wingers' position was boosted by Morris Hillquit, who rejected the use of coercion to attain the victory of socialism and urged the Party to protect skilled workers against competition from cheap labour, i.e., the Chinese and Japanese, by stopping immigration. He was supported by the SP Executive Committee.

In a bid to find new methods for struggle and new organizational forms, various left-wing groups set up (in 1905) an association called the Industrial Workers of the World

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1906-1907, S. 274.

(IWW), "a single production union encompassing all industries"¹ that was designed as a "purely economic organisation involved with none of the political parties" but "founded on class struggle".² It led major strikes, quickly built up a membership of 60,000, and became the centre towards which the revolutionary elements in the American working-class movement gravitated. To consolidate its influence, the AFL leadership, which fought bitterly against the IWW, advanced a bill "on the workers' needs" that provided for better labour conditions, the introduction of the 8-hour working day, etc.

In Japan, the Socialist Party, which acquired its final shape in 1906, recognised that parliamentarism was not enough and decided that "socialism could be attained only through direct action by organised workers".³ This line, pursued by the so-called hard-liners, was opposed by the social-reformists, the so-called soft-liners. But the "hard-liners" failed to find a sound course and got trapped in anarcho-syndicalism.

The upsurge in the world revolutionary movement, and especially the popular revolution in Russia, helped revolutionary socialists step up their action and win greater prestige nearly everywhere. The principal outcome of this tendency was the progress of Marxism, which entered a new stage, and the elaboration of a new course that was suited to the new conditions. The greatest contribution to this effort was the work of Lenin.

The social-reformists' opposition to the mounting mass action, the advancement of Marxism and the updating of the political course in a number of countries slowed the progress of the working-class movement. Social-reformists used the defeat of the Russian revolution to try and discredit the experience of the Russian revolutionary movement and obstruct the development of the revolutionary course in other countries. This widened the gap between the social-reformists and the revolutionary socialists, even though the masses were increasingly striving for unity.

¹ *Bill Haywood's Book*, International Publishers, New York, 1929, p. 177.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Essays on the History of the Working-Class Movement in Japan*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 50-51 (in Russian).

The disappointment in social-reformism displayed by some of the working strata and the socialists' occasional procrastination when dealing with really urgent problems were used by anarcho-syndicalists to exploit the people's revolutionary mood to expand its influence, especially in the trade unions.

It turned out that many socialist party leaders and activists guided by Marxist ideas failed not only to grasp the generally significant features of the Russian revolution, but also did not realise that great changes had taken place in the world. This caused them to oppose a renovation of the political course and the development of Marxism, and to grasp at the old principles and ideas which were efficient during the peaceful time but unsuitable in the revolutionary period.

* * *

In 1905-1907, the workingmen's international solidarity became stronger, and their cooperation expanded and became more diversified.

In this work, an increasingly significant part was performed by the International Socialist Bureau, which seemed "to realize the great hopes of the socialist movement...".¹ The ISB Executive Committee (Camille Huysmans was appointed its secretary in 1905) strengthened its ties with the socialist parties. The ISB plenary meetings of 1905-07 attracted socialists from 12-13 countries, representing a variety of trends, from Troelstra and Anseele to Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin, although the latter, having become the RSDLP representative in the ISB after the Third Congress and corresponding with it since the summer of 1905, was actually able to take part in its sessions beginning only in 1907.

An important piece of work performed by the ISB was the draft Rules of the International. The Rules were discussed after Van Kol's report at the ISB plenary meeting of 15 January 1905. The draft submitted to the plenary meeting of 4-5 March 1906 was accepted as the basis for the Rules. The International's ideological and political plat-

¹ *The International Socialist Review*, Chicago, Vol. VII, 1906-1907, p. 53.

form was outlined in accordance with the resolutions passed by the congresses of 1893 and 1896 and did not take into account the resolution of the Amsterdam congress of 1904 against revisionism and ministerialism. The right to take part in the congresses, i.e., the International, was granted to "all associations that agreed with the fundamental principles of socialism", and fought for socialisation of the means of production, the proletariat's international unity and "acquisition of public power by the proletariat organised into a class party".¹ It was extended as well to trade unions that adhered to the stand of class struggle, recognised the need for political, especially parliamentary action although they did not actually take part in political struggle. It was pointed out that "the masses of the population living under the same government will be considered as nations"² and that each national section would have two votes in the ISB and from 2 to 20 votes at the congresses depending on the party's membership and the influence of the socialists upon the masses, trade unions and cooperatives and parliaments. The Rules outlined the procedure for preparing for the congresses, for the publication of draft resolutions and for budgets, etc.

In November 1906, the ISB plenary meeting approved the draft statutes of the Interparliamentary Committee which stated that the IC, of which all parliamentary factions of the International's parties could be members, was to work under the ISB, and issue the principal decisions of the international socialist congresses pertaining to the goals and the character of the socialists' work in parliaments. There were also plans to set up an Information Bureau, analyse parliamentary activities and the laws of all countries, and to hold plenary meetings of the Interparliamentary Committee.

In an effort to promote the implementation of the resolutions passed by the Amsterdam congress on the socialists' unity in each country, the ISB concentrated on the socialist movement in individual countries. In January, a plenary meeting approved Vaillant's and Bracke's reports on the

¹ *Bureau Socialiste Interantional. Comptes rendus des réunions Manifestes et circulaires*, Vol. I, 1900-1907, Paris, Mouton, 1969, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

work to unite the French socialists. The ISB Executive Committee welcomed the formation of the French Section of the International. Attempts to help overcome the split in the RSDLP undertaken by some ISB members, who did not understand how deep its sources were and who were prejudiced in the first place, were not successful. However, in the end, the ISB Executive Committee hailed the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP.

Of major importance was the ISB's action against wars and the arms race. In January 1905, the ISB plenary meeting exhorted socialists in all countries to campaign for their governments' neutrality and the effort to stop the war between Russia and Japan. The ISB hailed "the heroic socialists of Russia", approved the activities of the Japanese socialists and voiced its assurance that the united revolutionary forces would put an end to the war by fighting against tsarism. In March 1906, the ISB Plenary meeting approved a resolution submitted by Vaillant stating that if the war threat really escalates, the socialist parties of the countries that were likely to be involved in it should immediately get in direct contact and launch joint action. The ISB was to map out a course for all organised proletariat to follow. In the summer of 1906, the Interparliamentary socialist conference decided that in this eventuality, the Interparliamentary Committee would be convened simultaneously with the ISB for the purpose of defining joint action to be taken to preserve peace.

Seeking to consolidate international contacts, the ISB met to hear reports of individual socialist parties and trade-union associations; its secretariat published reports of the socialist parties of 14 countries on the campaign for an 8-hour working day. The IC called on the socialists to step up agitation for a legal introduction of the 8-hour working day. The ISB got in touch with Sun Yat-sen, to whom the Iranian revolutionaries and representatives of the Indian national liberation movement were appealing.

The most illustrious feat performed by the ISB at that period was international action in support of the Russian revolution. Between early 1905 and August 1907, 24 out of 43 documents issued by the ISB directly pertained to questions of the Russian revolution. As early as January 31, it issued the manifesto "To the Workers of All Countries!", which exhorted them to render effective support to the

Russian proletariat and advocated mass action. The ISB stressed the international significance of the Russian revolution and the leading role the proletariat performed in it. "The international proletariat," the manifesto published by the ISB Executive Committee in the summer of 1905 on Lenin's initiative read, "cannot remain indifferent towards this tremendous struggle against the blind forces of reaction."¹ The ISB urged the socialists to take up a collection for the benefit of the Russian revolutionaries and the victims of counter-revolutionary terror. In the course of only one year, the ISB's "Russian Fund" received 70,000 francs from socialist organisations, trade unions, cooperatives and individuals. The money was distributed among Russia's revolutionary organisations. It was used to purchase arms, medicine, publish literature, and give aid to the victims of police reprisals. Money continued to come to the Fund even after the revolution had been defeated.

On the ISB's appeal, the anniversary of Bloody Sunday in St. Petersburg was commemorated in France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Britain by mass meetings and demonstrations of solidarity with the popular revolution in Russia.

In March 1906, the ISB plenary meeting proposed to stage socialists' parliamentary action (especially in France, Germany and Britain) against tsarism and the assistance it was receiving from the governments of the world powers. The May Day appeal "To the Workers of All Countries!" declared that in Russia, "the proletariat is a factor and the greatest hope of the revolution".² The most common May Day slogans were those of solidarity with the revolutionary movement in Russia. In the autumn of 1906, the ISB called on all socialist parties to fight against loans to the tsarist government and to give material aid to the socialists of Russia during their participation in the elections to the Duma.

The movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Russian working people became the most mass one in those years. All the congresses of socialist parties stated their solidarity with the Russian revolutionary movement even

¹ *Le Peuple*, 30 Avril 1905.

² *Bureau Socialiste International. Comptes rendus des réunions...*, Vol. I, p. 203.

if they disapproved of the "extremes" it went to (i.e. armed action), and did not consider its experience applicable to their own countries. Other workers' organisations, including those largely inclined towards bourgeois reformism, also declared their solidarity with the people of Russia.

In nearly every country, mass action in support of the Russian revolution took place.

Ever since February 1905, reports about the working-class movement in Russia were read at large-scale meetings in Germany. "Speeches on the subject," wrote Rosa Luxemburg, "couched in revolutionary terms provoked enormous enthusiasm among the mass of workers."¹ Powerful demonstrations staged by German workers as a sign of solidarity with the proletariat of Russia took place on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday and on 1 May 1906. At the initiative of the SDPG, by the spring of 1907, German workers had collected 339,000 marks to assist the victims of tsarism. *Leipziger Volkszeitung* exposed and condemned the Kieser's plan to send the cruisers *Lübeck* and *Hamburg* to Peterhoff in order to rescue the royal family. At the Mannheim SDPG congress, Karl Liebknecht said: "No sacrifice for our Russian friends is too great for us."²

In January and February 1905, thousands of people in Vienna, Prague and Budapest took part in meetings devoted to the events in Russia. Prague workers sent an address to the Russian proletariat, which read, in part: "We consider your struggle our struggle and promise you tangible assistance."³ On the Russian revolution's first anniversary, workers in Austria-Hungary stopped work and held meetings and demonstrations in support of the Russian proletariat. In the summer of 1906, concerned by the threat of a counter-revolutionary invasion of Russia, the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary stated: "A response of the international organised proletariat to the intervention of international imperialism would be a revolution, so deep has the Russian revolution penetrated into the life of all countries, and so

¹ Rosa Luxemburg, *The General Strike and the German Social-Democracy*, Petrograd, 1919, p. IV (in Russian).

² Karl Liebknecht, *Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, Bd. I., September 1900 bis Februar 1907, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1958, S. 193.

³ See: *A History of the Revolutionary Movement of the Czechoslovak Peoples*, p. 158.

crucial is its success to us."¹

Romanian workers warmly welcomed the revolutionary crew of the *Potyomkin* which had arrived in Constanza, and set up a Society for the Assistance to Russian Sailors. Bulgarian revolutionaries supplied Russian socialists with Bulgarian passports and helped deliver revolutionary literature written in Russian to Odessa. Serbian Social-Democrats stated that "the victory of the Russian proletariat is at the same time a victory of the Serbian working class, an international victory".² Italian workers launched strikes, protesting against the atrocities of tsarism. They wanted to form armed detachments to be sent to Russia to assist the revolution. In Italy, more money had been collected for the benefit of the victims of the autocracy in Russia than in any other country.

In February 1905, powerful demonstrations in support of the Russian revolution swept over France. After the Bloody Sunday, the *Labour Leader* wrote: "All Britain is against the Czar and his Government today."³ The Labour faction in Parliament raised their voices against the British government rendering aid to the tsar. The Social-Democratic Federation issued an appeal to the British workers, which read, in part: "The cause of the Russian people is essentially the cause of the people of England. Assisting it, you will, at the same time, actively assist yourself."⁴ Over £975 were collected in Britain for the benefit of the Russian revolutionaries.

At the initiative of the trade unions, Dutch sailors sent arms and 2 million cartridges for Russia's revolutionary soldiers.

Immediately after the Bloody Sunday, Eugene Debs and Jack London initiated a collection for the RSDLP in the USA to help it "in its grand battle".⁵ The inaugural

¹ See: T. Islamov, *Political Struggle in Hungary in the Early 20th Century*, p. 343.

² See: *The First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and the International Working-Class Movement*, Part II, p. 474.

³ *Labour Leader*, January 27, 1905 (see: *The Marxist Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 3, July 1955, London, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., p. 176.

⁴ *The First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and the International Working-Class Movement*, Part II, p. 159.

⁵ See: *The International Socialist Review*, Vol. V, 1904-1905, p. 495.

congress of the Industrial Workers of the World stated: "We, the industrial unionists of America ... urge on our Russian fellow-workers in their struggle ... and pledge our moral support and promise financial assistance."¹ Everywhere, meetings of solidarity with the revolutionary proletariat of Russia were held.

Workers' organisations' cooperation was also developing along other lines. At the time when the Franco-German relations deteriorated over Morocco, rallies were held in Germany, France, Britain and Austria-Hungary whose participants demanded that peace be preserved. The socialists of Italy and Austria launched joint protest action against the conflict over Trieste. Swedish workers protested against the attempts of their country's government to retain control over Norway. Workers abroad collected and sent 158,030 marks to the striking Ruhr workers, in many countries, people supported the French miners and metalworkers. Danish workers, who were involved in a strike and subjected to lockouts, received 369,486 kroner from abroad. Belgian workers' assistance (they sent 100,000 francs) secured the success of Amsterdam workers. During the textile workers' lockout in Belgium, the victims' children were taken into workers' families in Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Workers in many countries raised their voices in support of one of the IWW leaders, Bill Haywood.

The trade unions were also building up their international contacts. In the three years (1905-1907), eight international branch trade-union secretariats were set up. By 1907, their number had reached 24. In the autumn of 1905, an international trade-union conference in Amsterdam voted for further consolidation of international solidarity. Declining the proposal of the French syndicates to launch a general strike, it stated that trade-union conferences should deal with only organisational and technical issues, while the questions of tactics of the working-class movement should be left for consideration by the international socialist congresses.

Generally speaking, in those years, as Emile Vandervelde noted, the International was "increasingly becoming an association of all working-class forces which are conducting political and trade-union campaign for the emancipation of

¹ *Bill Haywood's Book*, ... p. 187.

labour and expropriation of capitalism".¹ Of greatest importance for the international consolidation of the working class and its advancement to the forefront in the world revolutionary movement, which continued to make headway despite the failure of the Russian revolution, was the next international socialist congress.

* * *

The Seventh International Socialist Congress was held in Stuttgart on 18-24 August 1907. Its draft agenda and the norm of representation had been worked out by the International Socialist Bureau, which decided against an equal distribution of the votes (2 for each delegation). It suggested that the German, Austrian (including Czech), French, Russian and British delegations be granted 20 votes each. Italy, 15, the USA, 14, Belgium, 12, Denmark, Poland and Switzerland, 10, Australia, Finland, Holland and Sweden, 8, Spain, Hungary, Norway, 6, the rest, 4, and the delegation of Luxembourg, 2 votes. Reports on the activities of 30 socialist and trade-union organisations in 19 countries were published in three languages. The Stuttgart branch of the SDPG had thoroughly prepared the congress both organisationally and technically. On the eve of the congress, the International Socialist Bureau decided to set up five commissions to draw up the draft resolutions of the congress. Each delegation was entitled to send up to four representatives.

Many of the questions entered on the draft agenda had been discussed in the socialist press and at the congresses of workers' parties long before the congress opened. Most socialists believed that the principal issue to be considered was anti-militarism and the behaviour of the socialist parties in wartime. Among the other items of the agenda were relations between the socialist parties and the trade unions, the colonial policy, the political system of socialism and the position of immigrant workers. A synopsis of the social-reformists' views was carried by the August issue of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. It was bolstered by Leitner's opinion that the Russian revolution had contributed nothing to the socialist movement. Revolutionary socialists

¹ *Die sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale. Berichte, ...* S. VII.

objected to it and advanced their own ideas. *Die Neue Zeit* stressed the decisive role of the forthcoming congress in "defining the main line on all questions pertaining to the international interests of the working class".¹

The alignment of forces at the congress reflected the consolidation of the revolutionary trend in the international working-class movement. Social-reformists were by no means weak, but they could not help reckoning with the moods prevailing among the working people. Opening the congress, Vandervelde said that "the sun never sets in the countries where the red flag flutters", and that "the Russian revolution is not only a bourgeois-democratic revolution but also bears a stamp of the socialist proletariat".² The Russian revolution was the focus at the meeting dedicated to the opening of the congress, at which 23 prominent representatives of the working-class movement from 14 countries spoke before 60,000 people. Klara Zetkin said that the time of great battles was coming and, referring to the Russian revolution as "the greatest event of our time" said that it "was a rehearsal for a number of revolutions in which the proletariat of all countries will break its fetters and conquer the world".³ The meeting was a striking demonstration of international solidarity, the workers' sympathy and trust in the International. Bearing this out was also a stream of greetings arriving at the congress from many socialist and workers' organisations in 19 countries, including Australia, Brazil, Cuba, Transvaal, Germany and Russia.

At the congress, 884 delegates from 25 countries represented about 10 million organised working people.

The largest delegation was Germany's — 150 representatives of trade unions and 139 SDPG delegates. Never before had a German delegation had such diversified membership. Its influential right wing was headed by Carl Legien, Georg von Vollmar, Eduard Bernstein, Philipp Scheidemann and Albert Südekum. The left wing, led by Karl Liebknecht, Klara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, was weaker than the right. Nearly every ballot was preceded by an acrimonious dis-

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd 2, 1906-07, S. 620.

² *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Stuttgart. 18. bis 24. August 1907*, Berlin, 1907, Verlag. Buchhandlung Vorwärts S. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 6.

cussion inside the delegation. It was all the party leadership (Bebel, Singer, Haase) could do to maintain some semblance of unity. It was powerless to prevent a polemic between the German right- and left-wing Social-Democrats at the congress and commission meetings. The German delegation "proved to be unstable, or took an opportunist stand".¹

The British delegation had 123 members. Its majority was formed by the representatives of the Labour Party, who were admitted to the congress by way of exception, because the Party denied the need for socialism. They supported the right wing of the Independent Labour Party headed by James Ramsay MacDonald. At the left flank of the delegation was the Social-Democratic Federation. Having sharply denounced The Hague conference of the imperialist states, its leader Quelch was deported from Stuttgart by the Württemberg government despite the congress's protests. In the French delegation, the discussion of each question brought to light new differences, which led to constant regrouping of its forces. The left wing of the delegation was constituted by revolutionary socialists led by Jules Guesde, Marcel Cachin, and Charles Rappoport. On the right flank was Jean Jaurès, as well as Pierre Renaudel and Marcel Sembat. On a number of questions, they managed to win the support of the majority of the delegation and received assistance from Edouard Vaillant. Among the French were some anarcho-syndicalists, who took an extreme, leftist position. Their mouthpiece was Gustave Hervé.

The Austrian delegation made up of representatives of the social-democracy and the trade unions was united on the platform of the alliance between the conciliators and the social-reformists represented by Victor Adler and Wilhelm Ellenbogen respectively. It made a tangible impact on the work of the congress.

The Russian delegation included representatives of the RSDLP, who held 7 votes, the S.R.s who had 10 votes, and the delegates of the trade unions with 3 votes. Out of the 10 votes held by the RSDLP, four and a half belonged to the Bolsheviks, two and a half, to the Mensheviks, and one to the Bund, the Lithuanian and the Armenian Social-Democrats. The Russian delegation presented a united front on

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, 1972, p. 85.

the issue of the tsarist atrocities and reprisals against the Russian revolutionary émigrés by the reactionary governments of European states. It also behaved as a solid body at the congress's plenary meetings. "The socialists of Russia," wrote Lenin, "*all* voted unanimously on *all* questions in a revolutionary spirit."¹ By and large, the Russian delegation occupied a place at the left wing and significantly affected the decisions of the congress. The Bolsheviks were represented by Lenin, Lunacharsky, Goldenberg, Bogdanov, Bazarov, Knunyants, Tskhakaya, Litvinov, and Semashko. They based their line on the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP and played a leading role in the delegation.

The Bolsheviks were working towards the union of the revolutionary socialists in all countries. At the congress, Lenin met Klara Zetkin. He kept in touch with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Georg von Ledebour, as well as with the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Poland (Marchlewski, Jogiches), Holland, Serbia, Bulgaria and many other countries. At the congress, Lenin initiated a number of conferences of the Bolsheviks with left-wing Social-Democrats from different countries, especially Germany and Poland. They coordinated their actions in the commissions on the issues of militarism, where the Bolsheviks were represented by Lenin, colonialism (Goldenberg) and the trade unions (Lunacharsky). This was an important factor in the success attained at the congress by the revolutionary Social-Democrats.

In the Italian delegation, the majority was made up by integralists (eight votes) and reformists (four votes). The minority, which had three votes, adhered to the anarcho-syndicalist stand.

In the US delegation, the Socialist Party representatives displayed nationalist proclivities, while the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World delegates included advocates of anarcho-syndicalism. The Belgian delegation held a social-reformist stand.

The homogeneous Danish and the somewhat less united Swiss delegations were siding with the SDPG policies and had very little to say. A notable role was performed by the Polish delegation consisting of the branches of the Polish

¹ Ibid., p. 86.

Socialist Party which was divided into two groups, left- and right-wingers, and the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania headed by Rosa Luxemburg and Julian Marchlewski. Holding four votes, the SDKP and L and the right wing of the PPS had a guiding role in the Polish delegation and was a mainstay of the congress's revolutionary wing. The revolutionary trend also included a section of the Bulgarian delegates (the Tesnyaki) headed by Wassil Kolaroff, the Serbs and the representatives of the Japanese socialists.

The right wing of the congress was formed by the delegations of Sweden, Holland, Australia and South America.

The congress rejected the British Independent Labour Party's suggestion that the terms of admittance to the International be revised. "The doors of the international congresses," stated D. Irving, "are opened wide, but only for those who unconditionally recognise socialism and class struggle."¹ No debate was provoked by the draft Rules of the International or the Statute of the ISC prepared by the International Socialist Bureau.

The controversy between right- and left-wingers flared up over the colonial question even when it was discussed in the commission, which consisted of 28 representatives of the various parties. The draft resolution proposed by Ledebour, Wibaut and Van Kol condemned any "policy of plunder and conquest" and stated that the socialists should use parliaments to fight against the oppression and exploitation of colonial peoples. They advocated reforms aimed to improve the lives of the indigenous population and "to promote their education for independence by all available means".² But Terwagne suggested that the congress declare that it does not reject the colonial policy in principle and for eternity. David demanded that the draft state: "The congress considers the idea of colonialism as such an indispensable part of the general cultural goals of the socialist movement."³ This stand was shared by the majority of the commission.

The revolutionary Social-Democrats protested against it. Marchlewski made a speech explaining the anti-popular es-

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 22.

² *Ibid.*, S. 111.

³ *Ibidem.*

sence of the colonial policy and exhorted socialists to fight against colonialism. An energetic protest against the stand of revisionists was voiced by Goldenberg, a representative of the RSDLP.

After animated discussion, David's proposal was defeated by 20 votes against 7, but the majority decided to enter Van Kol's suggestion into the original draft. It recognised, in principle, the necessity of colonialism for the workers. "This proposition," wrote Lenin, "was tantamount to a direct retreat towards bourgeois policy and a bourgeois world outlook that justifies colonial wars and atrocities."¹ The minority headed by Marchlewski, Ledebour and Goldenberg decided to set down its amendments to the draft and demanded a right to make a supplemental report.

At the plenary meeting, the majority in the commission proposed a resolution, which included an introduction written by Van Kol, the main part written by Ledebour, Wibaut and Van Kol, a statement that the colonial policy accelerated the arms race and enhanced the threat of war, and a recommendation to the socialists to campaign in parliaments for an inter-state agreements on the colonial law and the guarantees of the indigenous population's rights.

Van Kol, Bernstein, David, MacDonald and Rouanet advocated social-reformist and chauvinist ideas. They insisted that the socialist parties would be able to attain their goals only through gradual reforms, and referred to capitalism as an inevitable stage in the development of all nations. Revisionists divided the world's population into civilised peoples and the peoples incapable of independent progress and hostile to civilisation. They insisted that "for as long as mankind exists, colonies will also exist".² In an effort to prove that colonies will exist even in the future, the social-reformists stated that the metropolies helped promote their economic and cultural development and that the withdrawal of the representatives of the "civilised world" would throw the colonies back to barbarism. Some believed that the colonialists should "go there with arms in their hands"³ in order to suppress the aborigines' resistance to civilisation.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 86.

² *ISK ... 1907*, S. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 37.



Karl Marx. 1818-1883



Frederick Engels. 1820-1895



Wilhelm Liebknecht. 1826-1900



August Bebel. 1840-1913



Paul Lafargue. 1842-1911



Jules Guesde. 1845-1922



Victor Adler. 1852-1918



Karl Kautsky. 1854-1938



Eduard Bernstein. 1850-1932



Georgi Plekhanov. 1856-1918



The International Socialist Congress of 1891 in Brussels.
The Assembly Hall.



Jean Jaurès. 1859-1914



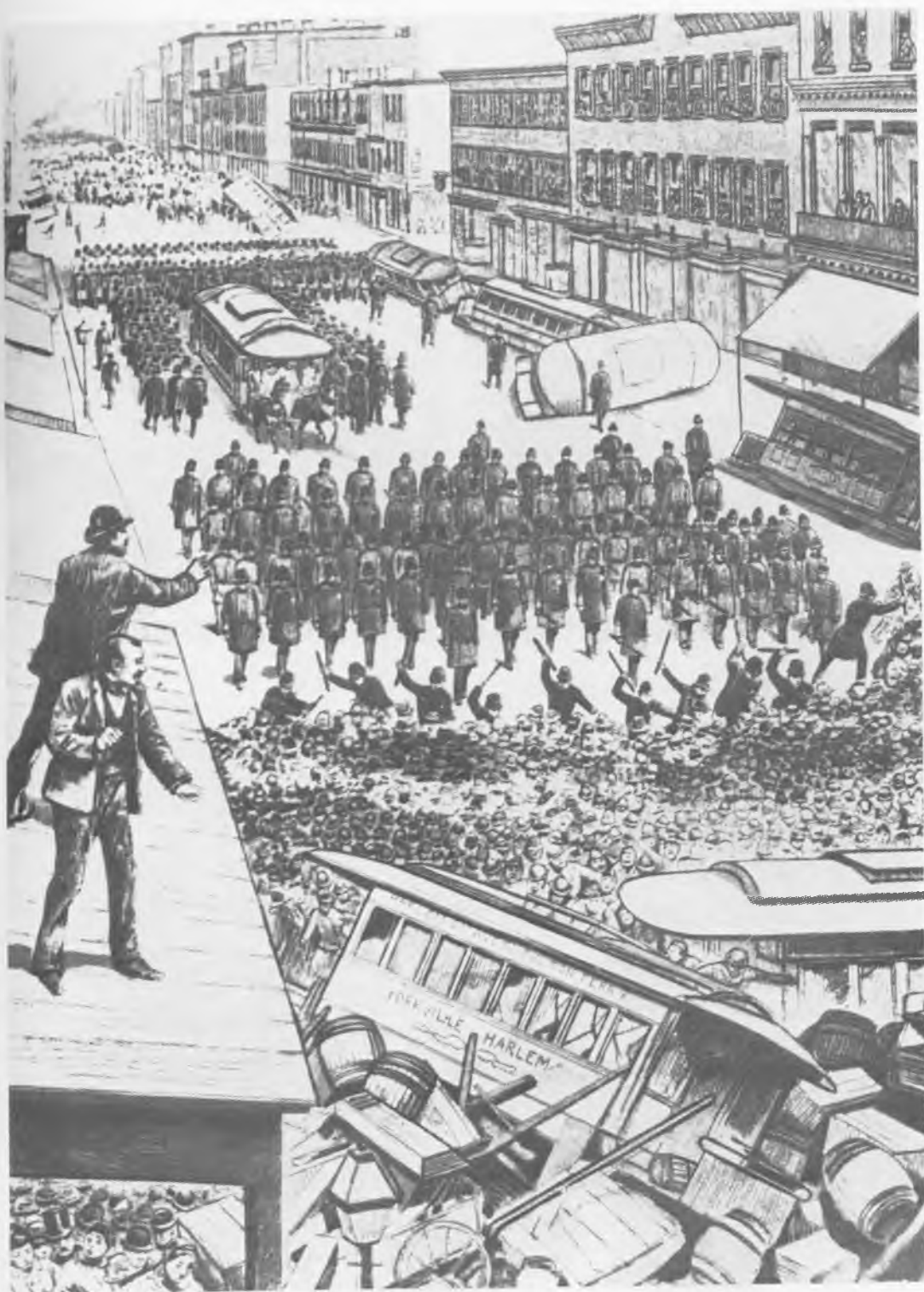
Edouard Vaillant. 1840-1915



Friedrich Adolph Sorge.
1828-1906



Leo Frankel. 1844-1896



The strike of 1 May 1886 in Chicago



Emile Vandervelde. 1866-1938



Filippo Turati. 1857-1932



Andrea Costa. 1851-1910



Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis.
1846-1919



William Morris. 1834-1896



Pablo Iglesias. 1850-1925



César de Paepe. 1842-1890



Henry M. Hyndman. 1842-1921



Ernest Belfort Bax. 1854-1926



Camille Huysmans. 1871-1968



James Keir Hardie. 1856-1915



Daniel De Leon. 1852-1914



Tom Mann. 1856-1941



Eugene Debs. 1855-1926



Engels among participants in the International Socialist Congress in Zurich, 1893.



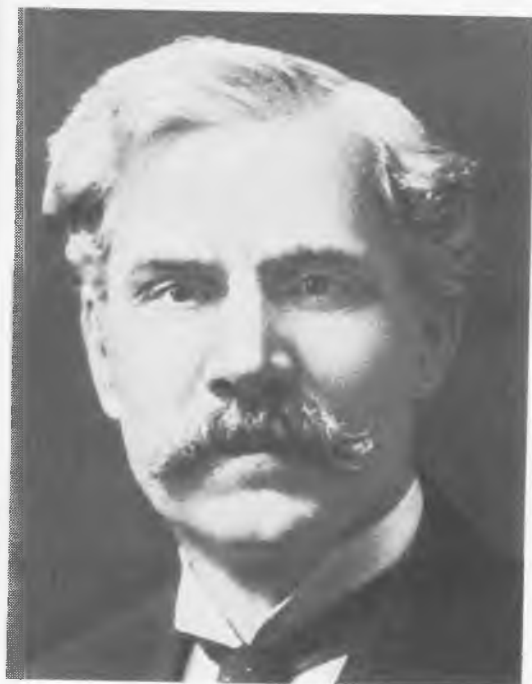
Dimitr Blagoev. 1856-1924



Dimiter Tutzovicz. 1881-1914



Julian Marchlewski. 1866-1925



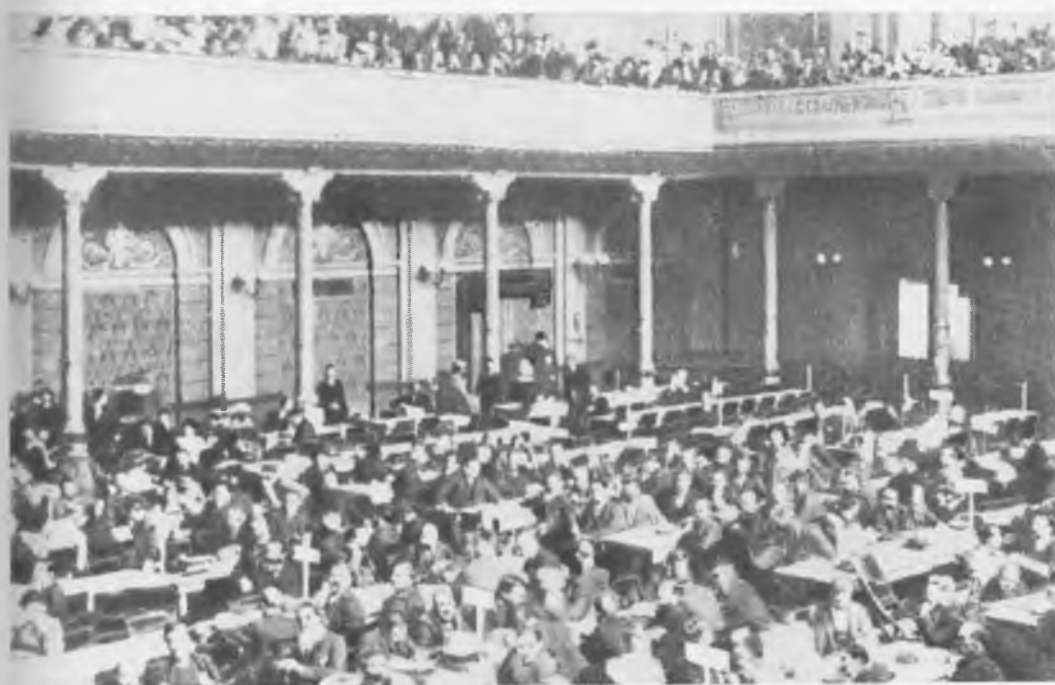
James Ramsey MacDonald.
1866-1937



V. I. Lenin. 1870-1924



Antonio Labriola. 1843-1904



Assembly hall of the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam, 1904



Drafting Resolutions for the Amsterdam Congress



Fighting at the Gorbaty Bridge in Krasnaya Presnya, Moscow.
December 1905



Delegates of the International Socialist Congress of 1907, Stuttgart



Sen Katayama. 1859-1933



William Haywood. 1869-1928



Juli Martov. 1873-1923



Leonid Krasin. 1870-1926



Luis Emilio Recabarren.
1876-1924



Karl Liebknecht. 1871-1919



Delegates of the International Socialist Congress of 1910, Copenhagen



Rosa Luxemburg. 1871-1919



Hjalmar Branting. 1860-1925



Lenin speaking at the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920

The revolutionary socialists submitted their own introduction that read, straightforwardly: "The congress is of the opinion that the capitalist colonial policy essentially leads to enslavement, forced labour or extermination of the indigenous population in colonial regions."¹ They exposed references to the "civilising mission" as a cover-up for the bourgeoisie's policy of conquest. The revolutionary socialists demanded that the paragraph dealing with the international agreements on the colonial law be expunged.

Quelch, Ledebour, Marchlewski, Bracke, Kautsky and Simson spoke in defence of the minority's draft. They stated the opinion that capitalism was not a necessary stage in the development of all countries, protested against the division of the peoples into superior and inferior, and pointed out that the social-reformists were retreating to the ideology of slave-owners, racists, chauvinists and imperialists. "We have no ground," said Julian Marchlewski, "to pride ourselves on our so-called culture and force it on the Asian peoples, who have their own ancient cultures."² The departure of the colonialists, the Marxists were trying to prove, would become a prerequisite of economic and cultural progress in backward countries. They stressed that democracy and, even more so, socialism were incompatible with colonialism, and indignantly rejected the notorious idea of "a socialist colonial policy". "We see the socialist system," stated the opponents of revisionism, "as a brotherhood of nations and races."³ Resolutely condemning colonialism and criticising its advocates, the Marxists said that "the goals that we have in the colonies are, in principle, nearly the same as those in the metropolies i.e., to protect the popular masses from capitalist exploitation, from oppression by bureaucracy and imperialism, that is we are pursuing a social and democratic policy".⁴

Some of the French delegates and Kautsky were prepared to agree to "stalemate". They suggested that the delegates approve Ledebour's, Wibaut's and Van Kol's draft but without the introduction. However, the left-wingers

¹ Ibid., S. 39.

² Ibid., S. 33.

³ Ibid., S. 35.

⁴ Ibid., S. 34.

refused to give in and insisted on an introduction that would make a chauvinistic interpretation of the main part impossible. Their demand was bolstered by the speech of the guest, representative of the Indian National Congress, Bhikajee Kama, who demanded self-determination for the colonial peoples of India. The congress condemned the British colonialists and urged all socialists to fight for the liberation of the Indian people.

The proposal submitted by the minority was passed by 127 votes against 108, with 10 abstentions. The delegations of Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Sweden and South Africa all cast their votes against it. The Austrian and French delegations mostly voted against it, and the Italian delegation placed four votes against. But the draft of the majority was voted down. A blow at chauvinism was dealt by the Russian, American, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Finnish, Romanian, Australian, Argentinian, Spanish, Hungarian and Japanese socialist delegations supported by the bulk of the Italian delegation and some of the French, British and Austrian delegates. Lenin wrote: "The combined vote of the small nations, which either do not pursue a colonial policy, or which suffer from it, outweighed the vote of nations where even the proletariat has been somewhat infected with the lust of conquest."¹

Eduard David demanded separate ballot on the concluding paragraph proposed by the majority of the commission. However, the fluctuating elements withdrew their support, and in the end the congress approved the minority's resolution almost unanimously. The International again showed its commitment to Marxist principles.

The commission on women's suffrage began work by discussing the resolution passed by the first women's international socialist conference. Proposing to adopt it as the basis of the congress's draft resolution, Klara Zetkin insisted that the Social-Democracy reject restrictions on women's suffrage as a matter of principle. Victor Adler and Adelheid Popp, who tried to vindicate the attitude of Austrian Social-Democrats towards women's suffrage, and tried to get the demand for a campaign for universal suffrage for both men and women removed from the resolution. But Klara Zetkin

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 76.

declared: "We consider it a question not of tactics, but of principle."¹ In the long run, the view of the revolutionary social-democrats prevailed.

At a plenary meeting, Klara Zetkin described the campaign for women's suffrage in the context of the new situation and tasks of the working-class movement. She stressed that the workingwomen will be able to win suffrage only "in the class struggle of all the oppressed without distinction on the basis of sex against all oppressors",² and said that its acquisition was valued only as "a vital stage in the struggle for our end goal".³ She described the new phase in the working-class movement as the time of sharper class struggle and the emergence of new methods to be used in it, specifically, the mass political strike. She talked about the lessons of the Russian revolution and mass proletarian action in other countries. Its success, she stated, would have been impossible "without active assistance by proletarian women".⁴

Only Marby, a member of the Fabian society (Britain), defended limited suffrage for women and tried in vain to prove that the bourgeois parties had done more for women's equality than the socialists.

The resolution submitted by the commission was passed by a majority vote; only the Fabians and the representatives of the Independent Labour Party voted against. It said that the socialist parties of all countries were "to work vigorously for universal women's suffrage", and that the socialist women's organisations were to "do their utmost" in that campaign.⁵

Lenin wrote: "In Stuttgart the actual issue at stake was this: neutrality of the trade unions or their still closer alignment with the party?"⁶ At the four meetings of the commission, in which 20 delegates from 11 countries worked, seven draft resolutions, not counting particular suggestions, were proposed. All of them recognised that contacts between the socialist parties and the trade unions were nec-

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 121.

² *Ibid.*, S. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 43.

⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 57.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 87.

essary. The most moderate was the draft advanced by the majority in the French delegation and defended both by the followers of Vaillant and Jaurès and the syndicalists. Its authors proceeded from the conviction that political and trade-union action were two independent lines. This draft was attractive to the syndicalists, who shared the belief that the general strike was an extreme means of trade-union action. The left-wingers sided with the statement that the proletariat's political campaign's goal was the capture of political power, so as to "accomplish the general expropriation of the bourgeoisie".¹ Advocates of the draft, Renaudel for example, strongly objected to a directly stated demand for stronger ties between the socialist parties and the trade unions. They were supported by Plekhanov, who openly advocated the trade unions' neutrality and maintained that in Russia, any alignment of the trade unions with the socialists was out of the question, and that the introduction of political action into the trade-union movement would cripple and divide it.

Another definition of the relationship between the workers' parties and the unions was contained in the draft proposed by the minority of the French delegation. It demanded that the proletariat's political action and the trade-union activities be coordinated in practical terms. This was also the spirit of the draft advanced by the Social-Democratic Federation and presented by MacArthur who resolutely opposed the idea of a general strike. Tremolie's (Italy) draft also provided for an alignment between trade unions and the socialist parties, but only on the condition that the unions would be opened for all workers without consideration for their party allegiance.

The anti-neutralist tendency was outlined most clearly in the draft of the Belgian delegation, which was presented to the congress by Louis de Brouckère. It rejected the principle of trade-union neutrality and stressed the need for collaboration between the party and the trade unions in political and economic action, and the advisability of an alliance. "Since in the trade unions, as in political organisations," wrote Brouckère, "socialism must become the decisive force, the organisations conducting political and

¹ *ISK* ... 1907, S. 105.

trade-union action must be unified.”¹ He was supported by Kautsky, who said that the trade unions cannot help being interested in the victory of socialism, and Lunacharsky, who spoke on behalf of the Bolsheviks and defended “the anti-neutralist viewpoint of the London Congress [Fifth RSDLP Congress] and the Belgian resolution”.²

The prospects of the unions’ joining the party as outlined by Brouckère provoked the objection of many, especially the right-wingers. Robert Schmidt and Carl Legien advocated the unions’ neutrality but did not support the draft of the French majority, since it recommended a general strike. They were ready to recognise the need for contacts between the unions and the party if they were confined to the party’s unconditional support of any actions undertaken by completely independent unions.

Daniel De Léon supported the draft resolution proposed by the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Labor Party. Proclaiming production-based trade unions as the foundation of a republic of labour, these organisations declared the trade unions organised along the guild principle, the mainstay of capitalist society. The draft pointed out that the proletariat needed a political organisation only for propaganda and participation in the election campaigns, while the trade-union organisation was supposed to bolster the ballot and at some point, overthrow capitalism. This draft bore the stamp of anarcho-syndicalism and sectarianism.

However, the majority was inclined towards the draft drawn up by Max Heinrich Beer. He did not insist on organisational unity of the party and stated that “the proletarian struggle will be the more successful and the conditions for it the more favourable the closer the contacts between the trade unions and the party organisations are”.³ His draft read, in part: “Trade unions will be able to do their duty in the liberation struggle of the proletariat only if guided by the socialist spirit in all their actions.”⁴ In view of the fact that Brouckère’s draft had few supporters and that Beer

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 105.

² V. I. Lenin, “The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 78.

³ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 106.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

dealt competently with the main issue, Lunacharsky announced that he would vote for the latter if it incorporated some of the definitions suggested by Brouckère. He was supported by Kolaroff and Kautsky. Beer's draft, which the majority of the commission accepted as the basis, was complemented. First, on the Dutchmen's initiative, it was added that against the background of the growing concentration and influence of capital the trade unions would prove impotent if they concerned themselves only with narrow guild interests or advocated the theory of the harmony of interests of labour and capital. Second, it was stated that the trade-unions' understanding of the conditions of the struggle, as well as their enthusiasm and readiness for sacrifice, stemmed from socialist ideals. Third, the draft came to include a paragraph on the need to build up cooperation between the socialist parties and the unions in the context of the mounting class struggle. Fourth, the commission accepted Plekhanov's tenet on the need to safeguard and consolidate the trade-union movement in each country. Additionally, the commission proposed to instruct the International Socialist Bureau to establish closer contacts with all trade unions that agreed to the terms of admittance to the International and with the International Trade-Union Secretariat, and to promote the study and popularisation of the experience gained in the course of cooperation between the socialist parties and the trade unions in all countries.

The draft resolutions (the commission's and De Leon's), as well as the categorical protest of the French majority against establishing close contacts between the French Section of the International and the French syndicates, were discussed at the congress plenary meeting. Beer and Troelstra presented and defended the draft. De Leon stated, quite groundlessly, that as the draft resolution of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Labor Party was designed to meet American conditions and that since the United States was the most developed capitalist country, the draft should be adopted by the socialists of all countries. Vaillant and Sembat wanted to "prevent the destructive interference of the international decision into special relations developing in France"¹ and championed

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 55.

the principle of the unions' neutrality. The Marxists managed to show sufficiently clearly that these arguments were unsound. Most delegates rejected the principle of neutrality and voted for the majority's draft. It won 212 1/2 votes and only 18 1/2 votes were cast against it. On the basis of Beer's draft resolution, the revolutionary social-democrats managed to win the support of those who were undecided and suppress the resistance of the social-reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. This secured a resolution which, as Lenin put it, "settled the question of the Party's attitude to the trade unions along the same lines as the London resolution, namely, in the Bolshevik spirit".¹

When discussing the question of emigration and immigration, representatives of workers' organisations of Argentina, Australia, South Africa, the Socialist Party of the USA and some of the SDPG delegates (including Pöplow) actually took a chauvinistic, nationalist stand, although they did talk about the class struggle and internationalism. As Lenin wrote, they defended "narrow, guild interests", the "interests of workers in some of the 'civilised' countries, who derive certain advantages from their privileged position, and are, therefore, inclined to forget the need for international class solidarity."² These delegates regarded immigrants as strike-breakers, whose influx makes it difficult to fight for better conditions for the working people. They felt that they were a source of failures and weaknesses in workers' organisations, and a factor lowering the living standard of the proletariat in the more developed countries. Some even insisted that Chinese and Japanese workers were incapable of understanding the class interests of the proletariat and should be banned from its organisations. They were not treated as fellow-workmen; there were demands for a ban or restrictions on their entry, and even for expulsion from developed countries. Calls were heard to save Australia, Germany and other states from the "yellow peril", chauvinistic slogans were reiterated. The resolutions proposed by Ugarte and Hillquit were drawn up in this spirit.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Trade-Union Neutrality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 461.

² V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 78.

The majority in the commission opposed the narrow guild nationalistic approach to the question of immigration. Uhry (France) stated that Hillquit's and Ugarte's drafts "go against the fundamental principle of the Social-Democracy of all countries".¹ Hammer, delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA, said that these drafts were not socialist. Charles Rappoport (the French Section of the International) stated that they were essentially nationalistic. "The proletariat," Zelda Kahan said, "forms one class, and we can not split it from the inside."² Dier (Hungary) and T. Kato (Japan) qualified the narrow guild approach as racist. Hillquit's and Páplow's views were also criticised by the Russian delegate Gisser and Malecki (Poland).

The French delegation proposed a draft resolution drawn up in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It stated that socialists of all countries should protest in parliaments against the deportation of foreign workers and campaign for the same labour protection for them as for the local worker. "It is the duty of socialists," said T. Kato, "to fight against capitalism."³ The speeches delivered by Dier, Ellenbogen and Vliegen contained similar ideas.

The draft resolution presented on behalf of the commission by Ellenbogen was drawn up by the subcommission along the principles of proletarian internationalism. "The resolution fully meets the demands of revolutionary social-democracy," wrote Lenin.⁴ It said that emigration and immigration stemmed from the nature of capitalism and should be considered from a stand of proletarian solidarity. Attempts to hamper emigration and immigration were censured as futile and reactionary. The draft urged to fight against the bringing in of strike-breakers, and restrictions on the entry of workers of certain nations and races. They wanted to make it easier for the immigrants to join the unions, and to expand social laws to cover them. The establishment of minimum wages, aid to the unions of the countries whence the immigrants had arrived, and the improvement of conditions of the transportation

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 113.

² *Ibid.*, S. 118.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 112.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 79.

of migrant workers were all deemed necessary.

At the plenary meeting of the congress, advocates of narrow guild and chauvinistic views did not dare to openly oppose the commission's draft, which was passed by a majority vote.

The commission that was instructed to draw up a resolution on militarism and international conflicts was the largest. Taking part in its work were Lenin, Luxemburg, Bebel, Guesde, Marchlewski, Adler, Jaurès and many other prominent members of the socialist movement. Guests were invited, and Karl Liebknecht among them.

The changed situation and the experience that had been amassed turned the discussion of the socialists' anti-militarist policy into a different channel than at the earlier congresses. Four draft resolutions were submitted for consideration. Twenty-eight people spoke on the issue at the five commission meetings, some more than once. The draft proposed by Bebel reiterated the more general Marxist tenets contained in the resolutions of the International's previous congresses. Exhorting the workers "to employ all of the most efficient means"¹ to prevent a war, this draft did not suggest a concrete programme of action, but merely pointed out the need to expose militarism and arm the peoples. The new situation, as well as the lessons of the Russian revolution and major anti-war action in other countries, were ignored. The goal of the workers in the war was defined far too narrowly "to strive for its early end".² Lenin noted that Bebel's resolution "failed to indicate the active tasks of the proletariat",³ was dogmatic and one-sided.

Guesde's draft was also based on general Marxist principles, but in his case, a completely justified rejection of anarcho-syndicalist recipes for anti-militarist action gave rise to a mistaken refusal to recognise the need for a special anti-imperialist campaign.

Vaillant's and Jaurès's draft, which qualified militarism as a tool of the state used to oppress the proletariat and promote the interests of the bourgeoisie, did not say that wars stemmed from the very essence of capitalism, were

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 86.

² *Ibidem*.

³ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 80.

associated with the fight for markets, and would cease after the victory of socialism. However, the draft did stress the exacerbation of the class struggle and deterioration of international relations, made a reference to the Russian revolution, and advanced the slogan of disarmament of the bourgeoisie and armament of the proletariat. The draft read: "To prevent and obstruct war, national and international socialist action through all available means is required, from parliamentary interference and public agitation to mass strike and uprising."¹ This was an attempt to make a step forward; however, what was lacking was a clear understanding of the changed conditions and the natural link between anti-militarism and the struggle for socialism.

Hervé proposed a draft condemning bourgeois patriotism and the idea of the community of the capitalists' and the workers' national interests, but failed to expose the sources of wars, their relationship to capitalism, and the need to use a differentiated approach depending on their character. He maintained that "any declaration of war, no matter which state it might come from, should be answered with a war strike and an uprising".² The valuable aspect of the draft was justifiable reluctance to confine the anti-war effort to parliamentary methods, the determination to strengthen the proletariat's solidarity and the desire to expose bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

Having concentrated on criticising Hervé's adventurist stand, Bebel advocated the dated idea that in each war, a distinction should be made between the aggressor and the victim. He tried to convince the congress that "no one in the ruling quarters of Germany wants war".³ He considered the Vaillant-Jaurès draft to be a serious concession to Hervé. Defending the SDPG against the accusation of overestimating parliamentary methods, nationalism, and neglect of anti-militarist effort, Bebel did not dissociate himself from the right-wing social-democrats, who deserved these charges. Supporting Bebel and attacking Hervé, Adler stated that the anti-militarist movement was "an indispensable component part of any proletarian movement". "We must," he said, "concentrate all the forces of the proletar-

¹ *ISK ... 1907*, S. 86.

² *Ibid.*, S. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 83.

iat in the form that is required in a given country at a given time."¹

A very different construction was placed on Bebel's draft by Vollmar. He criticised the French Section of the Socialist International for putting up with Hervé and did not agree that the socialists had to adhere to common principles when fighting against militarism and war. "Love of mankind," stated Vollmar, "cannot at any moment prevent me from remaining a good German, just as it cannot prevent others from being good Frenchmen or Italians."² He did not associate the peace effort with the campaign for socialism nor considered separate anti-militarist work to be necessary. The latter conviction was shared by the Romanian delegate Rakowski. The Independent Labour Party delegate J. Smart said: "In the anti-war effort, one must never overstep the boundaries of peaceful action in parliament and peaceful effort at meetings and in the streets."³ A number of delegates who adhered to a petty-bourgeois pacifist stance and ignored the class interests and the conditions of the proletariat's struggle, demanded that the slogan of the armament of the people be removed. They supported the Norwegian delegate Jeppenien when he stated: "We are fighting against any militarism, both capitalist and socialist."⁴ Social-reformists of all hues sharply criticised the Hervé and the Vaillant-Jaurès drafts and reiterated the weaker points of Bebel's resolution in the hope of using it to their advantage.

Substantiating their draft, Vaillant and Jaurès spoke quite convincingly about the need for a special anti-militarist propaganda effort, particularly in the army, and emphasised the importance of mass proletarian action outside of parliaments. "We certainly cannot be satisfied with parliamentary work," said Jaurès. "To prevent war and make it impossible, the proletariat must unfetter all the strength that its mighty masses possess."⁵ Both referred to the example and the lessons of the Russian revolution. "We must realise that new forms of struggle emerged there,"

¹ *ISK ...1907*, S. 95, 96.

² *Ibid.*, S. 92.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 90.

said Vaillant¹. Furthermore, Jaurès suggested that in the event of a conflict, the socialists should demand its peaceful settlement through arbitration courts and, should the bourgeoisie refuse to comply, brand it as the worst enemy of peace. Both criticised Bebel's draft for the absence of a clear indication of the methods of struggle against militarism, and dissociated themselves from Hervé's adventurist course. They were supported by Vandervelde, Costa and the Argentinian delegate Jonbelewski.

Referring to the nationalistic moods of the German social-reformists and their refusal to engage in anti-militarist work, Hervé insisted that "now, the entire German social-democracy is bourgeoisie-orientated, and Bebel has succumbed to revisionist influence, since what he is saying today is, 'proletarians of all countries, kill each other'".² Ignoring the presence of the revolutionary trend in the German working-class movement and accusing the SDPG as a whole of nationalism Hervé presented his own activities as a model of anti-militarist propaganda. "My agitation," he said, "is enjoying the greatest, smashing, and glorious success in France." But, condemning any war, Hervé disregarded the objective situation determining the timing and the forms of action, tried to tie the proletariat's hands, and to inform the enemies, i.e., the bourgeoisie, about the time and the nature of the action.

The commission concentrated on two drafts, those submitted by Bebel and by Vaillant and Jaurès. However, both had serious faults. Thanks only to the revolutionary socialists, this important issue was settled along the Marxist line. On Lenin's initiative, four amendments to Bebel's draft were proposed on behalf of the RSDLP and the Polish delegation. The document was signed by Lenin, Luxemburg and Martov. First it was to be noted that the Stuttgart Congress confirmed the anti-militarist resolutions of the earlier congresses of the International, with the attention drawn to the role of militarism as a tool of the bourgeoisie's class rule and oppression of the working people, and to an anti-militarist campaign among the youth. Second, nationalistic prejudices and attempts to set one nation against another were not to be merely mentioned but rejected as chauvinism

¹ Ibid., S. 88.

² Ibid., S. 84.

from the class point of view and in conformity with the principles of the workingmen's international solidarity. Third, it was proposed to act in such a way so as to educate the young workingmen in the spirit of socialism and internationalism and obstruct the ruling classes' attempts to use it against the fighting proletariat. Fourth, the proletariat was to be obliged to use all available antiwar means, which were to be updated and strengthened depending on the situation, circumstances and the conditions of the class struggle. In time of war, the working class was to do its best to use the crisis engendered by it to involve the people into political action and to bring the collapse of capitalism nearer. Explaining this tenet, Lenin wrote: "The essential thing is not merely to prevent war, but to utilise the crisis created by war in order to hasten the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."¹

Presenting these proposals to the commission, Rosa Luxemburg said that the mass of the German proletariat refused to go along with Vollmar. She criticised Bebel and Guesde for their reluctance to move ahead and the desire "to give the Marxist world outlook a dry and fatalistic aspect". Stating her rejection of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, Rosa Luxemburg advocated the mass political strike as an important new method of the proletarian struggle, urged the socialists to use the lessons of the Russian revolution and reminded that "it not only arose out of the war but served to stop the war". She insisted that "the edge of Bebel's resolution should be sharpened" and that the socialists must go further than was suggested by Vailant and Jaurès, fighting not merely for ending the war but "mostly by using war to accelerate the overthrow of class rule".² She was supported by Liebknecht and Roland-Holst.

The ideas of revolutionary socialists showed the congress the right direction in its anti-militarist effort. The subcommission accepted Bebel's draft as the basis and introduced the changes proposed by Lenin, Martov and Luxemburg. But this was not an easy thing to accomplish. Lenin later wrote: "I remember very well that the final drafting of this

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 80.

² *ISK ... 1907*, S. 97, 98.

amendment was preceded by prolonged negotiations directly between ourselves and Bebel. The first draft made a much more straightforward statement about revolutionary agitation and revolutionary action. We showed it to Bebel; he replied: "I don't accept it, because then the Public Prosecutor will dissolve our party organisations, and we can't have that, as there are no serious developments as yet. After consultation with legal specialists and numerous redraftings of the text in order to give legal expression to the same idea, a final formula was found with which Bebel agreed to accept."¹ Furthermore, introduced into Bebel's draft were amendments suggested by Jaurès, who, as Lenin wrote, "made this happy suggestion: instead of enumerating the methods of struggle (strikes, uprisings) the resolution should cite historical examples of proletarian action against war, from the demonstrations in Europe to the revolution in Russia".²

With these amendments, the resolution acquired a Marxist overtone. It adequately considered the experience of the Russian revolution and anti-war action in other countries, and the fact that a world imperialist war was looming. Lenin maintained that "this resolution cannot be interpreted à la Vollmar, nor can it be fit into the narrow framework of naïve Hervéism".³ The commission turned down the other drafts, as it did the attempts of some delegates inclined towards pacifism to strike out the demand for the general arming of the people from Bebel's draft resolution.

Presenting the draft to the last plenary meeting of the congress, Vandervelde did his best to gloss over and minimise the differences in opinion. The resolution was approved unanimously. The revolutionary social-democrats triumphed over the social-reformists, the adventurist line of anarcho-syndicalists and the conservatism and indecision displayed by many leaders of the socialist movement. "The clear realisation that the social revolution is inevitable," wrote Lenin, "the firm determination to fight to the end, the readiness to adopt the most revolutionary methods of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the Amendment to Bebel's Resolution at the Stuttgart Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, 1966, p. 415.

² V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 80-81.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

struggle—this is the significance of the resolutions of the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart on the question of militarism.”¹

The resolution stated: “The congress is sending fraternal greetings to the heroic fighters and the revolutionary proletariat of the towns and villages of Russia.”² The delegates gathered at the table where the Russian delegates were seated to shake their hands and express their best wishes. The triumph was a well-deserved one, especially for the Bolsheviks.

It was decided to convene the next congress in Copenhagen. Closing the Stuttgart Congress, Singer voiced his conviction that “its main instructions to the socialist parties of all countries will be fulfilled” and that it prepared the proletariat for “the forthcoming big and decisive battle”.³

The Stuttgart Congress, at which the workers’ organisations and trends were extensively represented, not only confirmed the leading role of the revolutionary socialists and the prevalence of Marxism in the international working-class movement despite the stubborn resistance of the opportunists and the left-wing elements, but also made a significant step forward. It adopted the Rules and a resolution aimed towards strengthening the cooperation of the socialist parties and the trade unions and, as Lenin wrote, it “marked the final consolidation of the Second International”.⁴ Its other resolutions, especially on militarism and international conflicts, defined the International’s line “in the spirit of revolutionary social-democracy as opposed to opportunism”⁵ in the changed situation.

The Stuttgart congress made a direct impact on the international conference of socialist press workers, the first international conference of socialist youth and the seventh Scandinavian workers’ congress. Having discussed ways to improve the correspondence contacts between the socialist newspapers and magazines in different countries, the jour-

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 93.

² *ISK ... 1907*, S. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

nalists' conference decided to set up an International Information Bureau. The youth conference convened at Karl Liebknecht's initiative assembled over 20 delegates from 13 countries. Henriette Roland-Holst made a report on socialist education, Alpari, on the economic campaign, and Liebknecht, on the struggle against militarism. Karl Liebknecht denounced the attempts of some social-democratic leaders to confine anti-militarist campaigning, exposed the unsoundness of Hervé's tactics, and criticised the pacifist inclinations of some sections of the Social-Democracy. On the suggestion of revolutionary Social-Democrats, the conference founded an international association of youth socialist organisations, worked out its programme, elected a bureau, defined the principles of its work, and approved the political course proposed by Liebknecht. The seventh Scandinavian workers' congress held in September 1907 in Christiania, in which representatives of 347,000 members of the socialist parties and trade unions of three countries took part, settled the issue of the relationship between the socialist parties and the trade unions in the spirit of the Stuttgart Congress.

Organised workers everywhere welcomed the resolutions of the Stuttgart Congress. Revolutionary socialists placed a high value on its achievements. Lenin said that the congress resolutions should be used as an efficient weapon by every socialist. He did a great deal to promote their correct understanding and refuted the opportunists' fabrications. Klara Zetkin wrote that at the congress, the revolutionary socialists defeated "the pessimistic gospel of impotence and the hidebound tendency to stick to old, exclusively parliamentary methods of struggle", as well as "the somewhat primitive anti-militarist sport of the French semi-anarchists".¹ In Britain *Justice* wrote that "the congress has finally put an end to all compromises" and voiced a hope that this "signifies the outset of the process of integration, which will be completed by the development of the new International and its gradual growth into an international socialist party".²

Voicing the view of many socialist leaders, Kautsky wrote that the Stuttgart congress "cast a new, and very efficient weapon that could substantially facilitate and acce-

¹ Ibid., p. 92.

² *Justice*, 3, 14, October 1907.

lerate our progress".¹ He recognised that the congress highlighted the build-up in the international prestige of the Social-Democracy of Russia, Austria and the United States, and played down the conflicts in the SDPG and its mistakes. In an effort to minimise the contradictions that the congress had revealed, *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* especially emphasised the significance of the Stuttgart congress in the peace effort. "The International's role as the mainstay of peace is growing day by day," it wrote.² Appreciation of the congress' resolutions on the relations between the socialist parties and the trade unions, and on the immigrants was voiced by the body of the international metalworkers' union secretariat.

However, the social-reformists were far from defeated. MacDonald distorted the purport of the resolutions passed in Stuttgart and tried to convince the British workers that the congress voted for reformism. In *The New Age*, the Labour Party leaders criticised the resolution on colonialism and demanded recognition of the civilising mission of the Western powers with respect to the colonies. Jaurès insisted that the Triple Alliance and the Entente led "to a major European agreement". He referred to the Entente as "a guarantee of peace" and exhorted the socialists to help the governments strengthen "the foundations of peace". Kolb, a revisionist, stated in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*: "Both in practical and in theoretical matters we are standing on the soil of evolution as a matter of principle".³

The anarchists tried to counteract the line defined by the Stuttgart congress with their own course. Present at the international congress that opened on 26 August 1907 in Amsterdam were 70 delegates from the anarchists in 12 countries, including Malatesta and Friedeberg (Germany). The congress stated that it "intended to have nothing in common with social-democracy" and stated its rejection of state and political action. It decided that the syndicates "must rest on the principles of economic resistance and revolt", as well as "private initiative and solidarity".⁴ An

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1906-1907, S. 724.

² *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 25. August 1907.

³ *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, No. 9, 1907, S. 705.

⁴ *The International Anarchist Congress, Amsterdam, 26-31 August, 1907*, L., 1907, pp. 21, 22.

armed uprising was recommended in the event of war. Individual terror was not rejected. The congress inaugurated an anarchist International, elected a bureau and instructed it to publish a weekly.

On 30 August 1907, Nieuwenhuis's followers, who headed the International's Anti-Militarist Association, convened another congress, in which Dutchmen, several Swedes, Frenchmen and representatives of some other countries took part. This congress confined its discussions to the plans for a general anti-war strike.

The bourgeois press fiercely attacked the Stuttgart congress' resolution on militarism. "The contradiction between social-democracy and all bourgeois parties has acquired fresh bitterness," wrote *Vossische Zeitung*.¹ Regarding the anti-militarist resolution as a victory of the revolutionary trend, many bourgeois papers tried to equate it to Hervéism and make a caricature of it. Particular indignation among the bourgeoisie was provoked by the resolution on colonialism. The French *Echo de Paris* and *Radical* used Bebel's speech to attack the French anti-militarists, and quoted Vollmar as an example. The Prussian Bureau of Social Policy stated that the national contradictions inside the Social-Democracy had never before been as apparent as at the Stuttgart congress.

Bourgeois pacifists considered the anti-militarist resolution of the Stuttgart Congress a development of multiple significance. They, however, denounced the means of struggle for peace "at the disposal of the proletariat" as "dangerous, revolutionary and violent"². Pleased with their own methods of struggle and demanding disarmament, they teamed up with those socialists opposed to the arm-the-people slogan. They wrote: "Aren't the Red banner and the war banner equal emblems of murder?"³

The immense significance of the Stuttgart Congress resolutions was apparent even to the opponents of the working-class revolutionary movement. To workers' organisations the authority of those resolutions was unquestionable. However, their implementation called for the mustering of the

¹ *Vossische Zeitung*, 25. August 1907.

² Von B. Suttner *Der Kampf um die Vermeidung des Weltkrieges*, Bd. II, Zürich, 1917, S. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

entire strength of the working-class movement and of its allies against imperialist reaction; it also needed the combatting by revolutionary socialists of opportunism and leftism within the working-class movement itself.

On the initiative of revolutionary socialists the Stuttgart Congress, notwithstanding the defeat of the popular uprising in Russia, oriented the working people towards further upsurge of the mass movement, primarily setting them against militarism and the increased danger of the imperialist world war.

CHAPTER FIVE

FURTHER GROWTH OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND AGGRAVATION OF WORLD CONFLICTS

The last stage of the work of the Second International (1908-1914) proved exceptionally difficult due to the further growth of the worldwide revolutionary movement and the aggravation of international conflicts, on the one hand, and the changing correlation of forces and more fierce struggle between the revolutionary and the opportunistic trend in the working-class movement, the main driving force of social progress, on the other.

The upsurge of the worldwide revolutionary movement that began in 1905-1907 lasted all the way to the outbreak of World War I. It was characterised primarily by "the growing strength of the proletariat",¹ the international working-class movement, which in Lenin's words had entered "a new and incomparably higher stage".² The growing strength of the international working-class movement was matched by the rise of democratic, especially national liberation movements, and that was another characteristic feature of the further development of the world revolutionary movement.

After the defeat of the popular revolution and a period of rampant reaction, the revolutionary movement in Russia started again to grow faster than in other countries, posing an ever more formidable threat not just to autocracy but to all the exploiting classes. The defeat of the Russian Revolution, the revolution in Iran and the suppression of popular unrest in some other countries by the imperialists failed to check the swell of the revolutionary movement in most of the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1911-1912, S. 167.

² V. I. Lenin, "Inflammable Material in World Politics", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, 1973, p. 182.

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The aggravating contradictions of the imperialist system of worldwide exploitation were the primary cause of the growth of the world revolutionary movement. Property and power were becoming more and more concentrated everywhere in the hands of the financial oligarchy. Just two men of the entire 90-million population of the United States—John Morgan and John Rockefeller—controlled one-third of the country's wealth. The finances of France were in the grip of the country's three largest banks. Germany was actually ruled by 300 capitalist tycoons. The key sectors of the British economy were almost fully monopolised. The system of monopoly domination was consolidated in Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries. Monopolies of the leading capitalist powers held the sway also in colonies, semicolonies and dependencies.

World industrial production continued expanding at a fast pace in spite of a bad overproduction crisis in 1907-09 and rose by 25 per cent between 1907 and 1913, which involved harsher exploitation, first and foremost of industrial workers, whose number had reached almost 100 million in the world. Working hours remained virtually the same between 1908 and 1913 while the intensity of labour increased considerably. The real wages of the world's industrial workforce in 1905-14 were on average almost one per cent below those in 1903-08 because pay rises almost everywhere were way behind the growth of prices for basic necessities. Wage differentials had increased as well: the average real wage in the United States was 71 per cent higher than in Britain while in Germany 32 per cent, in Belgium 44 per cent and in France 49 per cent lower than in Britain. Discrimination against immigrant workers in the more developed countries and against workers of the oppressed nations had grown harsher: a Japanese workers in the United States got one-half to one-third of the pay of his American counterpart with the same skills. A large gap in pay to men and women was found everywhere. Aggregate unemployment varied between 4 and more than 6 million between 1908 and 1914. Their families—a total of 15-20 million people in the "civilised" countries—were doomed to poverty and hunger.

The 1907-09 world economic crisis caused a dramatic drop in farm production, ruined many peasants and tightened the hold of Big Capital on those peasants who had survived the crisis and also on artisans and small tradesmen. Big Capital intensified its exploitation of those strata both directly, through the system of credits and purchasing prices, and indirectly, through higher taxes and prices for the goods needed by them. As a result, 4 million out of the 6.5-million-strong agricultural workforce of France became actually semi-proletarians or proletarians, and the figure for Germany was almost 7.5 million. Those strata, growing progressively larger in numbers and more impoverished, constituted the bulk of the rural population of Italy, Spain, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan countries and Russia. The financial oligarchy grew stronger and infringed on the interests of both the petty and the middle bourgeoisie by using the state apparatus to regulate the economy and to pursue economic policies in its own interest.

It was primarily to please the financial oligarchy that the colonial powers increased their colonial possessions by almost 20 per cent and intensified the exploitation of colonies, semicolonies and dependencies in 1908-1913. Their aggregate foreign investment had reached 44 billion dollars by 1913-14 and, according to the most conservative estimates, generated at least 2.2 billion dollars of profit a year.

Rivalry grew keener because of the growing discrepancies between the colonial possessions, spheres of influence of the great powers, and their economies and military and political strength as a result of their uneven development. Conflicts between those powers, especially the Entente and the German-Austrian alliance, came one on the heels of another. The eight largest states increased their military spending by more than 25 per cent between 1908 and 1913; the great powers kept 0.8 to 1.6 per cent of their population under arms already in 1913. Italy's war against the Ottoman Empire and the wars in the Balkans were the portents of World War I. People were more and more worried by the squandering of huge resources and the growing threat of the massive loss of human life and the immense destruction of the productive forces.

All those factors conditioned the aggravation of the contradictions between labour and capital, between the parent states and the oppressed peoples, between the par-

ent states themselves and between imperialism and the mass of people. They provoked more and more acute conflicts. Seeking to bolster their positions, the ruling circles, the bourgeois parties and their leaders tried to increase their influence on the mass of people and to placate the irate working people. Theodore Roosevelt preached harmony between the interests of workers and proprietors through raising labour productivity and wages. In Britain Arthur Balfour called for achieving "industrial peace" through worker participation in profits and an end to strikes. Conciliation courts were established in many countries to settle conflicts between workers and capitalists and to avert strikes. The bourgeois parties attracted part of the working people by advocacy of reforms to restrict the privileges or arbitrariness of individual groups of the ruling classes, which slightly improved the situation of some of the working people. Helped by the Church, they made better use of the deep religious sentiments of a large part of the working people for their own political ends, especially in Germany, Belgium, Italy and France. Egged on by the financial oligarchy, the bourgeois parties sought to rally their nations on the platform of protecting private property against the socialists and the national interests against enemies. But it was the interests of the financial oligarchy, which wanted larger colonial possessions and spheres of influence, the destruction of rivals and conquests of other people's lands, that were passed off as common national interests. Propaganda of chauvinism and racism added fat to fire. The bulk of the population of the capitalist countries, including most of the working people, were under the influence of bourgeois ideology and supported bourgeois policy either directly or indirectly.

The ruling classes were thus able to use acts of repression, the police and the armed forces more and more often and on an ever larger scale to suppress both the working-class movement and the national liberation struggles. Punitive squads and martial courts were on the rampage throughout Russia during the period of reaction. In Germany the police was sent against 25.8 per cent of all strikes in 1908 and 28.6 per cent in 1911. Big industrialists in the US recruited private armies to crush strikes. The ruling classes of Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary and other countries used the police, troops and courts to quench mass actions by the

working people. Many organisers of the Japanese socialist movement were executed. Fearing that the socialist movement and democratic opposition might gain influence, the ruling classes tried to restrict parliamentary rights so that real power should be concentrated in the executive branch. The reactionary forces sought restrictions on democratic freedoms and breached the bourgeois laws. They were spearheaded as a rule by the militarist circles, which aggravated contradictions that were fraught with a crisis.

In spite of all the efforts of the dominant classes of the imperialist powers, it was not till 1911 that the Iranian revolution was strangled. However, in 1908 a revolution broke out in Turkey, in 1910 another one shook Portugal, and still another swept through Mexico. China was caught in the flames of a revolution in 1911 and the national liberation movement was on the upswing in other countries of Asia and Latin America. Another world economic crisis of overproduction began in 1914. Russia was on the brink of another revolution by that time, a political crisis broke out in Britain and there were signs of a political crisis in Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

* * *

In that complex situation the strength and role of the International depended primarily on the vigour, consciousness and organisation of the working people and on the growth of the working-class movement. It was very important that in 1908-14 the various mass actions of the working people became more intensive, among them strikes over economic demands, which sometimes involved industries and cities as a whole, rallies, demonstrations, mass political strikes, clashes with the police and troops, voting for socialist candidates in parliamentary elections, etc. Those actions were aimed, in one way or another, at securing better working conditions and broader rights for the working people. Demands for a more democratic political system were voiced far more often and on a larger scale than before. Protests against militarisation and the aggressive policies of the ruling circles, against war, became especially strong. By casting their votes for socialists, people gave support to the entire range of demands made by them.

Over 16 million people took part in strike action in 10 countries between 1908 and 1913, and it was growing quite intensive in India, Iran, some other countries of Asia, and also of North and Southern Africa and Latin America. During those six years around 15 million workers went on strike in just six countries—Russia, Germany, France, Britain, the US and Italy—which was more than in 15 years of peace (from 1890 through 1904). In 1911-13, strike action in 10 countries was on the whole more extensive and acute than in 1905-07. The number of strikes dropped almost by half but the number of participants in them grew by 1.8 million. The average strike involved not 150, as in 1905-07, but 327 workers—a more than two-fold increase. General strikes in individual cities, regions, industries and whole countries were characteristic of the 1908-13 period, especially of its last three years. Industrial action reached its peak in 1912, when the number of strikers far exceeded the 1905 high. Political strikes were ignored by bourgeois statisticians but if we count them in, the 1913 strikes appear to have been as massive as those in 1912.

The growth of industrial action was uneven. The movement was especially massive in Britain, the US and Russia but that was not the limit: 12 per cent of the total workforce in Britain and 5 per cent in the US were involved in strikes.

The number of votes cast for socialist candidates in parliamentary elections kept growing in virtually all the countries. In 1908 the socialists had the support of 7,085,795 voters in 14 countries and the figure reached 10,531,915 in 1914. A total of 11-12 million voters cast their ballots for the socialists on the eve of World War I. Between 1908 and 1914, the number of people voting for socialists increased by 230 per cent in Italy, by 800 per cent in Sweden, by 65 per cent in Britain, by 60 per cent in France and by almost 30 per cent in Germany. The percentage of the electorate in favour of the socialists rose considerably as well; the figure was more than 46 per cent in Finland and 34.8 per cent in Germany in 1912.

Mass actions by the working people in different countries coincided rarely, with the exception of May Day and concerted international peace demonstrations, but taken together offered a panorama of broader and more fierce struggle, which was viewed by many as “the beginning of

the struggle for power by the advanced proletariat of Europe".¹

A tide of rallies and demonstrations demanding a more democratic electoral system swept Prussia in 1908. Striking workers in Paris put up barricades and repulsed the troops sent against them. "It was a piece of battle," *L'Humanité* wrote. A general political strike involving more than 40,000 workers flared up in Bombay; participants in it also put up barricades to hold off the police and troops. The Budapest workers called a general political strike.

In 1909 Argentine workers organised a mass political strike in which 250,000 took part. The Barcelona workers staged a general strike to protest against the colonial war in Morocco and, attacked by troops, rebelled. Almost 300,000 workers—more than 60 per cent of Sweden's workforce—participated in a general strike in that country. Those actions were in the focus of world public attention and drew responses from the proletariat of all countries.

In 1910, hundreds of thousands of Prussian workers mounted rallies and demonstrations to demand the democratisation of the country. The police clashed with strikers in the Moabit district of Berlin. New York and Chicago clothes-makers staged angry strikes. Russia, too, saw political demonstrations and strikes after a long lull.

British dockers stayed away from work all over the country in 1911. "The fighting spirit had seized other sections of union and non-union men,"² Tom Mann recalled. Railwaymen went on strike in Liverpool, Manchester and other cities. The police and troops sent by the government to Liverpool and Lanely opened fire at demonstrators. Spanish workers struck en masse in Saragossa and called a political strike of protest against the colonial war in Morocco, and a commune was proclaimed in Valencia. Vienna's starving workers mounted a demonstration and attempted to punish the hated black-marketeers; troops and police fired at people in Vienna's streets for the first time since 1848. Germany, France, Britain, Austria, Hungary and other countries were swept by a wave of rallies and demonstrations

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Awakening of Asia", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1980, p. 146.

² *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, The Labour Publishing Company Limited, London, 1923, p. 259.

against the Morocco conflict and the Italian-Turkish war and workers in 125 Italian cities took part in a political strike.

The strike of almost one million British miners in 1912 was a very important action, characterised by *The Times* as the worst disaster since the Spanish Armada. It signalled the beginning of a period of "great upheaval", as British historians were to call the years of 1912 to 1914. In Germany the 4.25 million votes cast for the Social-Democrats in January and a strike by 250,000 Ruhr mineworkers demonstrated the strength of the working class and its readiness to fight for a better life. A strike by 180,000 miners of the US coal industry was a success. Political demonstrations and strikes in Hungary involved tens of thousands of workers; on May 23 Budapest workers put up barricades to give an armed rebuff to the police. Following protest strikes against the shooting of workers on the Lena River, "the great May Day strike of the proletariat of all Russia and the accompanying street demonstrations, revolutionary leaflets, and revolutionary speeches before gatherings of workers have clearly shown," Lenin wrote, "that Russia has entered a period of revolutionary upswing".¹ As many as 48 per cent of the Finnish voters cast their ballots for the Social-Democrats. A general strike called by the Zurich workers was evidence of the fighting spirit of "a class-conscious and organised proletariat that is aware of its strength".² General strikes were conducted also by Czech metal and textile workers. Mass rallies and demonstrations for peace which swept all countries in connection with the Balkans war and with the immediate threat of a world conflict had a special place among other actions by the proletariat in 1912.

As the year 1913 began, mass political strikes were launched in Russia to mark 9 January, the day of the 1905 massacre of workers by the police; around 300,000 people took part in them. A general political strike by 450,000 Belgian workers demanded equal suffrage. It was "the first attempt at a mass political strike that had been called well in advance, systematically prepared and directed by an organisation..."³, G. de Mann noted. Especially massive

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On Switzerland", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, 1973, p. 102.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³ *Prosveshcheniye*, No. 5, 1918.

May Day demonstrations and strikes took place in Russia: 420,000 workers took part. "This year's May Day action has shown to the whole world that the Russian proletariat is steadfastly following its revolutionary course, apart from which there is no salvation for a Russia that is suffocating and decaying alive,"¹ Lenin wrote. The French proletariat's struggle against the extension of active duty had reached a high pitch and demonstrations in Paris alone each drew up to 200,000 people. A strike launched by metalworkers in Milan spread to the whole of Italy. Workers in Dublin countered a lockout and an attempt by the capitalists and police to crush the trade unions with a mass strike and rallies. The working people firmly stood their ground in the face of police terror, killings, pogroms and arrests of working-class leaders. Mineworkers' action in Colorado, US, lasted more than a year.

Russian workers mounted mass political strikes and demonstrations in the first half of 1914 as well. "The Russian working class movement is acquiring increasingly an international significance,"² Lenin's *Trudovaya Pravda* said about workers' clashes with the police on the barricades in St. Petersburg in July. In the spring of that year mass demonstrations of protest against the dissolution of the Czech parliament took place. The socialists were supported by 1,385,000 voters in the parliamentary elections in France. When a worker rally in Ancona was fired at, a general strike immediately swept the country. Workers in Turin, Naples, Florence and Parma put up barricades and fought with valour and staunchness. Workers in other cities also clashed with the police and uprisings flared up in rural areas. Without a common plan or central leadership, workers were fighting on for a whole week. That "Red week" was the major action of the Italian working class in the history of the Italian Kingdom.

Mass actions varied from country to country in terms of specific demands, intensity and the mix of forms. "During the last year, no country in the world has seen so many people on strike for political ends as Russia, or such per-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "May Day Action by the Revolutionary Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 227.

² *Trudovaya pravda*, June 7, 1914.

severance, such variety, such vigour in strikes",¹ Lenin said about Russia in the summer of 1913. That was evidence of the growing revolutionary crisis in the country, and of the Russian working class becoming the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement.

The intensification of mass actions by the working people was closely related to the growth of workers' organisations, primarily the socialist parties. Their number kept increasing. A socialist group in Saloniki (Fédération ouvrière de Salonique) took shape in 1908-09 and joined the International. Several socialist and workers' organisations joined to form a South African Labour Party in 1909. The Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Romania was re-established in February 1910 by J. Frimu, Dobrodjanu-Gera and Ch. Rakowski, and an Osman Socialist Party came into being in Istanbul. In 1911, a Socialist Party of China (Shi Hutong) was set up and the re-established Socialist Party of Portugal stated its commitment to the International's principles and decided to work towards a "social republic".² A Socialist Party of Chile was formed under Luis Emilio Recabarren's leadership in 1912 and a Social-Democratic association emerged in Indonesia in 1914.

The membership of socialist organisations increased considerably. In 1912, 18 socialist and workers' parties in 13 countries had a total of 3,873,000 members, which was a 60 per cent rise over 1907. The LP numbered more than 1,895,000, the SDP of Germany more than 970,000, and the Belgian Labour Party more than 222,000. The SDP of Serbia had grown six-fold, the SP of the United States almost three-fold, the SDP of Holland more than two-fold, the SDP of Norway almost two-fold. The strength of the SDPs of Finland and Hungary had dwindled considerably as a result of the backlash of reaction and dropout of vascillating elements. In the first half of 1914 the socialist and workers' parties the world over numbered cumulatively more than 4.2 million.

The socialist movement was greatly replenished. Between 1907 and 1912, the number of women in the SDP of Germany rose almost 12-fold, from 2 to 13 per cent. In 1912

¹ V. I. Lenin, "May Day Action by the Revolutionary Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 220.

² *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1910-1911, S. 584.

women accounted for 22 per cent of the membership of the Finnish SDP and for more than 12 per cent of the Workers' Party of Norway. More than 200,000 women were taking part in the world socialist movement in 1914, mostly in Germany, Russia, Austria and the Nordic countries.

In early 1914, the total numerical strength of socialist youth organisations was 180,000, which was a three-fold increase on 1907. Between 1907 and 1914, the number of young socialists grew 25-fold in Finland, 14-fold in Germany, 4-fold in Denmark, 3.5-fold in Austria, 3-fold in Switzerland, Holland and Britain, 2.5-fold in Spain and Hungary and two-fold in Bohemia and France. In 1914 the Socialist Youth Union of Germany was the largest with a membership of 104,000. The Austrian Socialist Youth Union numbered 14,000, the British 9,000, the Belgian 8,000, and the Czech 7,300.

The socialist press was stronger as well. In 1913, according to far from complete data, the socialists published 172 daillies and 464 other papers. The largest socialist newspapers came out in prints of several tens of thousands of copies each. The US socialist weekly *Appeal to Reason* had a press run of almost a million copies while in small Finland 137,000 people drew subscriptions to socialist periodicals in 1909. The socialist press had millions of readers all over the world.

In 1908-14, there were socialist factions in the parliaments of 24 countries, including Russia and Turkey; in 14 of them the number of socialist deputies grew from 411 to 646, or by more than 58 per cent, in that period. The number of socialist deputies increased eight-fold in Switzerland, five-fold in Sweden, almost 2.5-fold in Germany, and almost two-fold in France and Italy. Around 70 seats were socialist in the parliaments of all countries by the beginning of World War I. In many countries socialists had even more seats in the local bodies of self-government: in 1910-12 there were more than 22,060 socialists in the local government of 12 countries. Before the war the SDP of Germany controlled 244 seats in the land governments and 10,400 in the municipal councils. In 1911 virtually one out of every ten SFIO members in France was a municipal council member, and in 1912 socialists were at the head of 282 municipal councils. In 1914, socialists were in the majority in Italy's 400 communal councils.

Trade unions, especially those which participated in the socialist movement, had increased their membership and grown stronger. In 1913, the unions of 15 countries had a membership of more than 13.4 million, which was an increase of 60 per cent over 1907. From 1908 to 1914, the number of union members rose four-fold in Spain, more than 2.5-fold in Italy, two-fold in Britain, almost two-fold in the US, by 70 per cent in Serbia, by 50 per cent in Germany and by 45 per cent in Denmark. The years of 1907-10 saw a temporary slump in the trade-union movement in Sweden, Hungary, Switzerland, Norway and Finland, but in later years its strength was growing fast.

The share of the unions engaged in class battles increased considerably in the world labour movement in 1908-14. Resolute strike action, moreover, helped gradually to dismantle the "closed-shop" structure and to introduce the production principle of organisation; the process was further promoted by the growing activity of unskilled workers and by their mass influx into the unions.

National amalgamations of unions had a growing role to play in the labour movement of every country. For example, in 1908 the GCZ of France accounted for less than one-third of the unionised labour, whereas in 1912-14 the figure rose to almost two-thirds. In 1913, the British Trades Union Congress was supported by almost 60 per cent of all the unionised British workers. In some countries, however, the advance of national union amalgamations was seriously impeded by reformists, anarcho-syndicalists and Catholic centres. For instance, in 1908, the Italian General Confederation of Labour had a membership of almost 60 per cent of the country's unionised labour and by 1914 the figure decreased to around 30 per cent. By and large, national union amalgamations accounted for 7 million members by the outbreak of the war.

Cooperatives had made good progress. In 1910, cooperatives in 26 countries had a membership of more than 6 million. Between 1910 and 1914, the number of cooperatives in most countries, among them Britain, France and Denmark, increased by 20 per cent, in Switzerland by 30 per cent and in Germany even by 50 per cent. The absolute majority of cooperatives in several countries, among them Britain, Germany, Denmark and Belgium, were united in national centres. Most of the cooperatives were consumer

societies in which workers were quite active. Many were taking part in the socialist movement. Workers often referred to them as their "third (after the party and the unions—*L. K.*) army corps in the class struggle".¹ The Belgian Labour Party relied on its member cooperatives, which numbered more than 150,000 and had an annual revenue of 45 million francs. The central amalgamation of German consumer cooperatives was linked with the Social-Democrats. The northern federation of socialist cooperatives in France pledged "the broadest possible support" to the SFIO and efforts for "the strengthening and furtherance of worker political activity".²

By and large, the strength and influence of the socialist movement grew considerably in 1908-14, and 15 to 17 million working people were fighting under the International's banners in one form or another. As Lenin noted, "on the whole we see a tremendous step forward of international socialism, the rallying of million-strong armies of the proletariat in the course of a series of practical clashes with the enemy..."³

The growth of the working-class movement was promoted by the progress of democratic, especially national liberation movements. Peasant unrest continued in capitalist countries, and the peasant movement in Russia was the strongest of them all. According to doctored governmental statistics, more than 13,000 peasant protests took place in the country between 1910 and 1914. There was peasant unrest also in Hungary, Finland, Italy and France. The growing working-class movement and peasant riots had their impact on the army as well: engineering troops rioted in the Troitsa Camp outside Tashkent in 1912 and France saw troops unrest in May 1913. The potential of the peasant movement and troops unrest as allies of the working-class movement was growing.

Pacifists were becoming more and more active, with the progressive bourgeois intelligentsia playing the leading role

¹ Von Emile Vandervelde, *Neutrale und sozialistische Genossenschaftsbewegung*, Verlag von J.H.W. Dietz, G.m.b.H. Stuttgart, 1914, S. 103.

² See: Yu. Steklov, *The Working-Class Movement in France*, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp. 18-19 (in Russian).

³ V. I. Lenin, "Inflammable Material in World Politics", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 187.

in that movement, which relied on some strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and also on part of the working people. Some 20 international organisations, including the International Bureau of Teachers' Unions (with a membership of 403,000 in 1910) and the World Union of Youth Organisations (3.9 million members in 1911), supported the pacifist Peace Bureau. Pacifists were opposed to wars and militarism. Condemning the class struggle, they argued that the economic and political grounds had already been prepared for asserting eternal peace and settling peacefully all disputes. They justified the colonial policy of the imperialist powers and deplored colonial wars only because the same goals could have been achieved by peaceful means. The pacifist movement "...is not capable of a strong desire for peace and still less capable of bringing it about"¹ but it helped involve millions upon millions of working people in the struggle against militarism and war.

The overthrow of autocracy and the proclamation of republican rule in Portugal contributed to the progress of the working-class movement. Broader opportunities were thus created for the Portuguese socialists and anti-autocratic sentiments were encouraged among the working people in other countries, in particular in Austria-Hungary. A significant factor of the growth of the working-class movement was the upsurge of the liberation movement of the oppressed European nations, among them the Irish, the Alsacians, the Poles, the Czechs, the southern Slavs and other Balkan peoples, and all the oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary and Russia. The league of four Balkan states—Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece—and their war against Turkey were a great step towards the solution of the national question in the Balkans. Following mass actions and uprisings of the working people of the oppressed nations, "...the national question has now become prominent among the problems of Russian public life".² The stubborn resistance of the reactionary English to self-government in Ireland had driven the Irish to the brink of a war against the colonialists in the summer of 1914.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Bourgeoisie and Peace", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 84.

² V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1964, p. 19.

The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, North Africa and Latin America became an ally of the working-class movement. In the summer of 1909 revolutionary troops captured Teheran and overthrew the Shah and it was not until 1911 that the Iranian revolution was suppressed. The Korean people had been waging, till 1912, a fierce guerrilla war against the Japanese colonialists. In 1908, a wave of peasant uprisings against unbearable taxes and other forms of oppression swept Indochina. Two years later an armed uprising against the French colonialists flared up there. The struggle of the bourgeoisie for a constitution and the peasants' opposition to feudal landlords in Turkey erupted into an armed struggle and a revolution in Turkey. The anti-feudal movement of the Chinese people led to a bourgeois revolution in 1911. The people overthrew the Manchu dynasty, formed a revolutionary government headed by Sun Yat-sen and proclaimed a republic. The 1911-13 Chinese revolution did not reach its goal but all the same dealt a strong blow to feudalism and imperialism. The national liberation movement of the peoples of Indonesia, the Philippines and Arab countries had gained momentum as well. Mass peasant actions and workers' strikes in Mexico in 1910 culminated in a bourgeois democratic revolution against the oppression of the US and British imperialists.

All those processes were broadening the possibilities and prospects of the working-class movement as the main driving force of social progress. However, that movement, primarily the socialist parties as its vanguard, needed specific qualifications to make use of those fresh possibilities and to accomplish its historical tasks. The development of those qualifications depended to a large extent on the ability to develop Marxism in new circumstances and also on the correlation of forces and the outcome of the struggle between the revolutionary and the opportunist trend.

* * *

The growth of the revolutionary trend in the working-class movement as a reaction to the changing objective conditions of the struggle and the new tasks of the proletariat was manifest not just in the rising activity and awareness of the working people and the growing degree of their organisation but also in the striving of the revolutionary

socialists in all countries to look for a Marxist solution to new problems and to develop both the theory and the practice of Marxism. They realised that the working-class movement was confronted "with a new situation and tasks"¹ and stressed that "...never before have we been assailed by such a multitude of urgent theoretical and tactical tasks"², and were looking perseveringly for solutions.

Working on solutions to problems of the revolutionary movement in 1908-14, Lenin and other Bolsheviks contributed a great deal to the development of Marxism. Lenin's *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, published in 1909, played an important role. Criticising the revision of Marxist philosophy, Lenin drew general conclusions from the latest revolutionary discoveries in the natural sciences, updated philosophical materialism and furthered the concept of dialectics as the foundation of the Marxist theory of cognition. He forcefully demonstrated that "...the political line of Marxism is inseparably bound up with its philosophical principles"³ and evolved a methodology for analysing change in society and resolving urgent problems. His ideas were supported by the Bolsheviks, among them V. V. Vorovsky and V. V. Adoratsky, and Georgi Plekhanov, too, came out against the revision of Marxist philosophy.

Analysing world developments, Lenin stressed the monopolies' increased role and pointed out, "Power is in the banks, the trusts and big capital in general".⁴ Looking into the consequences of this situation he noted that "wages, even with the most successful strike movement, are increasing much more slowly than the necessary expenditure of labour power".⁵ At the same time he pointed to the growing exploitation of the peasantry and other middle strata, the toughening national oppression and plunder of the colonial and semicolonial peoples, the consolidation of the reactionary forces, the rise of militarism, the

¹ Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Juli 1911 bis Juli 1914, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1973, Bd. 3, S. 351.

² *Leipziger Volkzeitung*, den 4. Oktober 1913.

³ V. I. Lenin, "The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 405.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "The Bourgeoisie and Peace", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 84.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, "Impoverishment in Capitalist Society", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 435.

accelerated arms race, the increasing aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie and preparations for a war to recarve the world map.

Lenin considered the growth of the world liberation movement everywhere and in every form to be preparatory work on the part of the forces which "will achieve their goal in a series of crises".¹ He stressed the leading role of the working class and the decisive importance of its higher activity, awareness and organisation to the exercise of that role. He attached special importance to the decisive part the working class had to play in the struggle for the democratisation of the social system, for peace among nations and against imperialist wars. "The one guarantee of peace is the organised, conscious movement of the working class",² he wrote.

As early as 1908 Lenin spoke of the need for a world revolution of the proletariat, noting that the times "when the cause of democracy and socialism was associated only with Europe alone have gone for ever."³

The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, were struggling perseveringly for the materialisation of his concept of a revolutionary workers' party. At the difficult time of reaction and a new revolutionary upheaval, Lenin, Sverdlov, Badayev, Zinoviev, Armand, Piatnitsky, Stalin and others were forging Bolshevik unity and fighting Menshevik opportunism (on the part of Plekhanov, Axelrod and others), which under Russian conditions was "much more harmful to the cause of the proletariat and of the revolution"⁴ than in any other country. They gave a strong rebuff to the otzovists' leftist trend of Bogdanov and others, to the capitulatory policy of the liquidators (Martov, Martynov and others), and checked the unprincipled actions of the advocates of "conciliation" (Trotsky and others), who opposed the break-up with the opportunists and leftists. Having strengthened the Party, by 1914 the Bolsheviks led by Lenin secured the support of 80 per cent of the Russian organised working class.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "August Bebel", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 296.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Bourgeoisie and Peace", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 84.

³ V. I. Lenin, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 342.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 230.

In those years the Bolsheviks substantially added to the experience of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and some other workers' parties, using and combining clandestine and legal forms of work and parliamentary methods and mass actions, and concretised the relationship of the struggle for reform and preparations for a revolution. Lenin's emphasis on struggle for state power as the key question of a revolution and his clarification of essential prerequisites for launching a revolution and bringing it to a victorious conclusion, that is, a revolutionary situation, and of the need to prepare for armed struggle against counterrevolution were especially important.

In addition to further clarifying problems of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other middle strata, the Bolsheviks and primarily Lenin did a great deal at that time to prepare the ground for an alliance with the national liberation movement. Lenin expounded the development prospects and historical role under imperialist conditions of the national liberation struggle of the peoples not just in Russia and other capitalist countries but also in colonies and semicolonies. He demonstrated the drastic difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and that of the oppressor nations, evaluated the anti-imperialist potential of the oppressed nations and was the first to appreciate the great importance of the awakening of Asia to social progress and to the working-class movement. He substantiated the need to stand up for the independence and self-determination of not just "civilised" nations but of all the other peoples.

He formulated as a counter to bourgeois nationalism the demand of "*no privileges for any one nation, complete equality of nations and the unity, amalgamation of the workers of all nations*",¹ stressed that the national demands should be subordinated to the class interests of the proletariat and clearly formulated the relationship of the national and the international, which was essential to the working-class movement at that time. The Bolsheviks made visible progress in developing concrete forms of such an alliance not just within Russia but elsewhere by establishing close contacts with the revolutionary movement in Iran

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the Question of National Policy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 223.

and supporting the liberation struggles in Turkey and China.

Attaching paramount importance to the consolidation of the international working-class movement, the Bolsheviks expanded their relations with the socialists in Poland, Germany, Bulgaria, Britain, France, the US, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden and other countries. In strongly criticising the social-reformists and especially the revisionists, Lenin exposed the socio-economic, ideological and political roots of opportunism under imperialist conditions, the growing danger of conciliation with opportunism and the nature of anarcho-syndicalism as a factor disorganising the working people. The Bolsheviks were working for broader cooperation between the revolutionary socialists and for strengthening their positions in the International. They, as K. Paul rightly noted, "...had no intention of withdrawing from the International but were getting ready to chase the opportunists out of it".¹ All that pushed them into the foreground of the revolutionary trend in the international working-class movement.

Revolutionary socialists in many countries made a tangible contribution to the development of Marxism, to the analysis of new circumstances and to the solution of many urgent problems in 1908-1914. An important role was played here by P. Lafargue, F. Mehring, D. Blagoev and H. Quelch, who criticised the revision of Marxist philosophy and advanced the theory of cognition and some other philosophical concepts. Many important changes in the economy, politics and ideology of capitalism and the aggravation of its contradictions were examined by R. Luxemburg, D. Blagoev, K. Liebknecht, H. Gorter, F. Mehring, K. Zetkin, Th. Rothstein, J. Marchlewski, A. Pannekoek and other revolutionary socialists. R. Hilferding also made a contribution with his analysis of financial capital.² Though underestimating some aspects of imperialism and ignoring new possibilities and tasks of the working-class movement, Hilferding provided a valuable analysis of the latest phenomena in the development of capitalism and proved useful to the revolutionary socialists. In 1912 J. Marchlewski published his *Imperialism or Socialism?*, in which he ana-

¹ *Proletarskaya revoliutsiya*, Nos. 4-5 (111-112), 1931, p. 71.

² R. Hilferding, *Das Finanzkapital. Eine Studie über die jungste Entwicklung des Kapitalismus*, Berlin, Dietz, 1955.

lysed imperialism and drew the conclusion that "only the winning of political power by the proletariat can end that capitalist phase".¹

The revolutionary socialists' analysis led them to the conclusion that the contradictions of capitalism were aggravating, the class struggle exacerbating, the role of the working class growing, a revolution ripening, and that all those factors were facing Social-Democrats with more daunting tasks. As a result, revolutionary socialists in all countries became even more resolute in opposing the social-reformists, criticising "conciliators", seeking the ideological, political and organisational strengthening of the workers' parties and a concentration of their efforts on stepping up the struggle against reaction, militarism and colonialism, and in demanding that the parties update their tactics to fit the changed circumstances of the struggle and the new tasks of the proletariat. A notable role in that effort was played, along with the above-mentioned revolutionary socialists, by D. Turzović, W. Kolaroff, Ch. Rakowski, C. Lazari, G. Serrati, L. de Brouckère, D. Wijnkoop, J. Maclean, Z. Kahan, F. Dzerzhinsky, D. Alpari, J. Deutsch, A. Zapotocki, S. Gheorghiu, K. Lindhagen, Sh. Rappoport, O. Kuusinen, E. Debs, W. Haywood, Ch. Ruthenberg, Sen Katayama and others. There were revolutionary socialists in all the socialist parties. They stressed that the class struggle was "the theoretical and practical basis of any socialist action"² and sought to ensure that, as Eugene Debs wrote, the "revolutionary character of our party and our movement must be preserved in all its integrity at all costs".³ Revolutionary socialists believed that "the task of the party is to impart unity to the actions of the proletarian masses, to identify correctly what is essential at any given moment, to take the lead and thus make action powerful"⁴, and also "to mobilise the masses and use their direct action to tip the scales".⁵ They wanted the socialist parties "to criticise parliament and shift ... their work into the broad masses of

¹ *The International Working Class Movement*, Vol. 3, p. 539.

² *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1911-1921, S. 605.

³ *The International Socialist Review*, Vol. X, July, 1909-June, 1910, Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1910, p. 609.

⁴ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1911-1912, S. 614.

⁵ Luxemburg R., *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Bd. II, S. 415.

people”¹ and called for “a tactic of boundless possibilities”.² A. Pannekoek wrote that those demands “are, on the one hand, an essential manifestation of the growing strength of the proletariat and, on the other, an essential consequence of the new forms of capitalist development, which we call imperialism”.³

Revolutionary socialists urged stepped up struggle for democracy through the organisation of mass actions, especially mass strikes. They taught the working people that those actions should be transformed into a powerful movement, in which “the central issue will be the winning of political power...”⁴ They argued that “there can be no socialist reforms in bourgeois society”⁵ and that the bourgeois state machinery “is by definition unsuitable for socialist transformations”⁶ and asserted that a revolution needed “to destroy and dismantle the state machinery of violence by the violent means of the proletariat”.⁷ In their view, imperialist powers’ blocs were “an agreement between a set of thieves as to the division of the spoils”⁸, and they were strongly opposed to “every war of aggression”⁹ and were behind an anti-militarist movement and anti-war actions.

Revolutionary socialists were struggling against social-reformism, especially revisionism, criticised advocates of “conciliation” and distanced themselves from anarcho-syndicalism. They believed that the triumph of revisionism “would be the end of the party”¹⁰. As for their forcefulness and form of their opposition to the opportunists and the progress of their dissociation from them, they depended on the specific circumstances of every country and the state of its working-class movement.

The views and actions of revolutionary socialists in vari-

¹ *Prosveshcheniye*, No. 11, 1913, p. 40.

² K. Liebknecht, *Ausgewählte Reden, Briefe und Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1952, S. 162.

³ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1911-1912, S. 541.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 167.

⁵ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, 1908-1909, S. 262.

⁶ *The International Socialist Review*, No. 12, 1912.

⁷ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1911-1912, S. 544.

⁸ *Justice*, 11 March, 1911.

⁹ *Justice*, 14 May, 1914.

¹⁰ K. Liebknecht, *Ausgewählte Reden, Briefe und Aufsätze*, S. 173.

ous countries had their specific features and were not entirely coincident due to their different conditions and specific tasks and to the uneven development of the working-class movement. The specific circumstances of individual countries prevented revolutionary socialists from embracing the entire range of problems facing the revolutionary movement and confined their analysis to questions which were more important to their own countries. That circumstance as well as lack of experience sometimes made them inconsistent and prevented them from finding correct solutions to individual problems. Many revolutionary socialists, such as D. Blagoev, considered the peasantry a reactionary mass even in countries with the predominantly farming population and did not work on a policy of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Some revolutionary socialists, among them R. Luxemburg, underestimated the national liberation movement, did not consider it an ally of the working-class movement, and did not see any point in the slogan of the self-determination of nations. That was why they did not understand and support in every respect the Bolsheviks, who had a broader vision, were more far-sighted and were far ahead of all the other revolutionary socialists due to the specific circumstances of Russia, still a tangle of acute contradictions, and to the latest experience of the Russian revolutionary movement. However, differences over those points, sometimes erupting into polemics between the Bolsheviks and individual revolutionary socialists in other countries, were differences within the revolutionary trend and proved temporary: they were bridged as revolutionary socialists advanced in the same direction as the Bolsheviks.

The strength of the revolutionary socialists in the working-class movement differed from country to country. In some countries they dissociated themselves from the opportunists organisationally and became leaders of some of the workers' organisations. In Bulgaria they made a clean break with the opportunists and led the Tesnyaki (SDP of Bulgaria) which, though numerically small, "was increasingly emerging as the leader of the Bulgarian working class".¹ The revolutionary socialists were at the head of the SDP

¹ *A History of the Bulgarian Communist Party*, Moscow, 1971, p. 158 (in Russian).

of Serbia, which was forging the unity of the growing mass working-class movement and was a success in parliamentary elections. In spite of repression, the revolutionary socialists increased their influence in Polish industrial centres. But the refusal of their mainstream organisation, the SDPKD and L, to cooperate with the PPS-Lewice, and the rift in the SDPKP and L itself in 1911 over organisational and political differences prevented the revolutionary trend from consolidating its forces and strengthening its positions in that part of the Polish lands. Most of the British revolutionary socialists were found in the Social-Democratic Federation, which in 1909 was renamed the Social-Democratic Party. Seeking to make socialism "understand of the common people" and to create "an efficient instrument for the realisation of Socialism"¹, it joined a part of the Independent Labour Party in Founding the British Socialist Party. Revolutionary socialists gained the upper hand over opportunists in the BSP but failed to increase their party's influence among the mass of people. Seeking broader contact with the working people, in 1913 the BSP joined the Socialist Council, on which all the workers' organisations of the country were represented, and decided to join the British Labour Party. In the Netherlands the leaders of the revolutionary socialists, united around the newspaper *De Tribune*, were expelled from the Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1909 and formed their own Social-Democratic Party of the Netherlands, which was resolutely fighting opportunism but failed to gain influence among the mass of people.

In other countries revolutionary socialists were seeking to increase their influence in socialist parties which united different trends. The left-wing Social-Democrats were working to strengthen the SDP of Germany and to rid it of opportunism and were increasingly resolute in their criticism of the party leaders' concessions to opportunists and conciliatory attitudes to them. "We must do everything possible to pull the cart out of mud",² Rosa Luxemburg wrote. Though disunited, they wielded much influence in many large Social-Democratic organisations: almost one-third of the delegates to the 1913 congress of the

¹ *Justice*, 30 December, 1911.

² See *Proletarskaya revoliutsiya*, No. 7 (90), 1929, p. 161.

SDP of Germany backed their proposal for a mass political strike.

The left wing of Austrian Social-Democracy was in disarray and offered no resistance to the proponents of conciliatory policies. The revolutionary socialists in the SDP of Hungary demanded that the Party be forged into a more close-knit organisation and launch resolute mass actions for democracy in the country. When D. Alpari had been expelled from the Party, some of the left-wingers formed their own party while those of the left who remained in the SDP were striving to have it play a greater role in the movement for democracy. The revolutionary socialists in the SP of Italy became the core of the faction of "irreconcilables", resolutely opposed Italian aggression and, supported by the "integrationists", expelled from the Party those who backed the social-reformists' government. The "irreconcilables" emerged as the leaders of the Party and the newspaper *Avanti!*. The SP of Italy "...has taken the right path",¹ resolutely defending the interests of the working people and supporting strikes, but there still remained in it "integrationists", quite a few social-reformists and some of the anarcho-syndicalists. The left socialists in the Labour Party of Belgium wanted the Party to concentrate on political struggle and called for a reorganisation to meet that challenge. The revolutionary socialists in the SFIO were just weak and scattered groupings in the early 1910s as the ministerialists, the anarcho-syndicalists and the Guesdists with their increasing orientation to parliamentary victory were fighting between themselves. There were similar groups of revolutionary socialists in the Social-Democratic parties of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain and Romania. Some of the left-wing leaders warned: "if bourgeois elements take over all the posts and if the opposition is suppressed, the day may come when a split becomes a necessity...",² but they could not influence to any considerable extent their parties' policy line. Most of the US revolutionary socialists were to be found in the Socialist Party. They were broadening revolutionary propaganda, initiating mass actions, supporting the IWW and the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Italian Socialist Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 172.

² See: I. Krivoguz, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, p. 370.

left wing of the AFL and fighting against opportunism and conciliatory attitudes. The Socialist Labour Party was pursuing similar policies, although Daniel de Leon's dogmatic sectarian stand still was an impediment. In spite of their small numbers, the revolutionary socialists, who were developing Marxism, were everywhere in the vanguard of the working-class movement, raising it to a new ideological and political level that was adequate to the resolution of the problems of the socialist reorganisation of society in the changed circumstances.

The social-reformist trend, which was oriented at the specifics of the various strata of the working people of different countries, specifics which its representatives were exaggerating, was particularly motley in its views and policies and had numerous currents and shades.

The social-reformists were the main foe of the revolutionary socialists in the working-class movement; they relied on traditions of the "peaceful" period and extensively used revisionism, backing it with the argument that the Russian revolution had suffered defeat. The continued mass influx of people disillusioned with the existing system into the working-class movement and socialist parties contributed to the growth of their influence. "The mentality of those masses is reformist through and through",¹ Otto Bauer admitted. The revolutionary socialists were in no position to reeducate those new recruits. Most of those who had come into the socialist movement earlier had a one-sided and superficial knowledge of Marxism. They had learned only the slogans appropriate to "peaceful" circumstance that were enthusiastically popularised by intellectuals who had joined the socialist movement without shedding their bourgeois prejudice and rose to positions of leadership in workers' organisations and newspapers, which badly needed educated people. This growth "will create favourable opportunities for the actions of enemies within the party",² Victor Adler admitted. The propaganda of bourgeois reformism and nationalism, to which large sections of the population were exposed, influenced also a part of the working-class movement. The social-reformists used their growing base in the working-class movement and the bour-

¹ *Der Kampf*, Novembre 1913.

² ... *Briefwechsel...*, S. 517.

geoisie's moral and political support to pose the threat of "internal corruption"¹ of the working-class movement.

Social-reformism was a serious danger in the SDP of Germany. The leaders of that trend believed that the party should reconcile itself to monopoly rule, renounce its demands for the public ownership of the means of production and drop "meaningless terminology" because its use impeded the Social-Democrats' cooperation with other strata of the population. Eduard Bernstein was working on the Social-Democrats' alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie as "the main policy line of socialist reformism". The right-wing Social-Democrats branded Britain as the oppressor of Germany and urged the SDP of Germany to help the country's ruling circles in the competitive struggle against Britain, tried to prove the right of "civilised nations" to colonies and stressed their "civilising mission". In 1912 the social-reformists set up their own faction within the SDP. On their insistence the Social-Democrats pledged in the 1912 elections to vote for the "progressists" wherever they did not nominate candidates of their own and even to refrain from campaigning in 16 electoral districts not to be in the way of the "progressists", who, however, had no such obligation towards the SDP. They also had the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag vote for new taxes to finance the army and the party congress decline a proposal for a mass political strike. One of their number, Friedrich Ebert, together with Hugo Haase, became the party president after August Bebel's death.

Austria was known as a "model revisionist country": many Social-Democrats there referred to the Reichstag as the "people's parliament" and claimed that the working class would triumph by winning the majority in it. The Austrian social-reformists justified the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. They characterised Germany as a "peaceable force" and tsarist Russia as "the chief enemy of European socialism" and wanted Austria to be looked upon as "a bulwark against Russia".² The social-reformists who were influential in the SDP of Hungary considered the working-class movement an auxiliary force in the struggle for democracy and ceded leadership

¹ V. I. Lenin, "In Switzerland", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 308.

² *Der Kampf*, Januar 1909.

to the bourgeois parties. The Bulgarian social-reformists relied on the United Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, formed by the Shiroki Social-Democrats. The social-reformism of the PPS faction was nationalistic: the leaders of that party took a chauvinistic attitude to Russia, refused to co-operate with the Russian revolutionary movement and pinned illusory hopes on the support of Germany and Austria-Hungary for the struggle for Polish independence.

The Swedish social-reformists, led by Hjalmar Branting, were trying to pursue a "practical policy", i.e., to confine political activities to a parliamentary struggle for reforms and to join the bourgeois government. The social-reformists who prevailed in the SDP of Denmark favoured an alliance with the liberals. The social-reformists in Norway made attempts to "settle" strikes, for which one of them received an award from the king. The Swiss social-reformists were against even strikes called as defensive actions. Many leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, among them Emile Vandervelde and Louis Bertrand, "were reformists in practice, while in theory professing views that were a blend of very diverse elements, most of them borrowed from the arsenal of Marxism",¹ as Hendrik de Man noted. They made their party's policy dependent on an alliance with the liberals and, happy with petty concessions from the ruling circles, were discontinuing mass actions for democracy and tried to prove the need for a socialist colonial policy. The Belgian Labour Party "is becoming more and more purely revisionist in spirit"² the Prussian Ministry of the Interior that kept tabs on the working-class movement noted. The Italian social-reformists urged the Socialist Party to reconcile itself to autocratic rule and to seek reforms through cooperation with the bourgeois parties to the point of joining a bourgeois government. They claimed that the working people did not need universal suffrage and called for an end to strikes and demonstrations, and supported the aggressive policies and colonial ambitions of the Italian ruling circles. When Leonida Bissolati and Ivanoe Bonomi had been expelled from the Socialist Party, they established a Reformist

¹ Hendrik de Man, Louis de Brouckère, *Le mouvement ouvrier en Belgique*, Editions de la fondation Joseph Jacquemotte, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 39.

² See: I. Krivoguz, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, p. 378.

Socialist Party. Another part of the social-reformists, who distanced themselves from the government's policy, remained in the Socialist Party.

The British social-reformists continued to rely on the Fabian Society. They prevailed in the Independent Labour Party and played the leading role in the British Labour Party. Playing up to the bourgeois reformism of the British Labour Party, the social-reformists claimed that "neither does socialism propose to take away anyone's private possessions".¹ Supporting the liberals and the reforms introduced by them, the British social-reformists hoped that with time the Independent Labour Party would take over from the liberals. Lauding evolution, James Ramsay MacDonald claimed that "we are passing rapidly into a transition stage, which is not Socialism, but introductory to Socialism".²

The French social-reformists had strong positions in the SFIO and in 1909 came to helm in the GCZ. But there was no unity in their ranks: some demanded that the SFIO make an alliance with bourgeois parties and participate in a bourgeois government, while others viewed cooperatives and municipal councils as a means of transition to socialism. At the same time the social-reformists justified the colonialists as educators of backward nations and argued that no Frenchman or woman wanted war and that, generally speaking, war between civilised states was unthinkable. The outstanding SFIO leader Jean Jaurès, while claiming "the socialist merit of reforms"³ and the dawn of the age of "social democracy", strongly attacked militarism, supported mass actions by the working people and fervently threatened the aggressors with a general strike, an uprising and a revolution.

In the United States the social-reformists—Berger and others—idealised bourgeois democracy and Theodore Roosevelt's anti-trust phraseology, denied the need for a "political revolution", i.e., the winning of power by the proletariat, and claimed the the nationalisation and municipalisation of industry (through redemption) within the existing system

¹ J. Keir Hardie, *The ILP. All About It*, London, I.L.P. Publication Department, W.d., p. 5.

² *The Socialist Standard*, November 1912, No. 99, Vol. 9, p. 19.

³ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 1, 1908-1909, S. 260.

would lead to socialism. They condemned workers' mass action and the activities of the IWW, ignored the interests of Black and immigrant workers and called for discrimination against Asian immigrants. In 1911-1912 they consolidated their positions in the Socialist Party.

The social-reformists who were at the head of the Labour Party of New Zealand believed that the establishment of arbitration courts to settle conflicts between workers and proprietors was a step towards socialism. Their supporters argued that the country had already embarked on the road of practical socialism and would continue to advance along it. Many social-reformists hailed the experience of the bourgeois reformist Labour Party of Australia, which was the first working-class party to come to power for a while, and never gave any trouble to the capitalists.

In Russia the social-reformists' positions were embraced by the liquidators, those who advocated the trade unions' neutrality in political battles and the establishment of a "broad working class party" like the British Labour Party (P. B. Axelrod and others). "Russian reformism is distinguished by its particular stubbornness; it represents, as it were, a more pernicious malady, and it is much more harmful to the cause of the proletariat and of the revolution,"¹ Lenin noted.

Advocates of conciliation helped the social-reformists increase their influence. Between 1908 and 1914 the number of notable leaders of the socialist movement who were considered to be orthodox Marxists but who confined their resistance to the social-reformists to criticism of their views and more flagrant actions grew considerably. Victor Adler and Karl Kautsky were joined in the conciliation camp by August Bebel, Jules Guesde, Hugo Hasse, Henriette Roland-Holst, Moris Hilguit, Oddino Morgari, Camille Huysmans and many others.

Even the staunch Marxist parties justified their virtually boundless tolerance for the social-reformists' activities first and foremost by the need to preserve unity and a broad base; moreover, many Social-Democrats viewed social-reformism and even revisionism in various forms as varieties of Marxism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 230.

Conciliatory attitudes were rooted in the underestimation of the socio-economic, ideological and political processes of the early twentieth century by many orthodox Marxists. Noting the sway of monopolies, the aggravation of the class struggle, the backlash of reaction and the growth of militarism and colonialism, they thought that the objective changes were not serious enough to warrant an update of the policy evolved in the "peaceful" period. They believed that the defeat of the Russian revolution had proved the fallacy of the methods and politics used in Russia and warned against any deviation from the socialists' tried-and-true tactic of the "peaceful" period. So they remained loyal to that outdated policy, which no longer corresponded to the changed circumstances, tried to substantiate it theoretically and opposed any attempt to revise or update it. Defending that policy, they crossed swords with both the right-wingers—the social-reformists and especially the revisionists—and with the left-wingers—the revolutionary socialists, who were developing Marxism and seeking an update of policies.

Karl Kautsky made a major contribution to the development of the ideological and political platform of that course. In 1909 he published *Der Weg zur Macht* (The Way to Power), in which he emphasised the revolutionary nature of the SDP of Germany, expounded the need for the working class to win political power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and held forth on "the new age of revolution".¹ Even at that time he discussed the ways and means of revolution as an abstraction and underestimated the proletariat's allies. Shortly afterwards, having failed to realise that imperialism was the eve of socialist revolution, Kautsky actually renounced the theory of catastrophe and began to preach strategy of attrition, opposing mass actions and characterising the demands of the left-wingers as "the cretinism of mass actions".² In 1911-1912 Kautsky, as M. Waldenberg says in his fundamental research paper, was trying "to put off the moment of the decisive struggle" of the proletariat, considered polemics with the left to be the main task and dropped his

¹ K. Kautsky, *Der Weg zur Macht*, Berlin, 1910, Verlag Buchhandlung Vorwärts, S. 97.

² *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1911-1912, S. 733.

criticism of revisionism.¹ Having pinned all his hopes on parliamentary struggle, he argued against the dismantling of the bourgeois state machinery.

Carrying those ideas still further, Rudolf Hilferding asserted that Marxism viewed "tireless struggle for reforms as a means of leading a proletarian revolution to victory".² Hugo Haase, co-president (together with Friedrich Ebert) of the SDP of Germany considered the party to be nothing more than "a vehicle for moral protest and the assertion of humanistic principles".³ The group led by Kautsky considered itself the "Marxist centre", whereas the revolutionary socialists called them the centrists.

The emergence and development of centrism was uneven and it took on specific forms in various countries. Austro-Marxism, which arose as early as 1903-1907, was a variety of centrism in the SDP of Austria. Revising the philosophy of Marxism, M. Adler and others preached Machism, Neo-Kantianism and Freudism, while Friedrich Adler and his like reduced the chief task of Social-Democracy to the utilisation of the Reichstag in the interests of the working people for the gradual "socialisation" of industry and considered mass actions to be an auxiliary means. Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, the authors of the concept of cultural-national autonomy, deplored the struggle against the colonialist as "a reactionary anti-European movement".⁴ The Austro-Marxists argued that European peace could be secured through anti-war demonstrations and propaganda. Morris Hillquit of the Socialist Party of the USA reduced the concept of revolution to a series of reforms and, standing up for the special interests of skilled workers, called for discrimination against Asian immigrant workers.

Centrism was cultivated in the socialist movement of many countries as "passive radicalism" couched in orthodox phraseology: its advocates relied on Marxism to formulate quite radical demands but confined themselves to traditional policies and even held back the mass struggle of people.

¹ M. Waldenberg, *Wzlot i upadek Karola Kautsky'ego*, 2, Kraków, 1972, p. 639.

² *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1909-1910, S. 896.

³ See: C. E. Schörske, *German Social Democracy, 1905-1907. The Development of the Great Schism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1955, p. 209.

⁴ *Der Kampf*, Dezember 1911.

Jules Guesde and his followers in France considered themselves orthodox Marxists but deluded themselves with the belief that "the revolution would be accomplished on the day when elections bring about a socialist majority in parliament"¹ and were consistently narrowing their activities to the struggle for a parliamentary majority. While rightly opposed to the adventurism of the anarcho-syndicalists, they belittled the importance of strikes and other mass actions. The Guesdists argued that the age of major European wars was passed and did not attach proper significance to anti-militarism and anti-war movement. In putting their stakes on parliamentary elections, they reconciled themselves to the fact that the SFIO was an amalgamation that "embraced the entire spectrum, from peaceful reformists to the most fervent anarchists".²

The centrists' views and policies differed from country to country, of course, but by and large their ideological and political platform, which jelled up in 1910-1914, though orthodox in form, was opportunistic in character because, avowedly pursuing the "time-tested" tactic, it envisioned solely reforms and parliamentary methods of struggle. As Lenin noted some time later, it was "...a blend of loyalty to Marxism in word, and subordination to opportunism in deed".³ The conciliatory attitudes of many socialist leaders, once merely a mood, grew into centrism and a variety of opportunism.

The Centrists, oriented solely to parliamentarism and reforms, were gravitating towards the social-reformists. As a result, the two opportunistic trends became partners and allies in their opposition to the revolutionary socialists. "The fake 'Marxist centre' is the theoretical manifestation of the present functions of the swamp (in the socialist movement—I. K.)," Rosa Luxemburg wrote. "Based on the swamp and allied with the right, the party board and most of the faction have prevailed on crucial issues".⁴ The SDP of Germany was not an exception in that respect. After

¹ See: V. Dalin, *Strikes and the Crisis of Syndicalism in Pre-war France*, Moscow, 1958, p. 166 (in Russian).

² *La revue socialiste*, Octobre 1908.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Socialism and War", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 312.

⁴ Rosa Luxemburg, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Bd. 2, S. 416.

1910 the opportunists, using the centrists' orthodoxy as a guise, actually prevailed in a number of major parties, including the SDP of Germany, the SFIO, the SDPs of Austria, Hungary, Sweden and other countries. By and large the correlation of forces in the international working-class movement changed in the opportunists' favour. Lenin noted in 1912 "the general growth of opportunism, and the 'balancing' of its forces with those of revolutionary Social-Democracy in the big countries of the labour movement".¹

The revolutionary socialists' dissociation from the centrists was made even more difficult by the latter's theoretical orthodoxy and traditional tactics. The alliance of the centrists and the social-reformists was a serious impediment to the growth of the revolutionary socialists' influence among the mass of people, and the anarcho-syndicalists made matters even more difficult.

Most of the French anarcho-syndicalist leaders, among them Léon Jouhaux, Alfred Merrheim and others, leaned towards a rapprochement with the reformists due to the setbacks of the much publicised but poorly prepared strikes. The GCZ discarded its demand for the 8-hour working day in favour of a reduction of working hours on Saturdays. J. Saurel made an alliance with the monarchists and nationalists, while G. Hervé called for an alliance between the SFIO and the bourgeois radicals. Nevertheless, many unionised workers continued to consider sabotage and the general strike to be the best means of preventing war and transforming society.

In Italy Arturo Labriola urged the working people "to go over" to the reality of the revolution pursued by the methodical extension of the acts of unions and the gradual elimination of every political influence".² The Spanish anarcho-syndicalists established a National Confederation of Labour, which involved the more active segment of workers and peasants. Anarcho-syndicalists were at work in the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria, Bohemia, Sweden, Britain and other European countries. Following a break with the Socialist Party, the IWW fell under the influence of the anarcho-syndicalists who preached "direct action"

¹ V. I. Lenin, "To V. A. Karpinsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 193.

² *The International Socialist Review*, 1906-1907, Vol. 7, p. 676.

methods. Their views were mirrored by D. Kotoku's activities in Japan.

Although the international anti-militarist association led by D. Nieuwenhuis was impotent and although the Bureau of the anarchist International folded up in 1910, the anarcho-syndicalist ideas became widespread in the working-class movement. They were shared by many workers, who were loath to see the spread of opportunism and looked for efficient means of struggle against the exploiters and a looming world war. Anarcho-syndicalism, unable to pose a serious alternative to opportunism, misled and led astray many revolutionary-minded workers, the potential base of the revolutionary socialists, who sometimes found it difficult to explain to the mass of people the fallacy of the anarcho-syndicalists' slogans, which had a radical appeal. That was why the revolutionary socialists' influence among the mass of people was not spreading readily.

The natural internationalisation of the working-class movement in 1908-1914 called for the further expansion of cooperation among the workers' organisations of all countries. However, the character, meaning and efficiency of that cooperation depended to an ever greater extent on the correlation of forces between the revolutionary and the opportunistic trend and the confrontation between them.

* * *

Increasing mutual assistance among workers' organisations in tackling various national tasks and unity of action in dealing with their common international problem of safeguarding peace was a hallmark of their growing international cooperation in 1908-1914. These goals were pursued by the International Socialist Bureau, by international special and regional conferences, by international trade-union centres and by the International's congresses. In spite of aggravating confrontation and the changed correlation of forces between the revolutionary and the opportunistic trends, most of them were dominated by Marxism and a desire for the cohesion of the international working-class movement.

The International Socialist Bureau played a significant role in 1908-1910. It initiated a series of international actions of the proletariat for peace. Its Secretariat arranged

for exchanges of opinion between socialists from different countries on ways of safeguarding peace in the context of the Balkan crisis, provoked by Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The executive committee said in a statement that "the affiliated parties have been doing all that was humanly speaking possible in order to maintain peace between the nations, to enforce respect of the rights of autonomous existence and everywhere improve the well-being of the working classes".¹ Serious differences surfaced in discussions between socialists from 14 countries at the 10th plenary meeting of the ISB in October 1908. Victor Adler and Anton Nemec tried to exonerate the government of Austria-Hungary. They proposed that not just the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina but also Bulgaria's proclamation of independence be discussed as a threat to peace. Tesnyak G. Avramoff wrongly stated that Bulgaria's independence was a "harmful venture" of the bourgeoisie. L. de Brouckère criticised Adler and urged the socialists to use force against imperialist aggression and argued that Bulgarian independence was a step towards progress. H. Hyndman urged the Austrian Social-Democrats resolutely to oppose Austria-Hungary's policy of aggression and called upon the socialists to fight for the independence of Ireland, Poland and Balkan countries. The Russian delegates proposed that the meeting censured the intrigues of tsarism, which was looking for allies and loans to struggle against the revolutionary movement and complicating international relations. The ISB approved a resolution, proposed by E. Vaillant, which stressed that the Socialist Party and the organised proletariat was the only force capable of preserving international peace, urged the socialists to act in the spirit of the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress and recommended that the leaders of all the socialist parties, their parliamentary factions and the ISB members be more vigilant and evolved means and practical measures, both national and international, to avert war.² In the spring of 1909 the ISB published a manifesto stressing the need to use May Day meetings and

¹ *Periodical Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau*, Brussels, 1 an., No. 1, p. 7.

² *La réunion du Bureau Socialiste Internationale 11 octobre, 1908*, p. 48.

demonstrations to fight against warmongers.

The ISB took a stand against international reaction. 1st executive committee approved the establishment of a Zulu Protection Committee by the South-African socialists. It called upon socialists to organise rallies and demonstrations of protest against Russian tsarism during the tour of West-European countries by Nicholas II and to prevent the tsar from securing loans. In the wake of an anti-militarist strike and an uprising in Barselona, the executive committee made efforts to organise a movement of solidarity with the Spanish workers and to arrange relief for them. The 11th session of the ISB unanimously hailed the struggle waged by the Spanish workers. The ISB protested against repression in Russia, Spain, Mexico and Romania and against capital punishment, especially of political criminals. Its executive committee urged socialist parties to support the Argentinean strikers, who faced repression, and the struggle of the Finnish people against tsarism's encroachments on their democratic freedoms. The ISB protested against the intervention of Russia and other powers in Iran.

Working for stronger unity in the socialist movement, the ISB Executive Committee built more solid contacts with socialist parties and trade unions, delegated representatives to their congresses, conducted extensive correspondence with various parties and organisations, arranged for exchanges of opinions on diverse issues and stocked documents of socialist parties. It stood for the implementation of the decisions taken by the International Socialist congresses, censured the SP of the United States for its failure to comply with the resolution on immigrants, tried to preserve unity in the Hungarian Social-Democratic movement, from which the Croatian Social-Democrats had seceded, sought the unification of the SP and SLP in the United States and urged the RSDLP to seek accommodation even with nationalist organisations.

The revolutionary socialists and the opportunists differed on ways of achieving unity in the working-class movement. The ILP's delegate to the 10th session of the ISB, John Glasier, asserted that the British Labour Party was a "purely" working-class party, socialist by definition, and demanded its unconditional admittance to the International. Kautsky backed the idea without any strings attached, but Hyndman and Avramoff forcefully demonstrated that the

BLP was not free from liberal influence, and did not recognise the class struggle or the socialist principles. They argued that the BLP would be admitted to the International only when it had recognised the general principles of the socialist movement. Lenin noted that the BLP "...is not a party really independent of the Liberals, and does not pursue a fully independent class policy"¹ but, in view of the speedy growth of the revolutionary trend in the British Labour movement, he considered it necessary to admit the BLP to the International so as to help it become a socialist party. He suggested putting on record in a resolution that the establishment of the BLP "...represents the first step on the part of the really proletarian organisations of Britain towards a conscious class policy and towards a *socialist workers' party*".² Kautsky's draft resolution was approved by the majority vote and the ILP newspaper *Labour Leader* interpreted it as endorsement of the policies of the ILP and the BLP. That was why Lenin and the British Social-Democrats criticised, in *Proletarii* and *Justice* respectively, the ISB and stressed the need to rectify that mistake at the forthcoming international socialist congress.

The social-reformists in the ISB secured the admittance of the nationalist party Daschnaktsoutioun to the International. Thanks to a resolute stand taken by Lenin, who made two speeches to expose the bourgeois-nationalistic character of the Zionist socialists and their backers, the 10th session of the ISB declined to admit the Jewish nationalists to the International.

The ISB Executive Committee took a formal attitude in its efforts to restore unity in the Dutch Social-Democratic movement and placed responsibility for the rift at the Marxists' door. Most of its members would like to avoid discussing the essence of the policies pursued by the SDLP and the SDP. P. Singer suggested that the SDP's right to attend congresses be recognised because it met the demands made by the International and to refer the question of its representation on the ISB and the number of votes accorded to it at the congress to the Dutch section of the International. Lenin backed him and forcefully proved that the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the International Socialist Bureau", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 234.

² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

rift was a *fait accompli* and could not be disregarded and that even the opponents of the SDP couldn't help recognising it as a socialist party. He also drew the ISB's attention to G. Roland-Holst's statement that the expulsion of the SDP from the International would be a mistake. P. Singer was supported also by E. Vaillant, who noted the need for a rapprochement between the SDLP and the SDP within the International, by H. Gorter, who held the social-reformists responsible for the rift, and even by E. Vandervelde.

But Victor Adler argued that the ISB was not "the highest court" and, without going into the essence of the rift in the SDLP, challenged the SDP's right to belong in the International because recognition of the SDP would supposedly encourage divisionists everywhere. He suggested that the question of the SDP's affiliation with the International be decided by the SDLP of the Netherlands. He was supported by H. van Kol, E. Anseele and P. Troelstra and the ISB passed by the majority vote Victor Adler's resolution. The German left Social-Democrats stated in *Bremen Bürger-Zeitung* that Adler "...speaks as the advocate of international opportunism" and that "his resolution was passed 'thanks to the support of the opportunist olla podrida'".¹ After that dispute the ISB leaders, trying to avoid potentially explosive issues, did not include in the agenda of the plenary meeting either the unification of the Bulgarian socialists or E. Ferri's switch to chauvinistic positions.

There were clashes with opportunists in the ISK as well. When colonial reforms were discussed at a meeting in October 1908, attended by representatives of the socialist factions of six parliaments, G. van Kol proposed a "positive" colonial programme of Social-Democracy, claiming that the "savages" had not progressed enough to be granted democratic freedoms. H. Molkenbuhr, supporting him, argued that Germany needed colonies and defended colonialism. Kautsky demonstrated that the general principles of social-democratic programmes were applicable to the colonies with due regard for the specific local circumstances. G. von Ledebour pointed out that the struggle against capitalism in the colonies themselves should be given priority. Failing

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eleventh Session of the International Socialist Bureau", *Collected Works*, Vol.16, p. 144.

to win support, G. van Kol withdrew his proposals. The November 1909 meeting of the ISK attended by 25 delegates from 11 countries, confined itself to hearing reports on the struggle for improved pension schemes for workers.

International conferences of workers in the socialist press, convened by the socialist Journalists' Bureau, helped broaden the socialists' international cooperation. The second such conference, held in October 1908, decided to draw up a list of names of leading socialist journalists of diverse trends of all countries, and to recommend that the ISB support the publication by socialist parties without daily papers, of bulletins with subscribers' funds. The next conference, which took place in November 1909, discussed practical ways of putting relations between socialist dailies in different countries on a more regular basis.

The first regional conference of the socialist parties of Serbia, Romania, Macedonia, Turkey, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Carinthia, Craiova and the Bulgarian Tesnyaki was convened on the revolutionary socialists' initiative in Belgrade in January 1910. The Greek socialists stated their solidarity with the conference. A resolution passed unanimously noted the just character of the Balkan peoples' liberation struggle against the oppressors, including Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Russia, and against the West-European powers' intervention in Balkan affairs. The Balkan socialists strongly deplored the status quo and demanded change. Clarifying this resolution, Dimiter Tutzowicz wrote, "This status quo of oppression, division and foreign yoke has become intolerable for the Balkan nations".¹ The conference debunked the "least evil theory", with which the imperialists tried to justify Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The resolution exposed the reactionary policies of the Balkan dynasties, which were at loggerheads with one another, were manipulated by the great powers and impeded the national and social emancipation of their peoples. The conference deplored bourgeois nationalism, pointed to the proletariat as the vanguard detachment of the struggle for the national liberation and social emancipation of the Balkan peoples and urged self-determination for all the Balkan nations, democracy in the Balkan

¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Bd. 2, 1909-1910, S. 845.

countries and their voluntary alliance as preconditions for the successful struggle for socialism. The resolution said, inter alia, that the socialists should "...support, with all their might, all aspirations tending to materialise the complete democratic autonomy of the people and the independence of the nation..."¹ A decision was taken to establish permanent contacts between the socialists of all the Balkan countries and to draw up a common programme of action.

In August 1910 the Women's International Socialist Bureau headed by Klara Zetkin, convened the second international socialist conference of women, which was attended by about 100 delegates from 17 countries. "Our goal is not just the free woman but, higher still, the emancipated humanity!"², Klara Zetkin said in her opening address. In spite of opposition from some of the British delegates, the conference decided to fight for universal and equal suffrage for women. To this end demonstrations in all countries were planned for March 19, 1911. The decision to mark International Women's Day was immensely important. The day has been traditionally celebrated since that time. A resolution voicing specific demands was adopted on the basis of a report by Käthe Duncker of the SDP of Germany, who related the struggle for mother and child security and protection to the struggle for socialism.

The ISB kept in touch with the International Trade Union Secretariat and with some of the international sectoral trade-union centres. The Sixth International Trade-Union Conference, held in Paris from August 30 to September 1, 1909, and attended by delegates of the national trade-union centres of 13 countries and by guests representing Romanian and Bulgarian trade unions, the AFL and the US unemployed, contributed to the consolidation of the trade-union movement. Anarcho-syndicalists tried to impose their views on the conference, but it passed a resolution urging the unions to fight with every means available to them in every individual country. It suggested that the unions of all countries take the side of immigrant workers and protested against the import of strikebreakers. It also

¹ *Periodical Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau*, 1 an., No. 2, p. 65.

² *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 29. August, 1910.

passed a resolution on struggle for work safety in the household industry and other documents. The policy line was supported by international conferences of sectoral trade unions. An international conference of metal-workers from six countries, held in Berlin in 1909, discussed support for a general strike in Sweden. Speaking for many advanced workers, the bulletin of the Metal-Workers' Secretariat, *Internationale Metallarbeiter-Rundschau*, pointed to the need further to strengthen the international unity of the trade-union movement. Such tendencies made themselves manifest at the international congresses of miners, builders, masons, and transport and retail workers.

Unity of action among the working people of many countries in the struggle against reaction and the war threat was emerging. International rallies, the participants of which stated their resolve to safeguard peace among nations and vigorously to fight against militarism became a new form of anti-war actions. Social-Democrats took a concerted stand for peace in the parliaments of Austria and Serbia and in the Russian Duma. Workers in many European countries protested against the Russian tsar's tour of Europe. The tsar had to put off his visit to Italy. Rallies of solidarity with the Spanish proletariat were organised in the summer of 1909 to give support to an uprising of Spanish workers. An international rally took place in Kiel on August 15. German workers raised 10,000 francs and Belgian 1,000 francs for their class brothers in Spain. Workers in almost all the countries responded to the general strike in Sweden and about 2,000,000 francs were raised in 18 countries for the strikers in a short time. The Spanish workers were fighting for an end to the war against Morocco. Workers in Russia and Britain strongly condemned the intervention of their countries' imperialists against the Iranian revolution and the RSDLP was giving direct support to the Iranian revolutionaries. Effective solidarity with the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonies and dependencies was a new feature of the international working-class movement.

In the autumn of 1909 the ISB launched preparations for the next congress of the International. At the 11th plenary meeting of the ISB the opportunists tried to narrow down the range of issues to be discussed. They struck the agrarian question out of the agenda but failed to block dis-

cussion on cooperatives. The agenda also featured the results of labour legislation and its international organisation, international assistance to major strikes, unemployment, improvements in relations between socialist parties and the ISB, struggle for the abolition of capital punishment, international arbitration courts and disarmament. The ISB executive committee organised the publication of a regular bulletin (*Bulletin périodique du Bureau Socialiste Internationale*), published reports of 33 socialist parties and trade-union centres of 21 countries, and issued a collection of the programmes and charters of almost all the socialist parties.

In the run-up to the congress disputes flared up between the revolutionary socialists and the opportunists in Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy over war, nationalism and chauvinism, the socialists' attitude to imperialist governments in their countries and pacifism. Fearing that the revolutionary trend would gain at the congress, the social-reformists, citing as a pretext the unfulfilled resolutions of previous congresses, protested against the common principles of the international socialist movement and urged a curtailment of the tasks and rights of the congresses. The overwhelming majority of the socialists, however, wanted the International strengthened and emphasised the importance of the forthcoming international socialist forum. At a meeting in Copenhagen on 27 August, the eve of the congress, the ISB summed up the results of preparatory work, finalised the agenda of the congress and made plans for establishing five special commissions tentatively to discuss the main issues and to draft resolutions.

* * *

The Eight Congress of the Second International opened in Copenhagen on 28 August, 1910. Altogether 896 delegates of socialist and working-class organisations from 23 countries gathered at a special concert hall adorned with flowers, streamers and banners.

There were 39 members in the Russian delegation and the proportion of the Bolsheviks was higher than in the Russian delegation to the Stuttgart Congress. They were V. I. Lenin, P. G. Poletayev, I. P. Pokrovsky, A. V. Lunacharsky, A. M. Kolontai and others. The RSDLP, which was represented also

by Mensheviks, among them G. V. Plekhanov, Lithuanian and Armenian Social-Democrats, had ten votes, the Socialist Revolutionaries seven and the trade unions three. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin became the focus of all the revolutionary forces at the congress. An unofficial meeting of revolutionary Socialists and their supporters from many countries was held; it was attended, besides the Bolsheviks, by G. V. Plekhanov, D. B. Ryazanov, R. Luxemburg, E. Wurm, J. Marchlewski, A. Braun, L. de Brouckère, D. Blagoyev, P. Iglesias, G. Guesde, Ch. Rappoport and perhaps also by W. Kolaroff, G. Kirkov, Kh. Kabakchiev, D. Wijnkoop, B. Ravenstein and others.

The German delegation of 189 representatives of the SDP and the free trade unions was led by C. Legien, H. Molkenbuhr, F. Ebert, K. Kautsky and H. Haase. August Bebel had been kept away by an illness. The left wing of the delegation was headed by K. Zetkin, A. Stadthagen and K. Duncker. About half the seats that went to the German delegation in the five commissions were controlled by the right-wingers, six or seven by advocates of conciliation and just three by the left-wingers. The right-wing dominance in the delegation was obvious and the rightists wanted a compromise to their benefit. As a result the German delegation was in no position to exert the decisive influence on the congress. "In general," Lenin wrote of its actions in Copenhagen, "the Germans are incapable of pursuing a consistent line of principle at International Congress and the hegemony in the International often slips from their hands."¹

Most of the French delegation supported J. Jaurès and E. Vaillant and a minority were the followers of G. Guesde. There were advocates of syndicalism and "cooperative socialism" among the majority, which tended to lean towards an alliance with German social-reformists on major issues. The minority pursued orthodox policies.

The British working-class organisations, including the LP, the ILP, the SDP, the Fabian Society and the trade unions, sent a delegation of 84. Most of their 20 votes were controlled by the LP and ILP and their leaders, among them R. MacDonald, J. Keir Hardie and J. Glasier, were reformists. The SDP leaders, among them H. Quelch,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eleventh Session of the International Socialist Bureau", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 281.

D. Jones and D. Irving, kept a high profile.

A dramatic conflict flared up in the Austrian delegation. Victor Adler and the other Austrians went against the Czech Socialists-Nationalists, led by Anton Nemec, and had the congress validate the mandate of the centrists, who disapproved of the division of the trade unions according to nationality. Most of the Austrian delegation were opportunists.

The Italian delegation included not just social-reformists and "integrationists" but also the "irreconcilables" but the first fiddle was played by the social-reformists. Opportunists prevailed in the US delegation. The Belgian delegation was among the more active and its leaders, E. Vandervelde, E. Anseele and C. Huysmans, made efforts to reconcile all the trends. The Swedish delegation took its lead from the SDP of Germany.

Delegates from Denmark, Poland, Switzerland, Finland, the Netherlands, Hungary and Croatia were very active. But revolutionary Social-Democrats were strong only in the Polish delegation, which included R. Luxemburg, J. Marchlewski and G. Walecki. The SDP of the Netherlands had only one out of the eight votes of the Dutch delegation. The delegations of Argentina, Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia had four votes each; of them, the revolutionary stand was taken by most of the Bulgarian delegation including Tesnyaki D. Blagoev, W. Kolaroff, G. Kirkov and others, and also the Serbian Social-Democrats led by D. Tutzowicz. The other two delegations were dominated by social-reformists and advocates of conciliation.

By and large, conciliators made up the largest segment of the participants in the congress. The conciliatory trend, which had not yet shaped up as centrism, sought compromises to achieve unity at the congress on the orthodox basis of earlier principles and restrained both the right- and the left-wingers, who wanted to update them. Social-reformists, who had strong positions at the congress, were not unanimous on many issues and tried to push through their proposals by making compromises with conciliators and exploiting their pliancy. They claimed that "the decisions of international congresses always are compromises".¹

¹ *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Kopenhagen*, 28. August bis 3. September, 1910, Berlin, 1910, S. 119.

As an exception, the social-reformists supported orthodox formulas if they sounded general enough and were not likely to bind their hands. The revolutionary socialists, who were just beginning to distance themselves from the conciliators and to consolidate their forces on an international scale, were resolutely upholding the orthodox postulates which had not lost their relevance and, resorting to necessary compromises, tried to carry them further and make them more specific.

The working people welcomed the congress. About 80,000 workers enthusiastically hailed the delegates in a mass demonstration after the first plenary meeting. At the second plenary meeting Huysmans read more than 60 telegrams and letters of greetings from various organisations and politicians of many countries.

Some of the resolutions were passed almost unanimously. Presenting to the congress a draft resolution on unemployment, drawn up by one of the commissions, A. Braun noted the trend for the growth of unemployment and the deterioration of the living standards of the working people. He demonstrated that unemployment could not be eliminated under capitalism but that efforts could and should be made to lessen it and to mitigate its grim consequences. The draft noted that the trade unions should give efficient aid to all the unemployed, both unionised and non-unionised, and fully to control and regulate that aid. Funds for unemployed benefits should be provided by government and public organisations at proprietors' expense. The resolution demanded the adoption of legislation on mandatory state relief to all the unemployed, the establishment of appropriate organisations, the formalisation of the unions' right to control and regulate unemployment benefits, legislation on shorter working hours, the organisation of public work, the safeguarding of all political rights for the unemployed, etc.

R. MacDonald and H. Quelch argued that the draft was feeble and inadequate. The British delegation and some of the French delegates abstained, but all the others voted for it. Although not mentioning the organisation of mass actions by the unemployed themselves, that resolution equipped the proletariat with a concrete programme of aid to the unemployed and thus broadened the front of its struggle against capitalism.

Another commission, after debates in which H. Molkenbuhr argued that the socialists should convince the bourgeoisie that work safety, protecting workers' life and health would quickly pay back and even boost proprietors' profits, produced a draft resolution on work safety, which for the most part paralleled the relevant resolutions of previous congresses.

A plenary meeting adopted resolutions for the abolition of capital punishment, on the situation in Iran (proposed by the Daschnaks), in Turkey (put forward by the Saloniki socialists), in Japan, in Argentina, in Finland (drafted by the Russian and Finnish Social-Democrats), in Spain, in Morocco, and also a resolution on the right of refuge. The resolution on capital punishment condemned that "barbaric vestige of the dark Middle Ages"¹ and urged socialists in all countries resolutely to demand the abolition of capital punishment, organise relevant actions in parliament and conduct agitation among the mass of people and in the press. "The International Socialist Congress most strongly deplores this shameful political situation in Argentina and amicably welcomes the conduct of the Socialist Party",² said the resolution on rampant reaction in Argentina. The Congress deplored the "absolutist arbitrariness and capitalist ruthlessness" of the Japanese government and expressed sympathy for the Japanese socialists, fighting against reaction and the aggressive policies of their country. It branded attempts of Russian tsarism and its stooges, the Duma reactionaries, to deprive the Finnish people of democratic freedoms and stressed the need for the joint struggle of the Finnish and Russian proletariat against their common enemy and urged socialists and democrats in all the countries to protest in every way against tsarist policy and to support the struggle of the Finnish people. The congress voiced "ardent sympathies for comrades, members of the Socialist Party of Spain, comrades Catalonians and all the organised workers in Spain"³ who countered the colonialist venture in Morocco with mass actions by the proletariat. It protested against the reactionaries' ruthless suppression of the leaders of the Spanish proletariat.

¹ *ISK... 1910*, S. 16.

² *Ibid.*, S. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 19.

The congress denounced the European powers' colonialist policy towards the Balkan nations and Turkey, protested against "the reactionary policy of the Young Turks' government", especially against its suppression of the working-class movement, and stated that successful struggle against reactionaries and colonialists was only possible through far-reaching democratic reforms in the Balkan countries and "through peaceful accord between the sovereign peoples of those states".¹ The Bulgarian Tesnyaki and the delegation of the SDP of Serbia did not think the resolution went far enough and delegated W. Kolaroff to read at a plenary meeting a statement, saying that the Balkan question could be resolved only through the class struggle for the establishment of "a free federation of all the Balkan republics..."²

The resolution of Persia deplored the counterrevolutionary intervention of Russian tsarism, which was stifling the revolutionary movement in the country. The congress urged the socialist parties to use every means "to put an end to the reactionary actions of tsarism".³ But it ignored two important factors, namely Britain's active participation in the counterrevolutionary intervention, on the one hand, and the Russian revolutionaries' considerable and regular assistance to the Iranian revolutionaries, on the other.

The resolution on Morocco, proposed by the socialists of France and Spain, strongly denounced the Franco-Spanish act of aggression against Morocco and called upon socialists in all countries jointly to work for an end to the war and to thwart the colonialists' new plans for conquests. The congress strongly protested against violations of the right to refuge by the ruling circles of different countries and urged all socialists energetically to protect that right and to consider any violation of it to be detrimental to state independence.

Those resolutions helped strengthen the international solidarity of the proletariat, mobilised it to support the national liberation movement and plotted a course towards an alliance of the working people of the parent states and colonies.

Following P. Louis' proposal, the commission submitted

¹ *ISK ... 1910*, S. 20.

² *Ibid.*, S. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 20.

to the congress without debates a draft resolution on the unity of the socialist movement in every country. The draft recalled the relevant decision of the Amsterdam Congress and noted that each section of the International "should overcome internal divisions in the interests of the working class of their country and the world over". The sections which were still divided were asked to achieve unity as soon as possible while the ISB was instructed to help them towards that goal. The resolution did not mention the character of differences and struggle between various trends. The suggested platform for unity was "the theory and practice of international socialism".¹ Addressing a plenary meeting, the commission's rapporteur, W. Ellenbogen, totally ignored the character of different trends in the socialist movement, the nature of struggle between them and the meaning of divisions. Avoiding a serious discussion of the issue, he held forth on the importance of unity among socialists in general and pointed to the SFIO as an example. He was seconded by J. Sakasoff, who stressed the striving of the Shiroki for unity. Speaking for the Socialists of Serbia, Romania and the Tesnyaki, W. Kolaroff forcefully stated: "...we do not want any contact with the party of the previous speaker ... who belongs to the party which we are fighting against and will continue to fight against constantly as long as it exists".² The majority voted for a "rubber" resolution, which could be used by any trend or group, especially by advocates of "unity at all costs".

When the issue of "arbitration courts and disarmament" came for discussion, the revolutionary Social-Democrats defended the decision of the Stuttgart Congress both from the proponents of pacifism and from those who would like to interpret it in the spirit of anarcho-syndicalism. Leading figures from many parties, among them D. Blagoev, E. Vaillant, H. Haase, J. Keir Hardie, G. Ledebour, M. Hillquit, O. Morgari, K. Renner, H. van Kol, D. Tutzowicz and W. Vliegen, were sitting on that commission. Russia was represented by the Social-Democrats I. P. Pokrovsky, B. I. Gorev and the Socialist-Revolutionaries Volkovsky and Adoratsky.

¹ Ibid., S. 26.

² Ibid., S. 27.

The commission began by discussing five resolutions proposed by different organisations. Serious differences surfaced already at the first meeting and it became clear that none of the five resolutions was supported by the majority of the commission members. A subcommission to draw up a new draft was established as a result. It supported by the majority vote a draft proposed by K. Renner and G. Ledebour. That document contained general Marxist postulates on the causes of war in the age of capitalism and on the decisive role of the proletariat in the struggle for peace and noted specifically that the arms race had escalated and the war danger grown stronger. It obliged the Social-Democrats to protest against government spending for military purposes, to struggle for universal disarmament, for the obligatory submission of all international disputes to arbitration courts, for the abolition of secret diplomacy and for the self-determination of nations but stopped short of calling for the armament of the people. It formulated partial demands, including restrictions on naval armaments and the abolition of maritime prize law. It was planned to raise up and press those demands in parliaments and to organise mass action over them. The draft included the last passages of the anti-militarist resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, which called for the use of every way and means of struggle against militarism and war and, even more important, stressed that the socialists should use the war-related crisis to expedite the overthrow of capitalism.

Seconding that draft, E. Vaillant urged the socialists not to stop at sacrifices to avert war and suggested a general strike at the outbreak of a war as one of the means. J. Keir Hardie said that at least a strike of workers on transport and in the munitions industry should be organised at the outbreak of a war. Volkhovsky, speaking for the Russian delegation, insisted that the draft should demand the abolition of military jurisprudence and the granting of all the civil rights to soldiers, and also recommended that anti-war and revolutionary work in the army be stepped up. Although G. Ledebour and K. Renner were dead set against the proposals of E. Vaillant, J. Keir Hardie and Volkhovsky, 58 delegates voted in the commission for the proposal to launch strikes. But the intention to time strikes with the outbreak of a war carried the imprint of anarcho-syndicalism and for this reason was declined by 119 votes.

J. Glasier who found himself on the right wing of the commission, argued that wars were caused by the animal instincts and the pugnacity of nations. He urged wider peace propaganda as an easy way to the establishment of a United States of Europe as a guarantee of peace. O. Morgari insisted that socialists should demand in parliaments an agreement between the great power on 50 per cent cuts in the armed forces and military spending as a condition for the socialists' endorsement of the other 50 per cent of military spending.

Criticising the policy line of the leaders of the SDP of Austria and of Germany in the spirit of revolutionary Social-Democracy, D. Tutzowicz noted that they were irresolute in their opposition to the aggressive actions of the governments of their countries and other great powers, did not mobilise every effort for the struggle or fight for the self-determination of smaller nations, and ignored the interests of the Balkan peoples. "The Austrian Social-Democrats were not forceful enough in their opposition to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina...", he said. "The German Social-Democrats discredited themselves in the eyes of the Serbian workers..."¹ Tutzowicz called for changes in that situation. Karl Radek pointed to the reformist and pacifist limitations of the resolution passed by the Social-Democratic faction of the German Reichstag in favour of the British-German accord to restrict naval armaments, protested against the "shortening of slogans" and called for stepped up anti-militarist agitation.

Eventually, all the commission members with the exception of Oddino Morgari voted for the Ledebour-Renner draft without amendments. The commission unanimously approved a draft resolution submitted by E. Vaillant on behalf of the SFIO on the expedite fulfilment of the decisions taken by the international socialist congresses. The ISB Secretariat was instructed to convene, in case of a war threat, meetings on the initiative of even one of the socialist parties concerned. Apart from that, the commission approved Vliegen's draft resolution, according to which the socialist parties were obliged to make efforts to fulfil the decisions of international socialist congresses but were free to choose the place, time and form of their fulfilment.

¹ *ISK... 1910*, S. 103.

That resolution was a counterbalance, as it were, to the spirit of E. Vaillant's resolution.

Presenting the draft resolution to the Congress, G. Ledebour criticised Glasier's bourgeois views, Morgari's pacifism and the Labourists' vote for the budget. He admitted that a general strike was possible in principle and that Stuttgart resolution envisioned struggle in every form, including a general strike. He nevertheless believed, that the time was not right for mentioning it in the resolution. He urged efforts for the submission of all international disputes to arbitration courts and explained that "those capitalist institutions will in no way lead to the suppression of conflicts really posing the threat of war". Ledebour suggested that demands be put forward everywhere for complete disarmament, that the lies of bourgeois politicians be exposed in parliaments, that efforts be made for restrictions on armaments and for the abolition of maritime prize law, and formulated a slogan of self-determination for all the peoples, "not only in Europe but also in Asia and Africa".¹ The earlier slogan of arming the people was not mentioned either in the draft or in the report.

Supporting the commission's draft, Karl Renner also made references to the anti-militarist resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, however, he quoted the social-reformists as saying that a general strike was suicidal to the party, tried to narrow the issue of struggle against militarism, to confine the congress's decision to the slogans of disarmament and arbitration courts, and called upon the delegates to approve a resolution that would be acceptable to every trend.

J. Keir Hardie continued to uphold his own proposal but at the same time exonerated Glasier, the Labourists' vote for the budget, sided himself with Hyndman's chauvinistic statements and interpreted the slogan of disarmament in a downright pacifist way. Taking a very different stand, E. Vaillant argued that parliamentary action was insufficient and, carrying further the ideas of the Stuttgart Congress, insisted that in their peace efforts the socialists should use a general strike as "the organised strike force of the entire proletariat".² Moreover, he did not link the timing of such

¹ Ibid., S. 30, 31.

² Ibid., S. 42.

a strike with the outbreak of hostilities. D. Jones supported him on behalf of the British SDP.

The congress postponed debates on a general strike and approved unanimously all the three resolutions prepared by the commission. The Copenhagen Congress reaffirmed the anti-militarist resolution passed in Stuttgart and complemented it with new concrete slogans to help mobilise the mass of people. However, emphasis on parliamentary action, the failure to demand the arming of the people and to agree on the use of the slogans of international arbitration courts, disarmament, etc. for revolutionary propaganda played into the social-reformists' hands.

Unity in the trade-union movement was a much debated issue. The leadership of the Austrian trade-union movement submitted to the commission a draft resolution reaffirming the decision of the Stuttgart Congress on the need for close liaison between the socialist parties and trade unions, stressing the vital importance of trade union unity in every country and holding any attempt to divide the unions into separate national organisations to be contrary to the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress. In substantiating the draft, A. Hueber qualified the actions of the leaders of the Czech-Slovenian SDP as nationalist separatism. Defending his party's policy, A. Nemec used inaccuracies in the wording of the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, which urged trade union unity in every nation rather than in every state, and argued that the split of the Austrian trade unions was necessary to enable cooperation between his party and the Czech trade unions. He proposed a draft resolution stipulating that the Austrian socialists and trade unions should seek unionisation according to nation. He was supported by F. Soukup and V. Tusar, who asserted that the leaders of the Czech-Slovenian SDP were not nationalists and assured the commission of their loyalty to the International.

The leaders of the Czech-Slovenian Social-Democrats were criticised by 15 representatives of the working-class movement from nine countries. Spokesmen for all the trends censured the leaders of the Czech-Slovenian SDP for their "nationalist separatism" or "nationalist anarchism" and for weakening the forces of the proletariat. As a result, the commission approved the Austrians' draft with five votes against and a few abstentions and instructed the ISB and the International Trade Union Secretariat to help settle

the conflict between the Czech-Slovenian SDP and the SDP of Austria in the spirit of "socialist fraternity"; it pointed out that the united trade-union movement in a multinational state should respect the language and cultural needs of all workers. A. Nemec's proposal collected a mere nine votes.

Delivering a report to the congress, Georgi Plekhanov described debates in the commission and substantiated its draft. A. Nemec repeated his "arguments" and attempted to win the delegates' sympathy to the slogan of protecting the rights of smaller nations in the International. Nationalist separatism was criticised by a spokesman for the Czech centrists, and also by H. Greulich and V. Adler. Finally, A. Nemec's draft was supported by just a dozen votes, while the commission's draft was passed by 22 votes, including two of the Czech centrists, with five votes against and seven abstentions. The principles of proletarian internationalism thus prevailed over nationalism.

They were reaffirmed and made more specific in a resolution on international solidarity, drafted and submitted by the Swedish delegation. The resolution read, *inter alia*, that the workers should fulfil their international duty in practice by giving material and moral support to the fighting comrades in other countries, and stressed the need for continuous cooperation among unions in all countries, for revisions in the unions' statutes so that they should not block prompt and effective support to comrades abroad, and for an improvement and broadening of the international contacts of the socialist press organs, especially in reporting major actions by the proletariat and in countering bourgeois lies. Speakers in debates pointedly criticised the British and French unions for their denial of any support to the Swedish workers during their 1909 general strike and the actual refusal of the AFL leaders to give such support. The commission and, subsequently, the congress passed unanimously the Swedish draft, thus pointing to practical ways of strengthening international proletarian solidarity and defining the tasks of the International Trade Union Secretariat.

Serious differences came to the fore in debates on co-operatives. The draft resolution proposed by the Labour Party of Belgium warned the socialists against "cooperative socialism", the proponents of which viewed cooperatives as a means of resolving the social question. The Belgian

draft stated that the working class had an interest in using cooperatives as a weapon of the class struggle and pointed to the benefits that cooperatives had to offer the working people, including price cuts, better working conditions provided by suppliers, etc. The draft noted the priority importance of consumer cooperatives and called for closer links between them and the socialist parties. That draft, substantiated in the commission by L. Bertrand and backed by E. Anseele and E. Vandervelde, pointed rather "to the instinct for a really proletarian approach to co-operative affairs than to a distinct understanding of the hostility and the irreconcilable breach between the proletarian and the petty-bourgeois point of view".¹

The Guesdists' draft noted that cooperatives in themselves were not class organisations but that by participating in consumer cooperatives, the workers could use them to fight the bourgeoisie. It warned against "cooperative illusions" and called upon the socialists to assist proletarian cooperatives and to explain to the masses the need for winning political power and achieving the public ownership of the means of production.

The Jauresists' draft plotted a different policy line: it lauded cooperatives as an essential element of "social transformation" and did not differentiate between consumer cooperatives and those of small proprietors. It bore an imprint of petty-bourgeois "cooperative socialism" and preached cooperatives' neutrality vis-à-vis the socialist parties.

Many social-reformists decided that the Jaures-Toma draft fell short of the mark. Adolf von Elm, backed by a large segment of the German delegation, submitted another draft resolution, which defined consumer and production cooperatives as a weapon in the anti-monopoly struggle, as organisations raising distribution to a new, higher level of development and as "a means of democratising and socialising society".² The draft urged the socialists to strengthen cooperatives, called for their neutrality in the political struggle and warned against political differentiation.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eleventh Session of the International Socialist Bureau", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 277.

² "ISK...1910", S. 77.

Speaking on behalf of the RSDLP, Lenin and Lunacharsky submitted to the commission a draft resolution which noted, *inter alia*, that consumer cooperatives in some respects "improve the situation of the working class" and "reduce the amount of exploitation",¹ and that, by giving support to workers at a time of strikes, lockouts and political persecution, they can acquire considerable importance to the economic and political struggles. At the same time it pointed out that the overall improvement of the workers' lot through consumer cooperatives would be insignificant as long as the bourgeoisie was not expropriated. The draft stated that consumer cooperatives were not "organisations for direct struggle against capital",² warned against the reformist illusions and urged the socialists to join consumer cooperatives, to strengthen them to defend their democratic character, to popularise in them the ideas of the class struggle and socialism, and "to bring about the fullest possible cooperation between all forms of the labour movement",³ i.e., the socialist parties, the unions and the cooperatives. As for production cooperatives, their importance to the working class was recognised only if they were a part of consumer cooperatives. The draft consolidated the revolutionary socialists' positions on cooperatives.

The discussion brought out the general view that the specific forms of liaison between socialist parties and cooperatives could vary depending on the specific conditions of every country. When it came to cooperatives' role and the socialists' tasks in the cooperative movement, some of the speakers defended the proletarian policy line, others supported Elm and many others held forth on the need to integrate two draft resolutions, the Belgian, on the one hand, and the German or the French (the one put forward by Jaurès and Toma), on the other. A dispute over the importance and role of cooperatives flared up in the sub-commission appointed to produce a draft that would be acceptable to all. Guesde and some of the left socialists were opposed to Elm and Jaurès while Lenin and Lunacharsky took a stand in favour of the Austro-Belgian draft.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eleventh Session of the International Socialist Bureau", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Lenin made a speech to demonstrate the fallacy of the argument that cooperatives were "paving the way for the democratisation and socialisation of the means of production" and stressed the need for the expropriation of capitalists. On behalf of the RSDLP and the Guesdists he proposed two amendments: one struck out Jaurès's premise that cooperatives were preparing the ground for socialisation and noted that they could play such a role only after the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, while the other characterised as desirable cooperatives' assistance in the struggle of the working class. Both amendments were declined.

Most of the commission members approved the Austro-Belgian draft with a few amendments introduced by Jaurès and Elm, with only Lenin and Modraček of Bohemia voting against it because of their objection to the recommendation that the trade unions seek cohesion by countries rather than by nations. It was immediately after that vote that Lenin called the well-known meeting of the revolutionary socialists. The meeting approved Lenin's suggestions to the commission but decided, on Guesde's advice, that "we ought not to start a fight over minor changes, but to vote *for* the resolution as a whole".¹ The revolutionary socialists concluded that the shortcomings of the resolution consisted in one wording which, as Lenin later wrote, did not substitute but stood next to the definition of the goal of socialism, and in the understatement of the cooperatives' duty to assist in the class struggle of the proletariat, and decided to try to rectify them. B. Karpeles substantiated the commission's draft to the plenary meeting. He deplored the ideas of "cooperative socialism", stressed the independence of cooperatives as a vehicle of the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation and called for their stronger links with the socialist parties. But D. Irving objected that the British cooperatives were not pervaded with the spirit of socialism and that the SDP would not work with them, branded the draft as opportunist and deplored the work of the Congress. Speaking for the Dutch Marxists, the Guesdists and the Labour Party of Belgium, F. Wibaut tried to rectify those shortcomings of the draft which had been identified at the meeting of the revolutionary socialists called by Lenin. His efforts were in vain: the social-reform-

¹ Ibid., p. 283.

ists claimed that cooperatives were already socialising production and dismantling the bourgeois system and held up opportunism as evidence of the socialists' strength and maturity. Those points, however, were not entered in the commission's draft.

Apparently, only the SDP of Britain voted against the draft resolution, with all the others supporting it. Noting the shortcomings of the resolution, Lenin stressed that "every member of the Party, every Social-Democratic worker, every class-conscious worker-co-operator must be guided by the resolution that was adopted and carry on his activity in the spirit of this resolution".¹

The last meeting, held on 3 September, took the decision to convene the next international socialist congress in Vienna in 1913.

Although the social-reformists had grown stronger and exerted some influence on the resolutions on labour safety and arbitration courts, the congress reaffirmed and, in some respects, carried further the Marxist policy line of previous congresses. It countered the nationalist tendencies and the trend for the neutrality of cooperatives thanks to the combined efforts of the orthodox socialists (in spite of their conciliatory attitudes, especially manifest in the resolution on the unity of the socialist movement in every country) and the revolutionary socialists, who defended the Marxist tradition and pioneered their further development. In sum, the congress pointed practical ways of cementing the international solidarity of the working people, supporting the national liberation movement, strengthening cooperatives, and mounting struggle against preparations for and the unleashing of a world war.

The Copenhagen Congress exerted direct influence on the international conferences of several trade unions, including those of builders, transport workers, masons and workers in retailing, held in late August 1910, and also on the international conferences of socialist youth. The latter brought out the trend for narrowing the tasks of youth unions, for their neutrality in politics and for an under-estimation by them of the efforts to counter militarism. But the opposite trend, led by Karl Liebknecht, prevailed. The conference laid bare the causes of militarisation and

¹ Ibid., p. 283.

wars, pointed to the close relationship between the struggle against militarism and that for socialism and stressed the role of the proletariat, in particular, the working-class youth. It urged young people to fight against militarism and war by every means available, set the task of "unleashing all the revolutionary energies..."¹ and declared "war on war". The delegates stated their support for the decisions of the Stuttgart and Copenhagen Congresses. The conference noted that "the class struggle of the international proletariat is acquiring ever more acute forms"² and obliged the young socialists to educate young people in the spirit of the class struggle and stressed the need for the closest possible links between youth organisations, on the one hand, and the socialist parties and trade unions, on the other.

The International Cooperative Alliance, which united 4.5 million cooperative members from 26 countries, held its congress in Hamburg in September of that year. It recommended that cooperatives be active in politics in order to defend their interests and passed a resolution which read inter alia, that the alliance, "without reference to any questions of politics, greets with satisfaction the resolution of the International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen, and recognises the high value and importance of the organisation of the consumers for the working classes, and urges the workers to become and remain active members of the cooperative distributive societies".³

The revolutionary socialists thought highly of the results of the Copenhagen Congress and were working for the implementation of its resolutions on the consolidation of the working people and the realising of their activity. The orthodoxes played down the concessions to the social-reformists and the differences and stated that the Social-Democrats "have every reason to be satisfied with the decisions of the congress".⁴ Most of the social-reformists were not happy about the results of the congress and tried to

¹ *Bulletin der Internationalen Verbindung der Sozialistischen Jugendorganisationen*, 15 September, 1910, Nr. 7.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Co-operative News*, Vol. XLI, No. 38, 17 September, 1910, p. 1218.

⁴ *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Wien, Nr. 242, XXII, Jg., 4. September, 1910.

block the implementation of its resolutions. The right-wing leaders of the Czech-Slovakian SDP tried to present the resolution on the trade unions as a result of the Austro-German conspiracy against the Czechs. The journal *Sozialistische Monatshefte* almost entirely ignored the congress. But some of the social-reformists held up the concessions they had won at the congress. The anarchists and the bourgeois press openly took a stand against that socialist forum. Bourgeois newspapers reported on differences between the socialists, kept harping that some of its resolutions were compromises and claimed that the congress "was no victory for the revolutionary wing of Social Democracy".¹

* * *

The importance of the struggle against the imperialists' preparations for war and plans to unleash it loomed large among the increased number of acute problems that faced the International after the Copenhagen Congress. The International Socialist Bureau naturally failed to secure the unification of the revolutionary socialists and the opportunists either in Bulgaria, where the Tesnyaki had resolutely dissociated themselves from the Shiroki, or in Russia, where the Prague Conference of the RSDLP had consolidated party unity and firmly stated that its sole representative was the Central Committee. The ISB nevertheless coordinated the mass anti-war actions of British, Czech, Hungarian and Spanish socialists in the autumn of 1910 and in early 1911. In September 1910 socialists of several European countries organised in Hamburg and Frankfurt am Main mass international demonstrations to demand disarmament. Socialists from Italy and Austria-Hungary discussed at a meeting in Triest in February 1911 ways of averting a war between their countries, an anti-militarist conference of Dutch and Belgian socialist parliamentarians took place in the Hague, and the French and Spanish socialists reached an agreement in Bordeaux on joint actions against the aggressive policies pursued by their countries in Morocco. The socialists in the parliaments of Sweden, France, Germany, Norway and Austria demanded virtually simultane-

¹ *Vossische Zeitung*, 1. September 1910, 2. Beilage.

ously disarmament and the recognition of the jurisdiction of arbitration courts over international conflicts.

In the summer of 1911, Hermann Molkenbuhr and Victor Adler objected to the convocation of an emergency ISB meeting due to the threat of a war over Morocco; they argued that there was no such danger and that bourgeois diplomacy was endeavouring to safeguard peace. But socialists in Germany, France, Britain, Austria and other countries initiated numerous anti-war actions in July-September 1911, in which hundreds of thousands participated. The ISB organised international anti-war rallies in many West-European cities, held under the motto "War on war!", they stated the people's readiness to act by every means available.¹

The 12th ISB session, held in Zurich on September 23, 1911, discussed, with some delay, the protracted Moroccan crisis. The session was attended by more than 20 representatives of the working-class movement from 14 countries. Rosa Luxemburg, who had rightly criticised the leadership of the SDP of Germany in the press and at the party congress, came under strong and unjustified attacks. Lenin took her side, and a lengthy and heated discussion ensued. The ISB noted in its resolution on the Moroccan crisis that the proletariat of Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Spain, opposing the warmongers in an energetic and cohesive manner, "has appeared to all ... as an active and efficacious element of universal peace".² The ISB urged the working people to step up their struggle against high prices and capitalism in general.

A wave of anti-war rallies swept Germany, Italy, Austria and France after the outbreak of the Italian-Turkish war in October 1911. The ISB Executive Committee sent out a circular which qualified Italy's attack on Turkey as "the enterprise of brigandage".³ It reproached the Italian workers for their low activity in the anti-war effort and urged the socialists to mitigate the present clash and avert another one; it stated that anti-war actions must be united and proposed mass simultaneous anti-war actions in all countries.

¹ *Periodical Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau*, Brussels, An. 3, No. 7, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, No. 8, p. 128.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

It exposed in an appeal to the working people of all countries the predatory character of the war on Italy's part and exposed the policies of all the great powers. "The international proletariat must counter this policy of brutality and violence with absolutely all the forces at its disposal",¹ the appeal said. Its call to mount mass anti-war demonstrations on 5 November was heard by workers in almost all the countries. The Saloniki workers organised an anti-war political strike and a rally, at which Turkish, Romanian, Bulgarian and Serbian socialists spoke out against the great powers' policies and urged the workers to fight for disarmament and for a Balkan Union. The tide of anti-war rallies, which lasted till the end of the year, reached as far as Sidney. The Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance deplored the Italian-Turkish war and called upon cooperators in all countries to use every means available to avert a world war. "Through organising numerous demonstrations and impressive rallies, which passed public resolutions, the entire International has made noticeable progress in the struggle against militarism,"² the ISB noted.

Regional socialist conferences and meetings helped strengthen the international unity of the proletariat. The Scandinavian Labour Congress, held in Stockholm in September 1911, took a stand against syndicalism and the decentralisation of the trade unions. A minority wanted a general strike and an uprising to be included among the means of struggle for peace but the majority, led by Hjalmar Branting, was against it. A socialist conference of several Balkan countries, including Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Turkey and Romania, which took place in Belgrade in October 1911, condemned the Italian-Turkish war and put forward the slogan of a Federal Balkan Republic. The trade unions convened an international conference in Budapest in August 1911; it proposed practical improvements in international assistance to major economic actions of the working class and took the decision to start preparations for an international trade-union congress. Evidence of growing international solidarity was the large-scale celebration of International Women's Day, first marked on

¹ *Vorwärts*, 2. November, 1911.

² *Archives of the Plekhanov House*, No. 13, 87.

19 March, 1911, in Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Germany and other countries, and the movement of protest against the suppression by tsarism of the Social-Democratic delegates to the Second Duma and against the execution of working-class leaders in Japan.

The ISB Secretariat mooted the idea of sending a delegation of socialists to the parliament sessions of the Chinese Republic in order to help get the great powers to recognise it, and after the counter-revolutionary coup in China urged the socialists to oppose loans to the Chinese counter-revolutionaries.

The serious political crisis in Europe in the autumn of 1912 was a rigorous test for the International. A grave blow was dealt to the working-class movement of Serbia and Bulgaria in the very first days of the war, which broke out on 9 October: virtually all the Social-Democrats were drafted into the army, their organisations folded up, and their newspapers suspended publication. On 12 October the ISB Executive Committee condemned the imperialist powers' policies and stated that "alone, amid the Balkan unrest, socialism laboured for the peace of the world".¹ But the Executive Committee failed to appraise correctly the character of the Balkan war and recommended that all the governments should be induced to exert influence on the Balkan countries in order to make them stop the hostilities. It supported the slogan of a Federal Balkan Republic and the struggle for democratic reforms in Turkey, ruled out entirely the use of violence and called for a "non-partisan" government in the Ottoman Empire which could supposedly guarantee complete equality of classes as well as of nations.

The anti-war movement in countries of Central and Western Europe took the road of struggle against the threat of a world war and reached large proportions by October of that year. Germany, Austria-Hungary and France were swept by a strong wave of anti-war rallies and demonstrations. On 20 October, the leaders of the SDP of Germany and the LP of Britain published a joint statement to the effect that the workers of Germany had no hostility towards Britain, just as the British workers

¹ *Periodical Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau*, Brussels, No. 9, p. 4.

had none towards Germany.¹ But it was only the leaders of the Social-Democrats of Croatia and Slavonia who openly stated their sympathy for the liberation movement of the Balkan peoples in Austria-Hungary. The leadership of the other parties at best confined themselves to statements of solidarity with the Social-Democrats of the Balkan countries.

The Polish Social-Democratic group in the Austrian Reichsrat took a special stand: its resolution said, inter alia, that in a conflict between Austria-Hungary and Russia, every effort of the Polish people should be directed at fighting Russian tsarism. The PPS board stated in a manifesto addressed "To all Poles" that the peoples of Russia would be emancipated as a result of wars waged from outside and proposed that Poles go over to the side of Turkey or Austria-Hungary to fight in their armies against Russia.

The Bolshevik party took a different policy line. Lenin was strongly opposed to those who advocated the continued "status quo" in the Balkans. He held that the only impediment to the emancipation of the Balkan peoples was the small numbers of the proletariat and the backwardness of the Balkan peasantry and noted the progressive character of the Balkan countries' war against Turkey in spite of their goals of aggression. According to Lenin, thanks to the victories of the Balkan alliance, a great step has been taken towards doing away with the survivals of medievalism throughout Eastern Europe as regards the national question.² Lenin urged the Balkan peoples to carry on the struggle and noted that "real *liberty* for the Slav peasant in the Balkan, as well as for the Turkish peasant can be ensured *only* by complete liberty inside *every* country and by a federation of completely and thoroughly democratic states".³ He most resolutely protested against any intervention of the great powers in the Balkan affairs and pointed out that "it is 'Europe' that is hindering the establishment of a federal republic in the Balkans".⁴ The Bolshevik

¹ See: *Vorwärts*, 20. Oktober, 1912.

² See: V. I. Lenin, "A New Chapter of World History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 369.

³ V. I. Lenin, "A Disgraceful resolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 353.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "The Balkan Peoples and European Diplomacy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 349.

party's attitude to the Balkan events was stated in a manifesto of the RSDLP Central Committee "To All Citizens of Russia". Working under the difficult conditions of conspiracy, the Bolsheviks were explaining their anti-militarist policy in newspapers and leaflets and at workers' meetings and inspired and organised political anti-war strikes.

To sum up, all the socialist parties advocated peace, but their positions were different. Neither was there unity at the ISB Plenary Meeting in Brussels on 28 October, which was attended by socialist delegates from 18 countries. Victor Adler spoke in his report on the international situation of the threat of a European war and argued that the chief aim of the Social-Democrats in all countries was to make war unpopular. But he did not define concrete directions of work or say anything about the organisation of mass actions. He said, in disregard of the Balkan peoples' interests, that "the status quo was convenient not just to diplomacy but also to us".¹ In the discussion that followed Jaurès argued that the Balkan war was doing nothing for liberation and Haase, criticising the aggressive mood of the leaders of Austria-Hungary, who would like to involve Germany in the war, did not say anything about mass actions against the Kaiser government's policy. Vaillant alone pointed to the progressive character of the struggle waged by the Balkan peoples and, still more important, called for efforts to make anti-war actions by the working people even more resolute. Luxemburg made an even more radical speech. She noted that "the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat is an obstacle to war" and stated the willingness of the Polish workers to act in the spirit of the Stuttgart resolution. She argued that such a policy was a must for the proletariat of all countries; saying that "bare protests and demonstrations will achieve but little",² she proposed a concrete programme of actions to mobilise the mass of people.

The ISB's manifesto "To workers of all countries", drafted by Kautsky, branded the predatory character of bourgeois foreign policy, directed against the people, and warned against the impending world war. The ISB now

¹ *Vorwärts*, 30. Oktober, 1912.

² *Ibidem*.

recognised the just striving of the Balkan peoples for national independence and deplored the autocratic interests and imperialist intrigues in the Balkans. The dream about a lasting and just peace was linked to the prospect of the practical implementation of the socialist principles. The ISB called upon the proletariat to use "all the strength of its organisations and powerful demonstrations"¹ against any attempt to enlarge the Balkan war and against the great powers' intervention in the Balkans.

The decision was taken to postpone the International's next congress till 1914 and to convene at an early date (not later than 1 January, 1913) an extraordinary international socialist congress in Switzerland. Agreement was reached that no discussion of differences between socialists would be allowed or theoretical discussion opened at the congress but that it would serve as a demonstration of the unity of the socialist movement in the struggle against the threat of a world war. In order to fulfil this plan, the executive committee was instructed to set up a preparatory committee, consisting of German, British, Russian and French socialists, to draft a resolution on the single item on the agenda of the extraordinary congress, namely, the international situation.

The anti-war movement was gaining momentum and reached its pinnacle in November. Mass rallies for peace took place in more than 100 cities and towns in Austria-Hungary between November 4 and 10. The participants in them unanimously supported the slogans formulated by the SDP congress, called for friendship with the Balkan peoples and made every effort to wage "war on war" as energetically as possible.² The St. Petersburg workers stated their solidarity with the workers of all countries, condemned the instigators of the Balkan war, the policy of Russian autocracy and the liberals. The anti-war actions in Russia culminated in strikes, which swept many cities. An appeal of the International Secretariat of Socialist Women, written by Zetkin, was widely popular with workers; it said, inter alia: "Our struggle against war is directed against our mortal enemy, capital; peace is to pave our way to socialism".³

¹ *Vorwärts*, 31. Oktober 1912.

² *Periodical Bulletin of the ISB*, No. 10, pp. 33-34.

³ *Vorwärts*, 14. November 1912.

November 17 saw the most mass-scale actions of socialist-organised workers for peace. The date had been agreed in advance and well-known leaders of the working-class movement had travelled on the ISB's instructions to other countries to help arrange international rallies. The ISB's manifesto, urging the working people to fight against the expansion of the Balkan war, was distributed widely. Multi-thousand rallies and demonstrations were held in most of the major cities of Western Europe.

"Peace Day" became a demonstration of the mass scale of the movement, the unity and solidarity of workers in all countries and their resolve to fight for peace, and predetermined the character of the resolutions passed by the extraordinary international socialist congress.

Altogether 555 delegates from 23 countries arrived for the extraordinary congress, which opened in Basel on 24 November, 1912. The International leaders' aim was to emphasise the unity and strength of the socialists of all countries and the congress sessions were formal occasions. Exchanges of addresses of greetings took up the whole of the first session. The next formal session, to be held in a cathedral jointly with members of the pacifist government of the Basel Canton, was to demonstrate the proletariat's unity with the other peace forces. News of mass anti-war actions kept coming to Basel from many places. The delegates were told by the presidium that thousands of Moscow and St. Petersburg workers had called a one-day political strike. Women-workers of St. Petersburg's textile mills said in a letter addressed to the congress: "We protest against the horrors of the fratricidal war that has flared up in the Balkans, and join in the protest of the proletariat of all countries against war."¹ Italy's socialist women urged the congress to take a resolute stand "against the slaughter of the peoples and the capitalist system, which has on its conscience the slaughter of the peoples".²

Jaurès, Adler, Anseele and Greulich called upon the delegates not to turn the congress into a debating club, to avoid raising contentious problems but outline the more general principles and give every party a free hand, and to

¹ *Aussenordentlicher Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Basel am 24. und 25 November, Berlin, 1912 (henceforth AISK), S. 52.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

refrain from prescribing any specific actions. As a rule, the presidium allowed one speaker per delegation to address the congress in session. Debates thus proved impossible and there appeared an illusion of the "general reconciliation" of all trends.

The preparatory commission studied 13 various drafts and drew up a manifesto in the spirit of the anti-militarist resolution of the Stuttgart Congress, incorporating into it proposals from several socialist parties, in particular, the SFIO.

All the speakers deplored the foreign policies of aggression pursued by the European powers and bourgeois diplomacy and agreed that the working class was the strongest and most advanced champion of peace. They pointed out that workers in different countries felt no enmity towards one another and did not want to shoot one another. Many spokesmen stressed the need for the proletariat's cooperation with other pacifist forces, including bourgeois and religious ones, which denounced war and suggested that all the likewise-minded trends join forces to safeguard peace.

Most of the speakers argued that the working class and the strata supporting it could avert a world war and preserve peace. "The International is strong enough to give the ruling circles such an order," Anseele said.¹ According to Jaurès, "All the governments hesitate to take a decision out of their fear of unforeseeable consequences".² Many speakers, moreover, linked the safeguarding of peace to the struggle for socio-political change. Anseele talked of "the elimination of class-based states"³ and urged struggle for the independence of the Balkan countries and the establishment of a republican system of government in them, for the abolition of imperialist alliances and diplomatic intrigues, and for the non-intervention of Austria-Hungary in Balkan affairs even if Russia intervened in them.

Some of the speakers, among them Janko Sakasoff, Franz Soukup and Pieter Troelstra, dismissed the mass anti-war movement and embraced the fallacious premise that bourgeois diplomacy aimed at averting a world war; their idea was to confine the Social-Democrats' anti-militar-

¹ *AISK...*, S. 7.

² *Ibid.*, S. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 6.

ist effort to cultural and educational activities.

The outbreak of a world war would be "the beginning of the end of the criminals' rule", Adler stated. Jaurès called upon the International "to mount everywhere legal or revolutionary actions to impede war or pay back to the criminals". Speaking on behalf of the proletariat, he threatened the ruling classes with a revolution: "The peoples can work out easily that their own revolution will cost them fewer sacrifices than a war fought for others."¹ His idea was that the threat of a revolution ought to guarantee peace.

Everyone believed, like Haase, that "maximum strength must be used to preserve what we all want preserved, namely, universal peace and our future".² Many thought, however, that the rivalry between France and Germany and between Germany and Britain could be put to rest through their rapprochement and were clinging to the hope for a general reconciliation and the achievement of a lasting peace without a revolution. "The tolling of the bells that welcomed us here, in this church, sounded to me like an appeal for general reconciliation,"³ Jaurès said in the cathedral.

Some of the delegates tried to come up with an effective means of struggle. Keir Hardie suggested an anarcho-syndicalist "weapon" of calling a general strike in all countries the moment a war broke out. He argued that if a war broke out all the same, an international strike could "achieve a social revolution". Vaillant believed that the proletariat could use a general strike and an uprising as means of its struggle if need were, and not necessarily in all countries and simultaneously with the outbreak of hostilities, and cited the experience of Russian workers as an example.

Zetkin explained in her impassioned and forceful speech that "war is nothing short of the escalation and spread of that homicide of which capitalism is guilty with regard to the proletariat every hour even during the so-called peace time".⁴ She stated that if a war broke out between the European powers, the workers could not and should not support any government whatever words of freedom the

¹ Ibid., S. 20.

² Ibid., S. 30.

³ Ibid., S. 19.

⁴ *AISK...*, S. 34.

ruling circles of those countries used to disguise their true goals. Explicating the relationship between the anti-war struggle and preparations for a revolution, she said that "the struggle against war is laying the ground for a future of socialism".¹ "The international proletariat will succeed in its war on war," she continued, "only when it uses in its own violent mass actions every possible means and resource and mobilises all its strength".² Bebel stressed the importance of the Basel Congress as a strong demonstration for peace and stated that the two imperialist blocs were now facing the single union of workers of all countries.

The urgency of the situation, the anti-war actions of the working people and the resolutions of the Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses made their imprint on the Basel Manifesto: it was a revolutionary document. As Lenin put it, it "...has less idle declamation and more definite content than other resolutions have".³

The Manifesto characterised the impending world war as a shameful war of plunder that was directed against the interests of the peoples. The war danger, it noted, was generated by the rivalry of the aggressive ruling circles of the European powers, which were doing what they could to fan chauvinism and enmity among nations, and which had organised an arms race. The Manifesto explained that the arms race was one of the causes of growing prices and the deteriorating living standards of the working people and that a world war would mean mass slaughter, famine, epidemics, the destruction of the best forces of the peoples and the unprecedented aggravation of the class struggle. Workers think it a crime to shoot one another, the document said. All the parties agreed to pursue identical principles in their foreign policies and counter "the capitalist peace of exploitation and the slaughter of the masses" with "the proletarian peace of concord and unity among nations".

The document gave the proletariat credit for leading the anti-war movement and stressed that the working class carried the future of the human race. The congress pro-

¹ Ibid., S. 36.

² Ibid., S. 35.

³ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 210.

ceeded from the assumption that a world war could be averted and called upon the socialists to mobilise all the possible strength and energy of the proletariat. It emphatically demanded stronger unity among the socialists. The ISB was set the task of supporting, expanding and strengthening contacts between all the socialist parties and of coordinating their struggle against war.

The Manifesto explicitly defined the immediate goals of the anti-war movement and the tasks of individual socialist parties, including those of Germany, France, Britain, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan countries. The congress urged workers to use every possible means in the struggle for peace, and gave the International's national sections a completely free hand to choose the ways and means of that struggle depending on the situation.

The Manifesto quoted from the anti-militarist resolution of the Stuttgart Congress to the effect that the socialists should use the war-related crisis to expedite the overthrow of capitalism. Reaffirming that stand, the congress cited the examples of the Paris Commune and the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution. In this way it formulated "...the tactics of the workers' revolutionary struggle on an international scale against their governments, the tactics of proletarian revolution"¹ in the eventuality of war.

By and large, however, the gravity of the contradictions between the imperialist powers was underestimated. The congress believed that the war threat could be averted through understanding between the imperialists. As regards the South Slavonian peoples of Austria-Hungary, its demands were confined to an autonomy for them within the empire but the slogan of their self-determination was never formulated.

The ruling classes' fear of a possible revolution was considered a guarantee of peace, and the Manifesto viewed revolution as a desperate step, the extreme measure, the consequence of the war and a violation of the "normal" development of the European countries. The outbreak of a revolution was linked exclusively to a world war, and the importance of and conditions for the organisation of mass strikes and uprisings were not defined. Neither was the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Socialism and War", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 307.

socialists' policy towards the pacifists formulated or their policy of alliances with other forces capable of countering the aggressive policies the great powers plotted.

But in sum the Manifesto was a major achievement and pointed the right way for the anti-war movement. The International thus took upon itself most serious obligations.

The congress approved, besides the Manifesto, resolutions of protest against the reactionary policy of Russian tsarism, the suppression of US workers, a police attack on a peace demonstration in Budapest and dismal labour safety in the French mines. An international anti-war demonstration of socialist women took place during the Basel Congress and an international conference of socialist youth unions passed a resolution entitled "The Youth International and War" in the spirit of the Basel Manifesto.

Workers in all countries hailed the Basel Manifesto, the text of which was carried by all the Social-Democratic newspapers. *Pravda* wrote, inter alia: "The Basel Congress demonstrated to the whole world over and again the energy, solidarity and resolve that the workers of all countries are putting into the struggle for peace".¹ Revolutionary Socialists in all countries stressed the revolutionary character of the Basel Manifesto and used it to step up their propaganda of revolutionary anti-militarism and mass anti-war actions.

Inspired by the Basel Manifesto, workers in several Czech cities launched mass anti-war demonstrations and fraternised with troops on 14 December, 1912. More than 600,000 workers in 41 departments of France responded to the GCZ's appeal and took part in a 24-hour strike on 16 December to protest against the warmongers' policy. During the Basel Congress the International Co-operative Alliance passed a resolution saying, among other things, that peace among nations was a basic principle of cooperation; the Alliance urged the cooperatives to do whatever they could to preserve the existing peace and order. The text of the Basel Manifesto was published also by pacifist newspapers and magazines. Honest pacifists became more active and strove for an even broader cooperation with the socialists. Here is what one of them wrote about the Basel Congress: "As they sit at the green table, diplomats will smile scorn-

¹ *Pravda*, 18 November, 1912.

fully, but their knees will be shaking under the table".¹

Most of the opportunists tried to ignore the revolutionary spirit of the Manifesto, and many right-wing socialists and their press organs, such as *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, ignored the Basel Congress altogether. Some of them claimed that the governments of the "civilised" countries did not want war, others kept sowing amidst the people mistrust in the strength of the proletariat, and still others tried to exonerate the policies of the ruling circles and took the side of the nationalists and chauvinists.

The reactionary bourgeois press either ignored or commented ironically on the Basel Congress.

* * *

The international situation remained explosive in spite of the restraining effect of mass actions by the working people, whose vanguard had their views reflected in the Basel Manifesto, since the ruling circles of the great powers had stepped up their preparations for a war to recarve the world map while hypocritically declaiming their commitment to peace. The intensified struggle against the war threat and increasingly fierce clashes between the working people and the exploiters and oppressors contributed towards the international consolidation of the working class movement, although it consisted of diverse detachments. "The International unites the entire socialist movement of the proletariat and not just its vanguard Marxist detachment, and counts in its ranks not just the orthodoxes but also the obvious opportunists, those who hesitate and those who are leading astray towards liberalism some backward detachments of the international working-class movement," *Proletarskaya Pravda* wrote on 7 December 1913.

Rallies and demonstrations were held on a large scale in Germany, Russia, Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France and other countries to mark International Women's Day. The trade unions of builders, miners, saddlers, bookbinders and transport workers held their international conferences in 1913. In the middle of September 1913 the International Trade-Union Secretariat called in Zurich an international trade-union conference, which was attend-

¹ *Nasha Zarya*, No. 11-12, 1912, pp. 108-109.

ed by representatives of 7.2 million unionised workers from 17 countries. The conference formalised and consolidated the international unity of the unions leaning towards the International by integrating them into an International Trade-Union Federation. The conference pursued the interests of the proletariat's class struggle but it was C. Legien and other advocates of the unions' "neutrality" in politics who became leaders of the Federation.

Socialist parties in various countries and their parliamentary factions increased the number of their joint actions. In March 1913, the SDPG and the SFIO released a manifesto which urged the two countries' socialists to close their ranks in the struggle against militarism and chauvinism, for the abolition of all armies and for the arming of the peoples, and to defend the independence of all nations. In April and May of that year the Social-Democratic faction of the Fourth Duma exchanged messages with the Social-Democratic groups of the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments. In August 1913, socialists of Switzerland, Austria, Italy and Germany staged an international demonstration in Bregentz (Austria) to protest against the reactionary policies of the European powers.

Workers mounted mass actions against militarism and the warmongers' intrigues in Austria-Hungary in January and May, in France in March and May, in Germany in late March and early April, in Britain, Turkey, Serbia, and Bulgaria in May and in Romania in July 1913. Balkan socialists organised joint protests, directing them specifically against the imperialist Second Balkan War. The ISB instituted a Balkan Fund to support the Bulgarian and Serbian socialists and donations to it totalled 23,000 francs.¹ Expressing gratitude for that aid, Georgy Dimitrov wrote: "In that turbulent time we had, however, one consolation and hope, namely, the support of the international proletariat."²

But the ISB and the socialist parties failed to consolidate the scope and unity of the mass anti-war actions achieved in the autumn of 1912.

After August Bebel's death on 13 August, 1913, the tenor was set in the ISB (in which 41 parties from 27 countries were represented at the time) by Adler, Jaurès, Vail-

¹ *Proletarskaya Pravda*, December 7, 1913.

² *The International Socialist Review*, 1913-1914, Vol. XIII, p. 694.

lant, Vandervelde, Kautsky and Huysmans. Lev Kamenev represented the RSDLP in the Bureau from October 1912 on. Maxim Litvinov, who was in touch with the ISB, wrote to Lenin that "there is no equality in the B[ureau]. What is permitted to some is forbidden to others, and it is personalities that count. Of all the Bolsheviks, you *alone* could have influence in the Bureau".¹ In a bid to gain a stronger hand in the ISB, the leadership of the SDPG suggested in 1914 that it be moved from Brussels to Berlin, but most of the ISB members objected to that plan. The role and character of the Bureau's activities were determined by the prevalence of centrists and social-reformists in it.

The ISB gave much attention to problems of unity of the socialist movement in those countries where it was divided. In July 1913 the Executive Committee organised a meeting of representatives of British labour organisations, at which the BSP leaders admitted the need to build their party's links with the people by joining the BLP on the condition that they would retain their principles and independence. The ISB contributed to the establishment of a Socialist Council with the participation of all the British socialist organisations and to rapprochement between the BSP and the ILP.

But the ISB failed to bring about the consolidation of the Russian socialist movement because many of its members, among them Kautsky and Vandervelde, were prejudiced against the Bolsheviks, who were supported by the overwhelming majority of the organised Russian workers, and tried to push them towards unification with opportunistic groups which had no following among the people. The Bolsheviks, supported by the Latvian Social-Democrats and some of the SDKP and L, flatly refused to bow to the opportunists' bloc at the conference of 10 Russian Social-Democratic organisations and groups which was called by the ISB in July 1914.

The centrists and social-reformists who dominated the ISB underestimated the gravity of the contradictions between the imperialist powers and took their leaders' hypocritical peaceable statements at their face value. They hoped that the risk of huge losses and even defeat and the fear of the people's outrage would restrain the ruling circles

¹ See I. Krivoguz, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, p. 455.

from unleashing a world war and make diplomats work out peaceful solutions to conflicts, as had been the case in the past. Many thought that the working-class movement supported by the pacifists could avert war by threatening those who instigated it with a general strike or even a revolution. Meanwhile, the tendency was gaining ground to view as peaceable and exonerate the actions of one's own government and criticise the aggressiveness of others. Ways of safeguarding peace continued to be discussed but progressively less effort was being put into the organisation of mass international actions.

Leaders of the SDP of Germany and the SFIO attended a pacifist conference of German and French parliamentarians in Berne in May 1913. The conference and the committee established by it, which held a sitting on May 31, 1914, deplored chauvinism and urged constraints on military spending, the submission of conflicts to arbitration courts, and efforts to bring about rapprochement between France and Germany. The conference demanded in a resolution the dissolution of standing armies, but the socialists failed to uphold the other slogans of effective struggle against the warmongers or offer guidance to the pacifists. Kautsky argued that the socialists' cooperation with the pacifists helped towards the success of anti-militarist agitation but Luxemburg feared that it was confusing the workers and would hold back the growth of mass actions against militarism.

The social-reformists' increased opposition to the slogan of a mass political strike was a real danger. The leaders of the SDPG organised at their Party's congress in Jena debate on that slogan with the participation of socialists from many countries. Luxemburg argued that the aggravation of the class struggle was leading the proletariat towards a mass political strike but Ebert, Auer and Pernerstorfer objected that it was a risky device and could be used only in those countries where the proletariat had nothing to lose. Kautsky and some others did not rule out the possibility of a mass political strike but thought it necessary to confine it to the struggle for reforms. Most of the leaders of the socialist parties of Sweden, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Britain, the United States and other countries shared Ebert's or Kautsky's views.

As a session in London on 13 December, 1913, the ISB

discussed at length the problems of unity of the socialist movement in Russia and Britain, did not go into the organisation of mass actions against militarism and the impending war and set about preparations for the next, Tenth Congress of the International, which was to open in Vienna on 27 August, 1914. The question of imperialism with special emphasis on militarism, arbitration courts, the Keir Hardie-Vaillant proposal on the strike, and the national liberation movement, and also the questions of high prices, alcoholism, unemployment and the situation of political prisoners in Russia were included in the agenda of the congress.

The Keir Hardie-Vaillant proposal for the organisation of a mass political strike against the war threat in all countries simultaneously was a much debated issue in the socialist movement during preparations for the Tenth Congress of the International. The mood of many socialists was quite resolute. The International Secretariat of Socialist Women approved Adelheid Popp's initiative in April 1914 and called for a mass anti-war strike and the reservists' refusal to obey mobilisation orders. In 1914, the idea of a general anti-war strike was supported by most of the organised Italian workers and endorsed by the ISP parliamentary group in the summer of that year. Extensive debates on the SFIO's anti-militarist tactics unfolded in May. Gustave Hervé took a chauvinist stand, Guesde pressed for endorsement of the anti-war resolutions of the Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses, while Jaurès backed the Keir Hardie-Vaillant proposal and argued that a general anti-war strike ought to make the government apply to an arbitration court to settle a conflict; however, he made such a strike in France conditional on the organisation of similar actions in all the countries involved. Jaurès's concrete proposals appealed to many delegates to the SFIO congress, which summed up the debates in July 1914, and were approved by the majority vote. The wave of mass worker actions under anti-war slogans that swept St. Petersburg, Moscow and in fact the whole of Russia under the Bolsheviks' direction was the RSDLP's material contribution to the international dialogue on the means of struggle against the impending war. Lenin took the realistic view that the working-class movement and the pacifists were not strong enough to avert a world war and called upon the Bolsheviks to put every effort into organising mass

anti-war actions in order to fulfil the resolutions of the International's congresses and use the crisis caused by the outbreak of hostilities to make a revolution. Many revolutionary socialists in other countries set themselves the same goal.

But the social-reformists, supported by the centrists, were pursuing a different policy line. In January 1914, the BLP's conference denounced the arms race but noted that "economical" and "effective" military spending was justified; it called for an agreement between Britain, Germany and France to preserve peace but did not say anything about the tasks of the working class in the struggle for peace or about the need for mass actions. The proposal for a mass anti-war strike was fiercely opposed by the right-wingers at the joint sessions of the board and parliamentary group of the SDP of Germany in the first half of 1914. Haase and other centrists gave way to them and stated that obligations which could not be honoured should not be assumed and that every party should have an absolutely free hand to choose its tactics of fighting the war threat.

The international conference of the textile workers' trade union said that workers in all countries had no reason whatsoever to fight one another, denounced the arms race and urged the settlement of all international disputes through arbitration courts—but ignored the need for mass actions. The committee of the socialist and pacifist deputies to the French and German parliaments confined itself in May 1914 to a statement of its hopes for rapprochement and cooperation between the two countries. The draft resolution of a meeting of the International socialist congress that was being prepared suggested that the defence of every country should be the responsibility of its armed people, that standing armies be disbanded, that troops be no longer sent against workers, that the soldiers' right to disobey such orders be respected—but again, not a word about the organisation of mass actions, and without them parliamentary actions had no chance of success.

Meanwhile, the ISB released the documents prepared by its commissions for the Vienna Congress of the International. Liebknecht's theses on political prisoners in the tsarist jails breathed the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Vaillant formulated in his theses on unemployment the

task of involving the unemployed in the revolutionary movement. Webb's theses on high prices were social-reformist in spirit, while Bauer concentrated on the causes of high prices and the prerequisites for the abolition of capitalism.

Haase noted in his theses on "Imperialism and Arbitration Courts" some important features of imperialism and pointed out that "imperialism is a specific phase of capitalist development".¹ But he underestimated the gravity of the contradictions between the imperialist powers, pinned his hopes on the "common sense" of the ruling classes and urged the socialists to make efforts to guarantee that "every international dispute on every occasion should by all means be settled by an arbitration court".² He argued that the growth of the socialist movement and the stepped-up mass actions for peace had already reduced the war danger and that "views and sentiments of trust"³ were already prevailing in British-German relations in 1914. The theses demanded restrictions on armaments and the disbandment of standing armies in favour of arming the people and urged the working people to employ "every means available" to safeguard peace. The hope for such an outcome was so great that no mention was made of actions in the eventuality of the outbreak of hostilities.

Vliegen's theses on "The Socialist International and Arbitration" stressed the danger of chauvinism and its effect on the people but argued that "the conferences of the great powers have already found solutions"⁴ to their conflicts over the colonies and spheres of influence and that the task of the working-class movement was confined to parliamentary and mass actions for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration courts. Similar ideas were formulated in the draft resolution of the future congress.

That was how optimistic the International's social-reformist and centrist leaders were about the prospects to safeguard peace and that was how they narrowed the tasks of the working-class movement in that area on the

¹ *Internationale Sozialistische Bureau. Internationale Sozialisten-Kongress in Wien, 1914. Thesen...* Brüssel, 1914, S. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

threshold of World War I. The outbreak of the war came as a shock to them and to those workers who had been misled by them, and dashed many of their illusions. As the grim trial was looming large, the tremendous forces of the International were confused by the centrists and social-chauvinists, who had prevailed in the leadership of most socialist parties and the ISB, in spite of the right goals set in the Marxist resolutions of its congresses.

CHAPTER SIX

COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE OVER ITS LEGACY

The resolutions of the International's congresses and its other documents analysed the causes and character of the impending world imperialist war long before August 1914. The International formulated clear goals in the struggle against preparations for and the unleashing of that war and laid down guidelines for the socialists' actions during it. However, the opportunists who prevailed in the leadership of most socialist parties and in the ISB in 1913-1914 did not foresee the outbreak of the war because of their erroneous views.

The leaders of major socialist parties dismissed the Sarajevo assassination as another incident in the great-power rivalry. The complex behind-the-scenes diplomatic gamble of the ruling circles of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Britain, France and Russia that lasted nearly a month was not exposed by the socialists either in the press or in parliaments. It seemed for a long time that peace would be preserved. The bourgeois press, in particular in Britain and Germany, did not show much worry in discussing the situation in the Balkans.

Most of the leaders of major socialist parties did not comply with the specific recommendations of the International's Basel and other congresses during the July crisis and even after the outbreak of the Austro-Serbian war. The leaders of the SDP of Austria did not counter anti-Serbian chauvinistic propaganda, which had assumed especially large proportions after the Sarajevo assassination, and failed to appeal to the working class or mobilise the mass of people. Shortly before Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* had held forth on the peoples' impotence in the face of the war threat and, never mentioning the tasks of the Austrian proletariat

as specified in the Basel Manifesto, urged "people of responsibility" to show utmost restraint and common sense. The July 25 appeal of the Social-Democratic group of the Austrian parliament deplored the ultimatum of Austria-Hungary but at the same time claimed that the Serbian government could have averted the war by meeting the "just" demands. The party leaders stated that they were absolving themselves of any responsibility for the war, and that they had done everything possible to avert it.

They tried to justify their inaction after Austria-Hungary's attack on Serbia by claiming that "the forces of war" were superior to those of Social-Democracy, proposed to set out the war, and argued that party organisations should be preserved, that the authorities should not be riled by criticism and that wartime laws should be respected in order not to incur repression.

When Serbia had been presented with the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, the Hungarian Social-Democrats protested against the armed attack on Serbia. The peoples of Austria-Hungary "feel that their enemies are not in Serbia, that their enemy is Austro-Hungarian imperialism".¹ But when the Austro-Serbian war had begun, the Hungarian Social-Democratic leaders dropped both their criticism of the ruling circles of Austria-Hungary and anti-war protests.

Discussing the implications of the Sarajevo assassination in late June-early July, the board of the SDP of Germany failed to realise the possibility of an outbreak of hostilities and the need for anti-war actions. *Vorwärts* woke up to "signs of the war danger" only as late as 23 July, claiming that Belgrade posed a threat to peace in civilised Europe. The newspaper argued that Germany's Big Capital was opposed to the venture of the Austrian ruling circles. On 25 July the board of the SDP of Germany recognised the threat of a world war and called upon Social-Democrats to organise mass rallies of protest. But it did not expose the aggressiveness of the German ruling circles, castigating instead only Austria's imperialist plans. The statement of *Vorwärts* that the German government was responsible for Austria-Hungary's actions and its appeal to workers "to

¹ See: *History of the Hungarian Revolutionary Working-Class Movement*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1970, p. 105 (in Russian).

intervene in the developments most resolutely"¹ came too late. On 25-26 July, tens of thousands of German workers took part in anti-war demonstrations and demanded an immediate meeting of the ISB to organise international action against the warmongers. The participants in the multithousand rally in Hemnitz stated that "the impending war is pointless, which makes it double criminal".² About 30 large meetings were held in Berlin and workers clashed with the police. Multithousand rallies and demonstrations swept all cities. Luxemburg wrote that those who were trying "to instigate a world war, contrary to the will of the mass of people, are risking their heads".³ But instead of directing struggle against the German aggressors, the leaders of the SDPG urged the working people to exert pressure on the German government and force it to play a peace-making role and restrain the Austro-Hungarian aggressors.

The SFIO leadership did not act to fulfil the anti-war resolution of their congress. Jaurès and the syndicates were the first to raise the alarm over the immediate war threat: on 27 July they called upon workers to mount anti-war demonstrations. The next day the SFIO issued a manifesto which denounced the policy of the ruling circles of Austria-Hungary but claimed that the French government "is clearly and sincerely concerned to avert or belittle the threat of a clash".⁴ The SFIO urged the French workers to compel the French government to play a peace-making role in order to bring Serbia to its senses and restrain Russia. The SFIO's parliamentary group approved the idea of Britain's mediation in the Austro-Serbian conflict and decided to demand for France a continued freedom to act "in order to exercise its peaceable influence in Europe".⁵

The socialist parties of Britain and Italy had been waiting passively till 23-30 June to see which way the developments would go. The ILP leaders were convinced at the time that Britain would remain neutral whatever the outcome and the participants in mass rallies demanded, "Stop war!", in the hope that the British government would heed their appeal.

¹ *Vorwärts*, 27. Juli 1914.

² *Sozialdemokratische Korrespondenz*, No. 85, 28. Juli 1914.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *L'Humanité*, 28 juillet 1914.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 juillet 1914.

So the leaders of the Austrian and Hungarian Social-Democrats failed at the very outbreak of the Austro-Serbian war to comply with the anti-war resolutions of the International and their own parties and capitulated to the ruling circles of the empire, while most of the leaders of the socialist parties of Germany, France and Britain misled the working people by denouncing the aggressiveness of only other countries and inspiring hopes for the peaceable intentions of their own governments, acted contrary to the Basel Manifesto and paved the way for repudiation of the course plotted by the International.

The situation in Serbia and Russia was different. Although Serbia had to defend itself, its Social-Democratic leaders, among them D. Tutzowicz and D. Popović, realised that the war waged by Serbia was not important in itself but played into the imperialists' hands, protested against it and urged the working people to fight against the policy of the ruling circles of their country, which had made it a puppet of the imperialist powers. The Bolsheviks organised in Russia mass-scale proletarian actions against the domestic and foreign policies of the tsarist government. Thanks to the Bolsheviks, the Russian workers had no illusions about the "peaceable intentions" of their government: they clearly understood who their chief enemy was.

It was not until 29 July that the ISB called a plenary meeting in Brussels. It was attended by delegates from the socialist movements of all the European great powers and some other countries, among them Vandervelde, Huysmans, Jaurès, Vaillant, Adler, Luxemburg, Haase, Keir Hardie, Morgari, Balabanova, Rubanovich, Akselrod, Troelstra, Nemec and other International leaders. The RSDLP was represented by I. F. Popov, who had the consultative voice.

Most of the participants had not yet realised that a world war could flare up at any moment. Reporting on the situation in Austria, Adler said that the war against Serbia was very popular in the country and that for this reason the SDP of Austria could not take a resolute stand against it. While justifying the presumably forced passivity of the SDP of Austria, he demanded vigorous action from others and efforts to prevent Russia's involvement in the war. Haase never criticised the aggressiveness of German imperialism but promised that the SDP of Germany would work on the German government to restrain Austria-Hungary and

that the Social-Democratic deputies to the Reichstag would vote against war credits even if Russia joined the hostilities against Austria-Hungary.

Keir Hardie and Glasier argued that it was possible and necessary to launch a general strike to avert a world war—but made an exception for Britain in the belief that it would not enter the war whatever the circumstances.

Jaurès threatened that if a war was unleashed, the proletariat would march into Paris "...to assert its will for justice and peace".¹ He scathingly criticised the ruling circles of Austria-Hungary and Germany and stated: "We French Socialists have a simple task; we don't have to impose a policy of peace on our government. It does practice it."² Rubanovich and Akselrod would not believe the reports on Russia's acts of aggression.

Speakers tended to exonerate the imperialists of their own countries, denounced foreign warmongers, demanded resolute action from others and cited special circumstances to justify their inaction. Luxemburg alone struck a different chord by strongly denouncing German militarism.

An anti-war rally was held in Brussels on 29 July and the next day the ISB passed a resolution obliging the proletariat to step up anti-war demonstrations and to demand that the Austro-Serbian conflict be turned over to an arbitration court. It urged the French, German, British and Italian workers to intensify pressure on their governments in order to have them restrain Austria-Hungary and Russia. The ISB hailed the revolutionary actions of the Russian workers but failed to supply a detailed and thorough evaluation of the causes of the conflict, the character of the Austro-Serbian war or the impending world war. The ISB belittled the threat of a world war, did not point to the aggressiveness of the imperialist powers, pinned its hopes on the "peaceable intentions" of the governments of Germany, France, Britain and Italy and did not cite the International's resolutions with regard to the duties of the proletariat in the eventuality of a world war.

Luxemburg's proposal, supported by Jaurès, that the next international socialist congress be convened in Paris,

¹ *Die Internationale und der Weltkrieg*, Materialien gesammelt von Carl Grünberg, Leipzig, Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, 1916, S. 35.

² *Ibid.*, S. 34.

not in Vienna, and on 9 August, not 23, was accepted and the issue of war and the proletariat was included in its agenda.

The ISB did not exert any influence on the developments. It proved impossible to convene the congress. Having returned from Brussels to Paris, Jaurès, a fervent peace champion, who urged the peoples to put an end to war, hoped to convince Prime Minister René Viviani to influence Russia and safeguard peace. Viviani refused to see him and on the same day Jaurès was assassinated. The death of the staunch anti-war campaigner jolted the peace movement into action. A group of socialist women led by Louise Saumoneau said in an appeal: "Join the socialist proletariat of the entire world, which is rising against war..."¹ It was only by introducing martial law that the French government averted new mass rallies and demonstrations of protest against war. But on 1 August the socialist deputies to parliament stated that if the enemy invaded France, they would vote for war credits and defend the country.

Anti-war rallies and demonstrations were going on in Germany. Meeting workers' demands, a representative of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, H. Müller, saw representatives of the socialist faction of the French Parliament in Paris on 1 August in the presence of the ISB's representative Hendrik de Man. Müller said that the SDPG did not think it possible to have the International's congress convened on 9 August and assured the French that the German government was working for peace and that the Social-Democrats in the Reichstag would vote against war credits, although on 29 July Albert Südekum had told the Reichschancellor that the Social-Democratic leaders would be loyal and support his policy.

The leaders of the SDP of Germany found it easier to justify their change of heart because of the fact that the German government declared war first on Russia and not France. On the day of the declaration of war, 1 August, most of the Social-Democratic newspapers gave support to the war under the pretext that it was being waged against Russian tsarism and for the freedom of the peoples of Russia. The board of the SDPG urged the workers to stop demonstrations, hypocritically assuring them that they had

¹ Ibid., S. 148.

already discharged their duty. The trade unions' general commission called upon the workers to give support to the government and announced "civic peace". On 4 August, the Social-Democratic group unanimously voted for war credits. Haase stated that it was a defensive war for Germany and that every German ought to defend the homeland.

Die Arbeiter-Zeitung of Austria said that the alliance of France and the "northern absolutism" was unnatural, hypocritically lamented the fact that the British and French were laying down their lives for the tsar, and called the war of Austria-Hungary and Germany against tsarism and its allies a war of liberation. The leaders of the SDP and the Austrian trade unions urged workers to support the Austrian government and "rise to fight tsarism" and thus became accomplices to the crime perpetrated by the instigators of the imperialist world war. The leaders of the SDP of Hungary took a similar stand.

The SFIO leaders said on 2 August: "...We have discharged our duty in compliance with the International... It is a defensive war, into which we are being led by our bitter destiny. We will fight it.... You must emerge the victors".¹ *L'Hunamité* assured on 4 August that the SFIO faction in parliament would unanimously vote for war credits. The SFIO leaders emphasised in their manifesto the need to preserve and strengthen "national unity", i.e., class peace. As Vaillant put it, "We shall use all our endeavours to bring the war to a successful conclusion."²

The position of the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party was much the same. Vandervelde characterised the war as the just struggle against German militarism and became a minister in his country's imperialist government.

On 1 and 2 August, the British section of the International organised a series of anti-war rallies of protest against the policy of their country's government. On 6 August, *Labour Leader* published the section's appeal to the workers to defend peace staunchly, to unite in order to defeat the enemy, militarism and the selfish imperialists, today and for ever.³ But shortly afterwards, in late August, the Labour Party leaders concluded an agreement with the governing

¹ Ibid., S. 150, 153.

² *Justice*, 10 September, 1914.

³ See: *Labour Leader*, 6 August, 1914.

Liberals on the reciprocal renunciation of contention while the trade-union leaders announced "an armistice in industry". Henry Hyndman's followers in the BSP leadership gave energetic support to the British government. Eventually, representatives of the trade unions, the LP and the ILP entered the government, which was waging a war of plunder.

In this way most of the leaders of the socialist parties of Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Belgium and Britain "committed an act of treachery against socialism by voting for war credits, by reiterating the chauvinist ('patriotic') slogans of the bourgeoisie of their 'own' countries, by justifying and defending the war, by joining the bourgeois governments of the belligerent countries, and so on and so forth."¹ Those parties failed to comply with the resolutions of the International's congresses and violated the principles of Marxism and proletarian solidarity. Leon Trotsky, who observed many leaders of these parties at the time, wrote: "In order for the proletariat to be the ideological captive of national militarism, there was required, in all instances, between the official bourgeois ideology and the political confusion (or disorientation) of the masses a highly important link in the form of the patriotic orientation of authoritative working-class organisations and above all of their ruling elite."² At present even social-reformist historians admit that "...on August 4 (1914—I. K.) almost all socialist parties in the belligerent countries pledged themselves to the defence of the very bourgeois-capitalist states whose destruction had hitherto been their aim"³ in a dramatic inversion of intellectual and political values in the socialist movement that destroyed its unity.

What happened was not inevitable. Even in the tiny Serbia, attacked by the armies of Austria-Hungary, on 31 July the deputies of the SDP to parliament voted, in the spirit of the International's resolutions, against war credits. The Serbian Social-Democrats did not cease the class struggle and continued to work for the establishment

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 29.

² L. D. Trotsky, *War and Revolution. The Collapse of the Second International and Preparation for the Third*, Vol. 2, 1922, p. 171 (in Russian).

³ J. Braunthal, *History of the International. 1914-1943*, Vol. 2, Nelson, London, 1967, pp. 1, 2.

of a Balkan democratic federation; they shared the grievous lot of their people. At the outbreak of the war the Social-Democratic group in the Russian Duma issued a declaration which said, *inter alia*, that the war had been born of a policy of conquests and that responsibility for it was shared by the ruling circles of all the belligerent countries.¹ The Social-Democrats refused to vote for war credits, with the Bolsheviks taking a stand against social-chauvinism and appealing to the people. At the same time the SDPKP and L, the PPS—Lewica and the Bund issued a joint manifesto which deplored the imperialist war and called upon the proletariat to follow the path of revolutionary struggle.

Plekhanov took the side of the Entente imperialists and called upon his Menshevik followers to vote for war credits, but the Bolsheviks took a most resolute stand. In August Lenin wrote his "theses on the war", which were approved and circulated by a group of Social-Democrats. Those theses and the manifesto "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", drafted by Lenin and approved by the RSDLP Central Committee, thoroughly exposed the imperialist character of the world war, strongly deplored "a sheer betrayal of socialism"² on the part of most of the leaders of the SDP of Germany, the SFIO and several other socialist parties, and pointed to the crisis of the Second International. In formulating the goal of a universal just and democratic peace, Lenin argued that the only road to it led through victorious socialist revolutions in the belligerent countries. In order to prepare and carry out such revolutions, he wrote, it is necessary to strengthen revolutionary organisations and mount mass actions against the aggressive foreign and reactionary domestic policies of primarily one's own country, working for its defeat in the imperialist war; weapons that were put into the hands of the working people should be used to turn the imperialist into a civil war against the ruling classes of one's own country, "...not against their brothers, the wage slaves in other countries, but against the reactionary and bourgeois governments and parties of all countries".³ Plans were being drawn to revive the interna-

¹ *The International and the World War*, p. 273.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

tional solidarity of the working people in the struggle against chauvinism of every ilk and to prepare the ground for and establish a revolutionary International. Seeking to harmonise organically the immediate desire of the ever growing numbers of the working people for peace and the objective interest of the working class in the victory of socialism, Lenin hoped to direct all those advocating a universal and just democratic peace at the struggle for socialism. That policy was an important aspect of the concept of a world socialist revolution, on which Lenin was working in that period. He thought it necessary to pursue such a policy in all countries.

The socialists of neutral countries also had to decide on their attitude to the world imperialist war. A wave of rallies and demonstrations called by the ISP leadership swept Italy. The Party and the syndicates demanded that the government observe full neutrality and even threatened "to turn the hateful war between peoples into a civil war of liberation".¹ On 2 August, the presidium of the Italian Socialist Party expressed its "Profound satisfaction with the remarkable upsurge of the Italian proletariat in response to the call for a campaign against the war and for Italy's neutrality in the European conflict".² The decision was taken to call upon the proletariat to launch "direct action" if Italy abandoned its neutrality. But when Italy did enter the war, Serrati and other ISP leaders failed to organise such action and, though continuing to protest against the imperialist war and their government's policy, did not think it necessary to prepare a revolution. Moreover, the right-wing Socialists and Benito Mussolini, who had been expelled from the Socialist Party and become a spokesman for national socialism, i.e., the establishment of Great Italy supposedly in the interests of the working class, gave support to the Italian ruling circles and misled a part of the working people.

All the Bulgarian Social-Democrats called for their country's neutrality. The Shiroki, however, hoped for the common sense of the ruling circles and linked themselves

¹ See: *The Revolutionary Movement in the Capitalist Countries During and After the World War*, Moscow, 1933, p. 226 (in Russian).

² *Die Internationale und der Weltkrieg. Materialien gesammelt von Carl Grünberg*, S. 225-26.

to the government's policy, which was to involve Bulgaria in the imperialist war. The Tesnyaki resolutely condemned the war as an imperialist enterprise on both sides and, after Bulgaria had entered the war, stepped up their struggle against the policy of the ruling circles and set their sights on a revolution.

Most of the Social-Democratic leaders in Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway urged the workers to support the neutrality policies of their countries' governments and to renounce the class struggle for that purpose.

The SP of the United States condemned the world war only as a "senseless conflict" and urged the US government to seek the reconciliation of the belligerent powers, and the European Socialists to contribute to that goal. While opposing the involvement of the US in the world war and advocating peace without annexations or indemnities, the Socialist Party failed to find effective means of the struggle. The AFL leaders, who supported US neutrality at the time, were especially preoccupied with keeping "industrial peace" and opposed the growth of strikes, which were being organised by the IWW with its emphasis on the economic struggle. The SLP, which continued its propaganda of socialism, stated that the war was irrelevant to the American labour movement. Neither the SP, nor the IWW, nor the SLP, nor even the revolutionary propaganda of Eugene Debs or the Socialist League, established in 1915, could prevent the involvement of the US in the imperialist war with the complicity of the AFL leaders.

The demise of the Second International was manifest in the open betrayal of its essential Marxist principles by its leading member parties and in the gross violation by them of the anti-war and other resolutions of its congresses. That outcome was a result of the prevalence of opportunists, including social-reformists and centrists, in the leadership of those parties. Habitually leaning towards cooperation with the bourgeoisie, at the outbreak of the war the opportunists went over to the side of their countries' imperialists and became social-chauvinists. Their action resulted in the rupture of the international solidarity and cooperation of the workers' organisations, which found themselves in the belligerent blocs, and the paralysis and disintegration of the existing international socialist bodies.

It proved impossible to convene a meeting of the ISB. Its Executive Committee fell apart and the Secretariat had to move from Belgium, overrun by Germany, to the neutral Netherlands. Troelstra made attempts to organise meetings and conferences of reconciliation between socialists of different countries under the ISB flag. The Secretariat continued to exist on sops from various groups, which hoped to use that shadow of the old International to rebuild the organisation after the war. Troelstra's intrigues and negotiations did nothing more than misled the proletariat. In fact, he did not represent anyone because the International existed no longer. "It was not the rallying point of the disunited working class but, conversely, the centre of disunity of the proletariat".¹

The SFIO, the Labour Party of Belgium and the BLP, on the one hand, and the SDP of Germany and the SDP of Austria and Hungary, on the other, became active participants in the two belligerent imperialist alliances. The socialists of the Austro-Hungarian bloc called their conferences in Vienna and the socialists of the Entente countries convened theirs in London. While helping "their own" governments, each of those parties tried to win over to their side the socialists of neutral countries and to escalate the imperialist slaughter. The socialist parties of some of the neutral countries held separate international conferences.

The opportunists exploited the wave of chauvinism that had inundated large numbers of people at the outbreak of the war to befuddle many workers and build up their own influence in the workers' organisations of most countries. The attempts to justify capitulation to the ruling circles by care for the preservation of the workers' organisations are futile because that capitulation denied those organisations their *raison d'être*, namely, defense of the working people's interests. The argument that the disintegration of the Second International was a natural result of the war is false in view of the International's experience during the Russo-Japanese war and the Balkan wars, and also in view of the resolutions of the International's congresses, which explicitly defined the socialists' policy line in the impending world imperialist war and called for their more energetic

¹ O. Pollak, *Das A-B-C der Internationale*, Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Wien, 1928, S. 13.

international actions of solidarity and for more vigorous efforts on the part of the International. Although the opportunists tried to prove false the resolutions of the International, which had envisioned not just the imperialist character of the world war but also the advent of a profound war-related social crisis, the developments confirmed the correctness of all those predictions in spite of rampant chauvinism in the early months of the war.

The world war triggered a grave historical crisis and, as it dragged on, posed the first ever threat to the very basis of human existence. Many sections of the population, primarily the progressive workers, were growing outraged over the loss of millions of human lives, large-scale devastation, dropping morale, brutalisation, the sway of the military, abuses of the rights of peoples, the intensifying exploitation of the working people, the hunger and poverty of the masses, the depletion of the belligerent countries' resources, their inability to win and the unwillingness of the ruling classes, which were battenning on exploitation, war contracts and speculation, to stop the slaughter as early as the end of 1914.

* * *

The ideological and political struggle over the legacy of the Second International, including its ideas and mass organisations, which had begun immediately after its collapse, assumed large proportion in the course of the further separation of the revolutionary and the opportunistic trend.

The revolutionary socialists, who acted in accordance with the Marxist anti-war resolutions of the congresses of the Second International and working to restore the international solidarity of the working people, were actually carrying on the International's cause. The revolutionary socialists used that growing outrage to step up their activities everywhere in spite of severe repression. Spearheading protests against the war and exposing its imperialist character, they endeavoured, in the spirit of the anti-war resolutions of the International, to achieve an end to the war through the intensification of the class struggle, employed both legal and banned methods of revolutionary propaganda and the organisation of mass actions, and called upon the workers, put into uniforms and given weapons, to turn them against the imperialists of their own countries. But the revolution-

ary socialists of most countries, with the exception of the Russian Empire (which included a large part of Poland), Serbia, Bulgaria and the Netherlands, had still a long way to go to the establishment of their own organisations, and only in Russia did they exert any serious influence on the mass of people.

Already in the early years of the world imperialist war, the revolutionary socialists introduced much of what was new in the theory and practice of revolution. Special importance was attached to the experience of conspiratorial organisational and propaganda work among troops at the front and in the rear and among industrial workers, to the use of various legal organisations and protests and questions in parliament, to the publication and dissemination of literature and leaflets banned by the authorities, and to the organisation of underground groups and contacts and mass demonstrations and strikes, prohibited under the wartime laws.

The theory of revolution was enriched considerably. The revolutionary socialists concentrated on clarifying the character of the world war, the goals of the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, the effects of the war on the working people, and the prospects for the revolutionary movement. They discussed the relationship between the international and the national, the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism, the struggle for socialism and the struggle for democracy, and various peaceful and armed forms of the struggle for power.

Lenin made an especially important contribution. He crowned his analysis of the new features of capitalism in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Particular attention to the negative processes led him to the conclusion that imperialism as the last stage of capitalism was the eve of the socialist revolution. "Socialism," he wrote, "will be achieved by the united action of the proletarians, not of all, but of a minority of countries, those that have reached the *advanced* capitalist stage of development",¹ perhaps initially in one of these countries.

In clarifying the essential conditions for a victorious socialist revolution, Lenin wrote that "...the proletariat cannot be victorious except through democracy, i.e., by

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 59.

giving full effect to democracy and by linking with each step of its struggle democratic demands formulated in the most resolute terms".¹ He emphasised the progressive character of national wars against imperialism and linked their success to actions by the working class. In characterising the coming age of social transformations, Lenin wrote about the combination of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and the democratic movements, including the national liberation movement, and argued that "all nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life".² These ideas in their totality constituted Lenin's concept of the withdrawal from the world imperialist war by means of a socialist revolution.

The revolutionary socialists were endeavouring to restore the international cooperation of the working-class movements of all countries because they considered it especially important at the time of the world war. They pointed out that "the centre of gravity of the class organisation of the proletariat lies in the International"³ and hoped build a new International "on a new, more sound foundation".⁴

The success achieved by revolutionary socialists in individual countries in formulating and implementing anti-war policies, mapped out by the pre-war congresses of the Second International, during the wartime years varied greatly because of their different objective circumstances and tasks, and also their substantially diverse experiences and positions. This explains some disagreements between the revolutionary socialists of different countries and between their various groups and parties, and also the difficulties encountered by them in the national and in-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 408.

² V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

³ *Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Reihe II, Bd. 1, Berlin, 1958, S. 282.

⁴ *Die Zimmerwalder Bewegung. Protokolle und Korrespondenz*, Herausgegeben von Horst Lademacher. Bd. II, 1967, Mouton, The Hague-Paris, S. 102.

ternational consolidation of their forces. The accumulation of experience by revolutionary socialists in every country and the broadening of international cooperation between them played the decisive role in overcoming disagreements and closing the ranks.

Besides the revolutionary socialists, many other socialists, including centrists who were gradually getting rid of chauvinistic sentiments and overcoming their own vacillations, were opposed to the war. But they reduced the tasks of the anti-war movement to achieving an end to the war, trying to justify their abandonment of revolutionary propaganda by the lack of a revolutionary situation as they thought that no revolution was possible in the wartime period. That position gave Lenin and other revolutionary socialists reason to call them social-pacifists, although they were not pacifists in the narrow sense of the word. In 1915-1916, the social-pacifists were gradually moving from purely parliamentary protests to anti-war propaganda amidst the mass of people, from the slogan of peace on the basis of the status quo to the demand for a just and democratic peace, and from attempts to revive the ISB of the Second International, immobilised by the social-chauvinists, to the establishment of a parallel provisional information and coordination centre of all the anti-war socialists, and also to criticism of the social-chauvinists, which nevertheless did not rule out some degree of cooperation with them. That was enough to win for the social-pacifists broad popularity in the rapidly growing anti-war movement, with most of the participants in it wanting the war to end as soon as possible but having no clear idea of the terms of peace or ways of achieving it.

In the first half of 1915 some revolutionary socialists together with a part of the so-called social-pacifists held international conferences to protest against the imperialist war. The most decisive of them was the Second Balkan Conference of Socialists, which took place in July in Bucharest and was attended by Social-Democrats from Romania, Bulgaria and Greece. A message of greetings was sent from Serbian Social-Democrats. The conference was at one with the Bolsheviks and the German revolutionary Social-Democrats. The Balkan workers' Social-Democratic federation was founded at it. The federation was headed by Christian Rakowski.

The socialists' international anti-war conferences, especially the establishment and activities of the Zimmerwald association and its organ, the International Socialist Commission (ISC), were very important factors of the consolidation and growth of the anti-war movement. The unification of the organisations and groups of social-pacifists and revolutionary socialists of the belligerent and neutral countries at the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915 was a result of a compromise between the majority social-pacifists and the minority revolutionary socialists among its delegates. That compromise helped raise the ideological and political level of the anti-war socialists and the entire anti-war movement, make those forces more active, broaden their base and revive international solidarity. The Manifesto of the Zimmerwald Conference stressed the responsibility of the ruling circles and imperialists of all countries for the world war and its devastating effects, noted that socialist parties of different countries had disowned their obligations while the ISB had proved impotent, and urged the working people to fight "*for their own cause*, for the sacred goal of socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples and the enslaved classes through irreconcilable proletarian class struggle".¹ A left group, established on Lenin's initiative to unite a part of the revolutionary socialists from a number of countries, was working especially vigorously along these lines in the Zimmerwald association. The rise of the anti-war movement and the revolutionary socialists' efforts enabled the Kienthal Conference to reaffirm the appeal for the struggle for peace, made at the Zimmerwald Conference, and the latter's recognition of the link between it and the revolutionary struggle for socialism, and to go further: it condemned social-chauvinism and the activities of Troelstra's Secretariat, called for struggle against the ruling classes "with every means available to us"² and formulated the goal of winning power by the proletariat and abolishing the capitalist form of ownership as a condition for ensuring a lasting peace. At a conference in Olten in early 1917, the supporters of the Zimmerwald resolutions backed the revolutionary Socialists' initiative and declined

¹ See: *Struggle of the Bolsheviks for the Establishment of the Communist International*, Moscow, 1934, p. 177 (in Russian).

² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

the attempts of the ISC's leader Robert Grimm to arrange cooperation with the Entente social-chauvinists.

But the futile attempts of many social-pacifist leaders to bring about an early end of the war through cooperation with the social-chauvinists of the belligerent countries, who advocated peace by agreement between the imperialists, on the one hand, and the revolutionary socialists' inflated hopes for the evolution of the mass anti-war movement into revolutionary actions, on the other, widened the gap between the social-pacifists, who prevailed in the Zimmerwald association, and the minority revolutionary socialists.

The February 1917 revolution in Russia, which triumphed at the height of the imperialist war, proved the possibility of a victorious revolution during wartime and ushered in a new phase in the struggle in all countries between the anti-war movement and its opponents, who in Russia raised aloft the slogans of "revolutionary defencism". The Bolsheviks countered every attempt at justifying the war with a programme for universal and just democratic peace, formulated by the Petrograd Soviet. The programme became widely popular, equipped the anti-war movement with an important goal and contributed to its invigoration everywhere and to the move of the social-pacifists who supported it from propaganda to the organisation of mass protests and to a formal break with the social-chauvinists; moreover, it prompted even the social-chauvinists to advocate peace without annexations or indemnities.

In the spring of 1917, all the belligerent countries were swept by a strong tide of strikes and demonstrations, in which the working people demanded an end to the war, democratic freedoms and food. There was unrest in the troops. Drawing on the experience of the second Russian Revolution, the revolutionary socialists stepped up their propaganda and the organisation of mass actions for an immediate end to the war, improvements in the situation of the working people, drastic democratic reform and the overthrow of the ruling circles, which were opposed to all those measures. The Committee for the Restoration of International Liaison, set up by the French revolutionary socialists, declared: "The risen people everywhere must get rid of their class-based governments and replace them with deputies of workers and soldiers.... The war of the

peoples must be countered with a revolution".¹ Viewing the overthrow of tsarism as the first step and foreseeing the further growth in Russia of the struggle for peace in the form of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the power of the proletariat, the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Germany came up with the slogans, "Down with war! Down with the government! Peace! Freedom! Bread!"² The revolutionary-minded British workers said that they would like to have in their country a revolution like in Russia.³ The slogan "Do as in Russia!" was made popular among the Italian workers by the revolutionary socialists. Speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian workers in the National Assembly, Vasil Kolarov stated that the cause of the Russian revolutionary workers was also their cause.⁴

In early 1917, many revolutionary socialists shared Lenin's belief that a revolutionary situation had taken shape in Europe and that a proletarian revolution was about to begin. But most of the organised workers and anti-war campaigners everywhere except Russia had far from realised the need for such a revolution. The social-pacifists welcomed the February Revolution in Russia, were stepping up criticism of the ruling circles of their countries and recognised that mass actions by the working people could succeed; however, in view of the exhaustion of the belligerent countries and the ruling classes' fear of revolution, they strung their efforts to bring about an early peace even through agreement between the imperialists. Most of the Zimmerwald association were in favour of such an option.

The social-chauvinists in the Entente countries welcomed the overthrow of tsarism as riddance of a weak and unreliable ally, and those in Germany and Austria-Hungary as a result of what they called the war of liberation, which they supported. The former were worried by Russia's slackening war effort and hoped that the Provisional Govern-

¹ See: *The Revolutionary Movement in Capitalist Countries During and After the World War*, Leningrad, 1933, p. 260 (in Russian).

² *Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*. Reihe II, Bd. 1, S. 617.

³ See: *The Herald*, 19 May 1917.

⁴ See: *History of the Bulgarian Communist Party*, Moscow, 1971, p. 187 (in Russian).

ment would fight with better results, while the latter hoped that the revolution would prevent Russia from fighting on and force it to conclude a separate peace treaty, which would favour the overall victory of Germany and its allies. Both disapproved of revolutionary propaganda and demanded from the ruling circles concessions in the form of reforms in order to avert revolutions. The efforts of the right-wingers to suppress the Left and centrist opposition within the SDPG brought about a split in the Party and in April 1917 the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany with the centrists at its head emerged.

After the February Revolution many opportunists saw a possibility to convene an international Social-Democratic conference of all countries to call for an agreement between the imperialists and to restore the International. The leaders of the Social-Democrats of neutral countries, among them Sweden, Denmark and Norway, suggested Stockholm as the venue of such a conference. They were supported by the social-chauvinists, by the German and Austrian centrists, and by the Executive Committee (headed by Troestra) of the ISB of the defunct International. The ISC leaders, who were in favour of attending the Stockholm Conference, proposed that the Third Conference of the Zimmerwald association be convened to define its position. Most of the revolutionary socialists refused to attend the Stockholm Conference out of the conviction that it could not help bring about the end of the war but would just mislead the working people. But the plan foundered primarily on the refusal to attend the conference by the social-chauvinists of France and Britain, who shared their governments' hopes for an early victory.

Analysing the exacerbated contradictions in the protracted world war and the uneven growth of the revolutionary movement after the February Revolution in Russia, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that "humanity must now choose between perishing or entrusting its fate to the most revolutionary class for the swiftest and most radical transition to a superior mode of production".¹ However, he reassessed the traditional orientation towards initial victory of the socialist revolution in the most developed capitalist

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 367-68.

country and advanced a course for the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia into a socialist revolution. Speaking about the preparation and staging of a socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin clarified: "When we began working for our cause we counted exclusively on the world revolution."¹ Convinced of the untenability of imperialism and the rapid revolutionisation of the mass consciousness, he imparted optimal content to the anti-war course of the Second International by advancing the orientation towards a world socialist revolution.

Lenin stressed that "today, following 1914, unity of the proletarian struggle for the socialist revolution demands that the workers' parties separate themselves completely from the parties of the opportunists",² called for a clean break with the social-pacifists and suggested that the revolutionary socialists remain in the Zimmerwald association only to have access to information while getting down without delay to the establishment of a new, Third International.

But many revolutionary socialists hoped that the growth of the revolutionary movement would make it possible to put the Zimmerwald association on the right path and to set up the Third International on a broader basis some time later; that view, backed by Zinoviev, carried the day at the Bolsheviks' April Conference. Meanwhile, the Bureau Abroad of the CC RSDLP (K. Radek, V. V. Vorovsky, A. M. Kollontai, Ya. S. Ganetsky and N. A. Semashko), which had been working in Stockholm since April 1917, was establishing contact with all the foreign organisations of revolutionary socialists. As a result, in June 1917 it released a joint statement with Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Social-Democratic Party (Tesnyaki) and the Swedish revolutionary Social-Democrats which formulated a common platform of the revolutionary socialists, denounced both social-chauvinism and social-pacifism and explained that "peace will be

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Joint Plenum of the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and the Moscow City Trade Union Council, Dedicated to the Third Anniversary of the October Revolution. November 6, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 397.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 211.

just an armistice unless a revolution is made in all countries".¹

The Third Conference of the Zimmerwald association, which met in Stockholm in September 1917, did not support the Bolsheviks' slogan of a revolutionary withdrawal from the war. Its manifesto urged the working people to give support to the Russian Revolution and to organise a general international strike against the continued imperialist war; moreover, the release of the manifesto was delayed at the insistence of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and it was made public only after the Great October 1917 Socialist Revolution.

The formation of the Third Communist International still required considerable time and effort even after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The great upsurge of the Russian revolutionary masses led by the Bolsheviks for a democratic peace worldwide and social justice sparked enormous enthusiasm among politically conscious working people across the globe. However, the complications in attaining these goals that were created by the imperialist intervention and the blockade and also by the attempts at hasty and straightforward solutions to the complex problems of restructuring an underdeveloped and emaciated country, which drew out a fierce Civil War, dislocation and emigration, gave rise to doubts even among people in solidarity with Soviet Russia and among champions of peace and social justice who had been hoping for other ways and means.

Established by Communists and revolutionary socialists from a number of countries in March 1919, the Comintern, as Lenin wrote, "has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat".² It strengthened rather quickly on the wave of the revolutionary actions that were continuing in Central and Eastern Europe prior to summer 1920, and won the sympathies of the revolutionary leaders of the anti-imperialist movements

¹ See: *Struggle of the Bolsheviks for the Establishment of the Communist International. 1914-1919*, p. 188.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 307.

in Asian countries. At the initiative of Lenin, Zinovyev, who headed the Comintern Executive Committee, Trotsky, Bukharin, Radek and others, it was formed as a united worldwide organisation (the Communist parties were its sections), for leading the world socialist revolution and replacing capitalism with a world communist system, as was later formalised in its programme. The Comintern leaders believed that the entire world had been gripped by a revolutionary crisis, the capitalist economy was falling apart and the consciousness of the working masses was rapidly revolutionising everywhere. This plus the absolutisation of the unique experience of the October Revolution made for a worldwide orientation not only at the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets, but also at the extension of Civil War which ruled out a peaceful settlement of the historical crisis that had been stated at the Second Comintern Congress. Hence the course for the rapid formation of Communist parties as leaders of the revolution, civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the confidence that the "unity of the proletariat in the epoch of social revolution can be achieved only by the extreme revolutionary party of Marxism, and only through a relentless struggle against all other parties",¹ especially opportunistic ones, which was not ruled out even later in the evolved tactics of a united working-class front.

Lenin was the first to grasp the slacking off of the revolutionary movement and arrived at the conclusion that the world socialist revolution would continue for many years and would demand much effort.² He realised that Soviet Russia had no other way than developing in capitalist encirclement and coexisting peacefully with it in order to advance towards socialism and do as much as possible in one country to enable socialism to progress in all other countries. This was linked with the sweeping changes in his notions of socialism and the ways of revamping Russia and with the elaboration and implementation of the New

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 520.

² V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East. November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

Economic Policy. But Lenin failed to complete his reassessment of the unjustified conceptions of the world socialist revolution.

Without him the leaders of the Comintern, above all those of the RCP(B), were long unable to surmount the inertia of revolutionary euphoria. However, the failure of attempts to speed up the world revolution made for a need to modernise it gradually. "It," read the Programme the Comintern adopted in 1928, "is shaped from processes that are taking place at different times and that are heterogeneous, namely, pure proletarian revolutions; revolutions of the bourgeois-democratic type which develop into revolutions of the proletariat; wars of national liberation; colonial revolutions. It is only in the final analysis that the revolutionary process leads to a world dictatorship of the proletariat."¹ Communists viewed the USSR as the "hegemon of the world revolutionary movement",² which conditioned an uncritical attitude to it and their subordination to its policies, especially with the establishment of the Stalin regime. Hopes for success were buttressed by the concept of the general crisis of capitalism as the process of its immediate debacle. Lenin's ideas that were selected and doctored by Stalin and his cohorts and which were developed by them for justifying the distortion of the socialist restructuring of the USSR and for subordinating the entire communist movement to it were passed off as Leninism, any retreat from which was ruthlessly suppressed.

The dashing of the revolutionary hopes of the Communists and the formidable intensification of fascism in the first half of the 1930s prompted the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to plot a new course—a policy of a united working-class and popular front. Defence of democracy and peace against fascism was the Communists' overriding task. "The slogan of struggle for peace must be the central slogan of the Communist Parties," the Seventh Congress pointed out.³ However, this struggle, too, was geared to development into a world socialist revolution. The successes

¹ *The Programme and Rules of the Communist International*, Moscow, 1935, p. 71 (in Russian).

² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³ *The Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Struggle Against Fascism and War*, Moscow, 1975, p. 386 (in Russian).

scored by the USSR, together with everything that is now comprehended as a distortion of socialism, were regarded as the start of a "new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution".¹

The Comintern, Communist parties, Communists in the localities, did much to protect the direct economic and political interests of workers, the unemployed, and other sections of the toiling people and were the initiators and leaders of mass protests, without which it was impossible to get concessions—reforms—or to counter fascism, although the striving to orient these protests directly towards a revolution was far from always justified or useful. Their vanguard role in protecting workers' interests gained wide recognition. "...For years the Communists fought almost single-handedly," wrote the outstanding figure in the workers' movement, G. D. Cole, "against the international forces that stood for war and the preservation of capitalism."²

All the same, a serious assessment must be made of the negative influence exerted on the world working-class movement and the fight for social progress by patent and also concealed yet increasingly well-known miscalculations by the Communist parties and the Comintern,³ the Stalinist repressions against their figures, and especially the distortions of socialism in the USSR. Nevertheless, as of 1939, the Communist parties were functioning in 78 countries, numbering in their ranks 4.2 million members, including 1.75 million outside the USSR.

The fall of the popular fronts in France and Spain, despite the enthusiasm generated by their initial successes, and then the almost two-year collaboration with nazi Germany which astonished many Communists, and the USSR's participation in the anti-Hitler coalition with Britain and the United States ashed their dreams for a world revolution, the final straw being the dissolution of the Comintern.

The intensification of the communist movement in the Resistance everywhere from France to Southeast Asia was conditioned by the selfless struggle being waged by the Communists for national independence and democratic

¹ Ibid., p. 397.

² G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. 4, p. 11.

³ See: F. I. Firsov, K. K. Shirinya, "The Comintern: Experience of Activity", *Kommunist*, 1988, No. 10.

freedoms, as well as by the heroic war of the communist-ruled Soviet Union, which made the decisive contribution to the rout of the nazi aggressors. The victories of the popular-democratic and socialist revolutions of the 1940s and early 1950s in a number of European and Asian countries were a triumph for the policy, advanced back at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, of a united working-class and popular front combined with internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union. This enabled the Communists to establish themselves in power and launch socialist restructuring in many countries, the blockade of which by the imperialists was conducive to their unification around the USSR. Despite the greatly enhanced influence and strength of the communist movement, the concept of a world socialist revolution was not called to mind, even though Vyacheslav Molotov stated that in our age all roads lead to socialism.

On the basis of the sweeping changes that had taken place in the world, the CPSU together with a number of other European Communist parties which established the Information Bureau in 1947 advanced another concept of world development, reducing it to the rivalry between two international camps—the democratic peaceloving camp and the imperialist aggressive one. The main object of the rivalry was the preservation and promotion of peace. “Peace will be preserved and promoted,” Stalin stated, “if the nations of the world take charge of the endeavour of preserving peace and uphold it to the end.”¹ Unquestionably, the passing over of the “cause of peace” into the hands of the peoples would mean the elimination of the governments of the instigators of war and, aside from the preservation of peace, would open up broad vistas for social progress. However, the Communists stated that the unleashing of a new world war by the imperialists, no matter how destructive it might be, would “cause a dismantling of the world capitalist system”.² If other socialist states were considered the “strike brigades” of the democratic camp together with the

¹ J. V. Stalin, *A Talk with a Pravda correspondent*, Moscow, 1951, p. 14.

² G. M. Malenkov, *Report to the 19th Party Congress on the Performance of the RCP(B) Central Committee*, Moscow, 1952, p. 33 (in Russian).

USSR, the Communists in the capitalist countries should, according to Stalin, have raised aloft the banner of democratic freedoms and the banner of national independence which had supposedly been thrown overboard by the bourgeoisie, rallied a majority of the people round themselves, become the leading force of the nation and attained victory.

This concept enabled the Communists to mobilise and unite the forces of the socialist countries and a certain part of the progressives beyond their borders, and it promoted their staunchness in the cold war unleashed by the imperialists. However, the far-reaching hopes linked with this concept did not come to fruition, since it was based on an underestimation of the possibilities of capitalist development and the capacity of the bourgeoisie to take advantage of the slogans of peace, democracy and national independence and also the deformations of socialism and the conflicts among socialist countries, and it failed to take into account the negative attitude of the public at large to the exacerbation of the rivalry and the arms race in which the imperialists had managed to entangle the socialist states. The schematic concept was unable to reflect the diversity of the changing world and became ineffective.

All this served to enhance the elements of dogmatism and intensify the lag of the theory of the communist movement from the changes occurring in the world. Back in the 1920s, the Comintern was late in recognising the partial stabilisation of capitalism and was unable to elaborate an appropriate effective policy. It was several years behind in elucidating the entire menace posed by fascism and in concentrating forces against it. The results of the national liberation revolutions of the 1940s and early 1950s in a number of Asian and African countries were not acknowledged in due time. For a lengthy period the Communists rejected cybernetics, genetics and some other attainments of world culture. Marxism, which emerged as a part of world culture, was isolated from it, stood opposed to all other areas of social thought, and turned into a closed-off teaching whose development was confined to the framework of earlier arguments. This combined with arrogant pretensions to exclusive possession of absolute truth.

Stalin's death and the actions taken against some of the

consequences of his personality cult, elements of dogmatism and distortions of socialism promoted a number of changes that were imminent in the theory and practice of the communist movement and in the development of the socialist countries and their foreign policies. The tendencies of renewal were complicated by the divergencies and inconsistency of their adherents, as well as by opposition on the part of conservative forces which regarded the search for new solutions and the replacement of outmoded provisions as a tearing down of the foundations, as revisionism.

One unquestionable achievement was the communist parties' joint elaboration of a new concept of world progress—the concept of the world revolutionary process. “Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, people’s democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these,” read the CPSU Programme of 1961, “merge in a single world-wide revolutionary process undermining and destroying capitalism.”¹ The conclusion was drawn regarding broader possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism, yet it was asserted that the “high road” to socialism had been laid, that imperialism had “entered a period of decline and debacle” and that it was hamstringing the development of productive forces and threatening the peoples with aggression. Enormous importance was attached to the preservation of peace among nations, peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism, and the prevention of a world nuclear war which continues to threaten the popular masses with annihilation.² The possibility of excluding war from society prior to the worldwide triumph of socialism was linked with the prospects for socialism’s attaining decisive superiority over imperialism.

Garbing the idea of a world revolution in new forms, this concept promoted the orientation of revolutionary forces to the successful solution of a number of topical problems. However, it, like the attempts at policy renova-

¹ *The Road to Communism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p. 484.

² See: *International Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties*, Moscow, 1969, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969.

tion undertaken in the mid-1950s by a number of Communist parties of socialist countries (the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania) and capitalist countries (Italy, Spain, France, Belgium, etc.) lacked consistency, realism and depth. This had become particularly obvious by the late 1970s-first half of the 1980s, despite the broadening of the communist movement, over 95 per cent of whose members were from the socialist countries.

An untenability of notions about the high road to socialism and also about the deepening of the general crisis and the unviability of capitalism exhibited itself. World socialism, which scored impressive successes in industrial production and even with regard to a military-strategic balance with imperialism, failed to reach capitalism's labour productivity and its level of application of scientific and technological breakthroughs. The invariability of its production relations increasingly hampered the development of the productive forces and social progress, triggering an exacerbation of contradictions and crises. Despite the intensification of capitalist contradictions and crises, the monopolies' adaptation of capitalist relations for applying technological advances ensured a rapid growth of productive forces within the capitalist framework. The transition to socialism proved to be a phenomenon less widespread than the transition from pre-capitalist structures to capitalism, the development of capitalism far and wide attesting to the fact that the bourgeoisie had not yet exhausted its revolutionary role. The hopes for a merging of different progressive movements into a general stream did not justify themselves: each of them had its own difficult fate, with its ups and downs. Evolution remained more widespread than revolution, a form of social progress which did not rule out either crises or even retrogressions. However, the main proof of the schematic, narrow and untenable nature of the concept of the world revolutionary process as a general theory of social development was the overriding emphasis being placed on global problems, in which humanity found itself confronted with a choice: universal destruction or joint survival.

* * *

Another branch of the international working-class movement developed differently.

In 1917, the opportunists, who had wrecked the Second International, trampled the resolutions of its congresses and kept undermining international solidarity, began to exploit the slogan of the reestablishment of the Second International in response to the growing desire of the working people for the restoration of international solidarity. They were out to have the revolutionary minority subordinated to the opportunist majority through the unification of all the trends of the international working-class movement. In February 1919, an international conference with the participation of delegates from the Social-Democratic parties of 26 countries took place in Berne on the initiative of the right-wing socialists of the Entente countries and trade-union leaders from 16 countries gathered for a conference as well. Not just the right-wing socialists of the victorious, defeated and neutral states but also the centrists of those countries, who advocated the unification of all the trends on the basis of mutual and total forgiveness, were represented at those gatherings. But almost all the revolutionary socialists refused to attend them. The centrists took exception to the demands of the Right that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Bolsheviks' policy be deplored strongly and unconditionally. The restoration of the Second International was made difficult also because of the disputes between the social-chauvinists of the Entente and Germany over responsibility for the war, and the differences between the Social-Democrats' and the trade unionists' conferences in appreciation of the future League of Nations and over some territorial questions.

The Berne Conference passed several social-reformist resolutions but organisationally it confined itself to establishing an International Commission, which was set the task of preparing the ground for the restoration of the Second International. The social-reformists' international conference in Lucerne in August 1919 approved a Provisional Constitution of the Second International, which formulated its principles vaguely but in an indubitably social-reformist spirit, and passed some other resolutions. But it witnessed growing differences between the right-wingers and the centrists over the post-war policies of the imperialist powers, the conditions for a lasting peace among nations, the appreciation of Soviet Russia and some other issues. The growth of the revolutionary movement led a number

of Social-Democratic parties, including the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the SDP of Switzerland, and the socialist parties of Italy, France, Norway, Spain, the US and Austria to desist from participation in rebuilding the Second International.

In spite of all those developments, the right-wing leaders of Social-Democracy held an international congress in Geneva in July-August 1920 to announce the restoration of the Second International; the gathering claimed to be the International's Tenth Congress. The Rules approved by it, in contrast to those endorsed by the Stuttgart Congress in 1907, were clearly social-reformist. Neither the revolutionary Social-Democrats nor even most of the centrist-led Social-Democratic parties joined that international workers' organisation. The "Second International" reinstituted by the right-wing Social-Democrats, among them Vandervelde, Henderson, Thomas, Branting and Troelstra, only inherited the name of that organisation, which appealed to the working people; it was in fact a new opportunistic centre in the international working-class movement that united the social-reformist parties of 15 countries with a total membership of 6 million. Its Executive Committee and Bureau were based in London, capital of the home country of the British Labour Party, which had become the most influential social-reformist party. The consolidation of the right-wing social-reformists deepened the rift in the international working-class movement.

Respecting the will of the revolutionary workers, who constituted a large segment of the parties led by the centrists, to join the Communist International, most of the centrist parties refused to participate in the so-called Second International and some of them sent delegates to the Comintern's Second Congress. Having found themselves on middle ground between the two Internationals, the Third and the so-called Second, the centrists, among them Friedrich Adler, Jean Longuet, Georg von Ledebour, Arthur Crispian and Robert Grimm, posed as the principal champion and herald of the restoration of unity in the international working-class movement. To this end a conference of several centrist parties was held in December 1920. The participants in it rightly noted the need for the international consolidation of the forces of the proletariat to repulse the imperialists and defend Soviet Russia and appealed to all the

social-reformist and communist parties to unite on the principles of "revolutionary socialism".

To prepare an all-embracing International, the conference of the centrists in Vienna in February 1921 formed the Workers' International Union of the Socialist Parties (WIUSP), elaborated its ideological and political platform, and elected its leading bodies which based in Vienna. Assessing the place of the new international centre in the working-class movement, the Communists ironically called it the "two-and-a-half International". By 1922, the WIUSP consisted of 24 socialist parties numbering over 2 million members and enjoying the support of trade unions which incorporated about 4.5 million workers.

In late 1921 and early 1922, the WIUSP leaders proposed convening a conference of a number of workers' parties of various orientations, including some communist parties. Striving not for fusion, but for the unity in action of all workers' organisations to repulse the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the ECCI responded with a counter-proposal—to hold a conference of all, rather than a few, workers' parties, a world workers' congress. Taking into account the mood of the working masses, both the leaders of the WIUSP and the Second International accepted the need to discuss preparations for such a congress.

The International Socialist Conference of the three Internationals, held in Berlin in April 1922, after a heated discussion adopted the Declaration which spoke of the need to hold the world workers' congress, to set up a Preparatory Committee and to look into the possibility of reviving the united front of trade unions. The conference appealed to all the workers to hold mass demonstrations in defence of their interests, in support of Soviet Russia, and for the creation of a united proletarian front.

The right-wing socialists sabotaged these calls, tried to discredit the Comintern's policy for a united workers' front, and demanded new concessions. When the Preparatory Committee met (on 23 May), the Second International representatives declared that the world workers' congress was to be contingent on a change by the Comintern of its "mode of action", i.e., its political course. This led to a breakdown of the Committee and the wrecking of the agreement reached at the Berlin Conference.

The Second International leaders declared that the

"unity of the working-class movement could only be restored and fortified in an intense struggle against the Communists".¹ The conference of the Second International parties, held in London in June 1922, flatly refused to attend any further talks with the Comintern.

The Comintern's nonsubmission to the diktat of the opportunists gave the centrists a pretext to accuse it of unwillingness to cooperate. By the autumn of 1922, the WIUSP leaders had entirely abandoned the plans to create a joint International with the participation of the Communists.

In a move conducive to such a change of attitude by the centrists, the leaders of the Second International initiated a rapprochement and unification of the Second and "two-and-a-half" Internationals. The WIUSP leaders entered into negotiations with them. On 10 December, 1922, in the Hague, a joint meeting of the executive committees of these two organisations took place; it decided to convene an International Socialist Congress in Hamburg in May 1923. An Action Committee to prepare it was set up. The centrists declared that the fusion of the Second and "two-and-a-half" Internationals was aimed against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, but the right wing directed it primarily against the Communists. Later J. Braunthal frankly admitted that the new International was to "unite like in a focus all the forces of democratic socialism against the autocratic forces of Bolshevism, concentrated in the Moscow International".²

The fusion congress of the centrists and right-wing Social-Democrats, held in Hamburg in May 1923, founded the Labour and Socialist International (LSI). The LSI, according to its constitution, united "socialist (Social-Democratic) workers' parties which seek to replace the capitalist mode of production with the socialist one".³ "As a means of emancipation of the working class, the LSI parties recognise the class struggle as expressed in open political and economic actions".⁴ Unlike the constitution

¹ *Vorwärts*, 29. Mai 1922.

² J. Braunthal, *History of the International...*, p. 254.

³ *Protokoll des Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in Hamburg vom 21. bis 25. Mai, 1923*, S. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of the Second International, founded in 1907 by the Stuttgart Congress, that of the LSI did not insist on a recognition of either the "essential principles of socialism", or on the need to acquire social power by the proletariat organised in a class party, or on the "socialisation of the means of production". In its treatment of the question of a transition to socialism, the LSI in comparison with the Second International made a step backwards. Explaining the social-reformist path of struggle "against capitalism, war and the attendant phenomena," Otto Wels called for going "through the political education of the majority, through the majority—to political power, through political power to economic democracy...", and on to "democratic socialism".¹

Taking into account the fact that most workers remembered the services and achievements of the Second International, which it owed to the revolutionary trend, some of the Hamburg Congress leaders declared that the LSI was the only successor to, and a direct continuer of, the Second International of 1889-1914. But in reality the LSI united the right-wingers and the centrists only, and guided itself by social-reformism rather than Marxism. The Hamburg Congress defined the orientation of the LSI towards "democratic socialism" and its place in the international working-class movement as an opportunist organisation opposing the Communists. In the admission of the social-reformists, the LSI was "the opposite pole to the Communist International".²

The third enlarged plenary meeting of the ECCI described the LSI as an opportunist organisation and stressed that the Hamburg Congress did not dare to reaffirm the anti-war resolutions of the congresses of the Second International. But contrary to the well-substantiated assessment by Lenin of the services of the Second International of 1889-1914 and the revolutionary part of its legacy, the ECCI Plenary Meeting looked upon the LSI as the only heir to the Second International of 1889-1914 and even styled it the Second International. This had serious consequences.

By calling the LSI the Second International, the documents of the Comintern and the communist literature of

¹ Ibid., p. 14.

² K.-L. Günsche, K. Lantermann, *Kleine Geschichte der Sozialistischen Internationale*, S. 98.

the 1920s and 1930s viewed the Second International of 1889-1914 through the prism of their evaluations of the LSI, which, as became clear already at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, were not always well grounded on all points. The tendency towards an unwarranted identification of the 1889-1914 Second International with the "Second International" of 1820-1923 and the LSI, justified by the need to separate from opportunism, led to a belittlement of or even disregard for the services of the Second International and of its entire legacy, and to a distortion of its role in the working-class movement at the turn of the century. This was quite often backed with the demands on the Second International of 1889-1914 that were appropriate only in the contemporary period, the reduction of its history to a struggle of trends, and so forth. Such violations of historicism effectively served to revise the suppressed evaluations by Lenin of the role, activities and legacy of the Second International of 1889-1914. The importance of the revolutionary trend in it was being played down, and the Bolsheviks were counterposed not to the opportunists, but to the Second International as a whole.

All that made it easier to distort the character of activity and the role of the Second International of 1889-1914 by the social-reformists, who sought to enter its services on their credit side and establish themselves as its heirs and successors, with the result that they could maintain their influence among quite a portion of organised workers who remembered and valued the role of the Second International in their struggles in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries.

The LSI in the 1920s and 1930s, acting as the successor to turn-of-the-century social-reformism and revisionism, worked out conceptions and pursued a policy oriented only towards the evolution of society, based on the collaboration of the antagonistic classes and absolutising the significance of reforms. The specific demands put forward by them, such as improving the workers' situation, expanding democratic freedoms and preserving peace, corresponded to the interests of the broad sections of working people and the level of their social consciousness. By 1928, the LSI consisted of over 25 parties with an aggregate membership of more than 6.6 million. The International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), closely linked to it, incorporated

more than 13 million workers. Over 25 million electors voted for the social-reformists at the elections.

While denouncing capitalism and proclaiming the need to replace it with socialism, the LSI and its parties adopted a policy for collaboration with the ruling class. The growth of production, the successes of its rationalisation and the strengthening of the monopolies were seen by the social-reformists as an alleviation of the capitalist contradictions and the appearance of "new", "organised capitalism" (R. Hilferding). This prompted the concept of "economic democracy" which, according to them, ensures the subordination of private to social interests without the abolition of private capitalist ownership. Attempts were made to prove that "economic democracy" was "identical to the building of socialism and is regarded as the process of turning the economic system of capitalism into socialist".¹ The LSI oriented itself towards the transition to "proletarian democracy" by way of a simple expansion of freedoms in capitalist society. The concept of "democratic socialism" or the achievement of social justice under an extended bourgeois democracy, and the idea of creating, on the basis of collaboration between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, of a "mixed state" which would ensure "general welfare" were brought forward.

The LSI called for the protection of the workers from the grim consequences of rationalisation through reduced working hours and higher wages. It urged the workers to "resist with all their might"² the onslaught of employers on the 8-hour working day and to seek an international legal recognition of, and the observation of the laws on, the 8-hour working day, wider international trade, state control over the international agreements of employers, and improvements in and the equalisation of the conditions of work in all countries. It advanced proposals for the organisation of public works and the regulation of the economy under "social control". To this end the social-reformist parties expanded their cooperation with most bourgeois parties. Their opposition to the bourgeois governments, except for fascist, was "benevolent". In some coun-

¹ *Wirtschaftsdemokratie: ihr Wesen, Weg und Ziel*, B., 1928, S. 175.

² *Zweiter Kongress der Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Internationale in Marseille 22. bis 27. August 1925*, Brl., 1925, S. 63.

tries they supported the bourgeois governments, in others participated in the coalition cabinets, and in still others formed their own governments, limiting themselves to administration and reform and making no attempt at radical transformations. At the height of the world economic crisis the LSI declared that "all the means with which capitalism is trying to overcome the crisis, under its rule turn into a curse for the working class", issued an appeal "for the proletariat to use the present crisis for a systematic fight against the class rule of the bourgeoisie",¹ and demanded the placing of the economy, particularly the monopolies, under "democratic control", the introduction of a state monopoly on trade, the socialisation of key branches of the economy, and a state takeover of the banks and the credit system. An alleviation of the grim consequences of the crisis was made dependent on the successes of the class struggle of the proletariat, and its actions directed at getting over the crisis-engendered troubles were viewed as an effort to conquer political power.

By declaring that the "centre of gravity of the working class movement"² and social progress was in the capitalist countries, the LSI underrated or ignored the achievements of the working people of the USSR, assessed Soviet government as a "dictatorship of the minority", demanded "liberalisation of the regime" in the USSR, and tried to discredit the Soviet way of development, asserting that the Communists saw the perspective of a victory of the revolution only in the outbreak of a new world war. The constitution of the LSI included a ban on Social-Democratic participation in "international political associations with whose traditions the LSI is in programmatic or tactical conflict".³ The LSI even came out against the Communist-sponsored mass organisations, such as International Workers' Relief and the League of Oppressed Peoples (the League Against Imperialism).

Paying special attention to the averting of war, the LSI regarded it as the source of the contradiction of capitalism

¹ *Vierter Kongress der S. A.-I. Zurich, 1932* (further *Vierter Kongress...*), S. 876.

² *Dritter Kongress der S.A.-J. Zurich, 1928* (further *Dritter Kongress...*), S. IX. 4.

³ *Dritter Kongress...*, S. IX. 24.

and maintained that "...the political victory of the working classes in all or at least the principal countries will be the best guarantee of lasting world peace".¹ After recognising that the League of Nations was incapable of preventing war, the LSI called for general disarmament, which it considered possible to achieve through a vigorous international struggle of the proletariat "even in the most revolutionary form".² and advanced concrete proposals on arms limitation, on democratising the armed forces and so on. The conference of the LSI in 1933 stated that in the event of an international conflict the state rejecting the arbitration of the League of Nations would be declared an aggressor and that then the workers of that country must begin a general strike which the proletarians of all countries would support. While favouring a normalisation of the capitalist states' relations with the USSR and the return of the USSR to the "world economic system", its admission to the League of Nations and even promising to defend it from intervention, the LSI maintained a silence on the Soviet proposals aimed at stronger peace and disarmament and was disseminating cock-and-bull stories about "Soviet imperialism" and the "hand of Moscow".

The LSI called upon the Social-Democrats to fight constantly and energetically for the right to self-determination for the oppressed peoples, especially to "give every support to the national and democratic struggle of the Chinese people",³ and protested against the acts of aggression by Britain, France and Italy in the Middle East, Africa, the Balkans and against the aggressive actions of the USA in Latin America. However, while rejecting the "policy of domination" over the oppressed peoples, the LSI did not take a stand for their economic independence but insisted on the proclamation of the principle of "open doors", or the equal rights of all powers to trade with the colonies. Moreover, the LSI considered it impossible to demand the granting of independence to the colonies "with an under-developed culture", in the category of which it placed nearly all the countries of Tropical and Southern Africa and the Pacific.

¹ *Zweiter Kongress...*, S. 359.

² *Dritter Kongress...*, S. IX. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, S. I. 32.

The leadership of the LSI did not reject the Munich deal, condemning only its "omissions". This approach stemmed from both its anti-communism and the inconsistency of its stand against fascism.

The anti-fascist strategy proposed by the Fourth Congress of the LSI was extremely contradictory. It contained an offer to Germany of credits, war-debt annulment and the lightening of the burden of reparations, all designed to reinvigorate the economy, improve the position of the popular masses and thus condemn fascism to defeat. Having recognised that the working class alone could uphold democracy, the congress put forth the task of "neutralising state power" and called upon the socialists strictly to adhere to the rule of law. The victory of the fascists in Germany and their increased activity everywhere revealed the inconsistency of the anti-fascist strategy of the SPDG and the LSI as a whole. The LSI conference in 1933 appealed to the workers everywhere to resolutely uphold democratic freedoms, taking into account the specific features of different countries and aiming for popular revolutions in the fascist states and the organisation of mass actions, whatever the sacrifices, where the fascists were seeking to seize power. International actions against the fascist regimes were planned, as well as measures to reinforce the solidarity of the socialists and consolidate peace. The conference declared that the LSI "will spare no effort to reunify the disunited forces of the working class".¹ However, the socialist parties proved unable to carry out these directives even in France and Spain, where they played an important role in the struggle against fascism. "The social democrats," wrote G. D. Cole, "could only proffer fine words... (They) capitulated in Italy, Germany and even Austria, almost without delivering a single blow in defence of the working class movement".² The Executive Committee of the LSI and the joint meetings of the leaders of the LSI and the IFTU passed many concrete resolutions in support of the Spanish Republic, but could not ensure the coordination of parliamentary and non-parliamentary actions by the socialists in different countries. Moreover, as the Social-

¹ *Compte rendu. Conference Internationale de l'Internationale ouvrière socialiste. Paris, 21-25 août 1933, Annexe A., p. III.*

² G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. V, p. 316.

Democrats themselves write, "the LSI was firm in its opposition to any joint actions with the Communists..."¹

By the outbreak of World War II, the LSI was paralysed by internal contradictions between its left and right wings and between the supporters and opponents of the campaign against fascism and war. Its leading bodies existed only nominally and broke up when the German troops entered Belgium.

The rebirth and growth of socialist and Social-Democratic parties in Europe were conditioned by their participation in the Resistance and in post-war democratic transformations. However, the fortunes of this influential trend of the European working-class movement was complicated by the need for a choice between the bourgeois-democratic and the popular-democratic models of national development—from France to Poland and from Finland to Italy. A combination of a number of objective and subjective circumstances made for a situation where a majority of them, with the exception of individual groups, in Eastern and Southeast Europe between 1945 and 1948 advocated the popular-democratic path and went over to a merging with the Communists and to joint implementation of socialist changes. A combination of a number of other internal and external circumstances conditioned a generally different choice by a majority, with the exception of individual organisations—socialists and Social-Democrats in West-European countries. The repudiation of the popular-democratic model led to a breakdown of the cooperation with the Communists that had taken shape in the Resistance, and the opting for the bourgeois-democratic model became the underpinning for strengthening cooperation with the bourgeois parties. This resulted in a split in European Social-Democratic ranks, a split almost as dramatic as the one during the First World War. The International Socialist Advisory Committee (COMISCO) which was formed at the initiative of British Labourists in 1947 was the hub of the ideological and political consolidation of West-European Social-Democracy. The acuity of the split in the European working-class movement was enhanced by the involvement of most socialist and Social-Democratic parties in the cold war unleashed by

¹ K. L. Günsche, K. Lantermann, *Kleine Geschichte der Sozialistischen Internationale*, S. 109.

the imperialists against the USSR and the other socialist countries and against the communist movement.

The real opportunity which emerged in the mid-1940s, for the first time since 1914, for surmounting the historical split in the international working-class movement, an opportunity which was reaffirmed by the founding of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), was not used. The rivalry between the two main orientations in the international working-class movement continued, perhaps with renewed force.

The establishment in 1951 of the Socialist International (SI) was by no means a restoration of the LSI, the results of whose activity the socialists themselves appraised very sceptically. That derived from the split of the socialist movement, a large part of which in Eastern Europe drew closer to and united with the communist movement. The declaration by the founding congress of the SI, Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism, worked out in the spirit of the cold war against the socialist countries and the communist movement, was an important landmark in the further evolution of the basic ideas of the opportunism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The call by the opportunists of that remote period for the renunciation of dialectics and materialism became in this document a proclamation of "world-outlook neutrality" and the statement that equally with Marxism, any other teaching can serve as the ideological and theoretical basis for the socialist movement. "Whether socialists build their faith on Marxist or other methods of analysing society, whether they are inspired by religious or humanitarian principles," said the Declaration, "they all strive for the same goal—a system of social justice, better living, freedom and world peace."¹ Declaring the need for the replacement of capitalism by democratic socialism and emphasising the importance of greater democracy in which "the public interest takes precedence over the interest of private profit",² and of consolidated social ownership, the SI absolutised the significance of parliamentary struggle and reforms, excluding violence, a state rearrangement, and a political revolution.

¹ See: *Yearbook of the International Socialist Labour Movement 1956-1957*, London, 1956, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

In 1962 with its declaration "The World Today—the Socialist Perspective" the SI oriented workers toward the transformation of capitalism into a "general welfare" society by way of the scientific and technological revolution and a "revolution of managers" who supposedly make it possible to eliminate the still persistent and sharply criticised vices of capitalism: economic crises, a concentration of economic power by the monopolies, the enormous inequality in the distribution of wealth and incomes. Democratic socialism was being put forth as the alternative to capitalism and real socialism.

An assessment of the actual significance and contribution of the social-reformist trend to social progress between the 1950s and the 1970s requires a thorough analysis of the ideas and political concepts which different social-reformist currents were advancing and above all of the specific results of their activities, namely, reforms carried out at their initiative, irrespective of whether they were implemented through cooperation or confrontation with bourgeois parties. Their activities, based on mass movements, are considered an important factor of social progress, especially in the capitalist countries of Europe, and, for that matter, wherever socialist, workers' and Labour parties, which number a total of 20 million members and draw 200 million voters, are a serious political force.

The socio-economic changes in the capitalist countries beginning in the late 1950s and especially the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution and the political, economic and social structural changes under way in the capitalist countries since the 1970s demanded that the social-reformists review their obsolete orientations and elaborate new ones, and overhaul their political concepts and programmes. At the same time there appeared a growing need to reassess the postulates of the cold war. The ideological and political goals of social-reformism began in the 1960s to evolve as a result of a differentiation and the exacerbation of divergences among the different currents and groups, and crises in the individual parties and in the Socialist International itself. The 1970s were the turning point in this evolution, but it continues to this day. Its content is revealed by a comparative analysis of the general provisions of the documents of the Socialist International and its parties of the 1960s with the general provisions of

the respective documents of the 1980s.¹

Both major trends in the international working-class movement obtained from the Second International (1889-1914) which united them. They are now far apart in their interpretation of the common goal—the conditions and principles for attaining social justice. They are dissimilar in their assessments of the conditions, methods, means and forms of struggle. Walls of mistrust and prejudice rose up between them during the rivalry. However, all this cannot cancel out the indubitable fact that both trends were and remain parts of one movement, the international movement of the working class whose diverse interests underlie their activity. Today this objective commonality of the two prime trends in the working-class movement, which is merging with the movements of all the working people, has a still firmer foundation than it had during the years of the Second International.

¹ See: *Social-Democratic and Bourgeois Reformism in the System of State-Monopoly Capitalism*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1980; *Demarcations and Shifts in Social-Reformism*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1983; V. Ya. Shveitser, *The Socialist International in a Changing World. 1970s-1980s*, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya Publishers, 1988 (all in Russian).

CONCLUSION

The modern stage of the international working-class movement, which has evolved since the late 1970s is characterised by sweeping changes in objective conditions and by two highly important processes in the working-class movement itself: the revitalisation of the theory and policies of the Communist parties which had begun and the on-going evolution of the ideological and political goals of the socialist, Social-Democratic and Labour parties.

The most important of the far-reaching changes are the emergence of the acute danger of a nuclear catastrophe, the tragedy of the peoples of the developing countries, one fraught with unpredictable consequences, the impending ecological catastrophe, and at the same time the cardinal structural shifts in capitalism and the crucial period in the development of world socialism. On the whole, both the renewal of the communist movement that has started and the continuing evolution of the social-reformist movement are conditioned precisely by this, although each to a different extent.

The revitalisation of the communist movement, which got under way in the latter half of the 1980s and which has not yet been recognised even by all the Communist parties, has already exhibited a number of specific features. The first is the acknowledgement of the priority of universal interests, above all the prevention of civilisation-threatening catastrophes. Given the broadening spheres and the growing importance of national as well as class interests, what is needed now is a search for ways and means of resolving contradictions and social and national problems and rendering internationalist assistance to the liberation struggle, ways and means that would lessen rather than increase the danger of the destruction of humanity. Whereas

in the past the Communists believed that worldwide socialist restructuring or even the attainment of the supremacy of socialism over capitalism was a prerequisite for eliminating wars, today it is obvious that it is imperative to end wars in the context of the current alignment of forces in the world.

The second feature is the substantial change in notions about socialism and the conditions and principles of implementation of social justice. This accounts for the persistent search for solutions to the problems of the crucial period of socialism and ways and means of attaining a new quality of socialist society.

The third is the elucidation of the possibilities for developing the productive forces and social progress within the capitalist framework and also for overcoming its organic link with militarism and neocolonialism. This prompts the elaboration of an alternative to the course of the neo-conservatives that is oriented at a more effective development of the productive forces and at advance towards social justice through the joint efforts of all progressive forces.

Lastly, there is Marxism ridding itself of constraining orientations and obsolete schemes, the establishment of broad-based dialogue with all trends of social thought, and a stronger link with world culture, all of which are needed for the complete revitalisation of the creative power of the great teaching.

These features have been mirrored in the new political thinking, which is based on the modern concept of world progress which the Communists have proposed to all who advocate the survival of humanity as the starting point in elaborating a joint platform of action.

The evolution of the ideological and political orientations of social-reformism has much in common with this. For one thing, it derives from the priority of universal interests—ensuring the survival of humanity—and is geared to international cooperation for the sake of forestalling nuclear and ecological catastrophes, and solutions to the tragic problems of the developing nations. For another, a quest for a democratic alternative to the neoconservative course, and alternative aimed at socio-economic progress, is its characteristic feature. Thirdly, the new political thinking is evoking a broad response and winning support in most socialist, Social-

Democratic and Labour parties. The participation of 29 such parties in the Meeting of Representatives of Parties and Movements in November 1987 in Moscow opened up fresh prospects for a joint search by all working-class parties and also by other forces for ways to overcome the crisis of civilisation and form a world movement for the survival of humanity.

Of course, there are still many formidable barriers to surmounting the historical split in the working-class movement. Only a small part of the way has been covered. However, what is common to the two main trends of the working-class movement is much more important than what divides them. Despite the differences between these trends, the commonality of causes and, most importantly, of interests of the working masses cannot but bring them closer together in their search for these, above all global, problems of humanity. For this reason, the further evolution of the social-reformist movement as well as the revitalisation of the communist movement cannot lead in different directions, but will inevitably develop in similar or even coinciding ones.

Therefore, "however great might be the divergences between various trends of the working-class movement", points out the New Edition of the CPSU Programme, "they present no obstacle to fruitful and systematic exchange of views, to parallel and even joint actions to remove the war threat, improve the international situation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and uphold the interests and rights of the working people".¹

Looking back on the arduous path traversed by the Communists and the social-reformists and assessing the history of their relations and the struggle around the legacy of the Second International, one cannot fail appreciating the seriousness of the question posed by SI Vice-President K. Sorsa: "Were all those sharp debates really necessary?"² Unquestionably, there are now both the opportunity and the urgent need to change the character of relations between these major trends of the international working-class movement.

From this vantage point the historical experience of the

¹ *The Documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 132.

² See *Pravda*, 4 November, 1987.

Second International of 1889-1914 is of great value. In its anti-war actions, including the demands for a halt to the arms race and a peaceful settlement of international conflicts it is easy to descry the historical sources of present-day actions with an eye to the added danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

Today, when solidarity and mutual assistance are much more important, what is lacking in all currents of the working-class movement can be seen in the Second International's untiring concern for strengthening international solidarity and mutual assistance. Its programmes for extending the political rights and improving the socio-economic situation of the working people, which have now been surpassed in many respects not only in the socialist countries but also in a number of other countries, exhibit the initial impetus which has now been augmented by the steadily growing needs of the workers and other working people.

The forms of organisation and methods of struggle of the masses and of parliamentary actions which were recommended by the International and have been enriched by the entire subsequent record continue to serve the interests of the working people. Even today's concerns of the working-class movement for the destinies of the developing nations are rooted in the anti-colonial actions of the Second International.

The Second International made an enormous contribution to the political culture of Europe and of the entire world as well, since it elevated the political consciousness and social role of the working masses and many social institutions.

Of particular significance is the fact that the Second International was not only an arena of debate and struggle between different currents—revolutionary and opportunist, but most of all an example of their basically fruitful cooperation in the joint defence of the working people's interests until the tragic upshot of 1914. It is this experience of cooperation among different trends that needs to be scrutinised with an eye to solving many problems of the present-day working-class movement.

For the second time since 1914 there have appeared an acute need and a real opportunity for mending the historical schism in the international working-class movement, which is being promoted by evolution of social-reformism

as well as the revitalisation of the communist movement. Perhaps the lessons of the Second International will help up avoid letting slip this chance the way it was lost in the mid-1940s, and find forms of unity of the working-class movement, relevant to new conditions, on which the future of humanity hinges now more than ever.

In a joint quest for optimal solutions to the pressing problems of today and by paving the way to an end to the split and for lasting peace and swift social progress, they will be able to more profoundly evaluate and make wide use of the achievements of the Second International of 1889-1914, "...which the class-conscious worker will never renounce...".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 504.

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PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

Will soon publish

BARG, M. *Profiles of the English Revolution*

The author has written several books on the history of the English revolution of the 17th century. In this book, he introduces in popular form, the most celebrated figures of the Revolution which, according to Marx, was the first revolution on a European scale. His book draws on documentary evidence, much of it published for the first time, and is dedicated to the 350th anniversary of the Civil War.

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

Will soon publish

PIRUMOVA N., ITENBERG B., ANTONOV V.
*Russia and the West. 19th Century. Historical
Portraits (Man Through the Ages series)*

This book is about for Russian thinkers who created their own ideological systems—Alexander Herzen, the founder of “Russian socialism”, Pyotr Lavrov, the Populist ideologist, close to Herzen, Mikhail Bakunin, creator of the fundamental model of anti-authoritarianism, and Pyotr Kropotkin, the founder of anarcho-communism.

The reader will also become acquainted with the practical activity of three quite different Russian revolutionaries (Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, Sergei Nechaev, and Herman Lopatin), and with the views of the novellore—who herd reindeer and hunt in the tundra of the Gydanskij Peninsula, east of Ob Bay. The author writes about them with love and understanding, and retells many of their legends and tales.

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

Put out recently

RZHESHEVSKY O. *Europe 1939: Was War Inevitable?*

In this book Professor Rzheshesky, a noted military historian, analyses the problem of whether the Second World War was inevitable or could have been prevented. The book reveals two courses in pre-war world politics: a policy of connivance at the aggressive acts of the fascist-bloc countries conducted by the Western powers, and the Soviet Union's effort to create a system of collective security and counteract the increasing military threat.

The book is intended for the general reader.