

Rosa Luxemburg

**THE
MASS
STRIKE**

A YOUNG SOCIALIST PUBLICATION

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Rosa Luxemburg

THE MASS STRIKE,
THE POLITICAL PARTY
AND
THE TRADE UNIONS

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P R E F A C E

In this pamphlet Rosa Luxemburg presented to the German working class an analysis of those stormy events of the Russian Revolution of 1905 which Lenin later characterised as "the dress rehearsal" for the Revolution of 1917. The characteristic feature of the period from 1895 to 1905 in the Russian Empire was the role played by the mass strike in the struggles of the Russian proletariat against capitalism and Czarist despotism: strikes in which millions took part not merely to win improvements in their standards of living but also to gain great political objectives; great mass actions which brought together and fused the various aspirations of the separate layers of the proletarian mass into one sweeping anti-capitalist movement.

The idea of the general strike was not a new one, but here in Russia for the first time it was rising up and developing in a new way, and Rosa Luxemburg attempted to bring to the notice of the German and West European workers the lessons to be learned therefrom. In England the Chartists had experimented with the general strike in 1842 to force the government to grant a general franchise; in 1893 the Swedish workers tried it out on the same question; in 1903 Dutch railwaymen began a political strike which developed into a general strike; in 1904 a wave of violent strikes swept over Italy and street fighting took place in several towns. At the time this pamphlet was written, however, the prevailing ideas concerning the general strike were either those of the Bakuninists who at their Congress at Geneva in 1873 proclaimed the general strike as a weapon for starving out and overthrowing the bourgeoisie by a mere cessation of work which would result in a collapse of the social order; or, it was regarded as a defensive weapon against reactionary attacks on working class political rights. In either case it was regarded as a weapon that could be brought out and brandished or hidden away on the orders of the leaders, and at their whims and fancies.

Under pressure of the events in the Russian Empire and the effect on the German workers of the object lessons in the use of the strike weapon, the German Social Democratic Party was pushed into an examination of the problems of the general strike. The Party Congress at Jena in 1905 adopted a resolution, moved by August Bebel, limiting the use of the general strike to the defence of the franchise; nevertheless it here, for the first time, took *official* notice of the general strike. The German Trade Union Congress at Cologne in 1905, on the other hand, banned even a theoretical discussion of the general

strike as "playing with fire". In February 1906 the Central Committee of the Party came to a secret agreement with the Trade Union leaders to allow the implications of the Jena Resolution to remain a dead letter. Disappointed and disgusted with the attitude of the Social Democratic and trade union leaderships whose interest in the subject was little more than academic and little less than openly or covertly treacherous and reactionary, Rosa Luxemburg, took up the task of reopening the discussion and raising it to a higher level. She had always favoured the political mass strike, but her practical experience in the working class movements in Germany and her native Poland (then part of the Russian Empire) and her examination of the wide-spread mass movements of the period from 1896 to 1905 in Russia, brought her to a realization of the full significance of the mass strike as the specific weapon of the proletariat in times of revolutionary ferment: "*in reality the mass strike does not produce the revolution, but the revolution produces the mass strike*". The fruit of her knowledge and experience she placed before the German working class in the form of this pamphlet in 1906 just before the Social Democratic Party Congress at Mannheim, expecting therewith not so much to convert the leadership as to develop the "revolutionary instinct" of the German workers which had led them to a renewed interest in the problems of the mass strike under this impact of the revolutionary actions of their class brothers across the Eastern frontier.

In pointing out the lessons of the Revolution of 1905 to the German workers, Rosa Luxemburg had, necessarily, to deal with the now all too familiar contention that the social and political conditions in Russia and in Germany were widely different, and that the methods of struggle suitable for the one country would not be suitable for the other. She points out that in spite of a parliamentary regime in Germany and a despotic regime in Russia, the legality of working class parties and trade unions in Germany and their illegality in Czarist Russia, there nevertheless exist wide layers of the proletarian mass in Germany, just as in Russia, for whom de jure political rights have no meaning at all, whole sections which still remain outside the trade union and party organizations, whole sections which still remain in material and cultural poverty and frustration. When and how will these millions be roused to political consciousness to make use of even the limited political rights available to them? When and how will the material level of existence of these nethermost layers be raised to that extent that would enable them to take an interest in political and cultural matters?

“In order to carry through a direct political struggle as a mass, the proletariat must first be assembled as a mass”. Rosa Luxemburg’s analysis shows how the social and political conditions of the Russian proletariat propelled them, without the help of any established organizations of their own, to take their fate into their own hands, and in the course of their struggle and from the lessons of that struggle to build up their own organizations and awaken and mobilize the nethermost layers. The role played by the mass strike in this self-education and self-organization of the Russian proletariat has its lessons for the international proletariat too. For in this revolutionary epoch, when the last pretences of bourgeois democracy are being jettisoned by the ruling classes of a crumbling capitalist order the social and political conditions of the proletarian struggle take on an international similarity and significance in spite of local variations in detail. The role of the mass strike in the education and organization of the proletariat is, therefore, not peculiar to Russia or ‘Russian conditions’ but is determined by “an international milieu whose distinguishing characteristic is the ruin of bourgeois democracy”. The lesson that Rosa Luxemburg would have us learn is that the highest common factor in the education and organization of the proletariat of all capitalist countries (whatever their stage of development and the corresponding social and political conditions) is the mass strike. She sums up her evaluation of the significance of the new development of the strike weapon by the Russian proletariat: “the mass strike is thus shown to be *not a specifically Russian product springing from absolutism, but a universal form of the proletarian class struggle resulting from the present stage of capitalist development and class relations.*”

But, on the other hand the mass strike as shown to us in the Russian Revolution is “not a crafty method discovered by subtle reasoning for the purpose of making the struggle more effective”. Rosa Luxemburg warns all those opportunists and adventurers who think that the movement can be accelerated by the staging of strikes on the orders of the leaders and at their will and pleasure that “it is not by subjective criticism of the mass strike from the standpoint of *what is desirable*, but only by the objective investigation of the sources of the mass strike from the standpoint of *what is historically inevitable* that the problem can be grasped or even discussed”. (Petit-bourgeois sentimentalists and moralists and their representatives of the capitalist press may also take note). And again, she tells the German workers, “to fix beforehand the cause and the moment from and in which

the mass strikes in Germany will break out is not in the power of Social Democracy, because it is not in its power to bring about historical situations by resolutions at party congresses". But what the party can and must do is "to make clear the political tendencies, when once they appear, and to formulate them as a resolute and consistent tactics".

The correctness of Rosa Luxemburg's evaluation of the role of the mass strike in our revolutionary epoch, and the lessons it teaches the international working class, is borne out by the historical events which followed in the Czarist Empire: first by the setting up of the Petersburg Soviet in the Revolution of 1905, and then, twelve years later, by the part played by the Soviets in the Revolution of 1917 in fusing the aspirations of the various sections of the Russian proletariat into one common class action which shattered the power of its capitalist oppressors and ushered in the world socialist revolution.

ROSA LUXEMBURG

Rosa Luxemburg was born March 5th, 1871 at Zamosc in Poland. Like many others among the Polish intellectual youth she was involved in the revolutionary socialist movement from her school days. At the age of 18 she was compelled to flee the country as her activities had been discovered by the police. She entered the University of Zurich (Switzerland) in 1889. Zurich was then an important centre of the Polish and Russian emigration and Rosa was soon in the thick of the emigre socialist movement. In 1893 she helped to found the Polish Social Democratic Party.

Drawn to Germany, then regarded as the centre of the international working class movement, she joined the German Social Democratic Party in 1898 just at the time when Bernstein was attacking the fundamental principles of Marxism. Rosa entered the fray against revisionism with a series of articles under the title "Social Reform or Revolution".

When the 1905 Revolution broke out in Russia her desire to return to her native Poland was thwarted by illness. It was December when she was smuggled over the Polish frontier and into the thick of the fight. She was arrested on March 4th 1906 and imprisoned in the Warsaw Citadel. Released in June, she retired to recuperate in Kuokkala in Finland where she wrote her pamphlet "The Mass Strike, the Party and the Trade Unions" in order to interpret the lessons of the 1905 Revolution for the German working class. In September 1906 she returned to Germany in time for the Social Democratic Party Congress at Mannheim.

In 1907 at the London Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party she supported the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks on all the key problems of the Russian Revolution. In the same year at the Stuttgart Congress of the 2nd International, together with Lenin she introduced the revolutionary anti-war resolution which was adopted in essence by that Congress.

When war broke out in 1914 she took a revolutionary internationalist position from the outset, and this inevitably led her into jail in February 1915. From jail she collaborated in the illegally published "Spartacus Letters" and in the work of the Spartacus League. In the spring of 1916 she wrote in jail under the pseudonym of 'Junius' the famous pamphlet "The Crisis of Social Democracy" in which she advocated the urgent need for creating a new International.

Freed from jail after the November 1918 Revolution in Germany she joined Karl Liebknecht and founded the German Communist Party, and was founder and editor of its central organ *Rote Fahne* (Red Banner). After the crushing of the 1919 uprising in Berlin Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were arrested on January 15 and taken to the Eden Hotel for questioning. Here Liebknecht was struck on the head with a rifle-butt, then taken away in a car, given further treatment with a rifle-butt and finally shot in the head. Shortly after Rosa Luxemburg was led out of the Hotel and at the door was struck to the ground with a rifle-butt. Her skull was smashed by two more blows. Half-dead, she was put into a car, taken a short distance and finished off with a revolver shot in the head at point-blank range. Her corpse was flung from the Liechtenstein Bridge into the Landwehr Canal from which it was not recovered until the following May.

In the words of her biographer, Paul Frolich, "her physical body will never again take its place in the struggle for social revolution, but no bonfire and no dictatorial order can destroy her ideas. They live on in the minds of her adherents and in the masses of the proletariat."

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ROSA LUXEMBURG

THE MASS STRIKE,
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CHAPTER I

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, ANARCHISM AND
THE GENERAL STRIKE

ALMOST all works and pronouncements of international Socialism on the subject of the mass strike date from the time before the Russian revolution, the first historical experiment on a very large scale with this means of struggle. It is therefore evident that they are, for the most part, out-of-date. Their standpoint is essentially that of Engels who in 1873 wrote as follows in his criticism of the revolutionary blundering of the Bakuninists in Spain:

“The general strike, in the Bakuninists’ programme, is the lever which will be used for introducing the social revolution. One fine morning all the workers in every industry in a country, or perhaps in every country will cease work, and thereby compel the ruling classes either to submit in about four weeks, or to launch an attack on the workers so that the latter will have the right to defend themselves, and may use the opportunity to overthrow the old society. The proposal is by no means new: French and Belgian Socialists have paraded it continually since 1848, but for all that it is of English origin. During the rapid and powerful development of Chartism among the English workers that followed the crisis of 1837, the ‘holy month’—a suspension of work on a national scale¹—was preached as early as 1839, and was received with such favour that in July 1842 the factory workers of the north of England attempted to carry it out. And at the Congress of the Alliancists at Geneva on September 1st 1873,² the

general strike played a great part, but it was admitted on all sides that to carry it out it was necessary to have a perfect organization of the working class and a full war chest. And that is the crux of the question. On the one hand, the governments, especially if they are encouraged by the workers' abstention from political action, will never allow the funds of the workers to become large enough, and on the other hand, political events and the encroachments of the ruling classes will bring about the liberation of the workers long before the proletariat get the length of forming this ideal organization and this colossal reserve fund. But if they had these, they would not need to make use of the roundabout way of the general strike in order to attain their object."*

Here we have the reasoning that was characteristic of the attitude of international Social Democracy towards the mass strike in the following decades. It is based on the Anarchist theory of the general strike — that is, the theory of the general strike as a means of inaugurating the social revolution, in contradistinction to the daily political struggle of the working class — and exhausts itself in the following simple dilemma: either the proletariat as a whole are not yet in possession of the powerful organization and financial resources required in which case they cannot carry through the general strike; or they are already sufficiently well organized, in which case they do not need the general strike. This reasoning is so simple and at first glance so irrefutable that, for a quarter of a century, it has rendered excellent service to the modern Labour movement as a logical weapon against the Anarchist phantom and as a means of carrying the idea of political struggle to the widest circles of the workers. The enormous strides taken by the labour movement in all capitalist countries during the last twenty-five years are the most convincing evidence of the value of the tactics of political struggle, which was insisted upon by Marx and Engels in opposition to Bakuninism; and German Social Democracy, in its position of vanguard of the entire international Labour movement is not in the least the direct product of the consistent and energetic application of these tactics.

The Russian revolution has now effected a radical revision of the above piece of reasoning. For the first time in the history of the class struggle it has achieved a grandiose realization of the idea of the mass

* Friedrich Engels: *The Bakuninists at Work* from *Der Volkstaat* Oct. 31, Nov. 2, 5, 1873. (See Marx and Engels *Revolution in Spain* — International Publishers 1939, pp. 217-218 — Ed.)

strike and — as we shall discuss later — has even matured the general strike and thereby opened a new epoch in the development of the Labour movement. It does not, of course, follow from this that the tactics of political struggle recommended by Marx and Engels was false or that the criticism applied by them to Anarchism was incorrect. On the contrary, it is the same train of ideas, the same method, the Engels-Marxian tactics, which lay at the foundation of the previous practice of the German Social Democracy, which now in the Russian revolution are producing new factors and new conditions in the class struggle. The Russian revolution, which is the first historical experiment on the model of the mass strike, not merely does not afford a vindication of Anarchism, but actually means *the historical liquidation of Anarchism*. The sorry existence to which this mental tendency was condemned in recent decades by the powerful development of Social Democracy in Germany may, to a certain extent, be explained by the exclusive dominion and long duration of the Parliamentary period. A tendency patterned entirely upon the “first blow” and “direct action”, a tendency “revolutionary” in the most naked, pitchfork sense, can only temporarily languish in the calm of the parliamentary day and, on a return of the period of direct open struggle, can come to life again and unfold its inherent strength. Russia, in particular, appeared to have become the experimental field for the heroic deeds of Anarchism. A country in which the proletariat had absolutely no political rights and extremely weak organizations, a many-coloured complex of various sections of the population, a chaos of conflicting interests, a low standard of education amongst the masses of the people, extreme brutality in the use of violence on the part of the prevailing regime — all this seemed as if created to raise Anarchism to a sudden if perhaps short-lived power. And finally, Russia was the historical birth place of Anarchism. But the fatherland of Bakunin was to become the burial-place of its teachings. Not only did and do the Anarchists in Russia not stand at the head of the mass strike movement; not only does the whole political leadership of revolutionary action and also of the mass strike lie in the hands of the Social Democratic organizations, which are bitterly opposed as “bourgeois parties” by the Russian Anarchists, or partly in the hands of such Socialist organizations as are more or less influenced by the Social Democracy and more or less approximate to it — such as the terrorist party, the “Socialist Revolutionaries” — but the Anarchists simply do not exist as a serious political tendency in the Russian revolution.

Only in a small Lithuanian town with particularly difficult conditions — a confused medley of different nationalities among the workers, an extremely scattered condition of small-scale industry, a very severely oppressed proletariat — in Bialostok, there is, amongst the seven or eight different revolutionary groups a handful of half-grown “Anarchists” who promote confusion and bewilderment amongst the workers to the best of their ability; and lastly in Moscow, and perhaps in two or three other towns, a handful of people of this kidney make themselves noticeable. But apart from these few “revolutionary” groups, what is the actual role of Anarchism in the Russian revolution? It has become the sign of the common thief and plunderer; a large proportion of the innumerable thefts and acts of plunder of private persons are carried out under the name of “Anarchist-Communism” — acts which rise up like a troubled wave against the revolution in every period of depression and in every period of temporary defensive. Anarchism has become in the Russian revolution, not the theory of the struggling proletariat, but the ideological sign-board of the counter-revolutionary lumpenproletariat, who, like a school of sharks, swarm in the wake of the battleship of the revolution. And therewith the historical career of Anarchism is well-nigh ended.

On the other hand, the mass strike in Russia has been realised not as a means of evading the political struggle of the working class, and especially of parliamentarism, not as a means of jumping suddenly into the social revolution by means of a theatrical coup, but as a means, firstly, of creating for the proletariat the conditions of the daily political struggle and especially of parliamentarism. The revolutionary struggle in Russia, in which mass strikes are the most important weapon is, by the working people, and above all by the proletariat, conducted for those political rights and conditions whose necessity and importance in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class Marx and Engels first pointed out, and in opposition to Anarchism fought for with all their might in the International. Thus has historical dialectics, the rock on which the whole teaching of Marxian Socialism rests, brought it about that today Anarchism, with which the idea of the mass strike is indissolubly associated, has itself come to be opposed to the mass strike in practice; while on the contrary, the mass strike which, as the opposite of the political activity of the proletariat, was combatted appears today as the most powerful weapon of the struggle for political rights. If, therefore, the Russian revolution makes imperative a fundamental revision of the old standpoint of Marxism on the question of the mass strike, it is once again Marxism whose general methods and points of view have thereby, in a new form, carried off the prize. The Moor's beloved can die only by the hand of the Moor.

CHAPTER II

THE MASS STRIKE AN HISTORICAL AND NOT AN ARTIFICIAL PRODUCT

THE first revision of the question of the mass strike which results from the experience of Russia relates to the general conception of the problem. Till the present time the zealous advocates of an "attempt with the mass strike" in Germany of the stamp of Bernstein, Eisner, etc., and also the strongest opponents of such an attempt as represented in the trade union camp by, for example, Bomelburg, stand, when all is said and done, on the same conception, and that the Anarchist one. The apparent polar opposites do not mutually exclude each other but, as always, condition, and at the same time, supplement each other. For the Anarchist mode of thought is direct speculation on the "great Kladderadatsch"³, on the social revolution merely as an external and inessential characteristic. According to it, what is essential is the whole abstract, unhistorical view of the mass strike and of all the conditions of the proletarian struggle generally. For the Anarchist there exist only two things as material suppositions of his "revolutionary" speculations — first imagination, and second good-will and courage to rescue humanity from the existing capitalist vale of tears. This fanciful mode of reasoning sixty years ago gave the result that the mass strike was the shortest, surest and easiest means of springing into the better social future. The same mode of reasoning recently gave the result that the trade-union struggle was the only real "direct action of the masses" and also the only real revolutionary struggle — which, as is well known is the latest notion of the French and Italian "Syndicalists". The fatal thing for Anarchism has always been that the methods of struggle improvised in the air were not only a reckoning without their host, that is, they were purely Utopian, but that they, while not reckoning in the least with the despised evil reality, unexpectedly became in this evil reality, practical helps to the reaction, where previously they had only been, for the most part, revolutionary speculations.

On the same ground of abstract, unhistorical methods of observation stand those today who would, in the manner of a board of directors, put the mass strike in Germany on the calendar on an appointed day, and those who, like the participants in the trade-union congress at Cologne⁴ would by a prohibition of "propaganda" eliminate the problem of the mass strike from the face of the earth.

Both tendencies proceed on the common purely Anarchistic assumption that the mass strike is a purely technical means of struggle which can be "decided" at pleasure and strictly according to conscience, or "forbidden" — a kind of pocket-knife which can be kept in the pocket clasped "ready for any emergency," and according to decision, can be unclasped and used. The opponents of the mass strike, do indeed claim for themselves the merit of taking into consideration the historical groundwork and the material conditions of the present situation in Germany in opposition to the "revolutionary romanticists" who hover in the air, and do not at any point reckon with the hard realities and their possibilities and impossibilities. "Facts and figures; figures and facts!" they cry, like Mr. Gadgrind in Dickens' *Hard Times*. What the trade union opponent of the mass strike understands by the "historical basis" and "material conditions" is two things — on the one hand the weakness of the proletariat, and on the other hand, the strength of Prussian-German militarism. The inadequate organisation of the workers and the imposing Prussian bayonet — these are the facts and figures upon which these trade-union leaders base their practical policy in the given case. Now while it is quite true that the trade-union cash box and the Prussian bayonet are material and very historical phenomena, the conception based upon them is not historical materialism in Marx's sense but a policemanlike materialism in the sense of Puttkammer. The representatives of the capitalist police state reckon much, and indeed, exclusively, with the occasional real power of the organised proletariat as well as with the material might of the bayonet, and from the comparative example of these two rows of figures the comforting conclusion is always drawn that the revolutionary labour movement is produced by individual demagogues and agitators; and that therefore there is in the prisons and bayonets an adequate means of subduing the unpleasant "passing phenomena".

The class-conscious German workers have at last grasped the humour of the policemanlike theory that the whole modern Labour movement is an artificial arbitrary product of a handful of conscienceless "demagogues and agitators".

It is exactly the same conception, however, that finds expression when two or three worthy comrades unite in a voluntary column of night-watchmen in order to warn the German working class against the dangerous agitation of a few "revolutionary romanticists" and their "propaganda of the mass strike"; or, when, on the other side, a noisy indignation campaign is engineered by those who, by means

of "confidential" agreements between the executive of the party and the general commission of the trade unions, believe they can prevent the outbreak of the mass strike in Germany. If it depended on the inflammatory "propaganda" of revolutionary romanticists or on confidential or public decisions or the party direction, then we should not even yet have had in Russia a single serious mass strike. In no country in the world — as I pointed out in March 1905 in the *Sachische Arbeiterzeitung* — was the mass strike so little "propagated" or even "discussed" as in Russia. And the isolated examples of decisions and agreements of the Russian party executive which really sought to proclaim the mass strike of their own accord — as, for example, the last attempt in August of this year after the dissolution of the Duma — are almost valueless. If, therefore, the Russian revolution teaches us anything, it teaches above all that the mass strike is not artificially "made", not "decided" at random, not "propagated", but that it is an historical phenomenon which, at a given moment, results from social conditions with historical inevitability. It is not therefore by abstract speculations on the possibility or impossibility, the utility or the injuriousness of the mass strike, but only by an examination of those factors and social conditions out of which the mass strike grows in the present phase of the class struggle — in other words, it is not by *subjective criticism* of the mass strike from the standpoint of what is desirable, but only by *objective investigation* of the sources of the mass strike from the standpoint of what is historically inevitable, that the problem can be grasped or even discussed.

In the unreal sphere of abstract logical analysis it can be shown with exactly the same force on either side that the mass strike is absolutely impossible and sure to be defeated, and that it is possible and that its triumph cannot be questioned. And therefore the value of the evidence led on each side is exactly the same — and that is nil. Therefore the fear of the "propagation" of the mass strike which has even led to formal anathemas against the persons alleged to be guilty of this crime, is solely the product of the droll confusion of persons. It is just as impossible to "propagate" the mass strike as an abstract means of struggle as it is to propagate the "revolution". "Revolution" like "mass strike", signifies nothing but an external form of the class struggle, which can have sense and meaning only in connection with definite political situations.

If anyone were to undertake to make the mass strike generally as a form of proletarian action the object of methodical agitation, and to go house-to-house canvassing with this "idea" in order gradually to

win the working class to it, it would be as idle and profitless and absurd an occupation as it would be to seek to make the idea of the revolution or of the fight at the barricades the object of a special agitation. The mass strike has now become the centre of the lively interest of the German and the international working class because it is a new form of struggle, and as such is the sure symptom of a thorough-going internal revolution in the relations of the classes and in the conditions of the class struggle. It is a testimony to the sound revolutionary instinct and to the quick intelligence of the mass of the German proletariat that, in spite of the obstinate resistance of their trade union leaders, they are applying themselves to this new problem with such keen interest. But it does not meet the case, in the presence of this interest and of this fine, intellectual thirst and desire for revolutionary deeds on the part of the workers, to treat them to abstract mental gymnastics on the possibility or impossibility of the mass strike; they should be enlightened on the development of the Russian revolution, the international significance of that revolution, the sharpening of class antagonisms in Western Europe, the wider political perspectives of the class struggle in Germany, and the role and the tasks of the masses in the coming struggles. Only in this form will the discussion on the mass strike lead to the widening of the intellectual horizon of the proletariat, to the sharpening of their way of thinking, and to the steeling of their energy.

Viewed from this standpoint however, the criminal proceedings desired by the enemies of "revolutionary romanticism" appear in all their absurdity, because, in treating of the problem, one does not adhere strictly to the text of the Jena resolution⁵. The "practical politicians" agree to this resolution if need be, because they couple the mass strike chiefly with the fate of universal suffrage, from which it follows that they can believe two things — first, that the mass strike is of a purely defensive character, and second, that the mass strike is even subordinate to parliamentarism, that is, has been turned into a mere appendage of parliamentarism. But the real kernel of the Jena resolution in this connection is that in the present position of Germany an attempt on the part of the prevailing reaction on the parliamentary vote would in all probability be the moment for the introduction of, and the signal for, a period of stormy political struggles in which the mass strike as a means of struggle in Germany might well come into use for the first time. But to seek to narrow and to artificially smother the social importance, and to limit

the historical scope, of the mass strike as a phenomenon and as a problem of the class struggle by the wording of a congress resolution, is an undertaking which for short-sightedness can only be compared with the veto on discussion of the trade union congress at Cologne. In the resolution of the Jena Congress, German Social Democracy has officially taken notice of the fundamental change which the Russian revolution has effected in the international conditions of the proletarian class struggle, and has announced its capacity for revolutionary development and its power of adaptability to the new demands of the coming phase of the class struggle. Therein lies the significance of the Jena resolution. As for the practical application of the mass strike in Germany, history will decide that as it decided it in Russia — history in which German Social Democracy with its decisions is, it is true, an important factor, but, at the same time, only *one* factor amongst many.



CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASS STRIKE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA

THE mass strike, as it appears, for the most part in the discussion in Germany, is a very clear and simply thought out, sharply sketched, isolated phenomenon. It is the political mass strike exclusively that is spoken of. What is meant by it is a single grand rising of the industrial proletariat springing from some political motive of the highest importance, and undertaken on the basis of an opportune and mutual understanding on the part of the controlling authorities of the party and of the trade unions, and carried through in the spirit of party discipline and in perfect order, and in still more perfect order brought to the directing committees at a signal given at the proper time, by which committees the regulation of support, the cost, the sacrifice — in a word, the whole material balance of the mass strike — is exactly determined in advance.

Now, when we compare this theoretical scheme with the real mass strike, as it appeared in Russia five years ago, we are compelled to say that this representation which, in the German discussion occupies the central position, hardly corresponds to a single one of the many mass strikes that have taken place, and on the other hand that the mass strike in Russia displays such a multiplicity of the most varied forms of action that it is altogether impossible to speak of "the" mass strike, of an abstract schematic mass strike. All the factors of the mass strike, as well as its character, are not only different in the different towns and districts of the country, but its general character has often changed in the course of the revolution. The passing still further through it. Who, therefore, speaks of the mass strike in Russia must, above all things, keep its history before his eyes.

The present official period, so to speak, of the Russian revolution is justly dated from the rising of the proletariat on January 22nd 1905, when the demonstration of 200,000 workers ended in a frightful blood-bath before the Czar's palace. The bloody massacre in St. Petersburg was, as is well known, the signal for the outbreak of the first gigantic series of mass strikes which spread over the whole of Russia within a few days and which carried the call to action of the revolution from St. Petersburg to every corner of the Empire and amongst the widest sections of the proletariat. But the St. Petersburg rising of 22nd January was only the critical moment of a mass strike which

the proletariat of the Czarist capital had previously entered upon in January 1905. This January mass strike was without doubt carried through under the immediate influence of the gigantic general strike which in December 1904 broke out in the Caucasus, in Baku, and for a long time kept the whole of Russia in suspense. The events of December in Baku were on their part only the last and powerful ramification of those tremendous mass strikes which, like a periodical earthquake, shook the whole of south Russia, and whose prologue was the mass strike in Batum in the Caucasus in March 1902. This first mass strike movement in the continuous series of present revolutionary eruptions is, finally separated by five or six years from the great general strike of the textile workers in St. Petersburg in 1896 and 1897, and if this movement is apparently separated from the present revolution by a few years of apparent stagnation and strong reaction, every one who knows the inner political development of the Russian proletariat to their present stage of class-consciousness and revolutionary energy, will realize that the history of the present period of the mass struggle begins with those general strikes in St. Petersburg. They are therefore important for the problems of the mass strike because they already contain, in the germ, all the principal factors of later mass strikes.

Again, the St. Petersburg general strike of 1896 appears as a purely economic partial wage struggle. Its causes were the intolerable working conditions of the spinners and weavers in St. Petersburg; a working day of thirteen, fourteen of fifteen hours, miserable piece-work rates, and a whole series of contemptible chicaneries on the part of the employers. The condition of things, however, was patiently endured by the workers for a long time till an apparently trivial circumstance filled the cup to overflowing. The coronation of the present Czar, Nicholas II, which had been postponed for two years through fear of the revolutionaries, was celebrated in May 1896, and on that occasion the St. Petersburg employers displayed their patriotic zeal by giving their workers three days compulsory holidays, for which, curious to relate, they did not desire to pay their employees. The workers angered at this began to move. After a conference of about 300 of the intelligent workers in the Ekaterinhof Garden a strike was decided upon, and the following demands were formulated: first, payment of wages for the coronation holidays, second, a working day of 10 hours; third, increased rates for piece-work. This happened on May 24th. In a week every weaving and

spinning establishment was at a standstill, and 40,000 workers were in the general strike. Today this event, measured by the gigantic mass strike of the revolution may appear a little thing. In the political polar rigidity of the Russia of that time a general strike was something unheard of; it was even a complete revolution in little. There began, of course, the most brutal persecution. About one thousand workers were arrested and the general strike was suppressed.

Here already we see all the fundamental characteristics of the later mass strikes. The next occasion of the movement was wholly accidental, even unimportant, its outbreak elementary; but in the success of the movement the fruits of the agitation, extending over several years, of the Social Democracy, were seen and in the course of the general strike the Social Democratic agitators stood at the head of the movement, directed it, and used it to stir up revolutionary agitation. Further the strike was outwardly a mere economic struggle for wages, but the attitude of the government and the agitation of the Social Democracy made it a political phenomenon of the first rank. And lastly, the strike was suppressed; the workers suffered a "defeat". But in January of the following year the textile workers of St. Petersburg repeated the general strike once more and achieved this time a remarkable success; the legal introduction of a working day of 11 hours throughout the whole of Russia. What was nevertheless a much more important result was this: since that first general strike of 1896 which was entered upon without a trace of organization or of strike funds, an intensive trade union fight began in Russia proper which spread from St. Petersburg to the other parts of the country and opened up entirely new vistas to Social Democratic agitation and organization, and by which in the apparently death-like peace of the following period the revolution was prepared by underground work.

The outbreak of the Caucasian strike in March 1902 was apparently as accidental and as much due to purely economic partial causes (although produced by quite other factors) as that of 1896. It was connected with the serious industrial and commercial crisis which in Russia was the precursor of the Japanese war and which, together with it, was the most powerful factor of the nascent revolutionary ferment. The crisis produced an enormous mass of unemployment which nourished the agitation amongst the proletarian masses, and therefore the government, to restore tranquility amongst the workers, undertook to transport the "superfluous hands" in batches to their

respective home districts. One such measure which was to affect about 400 petroleum workers called forth a mass protest in Batum, which led to demonstrations, arrests, a massacre, and finally to a political trial in which the purely economic and partial affair suddenly became a political and revolutionary event. The reverberation of the wholly "fruitless", expiring and suppressed strike in Batum was a series of revolutionary mass demonstrations of workers in Nijni Novgorod, Saratov and other towns, and therefore a mighty surge forward of the general wave of the revolutionary movement.

Already in November 1902 the first genuine revolutionary echo followed in the shape of a general strike at Rostov-on-Don. Disputes about the rates of pay in the workshops of the Vladicaucasus Railway gave the impetus to this movement. The management sought to reduce wages and therefore the Don Committee of the Social Democracy issued a proclamation with a summons to strike for the following demands: a nine-hour day, increase of wages, abolition of fines, dismissal of obnoxious engineers, etc. Entire railway workshops participated in the strike. Presently all other industries joined in and suddenly an unprecedented state of affairs prevailed in Rostov: every industrial work was at a standstill, and every day monster meetings of from 15,000 to 20,000 were held in the open air, sometimes surrounded by a cordon of Cossacks, at which for the first time Social Democratic popular speakers appeared publicly, inflammatory speeches on Socialism and political freedom were delivered and received with immense enthusiasm, and revolutionary appeals were distributed by tens of thousands of copies. In the midst of rigid absolutist Russia, the proletariat of Rostov won for the first time the right of assembly, and freedom of speech by storm. It goes without saying that there was a massacre here. The disputes over wages in the Vladicaucasus Railway workshops grew in a few days into a political general strike and a revolutionary street battle. As an echo to this there followed immediately a general strike at the station of Tichoretzkaia on the same railway. Here also a massacre took place and also a trial, and thus even Tichoretzkaia has taken its place in the indissoluble chain of the factors of the revolution.

The spring of 1903 gave the answer to the defeated strikes in Rostov and Tichoretzkaia; the whole of South Russia in May, June and July was aflame. Baku, Tiflis, Batum, Elizavetgrad, Odessa, Kiev, Nicholaiev and Ekaterinoslav were in a general strike in the literal meaning of those words. But here again the movement did not arise on

any preconceived plan from one another; it flowed together from individual points in each one from a different cause and in a different form. The beginning was made by Baku where several partial wage struggles in individual factories and departments culminated in a general strike. In Tiflis the strike was begun by 2000 commercial employees who had a working day of from six o'clock in the morning to eleven at night. On the fourth of July they all left their shops and made a circuit of the town to demand from the proprietors of the shops that they close their premises. The victory was complete; the commercial employees won a working day of from eight in the morning to eight in the evening, and they were immediately joined by all the factories, workshops and offices, etc. The newspapers did not appear, and tramways traffic could not be carried on under military protection. In Elizavetgrad on July 4th a strike began in all the factories with purely economic demands. These were mostly conceded, and the strike ended on the 14th. Two weeks later however it broke out again. The bakers this time gave the word and they were joined by the bricklayers, the joiners, the dyers, the mill workers, and finally all factory workers. In Odessa the movement began with a wage struggle in the course of which the "legal" workers' union founded by Government agents according to the programme of the famous gendarme Zubatov, was developed. Historical dialectics had again seized the occasion to play one of its malicious little pranks. The economic struggle of the earlier period (amongst them the great St. Petersburg general strike of 1896) had misled Russian Social Democracy into exaggerating the importance of so-called "economics," and in this way the ground had been prepared amongst the workers for the demagogic activities of Zubatov. After a time, however, the great revolutionary stream turned round the little ship with the false flag, and compelled it to ride right at the head of the revolutionary proletarian flotilla. The Zubatovian unions gave the signal for the great general strike in Odessa in the spring of 1904, as for the general strike in St. Petersburg in January 1905. The workers in Odessa, who were not to be deceived by the appearance of friendliness on the part of the government for the workers, and of its sympathy with purely economic strikes, suddenly demanded proof by example, and compelled the Zubatovian "workers' union" in a factory to declare a strike for very moderate demands. They were immediately thrown on the streets, and when they demanded the protection of the authorities which was promised them by their leader, the gentleman vanished and left the workers in the wildest

excitement. The Social Democrats at once placed themselves at the head of affairs, and the strike movement extended to other factories. On the first of July 2,500 dockers struck work for an increase of wages from 80 kopeks to two roubles, and the shortening of the working day by half an hour. On the 16th of July the seamen joined the movement. On the 13th the tramway staff began a strike. Then a meeting took place of all the strikers, seven or eight thousand men; they formed a procession which went from factory to factory, growing like an avalanche, and presently a crowd of from 40,000 to 50,000 betook themselves to the docks in order to bring all work there to a standstill. A general strike soon reigned throughout the whole city. In Kiev a strike began in the railway workshops on July 21st. Here also the immediate cause was miserable conditions of labour, and wage demands were presented. On the following day the foundrymen followed the example. On July 23rd an incident occurred which gave the signal for the general strike. During the night two delegates of the railwaymen were arrested. The strikers immediately demanded their release, and as this was not conceded, they decided not to allow trains to leave the town. At the station all the strikers with their wives and families sat down on the railway track — a sea of human beings. They were threatened with rifle salvos. The workers bared their breasts and cried "Shoot"! A salvo was fired into the defenceless seated crowd, and thirty to forty corpses, amongst them those of women and children, remained on the ground. On this becoming known the whole town of Kiev went on strike on the same day. The corpses of the murdered workers were raised on high by the crowd and carried round in a mass demonstration. Meetings, speeches, arrests, isolated street fights — Kiev was in the midst of the revolution. The movement was soon at an end. But the printers had won a shortening of the working day of one hour and wage increase of one rouble; in a yeast factory the eight-hour day was introduced; the railway workshops were closed by order of the Ministry; other departments continued partial strikes for their demands. In Nicholaiev the general strike broke out under the immediate influence of the news from Odessa, Baku, Batum and Tiflis, in spite of the opposition of the Social Democratic Committee who wanted to postpone the outbreak of the movement till the time came when the military should have left the town for manoeuvres. The masses refused to hold back; one factory made a beginning, the strikes went from one workshop to another, the resistance of the military only poured oil on the fire.

Mass processions with revolutionary songs were formed which were taken part in by all workers, employees, tramways officials, men and women. The cessation of work was complete. In Ekaterinoslav the bakers came out on strike on August 5th, on the 7th the men in the railway workshops, and then all the other factories on August 8th. Tramways traffic stopped, and the newspapers did not appear. Thus the colossal general strike in south Russia came into being in the summer of 1903. By many small channels of partial economic struggles and little "accidental" occurrences it flowed rapidly to a raging sea, and changed the entire south of the Czarist empire for some weeks into a bizarre revolutionary workers' republic. "Brotherly embraces, cries of delight and of enthusiasm, songs of freedom, merry laughter, humour and joy, were seen and heard in the crowd of many thousands of persons which surged through the town from morning till evening. The mood was exalted; one could almost believe that a new, better life was beginning on the earth. A most solemn and at the same time an idyllic, moving spectacle." . . . So wrote at the time the correspondent of the Liberal "*Osvoboshdenye*"⁶ of Peter Struve.

The year 1904 brought with it war, and for a time, an interval of quiet in the mass strike movement. At first a troubled wave of "patriotic" demonstrations arranged by the police authorities spread over the country. The "liberal bourgeois society was for the time being struck to the ground by the Czarist-official chauvinism. But soon the Social Democrats took possession of the arena; revolutionary workers' demonstrations were opposed to the demonstrations of the patriotic lumpenproletariat which were organized under police patronage. At last the shameful defeats of the Czarist army woke the liberal society from its lethargy; then began the era of democratic congresses, banquets, speeches, addresses and manifestos. Absolutism, temporarily suppressed through the disgrace of the war, gave full scope to these gentlemen, and by and by they saw everything in rosy colours. For six months bourgeois liberalism occupied the centre of the stage, and the proletariat remained in the shadows. But after a long depression absolutism again roused itself, the camarilla gathered all its strength and by a single powerful movement of the Cossack's heel the whole Liberal movement was driven into a corner. Banquets, speeches and congresses were prohibited out of hand as "intolerable presumption", and Liberalism suddenly found itself at the end of its tether. But exactly at the point where Liberalism was exhausted, the action of the proletariat

began. In December 1904 the great general strike, due to unemployment broke out in Baku; the working class was again on the field of battle. As speech was forbidden and rendered impossible action, began. In Baku for some weeks in the midst of the general strike the Social Democrats ruled as absolute masters of the situation; and the peculiar events of December in the Caucasus would have caused an immense sensation if they had not been so quickly put in the shade by the rising tide of the revolution which they had themselves set in motion. The fantastic confused news of the general strike in Baku had not reached all parts of the Czarist empire when in January 1905 the mass strike in St. Petersburg broke out.

Here also as is well known, the immediate cause was trivial. Two men employed at the Putilov works were discharged on account of their membership of the legal Zubatovian union. This measure called forth a solidarity strike on January 16th of the whole of the 12,000 employees in this works. The Social Democrats seized the occasion of the strike to begin a lively agitation for the extension of the demands and set forth demands for the eight-hour day, the right of combination, freedom of speech and of the press, etc. The unrest among the Putilov workers communicated itself quickly to the remainder of the proletariat, and in a few days 140,000 workers were on strike. Joint conferences and stormy discussions led to the working out of that proletarian charter of bourgeois freedom with the eight-hour day at its head with which, on January 22nd, 200,000 workers, led by Father Gapon, marched to the Czar's palace. The conflict of the two Putilov workers who had been subjected to disciplinary punishment had changed within a week into the prologue of the most violent revolution of modern times.

The events that followed upon this are well known; the blood-bath in St. Petersburg called forth gigantic mass strikes and general strike in the month of January and February in all the industrial centres and towns in Russia. Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic Provinces, the Caucasus, Siberia, from north to south and east to west. On closer inspection, however, it can be seen that the mass strike was appearing in other forms than those of the previous period. Everywhere at that time the Social Democratic organizations went before with appeals; everywhere was revolutionary solidarity with the St. Petersburg proletariat expressly stated as the cause and aim of the general strike; everywhere, at the same time, there were demonstrations, speeches, conflicts with the military. But even here there was no predetermined

plan, no organized action, because the appeals of the parties could scarcely keep pace with the spontaneous risings of the masses; the leaders had scarcely time to formulate the watch-words of the on-rushing crowd of the proletariat. Further, the earlier mass and general strikes had originated from individual coalescing wage struggles which, in the general temper of the revolutionary situation and under the influence of the Social Democratic agitation, rapidly became political demonstrations; the economic factor and the scattered condition of trade unionism were the starting point, all-embracing class action and political direction the result. The movement was now reversed. The general strikes of January and February broke out as unified revolutionary actions to begin with under the direction of the Social Democrats; but this action soon fell into an unending series of local, partial, economic strikes in separate districts, towns, departments and factories. Throughout the whole of the spring of 1905 and into the middle of the summer there fermented throughout the whole of the immense empire an uninterrupted economic strike of almost the entire proletariat against capital — a struggle which caught on the one hand, all the petit-bourgeois and liberal professions — commercial employees, technicians, actors and members of artistic professions — and on the other hand, penetrated to the domestic servants, the minor police officials and even to the stratum of the lumpenproletariat, and simultaneously surged from the towns to the country districts and even knocked at the iron gates of the military barracks.

This is a gigantic, many-coloured picture of a general arrangement of labour and capital which reflects all the complexity of social organisation and of the political consciousness of every section and of every district; and the whole long scale runs from the regular trade union struggle of a picked and tested troop of the proletariat drawn from large-scale industry, to the formless protest of a handful of rural proletarians, and to the first slight stirrings of an agitated military garrison, from the well-educated and elegant revolt in cuffs and white collars in the counting house of a bank to the shy-bold murmurings of a clumsy meeting of dissatisfied policemen in a smoke-grimed, dark and dirty guard-room.

According to the theory of the lovers of “orderly and well-disciplined” struggles, according to plan and scheme, according to those especially who always ought to know better from afar “how it should have been done”, the decay of the great political general strike of January 1905 into a number of economic struggles was probably

“a great mistake” which crippled that action and changed it into a “straw fire”.⁷ But Social Democracy in Russia, which had taken part in the revolution but had not “made” it, and which had even to learn its law from its course itself, was at the first glance put out of countenance for a time by the apparently fruitless ebb of the storm-flood of the general strike. History, however, which had made that “great mistake”, thereby accomplished, heedless of the reasonings of its officious school-master, a gigantic work for the revolution which was as inevitable as it was, in its consequences, incalculable.

The sudden general rising of the proletariat in January under the powerful impetus of the St. Petersburg events was outwardly a political act of the revolutionary declaration of war on absolutism. But this first general direct action reacted inwardly all the more powerfully as it for the first time awoke feeling and class-consciousness in millions upon millions as if by an electric shock. And this awakening of class feeling expressed itself forthwith in the circumstances that the proletarian mass, counted by millions, quite suddenly and sharply came to realise how intolerable was that social and economic existence which they had patiently endured for decades in the chains of capitalism. Thereupon there began a spontaneous general shaking of and tugging at these chains. All the innumerable sufferings of the modern proletariat reminded them of the old bleeding wounds. Here was the eight-hour day fought for, there piece work was resisted, here were brutal foremen “driven off” in a sack on a hand-car, at another place infamous systems of fines were fought against, everywhere better wages were striven for and here and there the abolition of home-work. Backward degraded occupations in large towns, small provincial towns, which had hitherto dreamed in an idyllic sleep, the village with its legacy from feudalism — all these, suddenly awakened by the January lightning, bethought themselves of their rights and now sought feverishly to make up for their previous neglect. The economic struggle was not here really a decay, a dissipation of action, but merely change of front, a sudden and natural alteration of the first general engagement with absolutism, in a general reckoning with capital, which in keeping with its character, assumed the form of individual, scattered wage struggles. Not political class action was broken in January by the decay of the general strike into economic strikes, but the reverse; after the possible content of political action in the given situation and at the given stage of the revolution was exhausted, it broke, or rather changed, into economic action.

In point of fact, what more could the general strike in January have achieved? Only complete thoughtlessness could expect that absolutism could be destroyed at one blow by a single "long-drawn" general strike after the Anarchist plan. Absolutism in Russia must be overthrown by the proletariat. But in order to be able to overthrow it the proletariat require a high degree of political education, of class-consciousness and organization. All these conditions cannot be fulfilled by pamphlets and leaflets, but only by the living political school, by the fight and in the fight, in the continuous course of the revolution. Further: absolutism cannot be overthrown at any desired moment in which only adequate "exertion" and "endurance" are necessary. The fall of absolutism is merely the outer expression of the inner social and class development of Russian society. Before absolutism can, and so that it may be overthrown, the bourgeois Russia in its interior, in its modern class divisions, must be formed. That requires the drawing together of the various social layers and interests, besides the education of the proletarian revolutionary parties, and not less of the Liberal, Radical, petit-bourgeois, conservative and reactionary parties; it requires self-consciousness, self-knowledge and the class-consciousness not merely of the layers of the people, but also of the layers of the bourgeoisie. But this also can be achieved and come to fruition in no way but in the struggle, in the process of the revolution itself, through the actual school of experience, in collision with the proletariat as well as with one another, in incessant mutual friction. This class division and class maturity of bourgeois society, as well as its action in the struggle against absolutism, is on the one hand, hampered and made difficult by the peculiar leading role of the proletariat and on the other hand, is spurred on and accelerated. The various undercurrents of the social process of the revolution cross one another, check one another, and increase the internal contradictions of the revolution, but in the end accelerate and thereby render still more violent its eruptions.

This apparently simple and purely mechanical problem may therefore be stated thus: the overthrow of absolutism is a long, continuous social process, and its solution demands a complete undermining of the soil of society; the uppermost part be placed lowest and the lowermost part highest, the apparent "order" must be changed to a chaos, and the apparently "anarchistic" chaos must be changed into a new order. Now in this process of the social transformation of the old Russia, not only the January lightning of the first general strike but also the spring and summer thunderstorms that followed it,

played an indispensable part. The embittered general relations of wage labour and capital contributed in equal measure to the drawing together of the various layers of the people and those of the bourgeoisie, to the class-consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat and to that of the Liberal and Conservative bourgeoisie. And just as the urban wage struggle contributed to the formation of a strong monarchist industrial party in Moscow, so the conflagration of the violent rural rising in Livonia led to the rapid liquidation of the famous aristocratic-agrarian Zemstvo-Liberalism.

But at the same time, the period of the economic struggles of the spring and summer of 1905 made it possible for the urban proletariat, by means of active Social Democratic agitation and direction, to assimilate later all the lessons of the January prologue and to grasp clearly all the further tasks of the revolution. There was connected with this too, another circumstance of an enduring social character: *a general raising of the standard of life of the proletariat*, economic, social and intellectual. The January strikes of 1905 ended victoriously almost throughout. As proof of this, some data from the enormous, and still for the most part inaccessible, mass of material may be cited here relating to a few of the most important strikes carried through in Warsaw alone by the Social Democrats of Poland and Lithuania. In the great factories of the metal industry of Warsaw: Lilpop, Ltd., Ran & Lowenstein, Rudzki and Co., Borman, Schwede and Co., Handtke, Gerlach and Pulst, Geisler Bros., Eberherd, Wolski and Co., Konrad and Yarnuszkiewicz Ltd., Weber and Daehu, Ewizdzinski and Co., Wolonoski Wire Works, Gostynski and Co., Ltd., Rrun and Son, Frage Norblin, Werner, Buch, Kenneberg Bros., Labor, Dittunar Lamp Factory, Serkowski, Weszk — twenty two factories in all, the workers won, after a strike of from four to five weeks (from January 25th and 26) a nine-hour day, a 25% increase of wages and obtained various smaller concessions. In the large workshops of the timber industry of Warsaw, namely Karmanski, Damieki, Gromel, Szerbinkik, Tremerowski, Horn, Devensee, Tworkowski, Daab and Martens—twelve workshops in all — the strikes had won by the 23rd of February the nine-hour day; they were not satisfied with this, but insisted upon the eight-hour day, which they also won, together with an increase of wages, after a further strike of a week. The entire bricklaying industry began a strike on February 27th and demanded, in conformity with the watchword of Social Democracy, the eight-hour day; they won the ten-hour day on March 11th together with an increase of wages for all categories, regular payment of wages weekly etc., The painters, the cartwrights, the

saddlers and the smiths all won the eight-hour day without decrease of wages. The telephone workshops struck for ten days and won the eight-hour day and an increase of wages of from ten to fifteen per cent. The large linen-weaving establishment of Hiele and Dietrich (10,000 workers) after a strike lasting nine weeks, obtained a decrease of the working day of one hour and a wage increase of from five to ten per cent. And similar results in endless variation were to be seen in all the older branches of industry in Warsaw, Lodz, and Sosnovitz.

In Russia proper, the eight-hour day was won in December 1904 by a few categories of oil workers in Baku; in May 1905 by the sugar workers of the Kiev district; in January 1905 in all the printing works in Samara, (where at the same time an increase of piece-work rates was obtained and fines were abolished); in February in the factory in which medical instruments for the army are manufactured, in a furniture factory and in the cartridge factory in St. Petersburg. Further the eight-hour day was introduced in the mines at Vladivostock, in March in the government mechanical workshops dealing with government stock, and in May among the employees of the Tiflis electric town railway. In the same month a working day of eight and a half hours was introduced in the large cotton-weaving factory of Morosov (and at the same time the abolition of night work and a wage increase of eight per cent were won); in June an eight-hour day in a few oil works in St. Petersburg and Moscow; in July a working day of eight and a half hours among the smiths at the St. Petersburg docks; and in November in all the private printing establishments of the town of Orel (and at the same time an increase of time rates of twenty per cent and piece-work rates of one-hundred per cent, as well as the setting up of a conciliation board in which workers and employer were equally represented).

The nine-hour day in all the railway workshops (in February), in many government, military and naval workshops, in most of the factories of the town of Berdiansk, in all the printing works of the towns of Poltava and Musk; nine and a half hours in the ship-yards, mechanical workshops and foundries in the town of Nicholayev, in June, after a general strike of waiters in Warsaw in many restaurants and cafes (and at the same time a wage increase of from twenty to forty per cent, with a two-weeks holiday in the year).

The ten-hour day in almost all the factories of the towns of Lodz, Sosnovitz, Riga, Kovno, Oval, Dorfat, Minsk, Kharkov, in the bakeries of Odessa, amongst the mechanics in Kishinev, at a few

smelting works in St. Petersburg, in the match factories of Kovno (with an increase of wages of 10%). in all the government marine work-shops, and amongst all the dockers.

The wage increases were in general smaller than the shortening of hours but always more significant: in Warsaw in the middle of March 1905 a general increase of wages of 15% was fixed by the municipal factories department; in the centre of the textile industry, Ivanovo-Vosnosensk, the wage increase amounted to from seven to fifteen per cent, in Kovno the increase affected seventy-three per cent of the workers. A fixed minimum wage was introduced in some of the bakeries in Odessa, in the Neva shipbuilding yards in St. Petersburg, etc.

It goes without saying that these concessions were withdrawn again, now here and now there. This, however, was only the cause of renewed strife and led to still more bitter struggles for revenge, and thus the strike period of the spring of 1905 has of itself become the prologue to an endless series of ever-spreading and interlacing economic struggles which have lasted to the present day. In the period of the outward stagnation of the revolution, when the telegraph carried no sensational news from the Russian theatre of war to the outside world, and when the West European laid aside his newspaper in disappointment with the remark that there "was nothing doing" in Russia the great underground work of the revolution was in reality being carried on without cessation, day by day and hour by hour, in the very heart of the empire. The incessant intensive economic struggle effected, by rapid and abbreviated methods, the transition of capitalism from the stage of primitive accumulation of patriarchal unmethodical methods of working, to a highly modern, civilized one. At the present time the actual working day in Russian industry leaves behind, not only Russian factory legislation (that is the legal working day of 11 hours) but even the actual conditions of Germany. In most departments of large-scale industry in Russia the ten-hour day prevails, which in Germany is declared in social legislation to be an unattainable goal. And what is more, that longed-for "industrial constitutionalism", for which there is so much enthusiasm in Germany, and for the sake of which the advocates of opportunist tactics would keep every keen wind from the stagnant waters of their all-suffering parliamentarism, has already been born, together with political "constitutionalism", in the midst of the revolutionary storm, from the revolution itself! In actual fact it is not merely a general raising of the standards of life, or of the cultural level of the working class that has taken place. The

material standard of life as a permanent stage of well-being, has no place in the revolution. Full of contradictions and contrasts it brings simultaneously surprising economic victories, and the most brutal acts of revenge on the part of the capitalists; today the eight-hour day, and tomorrow wholesale lockouts and actual starvation for the million. The most precious, because lasting, thing in this rapid ebb and flow of the wave is its mental sediment: the intellectual, cultural growth of the proletariat, which proceeds by fits and starts, and which offers an inviolable guarantee of their further irresistible progress in the economic as in the political struggle. And not only that. Even the relations of the worker to the employer are turned round; since the January general strike and the strikes of 1905 which followed upon it, the principle of the capitalist "mastery of the house" is de facto abolished. In the larger factories of all important industrial centres the establishment of workers' committees has, as if by itself, taken place, with which alone the employer negotiates and which decide all disputes, And, finally, another thing: the apparently "chaotic" strikes and the "disorganised" revolutionary action after the January general strike is becoming the starting point of a feverish *work of organization*. Dame History, from afar, smilingly hoaxes the bureaucratic lay figures who keep grim watch at the gate over the fate of the German trade unions. The firm organizations, which as the indispensable hypothesis for an eventual German mass strike should be fortified like an impregnable citadel — these organisations are in Russia, on the contrary, already born from the mass strike. And, while the guardians of the German trade unions for the most part fear that the organisations will fall in pieces in a revolutionary whirlwind like rare porcelain, the Russian revolution shows us the exactly opposite picture; from the whirlwind and the storm, out of the fire and glow of the mass strike and the street fighting rise again, like Venus from the foam, fresh, young, powerful, buoyant trade unions.

Here again a little example, which, however, is typical of the whole empire. At the second conference of the Russian trade unions which took place at the end of February 1906 in St. Petersburg, the representative of the Petersburg trade unions, in his report on the development of trade union organizations of the Czarist Capital said:

"January 22nd, 1905, which washed away the Gapon union, was a turning point. The workers in large numbers have learned by experience to appreciate and understand the importance of organisation, and that only they themselves can create these organisations. The

first trade union — that of the printers — originated in direct connection with the January movement. The commission appointed to work out the tariffs framed the statutes and on July 19th the union began its existence. Just about this time the union of office-workers and bookkeepers was called into existence. In addition to those organisations, which existed almost openly, there arose from January to October 1906 semi-legal and illegal trade unions. To the former belonged, for example, the union of chemists' assistants and commercial employees. Amongst the illegal unions special attention must be drawn to the watchmakers' union, whose first secret session was held on April 24th. All attempts to convene a general open meeting were shattered on the obstinate resistance of the police and the employers in the form of the Chamber of Commerce. This mischance has not prevented the existence of the union. It held secret meetings of members on June 9th and August 14th, apart from the sessions of the executive of the union. The tailors and tailoresses union was founded in 1905 at a meeting in a wood at which 70 tailors were present. After the question of forming the union was discussed a commission was appointed which was entrusted with the task of working out the statutes. All attempts of the commission to obtain a legal existence for the union were unsuccessful. Its activities were confined to agitation and the enrolling of new members in the individual workshops. A similar fate was in store for the shoemakers' union. In July a secret night meeting was convened in a wood near the city. Over 100 shoemakers attended; a report was read on the importance of trade unionism, on its history in Western Europe and its tasks in Russia. It was then decided to form a trade union; a commission of twelve was appointed to work out the statutes and call a general meeting of shoemakers. The statutes were drawn up, but in the mean time it had not been found possible to print them nor had the general meeting been convened."

These were the first difficult beginnings. Then came the October days, the second general strike, the Czar's manifesto of October 30th and the brief "constitution period". The workers threw themselves with fiery zeal into the waves of political freedom in order to use it forthwith for the purpose of the work of organisation. Besides daily political meetings, debates and the formation of clubs, the development of trade unionism was immediately taken in hand. In October and November *forty* new trade unions appeared in St. Petersburg. Presently a "central bureau", that is a trade union council, was established, various trade union papers appeared, and since November a central organ has also been published, "The Trade Union". What

was reported above concerning Petersburg was also true on the whole of Moscow and Odessa, Kiev and Nicola, Saratov and Voronezh, Samara and Nizhni-Novgorod, and all the larger towns of Russia, and in still higher degree of Poland. The trade unions of different towns seek contact with one another and conferences are held. The end of the "constitution period," and the return to reaction in December 1905, put a stop for the time being to the open widespread activity of the trade unions, but did not however, altogether extinguish them. They operate as organisations in secret and occasionally carry on quite open wage struggles. A peculiar mixture of the legal and illegal condition of trade union life is being built up, corresponding to the highly contradictory revolutionary situation. But in the midst of the struggle the work of organisation is being more widely extended, in a thoroughgoing, not to say pedantic fashion. The trade unions of the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, for example, which at the last congress (in July 1906) were represented by five delegates from a membership of 10,000 are furnished with the usual statutes, printed membership cards, adhesive stamps, etc. And the same bakers and shoemakers, engineers and printers of Warsaw and Lodz who in June 1905 stood on the barricades and in December only awaited the word from Petersburg to begin street fighting, find time and are eager, between one mass strike and another, between prison and lockout, and under the conditions of a siege, to go into their trade union statutes and discuss them earnestly. These barricade fighters of yesterday and tomorrow have indeed more than once at meetings severely reprimanded their leaders and threatened them with withdrawal from the party because the unlucky trade union membership cards could not be printed quickly enough—in secret printing works under incessant police persecution. This zeal and this earnestness continue to this day. For example, in the first two weeks of July 1906, fifteen new trade unions appeared in Ekaterinoslav, six in Kostroma, several in Kiev, Poltava, Smolensk, Tscherkassy, Proskurvo, down to the most insignificant provincial towns. In the session of the Moscow trade union council of June 4th this year, after the acceptance of the reports of individual trade union delegates, it was decided "that the trade unions should discipline their members and restrain from street rioting because the time is not considered opportune for the mass strike. In the face of possible provocation on the part of the government care should be taken that the masses do not stream out in the streets." Finally, the Council decided that if at any time one trade union began a strike the others should hold

back from any wages movement. Most of the economic struggles are now directed by the trade unions.*

Thus the great economic struggle which proceeded from the January general strike and which has not ceased to the present day, has formed a broad background of the revolution from which, in ceaseless reciprocal action with the political agitation and the external events of the revolution there ever arise here and there now isolated explosions, and now great general actions of the proletariat. Thus there flame up against this background the following events one after the other; at the May Day demonstration there was an unprecedented, absolute general strike in Warsaw which ended in a bloody encounter between the defenceless crowd and the soldiers. At Lodz in June a mass outing which was scattered by the soldiers, led to a demonstration of 100,000 workers at the funeral of some of the victims, and the brutal soldiery and to a renewed encounter with the military, and finally, on July 23, 24, and 25th, passed into the first barricade fight in the Czarist empire. Similarly in June the first great revolt of the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet exploded in the harbour at Odessa from a trifling incident on board the armoured vessel "Potemkin" which reacted immediately on Odessa and Nicholaiev in the form of a violent mass strike. As a further echo followed the mass strike and the sailors' revolts in Kronstadt, Libau and Vladivostok.

In the month of October the grandiose experiment of St. Petersburg was made with the introduction of the eight-hour day. The general council of workers delegates decided to achieve the eight-

* In the first two weeks of June 1906 alone the following wage struggles were conducted: by the printers in Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Minsk, Vilna, Aratov, Mogilev, and Tambov, for an eight-hour day and Sunday holidays a general strike of seamen in Odessa, Nicholaiev, Kertch, in the Crimea, in the Caucasus, in the Volga Fleet, in Warsaw and Plock for the recognition of the trade union and the release of the arrested workers delegates; by the dockers in Saratov, Nicholaiev, Tsaritzin, Archangel, Nizhni-Novgorod and Rubinsk. The bakers struck in Kiev, Archangel, Bialystok, Vilna, Odessa, Kharkov, Brest Litovsk, Radom, and Tiflis; the agricultural workers in the districts of Verchne-Dneprovski, Vorosovsk and Simferopol, in the governments of Podolsk, Tula and Kurak, in the districts of Koslov and Lipovet, in Finland, in the government of Kiev and in the district of Elizavetgrad. In this period almost all branches of industry in several towns struck work simultaneously, as Saratov, Archangel, Kertch, and Kremenchug. In Bachmut there was a strike of colliers of the whole district. In other towns the wages movement in the same two weeks seized all branches of industry, one after another, as in Kiev, Petersburg, Warsaw and Moscow and in the entire district of Ivanovo-Voznosensk. Object of the strikers everywhere: shortening of the working day, Sunday holiday and wage increases. *Most of the strikes ran a victorious course.* It is emphasised in the local reports that some strata of the workers were affected who took part for the first time in a wages movement.

hour day in a revolutionary manner. That means that on the appointed day all the workers of Petersburg should inform their employers that they were not willing to work more than eight hours a day, and should leave their places of work at the end of eight hours. The idea was the occasion of lively agitation, was accepted by the proletariat with enthusiasm and carried out, but very great sacrifices were not thereby avoided. Thus for example, the eight-hour day meant an enormous fall in wages for the textile workers who had hitherto worked eleven hours and that on a system of piece work. This, however they willingly accepted. *Within a week the eight-hour day prevailed in every factory and workshop in Petersburg*, and the joy of the workers knew no bounds. Soon, however, the employers, stupefied at first, prepared their defences; everywhere they threatened to close their factories. Some of the workers consented to negotiate and obtained here a working-day of ten hours and there one of nine hours. The elite of the Petersburg proletariat, however, the workers in the large government engineering establishments, remained unshaken, and a lockout ensued which threw from 45,000 to 50,000 men on the streets for a month. At the settlement the eight-hour day movement was carried into the general strike of December which the great lock-out had hampered to a great extent.

Meanwhile, however, the second tremendous general strike throughout the whole empire follows in October as a reply to the project of the Bulygin Duma⁸ — the strike to which the railwaymen gave the summons. This second great action of the proletariat already bears a character essentially different from that of the first one in January. The element of political consciousness already plays a much bigger role. Here also, to be sure the immediate occasion for the outbreak of the mass strike was a subordinate and apparently accidental thing: the conflict of the railwaymen with the management over the pension fund. But the general rising of the industrial proletariat which followed upon it was conducted in accordance with clear political ideas. The prologue of the January strike was a procession to the Czar to ask for political freedom: the watchword of the October strike ran away with the constitutional comedy of Czarism! And thanks to the immediate success of the general strike to the Czar's manifesto of October 30th, the movement does not flow back on itself, as in January but rushes over outwardly in the eager activity of newly acquired political freedom. Demonstrations, meetings, a young press, public discussions and bloody massacres as the end of the story, and thereupon new mass strikes and demonstrations — such is the stormy picture of the

November and December days. In November, at the instance of the Social Democrats in Petersburg the first demonstrative mass strike is arranged as a protest demonstration against the bloody deeds and the proclamation of a state of siege in Poland and Livonia. The fermentation after the brief constitutional period and the gruesome awakening finally leads in December to the outbreak of the third general mass strike throughout the empire. This time its course and its outcome are altogether different from those in the two earlier cases. Political action does not change into economic action as in January, but it no longer achieves a rapid victory as in October. The attempts of the Czarist camarilla with real political freedom are no longer made, and revolutionary action therewith, for the first time, and along its whole length, knocked against the strong wall of the physical violence of absolutism. By the logical internal development of progressive experience the mass strike this time changes into an open insurrection, to armed barricades, and street fighting in Moscow. The December days in Moscow close the first eventful year of the revolution as the highest point in the ascending line of political action and of the mass strike movement.

The Moscow events show a typical picture of the logical development and at the same time of the future of the revolutionary movement on the whole: their inevitable close in a general open insurrection, which again on its part cannot come in any other way than through the school of a series of preparatory partial insurrections, which therefore meantime end in partial outward "defeats" and considered individually, may appear to be "premature".

The year 1906 brings the elections to the Duma and the Duma incidents. The proletariat, from a strong revolutionary instinct and clear knowledge of the situation, boycotts the whole Czarist-constitutional farce; and Liberalism again occupies the centre of the stage for a few months. The situation of 1904 appears to have come again, a period of speeches instead of acts, and the proletariat for a time walk in the shadow in order to devote themselves the more diligently to the trade union struggle and the work of organisation. The mass strikes are no longer spoken of, while the clattering rockets of Liberal rhetoric are fired off day after day. At last the iron curtain is torn down, the actors are dispersed, and nothing remains of the Liberal rockets but smoke and vapour. An attempt of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democracy to call forth a mass strike as a demonstration for the Duma and the re-opening of the period of Liberal speech-making, falls absolutely flat. The role of the political mass strike

alone is exhausted, but at the same time, the transition of the mass strike into a general popular rising is not yet accomplished. The Liberal episode is past, the proletarian episode is not yet begun. The stage remains empty for the time being.



CHAPTER IV
THE INTERACTION OF THE POLITICAL AND THE
ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

WE have attempted in the foregoing to sketch the history of the mass strike in Russia in a few strokes. Even a fleeting glance at this history shows us a picture which in no way resembles that usually formed by the discussions in Germany on the mass strike. Instead of the rigid and hollow scheme of an arid political action carried out by the decision of the highest committees and furnished with a plan and panorama, we see a bit of pulsating life of flesh and blood, which cannot be cut out of the large frame of the revolution but is connected with all parts of the revolution by a thousand veins.

The mass strike, as the Russian revolution shows it to us, is such a changeable phenomenon that it reflects all phases of the political and economic struggle, all stages and factors of the revolution. Its adaptability, its efficiency, the factors of its origin are constantly changing. It suddenly opens new and wide perspectives of the revolution when it appears to have already in a narrow pass and where it is impossible for anyone to reckon upon it with any degree of certainty. It flows now like a broad billow over the whole kingdom, and now divides into a gigantic network of narrow streams; now it bubbles forth from under the ground like a fresh spring and now is completely lost under the earth. Political and economic strikes, mass strikes and partial strikes, demonstrative strikes and fighting strikes, general strikes of individual branches of industry and general strikes in individual towns, peaceful wage struggles and street massacres, barricade fighting — all these run through one another, run side by side, cross one another, flow in and over one another — it is a ceaselessly moving changing sea of phenomena. And the law of motion of these phenomena is clear: it does not lie in the mass strike itself nor in its technical details, but in the political and social proportions of the forces of the revolution. The mass strike is merely the form of the revolutionary struggle and every disarrangement of the relations of the contending powers in party development and in class division, in the position of the counter-revolution — all this immediately influences the action of the strike in a thousand invisible and scarcely controllable ways. But strike action itself does not cease for a single moment. It merely alters its forms, its

dimensions, its effect. It is the living pulse-beat of the revolution and at the same time its most powerful driving wheel. In a word, the mass strike, as shown to us in the Russian revolution, is not a crafty method discovered by subtle reasoning for the purpose of making the proletarian struggle more effective, *but the method of motion of the proletarian mass*, the phenomenal form of the proletarian struggle in the revolution.

Some general aspects may now be examined which may assist us in forming a correct estimate of the problem of the mass strike.

1. It is absurd to think of the mass strike as one act, one isolated action. The mass strike is rather the indication the rallying idea, of a whole period of the class struggle lasting for years, perhaps for decades. Of the innumerable and highly varied mass strikes which have taken place in Russia during the last four years the scheme of the mass strike was a purely political movement, begun and ended after a cut and dried plan, a short single act of one variety only and that a subordinate variety — pure demonstration strike. In the whole course of the five year period we see in Russia only a few demonstration strikes, which be it noted, were generally confined to single towns. Thus the annual May Day general strike in Warsaw and Lodz in Russia proper on the First of May has not yet been celebrated to any appreciable extent by abstention from work — the mass strike in Warsaw on September 11th 1905, as a memorial service in honour of the executed Martin Kasprzak, that of November 1905 in Petersburg as protest demonstration against the declaration of a state of siege in Poland and Livonia; that of January 22nd 1906 in Warsaw, Lodz, Czentochon and in the Dombrowa coal basin, as well as, in part, those in few Russian towns as anniversary celebrations of the Petersburg blood-bath; in addition, in July 1906 a general strike in Tiflis as demonstration of sympathy with soldiers sentenced by court-martial on account of the military revolt; and finally from the same cause in September 1906, during the deliberations of the court-martial in Reval. All the above great and partial mass strikes and general strikes were not demonstration strikes but fighting strikes, and as such they originated for the most part spontaneously in every case from specific local accidental causes, without plan and undesignedly, and grew with elemental power into great movements, and then they did not begin an “orderly retreat”, but turned now into economic struggles, now into street fighting, and now collapsed of themselves.

In this general picture the purely political demonstration strike plays quite a subordinate role — isolated small points in the midst of a

mighty expanse. Thereby, temporarily considered, the following characteristic discloses itself: the demonstration strikes which, in contradistinction to the fighting strikes, exhibit the greatest mass of party discipline, conscious direction and political thought, and therefore must appear as the highest and most mature form of the mass strike, play in reality the greatest part in the *beginnings* of the movement. Thus for example, the absolute cessation of work on May 1st 1905 in Warsaw as the first instance of a decision of the Social Democrats carried throughout in such an astonishing fashion, was an experience of great importance for the proletarian movement in Poland. In the same way the sympathetic strike of the same year in Petersburg made a great impression as the first experiment on conscious systematic mass action in Russia. Similarly the "trial mass strike" of the Hamburg comrades on January 17th 1906 will play a prominent part in the history of the future German mass strike as the first vigorous attempt with the much disputed weapon, and also a very successful and convincingly striking test of the fighting temper and the lust for battle of the Hamburg working class. And just as surely will the period of the mass strike in Germany, when it has once begun in real earnest, lead of itself to a real, general cessation of work on May First. The May Day festival may naturally be raised to a position of honour as the first great demonstration under the aegis of the mass struggle. In the sense the "lame horse", as the May Day festival was termed at the trade-union congress at Cologne, has still a great future before it and an important part to play, in the proletarian class struggle in Germany. But with the development of the earnest revolutionary struggle the importance of such demonstration diminishes rapidly. It is precisely those factors which objectively facilitate the realization of the demonstration strike after a preconceived plan and at the party's word of command — namely, the growth of political consciousness and the training of the proletariat — make this kind of mass strike impossible; today the proletariat in Russia, the most capable vanguard of the masses, does not want to know about mass strikes; the workers are no longer in a mood for jesting and will now think only of a serious struggle with all its consequences. And when, in the first great mass strike in January 1905, the demonstrative element, not indeed in an intentional, but more in an instinctive spontaneous form, still played a great part, on the other hand, the attempt of the central committee of the Russian Social Democrats to call a mass strike in August as a demonstration for the dissolved Duma, was shattered by, among other

things, the positive disinclination of the educated proletariat to engage in weak half-actions and mere demonstrations.

2. When, however, we have in view the less important strike of the demonstrative kind, instead of the fighting strikes as it represents in Russia today the actual vehicle of proletarian action, we see still more clearly that it is impossible to separate the economic and the political factors from one another. Here also the reality deviates from the theoretical scheme, and the pedantic representation in which the pure political mass strike is logically derived from the trade union general strike as the ripest and highest stage, but at the same time is kept distinct from it, is shown to be absolutely false. This is expressed not merely in the fact that the mass strikes, from that first great wages struggle of the Petersburg textile workers in 1896-7 to the last great mass strike in December 1905, passed imperceptibly from the economic field to the political, so that it is almost impossible to draw a dividing line between them. Again, every one of the great mass strikes repeats, so to speak, on a small scale, the entire history of the Russian mass strike, and begins with a pure economic, or at all events, a partial trade union conflict, and runs through all the stages to the political demonstration. The great thunder-storm of mass strikes in South Russia in 1902 and 1903 originated, as we have seen, in Baku from a conflict arising from the disciplinary punishment of the unemployed in Rostov from disputes about wages in the railway workshops, in Tiflis from a struggle of the commercial employees for reduction of working hours, in Odessa from a wage dispute in one single small factory. The January mass strike of 1905 developed from an internal conflict in the Putilov works, the October strike from the struggle of the railway workers for a pension fund, and finally the December strike from the struggle of the postal and telegraph employees for the right of combination. The progress of the movement on the whole is not expressed in the circumstances that the economic initial stage is omitted, but much more in the rapidity with which all the stages to the political demonstration are run through and in the extremity of the point to which the strike moves forward.

But the movement on the whole does not proceed from the economic to the political struggle, not even the reverse. Every great political mass action, after it has attained its political highest point, breaks up into a mass of economic strikes. And that applies not merely to each of the great mass strikes, but also to the revolution as a whole. With the spreading, clarifying and involution of the political struggle the economic struggle not merely does not recede, but

extends, organizes and becomes involved in equal measure. Between the two there is the most complete reciprocal action.

Every new onset and every fresh victory of the political struggle is transformed into a powerful impetus for the economic struggle extending at the same time its external possibilities and intensifying, the inner urge of the workers to better their position, and their desire to struggle. After every foaming wave of political action a fructifying deposit remains behind from which a thousand stalks of economic struggle shoot forth. And conversely. The workers' condition of ceaseless economic struggle with the capitalists keeps their fighting energy alive in every political interval, it forms, so to speak the permanent fresh reservoir of the strength of the proletarian classes, from which the political fight ever renews its strength and at the same time leads the indefatigable economic sappers of the proletariat at all times now here and now there, to isolated sharp conflicts, out of which political conflicts on a large scale unexpectedly explode.

In a word: the economic struggle is the transmitter from one political center to another; the political struggle is the periodic fertilization of the soil for the economic struggle. Cause and effect here continually change places; and thus the economic and the political factor in the period of the mass strike, now widely removed, completely separated or even mutually exclusive as the theoretical plan would have them, merely form the two interlacing sides of the proletarian class struggle in Russia. And *their unity* is precisely the mass strike, If the sophisticated theory purposes to make a clever logical dissection of the mass strike for the purpose of getting at the "purely political mass strike" it will by this dissection, as with any other, not perceive the phenomenon in its living essence, but will kill it altogether.

3. Finally, the events in Russia show us that the mass strike is inseparable from the revolution. The history of the Russian mass strikes is the history of the Russian revolution. When, to be sure, the representatives of our German opportunism hear of "revolution," they immediately think of bloodshed, street fighting or powder and shot, and the logical conclusion thereof is: the mass strike leads inevitably to the revolution, therefore we dare not have it. In actual fact we see in Russia that almost every mass strike in the long run leads to an encounter with the armed guardians of Czarist order, and therein the so-called political strikes exactly resemble the larger economic struggle. The revolution, however, is something other and something more than bloodshed. In contradiction to the police interpretation, which views the revolution exclusively from the standpoint of

street disturbances and rioting, that is, from the standpoint of "disorder" — the interpretation of scientific Socialism sees in the revolution above all a thorough-going internal reversal of social class relations. And from this standpoint an altogether different connection exists between revolution and mass strike in Russia from that contained in the commonplace conception that the mass strike generally ends in bloodshed.

We have seen above the inner mechanism of the Russian mass strike which depends upon the ceaseless reciprocal action of the political and economic struggles. But this reciprocal action is conditioned during the revolutionary period. Only in the sultry air of the period of revolution can any partial little conflict between labour and capital grow into a general explosion. In Germany the most violent, most brutal collisions between the workers and employers take place every year and every day without the struggle over-leaping the bounds of the individual departments or individual towns concerned, or even those of the individual factories. Punishment of organised workers in Petersburg and unemployment as in Baku, wage struggles as in Odessa, struggles for the right of combination as in Moscow, are the order of the day in Germany. No single one of these cases however, changes suddenly into a common class action. And when they grow into isolated mass strikes, which have without question a political colouring, they do not bring about a general storm. The general strike of the Dutch railwaymen, which died away in spite of the warmest sympathy, in the midst of the complete impassivity of the proletariat of the country, affords a striking proof of this.

And conversely, only in the period of the revolution, when the social foundations and the walls of the class society are shaken and subjected to a constant process of disarrangement, any political class action of the proletariat can arouse from their passive condition in a few hours whole sections of the working class who have hitherto remained unaffected and this is immediately and naturally expressed in a stormy economic struggle. The worker, suddenly aroused to activity by the electric shock of political action, immediately seizes the weapon lying nearest his hand for the fight against his condition of economic slavery; the stormy gesture of the political struggle causes him to feel with unexpected intensity the weight and the pressure of his economic chains. And while, for example, the most violent political struggle in Germany — the electoral struggle or the parliamentary struggle on the customs tariff — exercised a scarcely perceptible direct influence upon the course and the intensity of the wage

struggles being conducted at the same time in Germany, every political action of the proletariat in Russia immediately expresses itself in the extension of the area and the deepening of the intensity of the economic struggle.

The revolution thus first creates the social conditions in which this sudden change of the economic struggle into the political and of the political struggle into the economic is possible, a change which finds its expression in the mass strike. And if the vulgar scheme sees the connection between mass strike and revolution only in bloody street encounters with which the mass strikes conclude, somewhat a deeper look into the Russian events shows an exactly opposite connection: in reality the mass strike does not produce the revolution, but the revolution produces the mass strike.

4. It is sufficient in order to comprehend the foregoing to obtain an explanation of the question of the conscious direction and initiative in the mass strike. If the mass strike is not an isolated act but a whole period of the class struggle, and if this period is identical with a period of revolution, it is clear that the mass strike cannot be called at will, even when the decision to do so may come from the highest committee of the strongest Social Democratic party. As long as the Social Democracy has not the power to stage and countermand revolutions according to its fancy, even the greatest enthusiasm and impatience of the Social Democratic troops will not suffice to call into being a real period of mass strike as a living, powerful movement of the people. On the basis of a decision of the party leadership and of party discipline a single short demonstration may well be arranged similar to the Swedish mass strike, or to the latest Austrian strike, or even to the Hamburg mass strike of January 17th. These demonstrations, however, differ from an actual period of revolutionary mass strikes in exactly the same way that the well-known demonstrations in foreign ports during a period of strained diplomatic relations differ from a naval war. A mass strike born of pure discipline and enthusiasm will, at best, merely play the role of an episode of a symptom of the fighting mood of the working class upon which, however, the conditions of a peaceful period are reflected. Of course, even during the revolution mass strikes do not exactly fall from heaven. They must be brought about in some way or another by the workers. The resolution and determination of the workers also play a part and indeed the initiative and the wider direction naturally fall to the share of the organized and most enlightened kernel of the proletariat. But the scope of this initiative and this direction, for the most part, is confined to application to individual

acts, to individual strikes, when the revolutionary period is already begun, and indeed, in most cases, is confined within the boundaries of a single town. Thus, for example, as we have seen, the Social Democrats have already, on several occasions, successfully issued a direct summons for a mass strike in Baku, in Warsaw, in Lodz and in Petersburg. But this succeeds much less frequently when applied to general movements of the whole proletariat. Further, there are quite definite limits set to initiative and conscious direction. During the revolution it is extremely difficult for any directing organ of the proletarian movement to foresee and to calculate which occasions and factors can lead to explosions and which cannot. Here also initiative and direction do not consist in issuing commands according to one's inclinations, but in the most adroit adaptability to the given situation, and the closest possible contact with the mood of the masses. The element of spontaneity, as we have seen, plays a great part in all Russian mass strikes without exception, be it as a driving force or as a restraining influence. This does not occur in Russia, however, because Social Democracy is still young or weak, but because in every individual act of the struggle so very many important economic, political and social, general and local, material and psychical, factors react upon one another in such a way that no single act can be arranged and resolved as if it were a mathematical problem. The revolution, even when the proletariat, with the Social Democrats at their head, appear in the leading role, is not a manoeuvre of the proletariat in the open field, but a fight in the midst of the incessant crashing, displacing and crumbling of the social foundation. In short, in the mass strikes in Russia the element of spontaneity plays such a predominant part, not because the Russian proletariat are "uneducated", but because revolutions do not allow anyone to play the school master with them.

On the other hand, we see in Russia that the same revolution which rendered the Social Democrats' command of the mass strike so difficult, and which struck the conductor's baton from, or pressed it into, their hand at all times in such a comical fashion — we see that it resolved of itself all those difficulties of the mass strike which, in the theoretical scheme of German discussion, are regarded as the chief concern of the "directing body": the question of "provisioning", "discovery of cost", and "sacrifice." It goes without saying, that it does not resolve them in the way that they would be resolved in a quiet confidential discussion between the higher directing committees of the labour movement, the members sitting pencil in hand. The "regulation" of all these questions consists in the circumstance that

the revolution brings such an enormous mass of people upon the stage that any computation or regulation of the cost of the movement such as can be effected in a civil process, appears to be an altogether hopeless undertaking. The leading organizations in Russia certainly attempt to support the direct victims to the best of their ability. Thus, for example, the brave victims of the gigantic lock-out in St. Petersburg, which followed upon the eight-hour day campaign, were supported for weeks. But all these measures are, in the enormous balance of the revolution, but as a drop in the ocean. At the moment that a real, earnest period of mass strikes begins, all these "calculations" of "cost" become merely projects for exhausting the ocean with a tumbler. And it is veritable ocean of frightful privations and sufferings which is brought by every revolution to the proletarian masses. And the solution which a revolutionary period makes of this apparently invincible difficulty consists in the circumstances that such an immense volume of mass idealism is simultaneously released that the masses are insensible to the bitterest sufferings. With the psychology of a trade-unionist who will not stay off his work on May Day unless he is assured in advance of a definite amount of support in the event of his being victimised, neither revolution nor mass strike can be made. But in the storm of the revolutionary period even the proletarian is transformed from a provident pater familias demanding support, into a "revolutionary romanticist", for whom even the highest good, life itself, to say nothing of material well-being, possesses but little in comparison with the ideals of the struggle.

If, however, the direction of the mass strike in the sense of command over its origin, and in the sense of the calculating and reckoning of the cost, is a matter of the revolutionary period itself, the directing of the mass strike becomes, in an altogether different sense, the duty of Social Democracy and its leading organs. Instead of puzzling their heads with the technical side, with the mechanism, of the mass strike, the Social Democrats are called upon to assume *political* leadership in the midst of the revolutionary period.

To give the cue for, and the direction to, the fight; to so regulate the tactics of the political struggle in its every phase and at its every moment that the entire sum of the available power of the proletariat which is already released and active, will find expression in the battle array of the party; to see that the tactics of the Social Democrats are decided according to their resolutions and acuteness and that they never fall below the level demanded by the actual relations of forces, but rather rise above it — that is the most important task

of the directing body in a period of mass strikes. And this direction changes of itself, to a certain extent, into technical direction. A consistent, resolute, progressive tactics on the part of the Social Democrats produces in the masses a feeling of security, self-confidence and desire for struggle; a vacillating weak tactics, based on an underestimation of the proletariat has a crippling and confusing effect upon the masses. In the first case mass strikes break out "of themselves" and "opportunely"; in the second case they remain ineffective amidst direct summonses of the directing body to mass strikes. And on both the Russian revolution affords striking examples.

CHAPTER V

LESSONS OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA APPLICABLE TO GERMANY

LET us now see how far all these lessons which can be learned from the Russian mass strikes are applicable to Germany. The social and political conditions, the history and status of the labour movement, are widely different in Germany and Russia. At first sight the inner law of the Russian mass strikes as sketched above may appear to be solely the product of specifically Russian conditions which need not be taken into account by the German proletariat. Between the political and the economic struggle in the Russian revolution there is a very close internal connection; their unity becomes an actual fact in the period of mass strikes. But is not that simply a result of Russian absolutism? In a state in which every form and expression of the labour movement is forbidden, in which the simplest strike is a political crime, it must logically follow that every economic struggle will become a political one.

Further, when, contrariwise, the first outbreak of the political revolution has drawn after it a general reckoning of the Russian working class with the employers, that is likewise a simple result of the circumstances that the Russian worker has hitherto had a very low standard of life, and has never yet engaged in a single economic struggle for an improvement of his condition. The proletariat in Russia has first, to a certain extent, to work their way out of these miserable conditions, and what wonder that they eagerly availed themselves, with the eagerness of youth, of the first means to that end as soon as the revolution brought the first fresh breeze into the heavy air of absolutism? And finally, the stormy revolutionary course of the Russian mass strike as well as their preponderant spontaneous, elementary character is explained on the one hand by the political backwardness of Russia, by the necessity of first overthrowing the oriental despotism, and on the other hand, by the want of organisation and of discipline of the Russian proletariat. In a country in which the working class has had thirty years experience of political life, a strong Social Democratic party of 3,000,000 members and a quarter of a million picked troops organised in trade unions, neither the political struggle nor the mass strike can possibly assume the same stormy and elementary character as in a semi-barbarous State which has just made the leap from the Middle Ages into

the modern bourgeois order. This is the current conception amongst those who would read the stage of maturity of the social conditions of a country from the text of the written laws.

Let us examine the questions in their order. To begin with it is going the wrong way about the matter to date the beginning of the economic struggle in Russia only from the outbreak of the revolution. As a matter of fact, the strikes and wage disputes in Russia proper were increasingly the order of the day since the nineties of the last century, and in Russian Poland even since the eighties, and had eventually won civic rights for the workers. Of course they were frequently followed by brutal police measures, but nevertheless they were daily phenomena. For example, in both Warsaw and Lodz as early as 1891, there was a considerable strike fund, and the enthusiasm for trade unionism in these years had even created that "economic" illusion in Poland for a short time which a few years later prevailed in Petersburg and the rest of Russia.*

* Comrade Roland-Holst, therefore, commits an error of fact when, in the preface to the Russian edition of her book on the mass strike, she says: "The proletariat in Russia were, almost since the first appearance of large industry, acquainted with the mass strike, for the simple reason that partial strikes proved to be impossible under the political oppression of absolutism" (See *Neue Zeit*, No. 33-1906). The opposite was rather the case. The man who submitted the report of the Petersburg trade union council at the second congress of the Russian trade unions in February 1906, said at the beginning of his report: "By the composition of the conference which I see before me it is not necessary for me to emphasize the fact that our trade union movement is not due to the "Liberal" period of Prince Sviatopolsk-Mirski (in 1906—R.L.) or to January 22nd, as some people endeavour to prove. The trade union movement has much deeper roots: it is indissolubly bound up with the past of our labour movements. Our trade unions are simply new forms of organisation for the direction of those economic struggles which the Russian proletariat have already waged for decades. Without going deeply into history we may say that the economic struggle of the Petersburg workers has assumed more or less organised forms since the memorable strikes of 1896 and 1897. The direction of this struggle is happily combined with the direction of the political struggle, the work of that Social Democratic organisation which was called the 'St. Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class' and which, after the conference in March 1898 became the 'St. Petersburg Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party'. There is a complicated system of factory, district and, suburban organisations created which connect the centres with the working masses by innumerable threads which make it possible to reach the workers on all occasions by means of leaflets. The possibility is thereby created of supporting and directing strikes.

In the same way there is a great deal of exaggeration in the notion that the proletarian in the Czarist empire had the standard of life of a pauper before the revolution. The layer of the workers in large industries in the great towns who had been the most active and jealous in the economic as in the political struggle are, as regards the material conditions of life, on a scarcely lower plane than the corresponding layer of the German proletariat, and in some occupations as high wages are to be met with in Russia as in Germany, and here and there, even higher. And as regards the length of the working day, the difference in the large-scale industries in the two countries is here and there insignificant. The notion of the presumed material and cultural condition of helotry of the Russian working class is similarly without justification in fact. This notion is contradicted as a little reflection will show, by the facts of the revolution itself and the prominent part that was played therein by the proletariat. With paupers no revolution of this political maturity and cleverness of thought can be made, and the industrial workers of St. Petersburg and Warsaw, Moscow and Odessa, who stand in the forefront of the struggle, are culturally and mentally much nearer to the west European type than is imagined by those who regard bourgeois parliamentarism and methodical trade union practice as the indispensable, or even the only, school of culture for the proletariat. The modern large capitalist development of Russia and the intellectual influence, exerted for a decade and a half, of Social Democracy, which has encouraged and directed the economic struggle, have accomplished an important piece of cultural work without the outward guarantees of the bourgeois legal order.

The contrast, however, grows less when, on the other hand, we look a little further into the actual standard of life of the German working class. The great political mass strikes in Russia have from the first aroused the widest layers of the proletariat and thrown them into a feverish economic struggle. But are there not in Germany whole unenlightened sections amongst the workers to which the warm light of the trade unions has hitherto scarcely penetrated, whole layers which up to the present have never attempted, or vainly attempted, to raise themselves out of their social helotry by means of daily wage struggles?

Let us consider *the poverty of the miners*. Already in the quiet working day, in the cold atmosphere of the parliamentary monotony of Germany — as also in other countries, and even in the El Dorado of trade unionism, Great Britain — the wage struggle of the mine work-

ers hardly ever expresses itself in any other way than by violent eruptions from time to time, in mass strikes of typical, elemental character. This only shows that the antagonism between labour and capital is too sharp and violent to allow of its crumbling away in the form of quiet systematic, partial trade union struggles. The misery of the miners, with its eruptive soil which even in "normal" times is a storm-centre of the greatest violence, must immediately explode, in a violent economic socialist struggle, with every great political mass action of the working class, with every violent sudden jerk which disturbs the momentary equilibrium of everyday social life. Let us take further, the case of the *poverty of the textile workers*. Here also the bitter, and for the most part fruitless, outbreaks of the wage struggle which raged through Vogtland⁹ every few years, give but a faint idea of the vehemence with which the great agglomerate mass of helots of trustified textile capital must explode during a political convulsion, during a powerful, daring mass action of the German proletariat. Again let us take the *poverty of the home-workers, of the ready-made clothing workers, of the electricity workers*, veritable storm-centres in which violent economic struggles will be the more certain to break out with every political atmospheric disturbance in Germany, the less frequently the proletariat take up the struggle in tranquil times; and the more unsuccessfully they fight at any time, the more brutally will capital compel them to return, gnashing their teeth to the yoke of slavery.

Now, however, whole great categories of the proletariat have to be taken into account which, in the "normal" course of things in Germany, cannot possibly take part in a peaceful economic struggle for the improvement of their condition and cannot possibly avail themselves of the right of combination. First and foremost we give the example of the glaring poverty of the *railway and the postal employees*. For these government workers there exist Russian conditions in the midst of the parliamentary constitutional State of Germany, that is to say, Russian conditions as they existed only before the revolution, during the untroubled splendour of absolutism. Already in the great October strike of 1905 the Russian railwaymen in the then formally absolutist Russia, were, as regards the economic and social freedom of their movement, head and shoulders above the Germans. The Russian railway and postal employees won the de facto right of combination in the storm, and if momentarily trial upon trial and victimisation were the rule they were powerless to affect the inner unity of the workers. However, it would be an altogether false psychological reckoning if one

were to assume, with the German reaction, that the slavish obedience of the German railway and postal employees will last for ever, that it is a rock which nothing can wear away. When even the German trade union leaders have become accustomed to the existing conditions to such an extent that they, untroubled by an indifference almost without parallel in the whole of Europe, can survey with complete satisfaction the results of the trade union struggle in Germany, then the deep-seated, long-suppressed resentment of the uniformed state slaves will inevitably find vent with a general rising of the industrial workers. And when the industrial vanguard of the proletariat, by means of mass strikes grasp at new political rights or attempts to defend existing ones, the great army of railway and postal employees must of necessity bethink themselves of their own special disgrace, and at last rouse themselves for their liberation from the extra share of Russian absolutism which is specially reserved for them in Germany.

The pedantic conception which would unfold great popular movements according to plan and recipe regards the acquisition of the right of combination for the railway workers as necessary before anyone will "dare to think" of a mass strike in Germany. The actual and natural course of events can only be the opposite of this: only from a spontaneous powerful mass strike action can the right of combination for the German railway workers, as well as for the postal employees actually be born. And the problems which in the existing conditions of Germany are insoluble will suddenly find their solution under the influence and the pressure of a universal political mass action of the proletariat.

And finally, the greatest and most important: *the poverty of the land workers*. If the British trade unions are composed exclusively of industrial workers, that is quite understandable in view of the specific character of the British national economy, and of the unimportant part that agriculture plays, on the whole, in the economic life of Britain. In Germany, a trade union organisation, be it ever so well constructed, if it comprises only industrial workers, and is inaccessible to the great army of land workers, will give only a weak, partial picture of the conditions of the proletariat. But again it would be a fatal illusion to think that conditions in the country are unalterable and immovable and that the indefatigable educational work of the Social Democrats, and still more, the whole internal class politics of Germany, does not continually undermine the outward passivity of the

agricultural workers and that any great general class action of the German proletariat, for whatever object undertaken, may not also draw the rural proletariat into the conflict.

Similarly, the picture of the alleged economic superiority of the German over the Russian proletariat is considerably altered when we look away from the tables of the industries and departments organised in trade unions and bestow a look upon those great groups of the proletariat who are altogether outside the trade union struggle, or whose special economic condition does not allow of their being forced into the narrow frame-work of the daily guerilla warfare of the trade unions. We see there one important sphere after another, in which the sharpening of antagonisms has reached the extreme point, in which inflammable material in abundance is heaped up, in which there is a great deal of "Russian absolutism" in its most naked form and in which economically the most elementary reckonings with capital have first to be made.

In a general political mass strike of the proletariat, then, all these outstanding accounts would inevitably be presented to the prevailing system. An artificially arranged demonstration of the urban proletariat, taking place once, a mere mass strike action arising out of discipline, and directed by the conductor's baton of a party executive, could therefore leave the broad masses of the people cold and indifferent. But a powerful and reckless fighting action of the industrial proletariat, born of a revolutionary situation, must surely react upon the deeper lying layers, and ultimately draw all those into a stormy general economic struggle who, in normal times, stand aside from the daily trade union fight.

But when we come back to the organised vanguard of the German industrial proletariat on the other hand, and keep before our eyes the objects of the economic struggle which have been striven for by the Russian working class, we do not at all find that there is any tendency to look down upon the things of youth, as the oldest German trade unions had reason to do. Thus the most important general demand of the Russian strikes since January 22nd — the eight-hour day — is certainly not an unattainable platform for the German proletariat, but rather in most cases, a beautiful, remote ideal. This applies also to the struggle for the "mastery of the household" platform, to the struggle for the introduction of workers' committees into all the factories, for the abolition of piece-work, for the abolition of home-work in handicraft, for the complete observance of Sunday rest, and for the

recognition of the right of combination. Yes, on closer inspection all the economic objects of struggle of the Russian proletariat are also for the German proletariat very real, and touch a very sore spot in the life of the workers.

It therefore inevitably follows that the pure political mass strike, which is operated with for preference, is, in Germany, a mere lifeless theoretical plan. If the mass strikes result, in a natural way from a strong revolutionary ferment, in a determined political struggle of the urban workers, they will equally naturally, exactly as in Russia, change into a whole period of elementary, economic struggles. The fears of the trade union leaders, therefore, that the struggle for economic interests in a period of stormy political strife, in a period of mass strikes, can simply be pushed aside and suppressed, rest upon an utterly baseless, schoolboy conception of the course of events. A revolutionary period in Germany would so alter the character of the trade union struggle and develop its potentialities to such an extent that the present guerilla warfare of the trade unions would be child's play in comparison. And on the other hand, from this elementary economic tempest of mass strikes, the political struggle would derive always new impetus and fresh strength. The reciprocal action of economic and political struggle, which is the main-spring of present-day strikes in Russia, and at the same time the regulating mechanism, so to speak of the revolutionary action of the proletariat, would result also in Germany, and quite as naturally, from the conditions themselves.



CHAPTER VI

CO-OPERATION OF ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED WORKERS NECESSARY FOR VICTORY

IN connection with this, the question of organization in relation to the problem of the mass strike in Germany assumes an essentially different aspect.

The attitude of many trade union leaders to this question is generally summed up in the assertion: "We are not yet strong enough to risk such a hazardous trial of strength as a mass strike." Now this position is so far untenable that it is an insoluble problem to determine the time, in a peaceful fashion by counting heads, when the proletariat are "strong enough" for any struggle. Thirty years ago the German trade unions had 50,000 members. That was obviously a number with which a mass strike on the above scale was not to be thought of. Fifteen years later the trade unions were four times as strong, and counted 237,000 members. If, however, the present trade union leaders had been asked at the time if the organisation of the proletariat was then sufficiently ripe for a mass strike, they would assuredly have replied that it was still far from it and that the number of those organised in trade unions would first have to be counted by millions. Today the number of trade unionists already runs into the second million, but the views of the leaders are still exactly the same, and may very well be the same to the end. The tacit assumption is that the entire working class of Germany, down to the last man and the last woman, must be included in the organisation before it "is strong enough" to risk a mass action, which then, according to the old formula would probably be represented as "superfluous." This theory is nevertheless absolutely Utopian, for the simple reason that it suffers from an internal contradiction, that it goes in a vicious circle. Before the workers can engage in any direct class struggle they must all be organised. The circumstances, the conditions, of capitalist development and of the bourgeois State, make it impossible that, in the normal course of things, without stormy class struggles, certain sections — and these the greatest, the most important, the lowest and the most oppressed by capital, and by the State — can be organised at all. We see even in Britain, which has had a whole century of indefatigable trade union effort without any "disturbances"— except at the beginning in the period of the Chartist movement — without any "romantic revolutionary" errors or temptations, it has not been possible to do more

than organise a minority of the better-paid sections of the proletariat.

On the other hand the trade unions, like all fighting organisations of the proletariat, cannot permanently maintain themselves in any other way than by struggle, and that no struggles of the same kind as the war between the frogs and the mice¹⁰ in the stagnant waters of the bourgeois parliamentary period, but struggle in the troubled revolutionary periods of the mass strike. The rigid, mechanical-bureaucratic conception cannot conceive of the struggle save as the product of organisation at a certain stage of its strength. On the contrary the living, dialectical explanation makes the organisation arise as product of the struggle. We have already seen a grandiose example of this phenomenon in Russia, where a proletariat almost wholly unorganised created a comprehensive network of organisational appendages in a year and a half of stormy revolutionary struggle. Another example of this kind is furnished by the history of the German unions. In the year 1878 the number of trade union members amounted to 50,000. According to the theory of the present day trade union leaders this organisation, as stated above, was not nearly "strong enough" to enter upon a violent political struggle. The German trade unions however, weak as they were at the time, did take up the struggle — namely the struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law¹¹ — and showed that they were "strong enough", not only to emerge victorious from the struggle, but to increase their strength five-fold; in 1891, after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Laws, their membership was 277,659. It is true that the methods by which the trade unions conquered in the struggle against the Anti-Socialist Laws, do not correspond to the ideal of a peaceful, bee-like, uninterrupted process; they first went into the fight absolutely in ruins, to rise again on the next wave and to be born anew. But this is precisely the specific method of growth corresponding to the proletarian class organisations: to be tested in the struggle and to go forth from the struggle with increased strength.

On a closer examination of German conditions and of the condition of the different sections of the working class, it is clear that the coming period of stormy political mass struggles will not bring the dreaded, threatening downfall of the German trade unions, but on the contrary, will open up hitherto unsuspected prospects of the extension of their sphere of power — an extension that will proceed rapidly by leaps and bounds. But the question has still another aspect. The plan of undertaking mass strikes as a serious political class action with organised workers only is absolutely hopeless. If the mass strike, or rather, mass strikes, and the mass struggle are to be successful

they must become a real *people's movement*, that is, the widest sections of the proletariat must be drawn into the fight. Already in the parliamentary form the might of the proletarian class struggle rests not on the small organised group, but on the surrounding periphery of the revolutionary-minded proletariat. If the Social Democrats were to enter the electoral battle with their few hundred thousand organised members alone they would condemn themselves to futility. And although it is the tendency of Social Democracy wherever possible to draw the whole great army of its voters into the party organisation its mass of voters after thirty years experience of Social Democracy, is not increased through the growth of the party organisation, but on the contrary, the new sections of the proletariat, won for the time being through the electoral struggle, are the fertile soil for the subsequent seed of organisation. Here the organisation does not supply the troops for the struggle, but the struggle, in an ever growing degree, supplies recruits for the organisation. In a much greater degree does this obviously apply to direct political mass action than to the Parliamentary struggle. If the Social Democrats, as the organised nucleus of the working class, are the most important vanguard of the entire body of the workers and if the political clarity, the strength, and the unity of the labour movement flow from this organisation, then it is not permissible to visualize the class movement of the proletariat as a movement of the organised minority. Every real, great class struggle must rest upon the support and co-operation of the widest masses, and a strategy of class struggle which does not reckon with this co-operation, which is based upon the idea of the finely stage-managed march out of the small well-trained part of the proletariat is foredoomed to be a miserable fiasco.

Mass strikes, and political mass struggles cannot, therefore, possibly be carried through in Germany by the organised workers alone, nor can they be appraised by regular "direction" from the central committee of a party. In this case, again — exactly as in Russia — they depend not so much upon "discipline" and "training" and upon the most careful possible regulation beforehand of the questions of support and cost, as upon a real revolutionary, determined class action, which will be able to win and draw into the struggle the widest circles of the unorganised workers, according to their mood and their conditions.

The over-estimate and the false estimate of the role of organisations in the class struggle of the proletariat is generally reinforced, by the under-estimate of the unorganised proletarian mass and of their political maturity. In a revolutionary period, in the storm of great

unsettling class struggles, the whole educational effect of the rapid capitalist development and of Social Democratic influences first shows itself upon the widest sections of the people, of which, in peaceful times the tables of the organised, and even election statistics, give only a faint idea.

We have seen that in Russia, in about two years a great general action of the proletariat can forthwith arise from the smallest partial conflict of the workers with the employers, from the most insignificant act of brutality of the government organs. Everyone, of course, sees and believes that, because in Russia "the revolution" is there. But what does that mean? It means that class feeling, the class instinct, is alive and very active in the Russian proletariat, so that immediately they regard every partial question of any small group of workers as a general question, as a class affair, and quick as lightning they react to its influence as a unity. While in Germany, France, Italy and Holland the most violent trade union conflicts call forth hardly any general action of the working class — and when they do, only the organised part of the workers moves — in Russia the smallest dispute raises a storm. That means nothing else however, than that at present paradoxical as it may sound — the class instinct of the youngest, least trained, badly educated and still worse organised Russian proletariat is immeasurably stronger than that of the organised, trained and enlightened working class of Germany or of any other West European country. And that is not to be reckoned a special virtue of the "young, unexhausted East" as compared with the "sluggish West", but is simply a result of direct revolutionary mass action. In the case of the enlightened German worker the class-consciousness implanted by the Social Democrats is *theoretical and latent*: in the period ruled by bourgeois parliamentarism it cannot, as a rule, actively participate in a direct mass action: it is the ideal sum of the four hundred parallel actions of the electoral sphere during the election struggle, of the many partial economic strikes and the like. In the revolution when the masses themselves appear upon the political battle field this class-consciousness becomes *practical and active*. A year of revolution has therefore given the Russian proletariat that "training" which thirty years of parliamentary and trade union struggle cannot artificially give to the German proletariat. Of course, this living, active class feeling of the proletariat will considerably diminish in intensity, or rather change into a concealed and latent condition, after the close of the period of revolution and the erection of a bourgeois-parliamentary constitutional State. And just as surely, on the other hand, will the

living revolutionary class feeling, capable of action, affect the widest and deepest layers of the proletariat in Germany in a period of strong political engagement, and that the more rapidly and more deeply, the more energetically the educational work of Social Democracy is carried on amongst them. This educational work and the provocative and revolutionizing effect of the whole present policy of Germany will express itself in the circumstances that all those groups which at present in their apparent political stupidity remain insensitive to all the organising attempts of the Social Democrats and of the trade unions will suddenly follow the flag of Social Democracy in a serious revolutionary period. Six months of a revolutionary period will complete the work of the training of these as yet unorganised masses which ten years of public demonstrations and distribution of leaflets would be unable to do. And when conditions in Germany have reached the critical stage for such a period, the sections which are today unorganised and backward will, in the struggle, prove themselves the most radical, the most impetuous element, and not one that will have to be dragged along. If it should come to mass strikes in Germany, it will almost certainly not be the best organised workers — and most certainly not the printers — who will develop the greatest capacity for action, but the worst organised or totally unorganised — the miners, the textile workers, and perhaps even the land workers.

In this way we arrive at the same conclusions in Germany in relation to the peculiar tasks of *direction*, in relation to the role of Social Democracy in mass strikes, as in our analysis of events in Russia. If we now leave the pedantic scheme of demonstrative mass strikes artificially brought about by order of parties and trade unions, and turn to the living picture of a peoples' movement arising with elementary energy, from the culmination of class antagonisms and the political situation — a movement which passes, politically as well as economically, into mass struggles and mass strikes — it becomes obvious that the task of Social Democracy does not consist in the technical preparation and direction of mass strikes, but, first and foremost, in the *political leadership* of the whole movement.

The Social Democrats are the most enlightened, most class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat. They cannot and dare not wait, in a fatalist fashion, with folded arms for the advent of the "revolutionary situation," to wait for that which in every spontaneous peoples' movement, falls from the clouds. On the contrary, they must now, as always, hasten the development of things and endeavour to accelerate events. This they cannot do, however, by suddenly issuing the

“slogan” for a mass strike at random at any odd moment, but first and foremost, by making clear to the widest layers of the proletariat the *inevitable advent* of this revolutionary period, the inner *social factors* making for it and the *political consequences* of it. If the widest proletarian layer should be won for a political mass action of the Social Democrats, and if vice-versa, the Social Democrats should seize and maintain the real leadership of a mass movement, should they become, in a *political sense*, the rulers of the whole movement then they must, with the utmost clearness, consistency and resoluteness, inform the German proletariat of their tactics and aims in the period of coming struggle.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF THE MASS STRIKE IN THE REVOLUTION

We have seen that the mass strike in Russia does not represent an artificial product of premeditated tactics on the part of the Social Democrats, but a natural historical phenomenon on the basis of the present revolution. Now what are the factors which in Russia have brought forth this new phenomenal form of the revolution?

The Russian revolution has for its next task the abolition of absolutism and the creation of a modern bourgeois-parliamentary constitutional state. It is exactly the same in form as that which confronted Germany at the March revolution, and France at the great revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. But the condition, the historical milieu, in which these formally analogous revolutions took place, are fundamentally different from those of present-day Russia. The most decisive difference is the circumstances that between those bourgeois revolutions of the West and the present bourgeois revolution in the East, the whole cycle of capitalist development has run its course. And this development had seized not only the West European countries, but also absolutist Russia. Large-scale industry with all its consequences — modern class divisions, sharp social contrasts, modern life in large cities and the modern proletariat — has become in Russia the prevailing form, that is, in social development the decisive form of production. The remarkable, contradictory, historical situation results from this that the bourgeois revolution, in accordance with its formal tasks will, in the first place, be carried out by a modern class-conscious proletariat, and in an international milieu whose distinguishing characteristic is the ruin of bourgeois democracy. It is not the bourgeoisie that is now the leading revolutionary element as in the earlier revolutions of the West, while the proletarian masses, disorganised amongst the petit-bourgeoisie, furnishes material for the army of the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, it is the class-conscious proletariat that is the leading and driving element, while the big-bourgeois sections are partly directly counter-revolutionary, partly weakly Liberal, and only the rural petit-bourgeoisie and the urban petit-bourgeois intelligentsia are definitely oppositional and even revolutionary minded. The Russian proletariat, however, who are destined to play the leading part in the bourgeois revolution, enters the fight free from all illusions of bourgeois democracy, with a strongly deve-

loped consciousness of their own specific class interests, and at a time when the antagonism between capital and labour has reached its height. This contradictory situation finds expression in the fact that in this formally bourgeois revolution, the antagonism of the bourgeois society to absolutism is governed by the antagonism of the proletariat to bourgeois society, that the struggle of the proletariat is directed simultaneously and with equal energy against both absolutism and capitalist exploitation, and that the programme of the revolutionary struggle concentrates with equal emphasis on political freedom, the winning of the eight-hour day, and a human standard of material existence for the proletariat. This two-fold character of the Russian revolution is expressed in that close union of the economic with the political struggle and in their mutual interaction which we have seen is a feature of the Russian events and which finds its appropriate expression in the mass strike.

In the earlier bourgeois revolutions where on the one hand, the political training and the leadership of the revolutionary masses were undertaken by the bourgeois parties, and where on the other hand, it was merely a question of overthrowing the old government, the brief battle at the barricades was the appropriate form of the revolutionary struggle. Today, when the working classes are being enlightened in the course of the revolutionary struggle, when they must marshal their forces and lead themselves, and when the revolution is directed as much against the old State power as against capitalist exploitation, the mass strike appears as the natural means of recruiting the widest proletarian layers for the struggle, as well as being at the same time a means of undermining and overthrowing the old state power and of stemming capitalist exploitation. The urban industrial proletariat is now the soul of the revolution in Russia. But in order to carry through a direct political struggle as a mass, the proletariat must first be assembled as a mass, and for this purpose they must come out of factory and workshop, mine and foundry, must overcome the levigation and the decay to which they are condemned under the daily yoke of capitalism. The mass strike is the first natural, impulsive form of every great revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the more highly developed the antagonism is between capital and labour, the more effective and decisive must mass strikes become. The chief form of previous bourgeois revolutions, the fight at the barricades, the open conflict with the armed power of the state, is in the revolution of today only the culminating point, only a moment on the process of the proletarian mass struggle. And therewith in the new form of the revo-

lution there is reached that civilizing and mitigating of the class struggle which was prophesied by the opportunists of German Social Democracy—the Bernsteins, Davids, etc. It is true that these men saw the desired civilizing and mitigating of the class struggle in the light of petit-bourgeois-democratic illusions—they believed that the class struggle would shrink to an exclusively parliamentary contest and that street fighting would simply be done away with. History has found the solution in a deeper and finer fashion: in the advent of revolutionary mass strikes, which, of course, in no way replaces brutal street fights or renders them unnecessary, but which reduces them to a moment in the long period of political struggle, and which at the same time unites with the revolutionary period an enormous cultural work in the most exact sense of the words: the material and intellectual elevation of the whole working class through the “civilising” of the barbaric forms of capitalist exploitation.

The mass strike is thus shown to be not a specifically Russian product, springing from absolutism but a universal form of the proletarian class struggle resulting from the present stage of capitalist development and class relations. From this standpoint the three bourgeois revolutions—the great French revolution, the German revolution of March,* and the present Russian revolution—form a continuous chain of development in which the fortunes and the end of the capitalist century are to be seen. In the great French revolution the still wholly underdeveloped internal contradictions of bourgeois society gave scope for a long period of violent struggles, in which all the antagonisms which first germinated and ripened in the heat of the revolution raged unhindered and unrestrained in a spirit of reckless radicalism. A century later the revolution of the German bourgeoisie, which broke out midway in the development of capitalism, was already hampered on both sides by the antagonism of interests and the equilibrium of strength between capital and labour, and was smothered in a bourgeois-feudal compromise, and shortened to a brief miserable episode ending in words. Another half century, and the present Russian revolution stands at a point of the historical path which is already over the summit, which is on the other side of the culminating point of capitalist society, at which the bourgeois revolution cannot again be smothered by the antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, but, will, on the contrary, expand into a new lengthy period of violent social struggles, at which the balancing of the account with absolutism

* 1848—Ed.

appears a trifle in comparison with the many new accounts which the revolution itself opens up. The present revolution realizes in the particular affairs of absolutist Russia the general results of international capitalist development, and appears not so much as the last successor of the old bourgeois revolutions as the forerunner of the new series of proletarian revolutions of the West. The most backward country of all, just because it has been so unpardonably late with its bourgeois revolution shows ways and methods of further class struggle to the proletariat of Germany and the most advanced capitalist countries.

Accordingly it appears when looked at in this way, to be entirely wrong to regard the Russian revolution as a fine play, as something specifically "Russian," and at best to admire the heroism of the fighting men, that is, the last accessories of the struggle. It is much more important that the German workers should learn to look upon the Russian revolution *as their own affair*, not merely as a matter of international solidarity with the Russian proletariat, but first and foremost, as a *chapter of their own social and political history*. Those trade union leaders and parliamentarians who regard the German proletariat as "too weak" and German conditions "as not ripe enough" for revolutionary mass struggles, have obviously not the least idea that the measure of the degree of ripeness of class relations in Germany and of the power of the proletariat does not lie in the statistics of German trade unionism or in election figures, but — in the events of the Russian revolution. Exactly as the ripeness of French class antagonisms under the July monarchy and the June battle of Paris was reflected in the German March revolution, in its course and its fiasco, so today the ripeness of German class antagonisms is reflected in the events and in the power of the Russian revolution. And while the bureaucrats of the German labour movement rummage in their office drawers for information as to their strength and maturity, they do not see that for which they seek is lying before their eyes in a great historical revolution, because, historically considered, the Russian revolution is a reflex of the power and the maturity of the international, and therefore in the first place, of the German labour movement.

It would therefore be a too pitiable and grotesquely insignificant result of the Russian revolution if the German proletariat should merely draw from it the lesson — as is desired by Comrades Frohme, Elm, and others — of using the extreme form of the struggle, the mass strike, and so weaken themselves as to be merely a reserve force in the

event of the withdrawal of the parliamentary vote, and therefore a passive means of parliamentary defensive. When the parliamentary vote is taken from us there we will resist. That is a self-evident decision. But for this it is not necessary to adopt the heroic pose of a Danton as was done, for example by Comrade Elm in Jena; because the defence of the modest measure of parliamentary right already possessed is less a heaven-storming innovation, for which the frightful hecatombs of the Russian revolution were first necessary as a means of encouragement, than the simplest and first duty of every opposition party. But the mere defensive can never exhaust the policy of the proletariat, in a period of revolution. And if it is, on the one hand, difficult to predict with any degree of certainty whether the destruction of universal suffrage would cause a situation in Germany which would call forth an immediate mass strike action, so on the other hand, it is absolutely certain that when we in Germany enter upon the period of stormy mass actions, it will be impossible for the Social Democrats to base their tactics, upon a mere parliamentary defensive. To fix beforehand the cause and the moment from and in which the mass strikes in Germany will break out is not in the power of Social Democracy, because it is not in its power to bring about historical situations by resolutions at party congresses. But what it can and must do is to make clear the political tendencies, when they once appear, and to formulate them as a resolute and consistent tactics. Man cannot keep historical events in check while making recipes for them, but he can see in advance their apparently calculable consequences and arrange his mode of action accordingly.

The first threatening political danger with which the German proletariat have concerned themselves for a number of years, is a coup d'état of the reaction which will wrest from the wide masses of the people the most important political right—universal suffrage. In spite of the immense importance of this possible event it is, as we have already said, impossible to assert with certainty that an open popular movement would immediately break out after the coup d'état, because today innumerable circumstances and factors have to be taken into account. But when we consider the present extreme acuteness of conditions in Germany, and on the other hand, the manifold international reactions of the Russian revolution and of the future rejuvenated Russia, it is clear that the collapse of German politics which would ensue from the repeal of universal suffrage could not alone call a halt to the struggle for this right. This coup d'état would rather draw after it, in a longer or shorter period and with elementary power, a

great general political reckoning of the insurgent and awakened mass of the people—a reckoning with bread usury, with artificially caused dearness of meat, with expenditure on a boundless militarism and “navalism”, with the corruption of colonial policy, with the national disgrace of the Königsberg trial¹², with the cessation of social reform, with the discharging of railway workers, the postal officials and the land workers, with the tricking and mocking of the miners, with the judgement of Lobtau and the whole system of class justice, with the brutal lock-out system—in short with the whole thirty-year-old oppression of the combined dominion of Junkerdom¹³ and large trustified capital.

But if once the ball is set rolling then Social Democracy, whether it wills it or not, can never again bring it to a standstill. The opponents of the mass strike are in the habit of denying that the lessons and examples of the Russian revolution can be a criterion for Germany because, in the first place, in Russia the great step must first be taken from an Oriental despotism to a modern bourgeois legal order. The formal distance between the old and the new political order is said to be a sufficient explanation of the vehemence and the violence of the revolution in Russia. In Germany we have long had the most necessary forms and guarantees of a constitutional State, from which it follows that such an elementary raging of social antagonisms is impossible here. Those who speculate thus forget that in Germany when it once comes to the outbreak of open political struggles, even the historically determined goal will be quite different from that in Russia today. Precisely because the bourgeois legal order in Germany has existed for a long time, because therefore, it has had time to completely exhaust itself and to draw to an end, because bourgeois democracy and liberalism have had time to die out—because of this there can no longer be any talk of a *bourgeois* revolution in Germany. And therefore in a period of open political popular struggles in Germany the last historical necessary goal can only be the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. The distance, however, of this task from the present conditions of Germany is still greater than that of the bourgeois legal order from Oriental despotism, and therefore, the task cannot be completed at one stroke, but must similarly be accomplished during a long period of gigantic social struggles.

But is there not a gross contradiction in the picture we have drawn? On the one hand it means that in an eventual future period of political mass action the most backward layers of the German prole-

tariat — the land workers, the railwaymen, and the postal slaves — will first of all win the right of combination, and that the worst excrescences of exploitation must first be removed, and on the other hand, the political task of this period is said to be the conquest of power by the proletariat! On the one hand, economic, trade union struggles for the most immediate interests, for the material elevation of the working class; on the other hand, the ultimate goal of Social Democracy! Certainly these are great contradictions, but they are not contradictions due to our reasoning, but contradictions due to capitalist development. It does not proceed in a beautiful straight line but in a lightning-like zigzag. Just as the various capitalist countries represent the most varied stages of development, so within each country the different layers of the same working class are represented. But history does not wait patiently till the backward countries, and the most advanced layers have joined together so that the whole mass can move symmetrically forward like a compact column. It brings the best prepared parts to explosion as soon as conditions there are ripe for it, and then in the storm of the revolutionary period, lost ground is recovered, unequal things are equalized, and the whole pace of social progress changed at one stroke to the double-quick.

Just as in the Russian revolution all the grades of development and all the interests of the different layers of workers are united in the Social Democratic programme of the revolution, and the innumerable partial struggles united in the great common class action of the proletariat, so will it also be in Germany when the conditions are ripe for it. And the task of Social Democracy will then be to regulate its tactics, not by the most backward phases of development but by the most advanced.

CHAPTER VIII

NEED FOR UNITED ACTION OF TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

THE most important desideratum which is to be hoped for from the German working class in the period of great struggles which will come sooner or later is, after complete resoluteness and consistency of tactics, the utmost capacity for action, and therefore the utmost possible unity of the leading Social Democratic part of the proletarian masses. Meanwhile the first weak attempts at the preparation of great mass actions have discovered a serious drawback in this connection: the total separation and independence of the two organizations of the labour movement, the Social Democracy and the trade unions.

It is clear on a closer consideration of the mass strikes in Russia as well as of the conditions in Germany itself, that any great mass action, if it is not confined to a mere one-day demonstration, but is intended to be a real fighting action, cannot possibly be thought of as a so-called political mass strike. In such an action in Germany the trade unions would be implicated as much as the Social Democrats. Not because the trade union leaders imagine that the Social Democrats, in view of their smaller organisation, would have no other resources than the co-operation of one and a quarter million trade unionists and without them would be unable to do anything, but because of a much more deep-lying motive: because every direct mass action of the period of open class struggles would be at the same time both political and economic. If in Germany, from any cause and at any time, it should come to great political struggles, to mass strikes, then at that time an era of violent trade union struggles would begin in Germany, and events would not stop to inquire whether the trade union leaders had given their consent to the movement or not. Whether they stand aside or endeavour to resist the movement, the result of their attitude will only be that the trade union leaders, like the party leaders in the analogous case, will simply be swept aside by the rush of events, and the economic and the political struggles of the masses will be fought out without them.

As a matter of fact the separation of the political and the economic struggle and the independence of each is nothing but an artificial product of the Parliamentary period, even if historically determined. On the one hand in the peaceful, "normal" course of bourgeois society, the economic struggle is split into a multitude of individual struggles

in every undertaking and dissolved in every branch of production. On the other hand the political struggle is not directed by the masses themselves in a direct action, but in correspondence with the form of the bourgeois state, in a representative fashion, by the presence of legislative representation. As soon as a period of revolutionary struggles commences, that is, as soon as the masses appear upon the scene of conflict, the breaking up of the economic struggle into many parts, as well as the indirect parliamentary form of the political struggle ceases; in a revolutionary mass action the political and the economic struggle are one, and the artificial boundary between trade union and Social Democracy as two separate, wholly independent forms of the labour movement, is simply swept away. But what finds concrete expression in the revolutionary mass movement finds expression also in the parliamentary period as an actual state of affairs. There are not two different class struggles of the working class, an economic and a political one, but only *one* class struggle, which aims at one and the same time at the limitation of capitalist exploitation within bourgeois society, and at the abolition of exploitation together with bourgeois society itself.

When these two sides of the class struggle are separated from one another for technical reasons in the parliamentary period, there they do not form two parallel concurrent actions, but merely two phases, two stages of the struggle for emancipation of the working class. The trade union struggle embraces the immediate interests, and the Social Democratic struggle the future interests, of the labour movement. The Communist, says the *Communist Manifesto*, represent, as against various group interests, national or local, of the proletariat, the common interests of the proletariat as a whole, and in the various stages of development of the class struggle, they represent the interests of the whole movement, that is, the ultimate goal—the liberation of the proletariat. The trade unions represent only the group interests and only one stage of development of the labour movement. Social Democracy represents the working class and the cause of its liberation as a whole. The relation of the trade unions to Social Democracy is therefore a part of the whole, and when, amongst the trade union leaders, the theory of “equal authority” of trade unions and Social Democracy finds so much favour, it rests upon a fundamental misconception of the essence of trade unionism itself and of its role in the general struggle for freedom of the working class.

This theory of the parallel action of Social Democracy and the trade unions and of their “equal authority”, is nevertheless not alto-

gather without foundation, but has its historical roots. It rests upon the illusion of the peaceful "normal" period of bourgeois society, in which the political struggle of Social Democracy appears to be consumed in the parliamentary struggle. The parliamentary struggle, however, the counterpart of the trade union struggle, is equally with it, a fight conducted exclusively on the basis of the bourgeois social order. It is by its very nature, political reform work, as that of the trade unions is economic reform work. It represents political work for the present, as trade unions represent economic work for the present. It is, like them, merely a phase, a stage of development in the complete process of the proletarian class struggle whose ultimate goal is as far beyond the parliamentary struggle as it is beyond the trade union struggle. The parliamentary struggle is, in relation to Social Democratic policy also a part of the whole exactly as trade union work is. Social Democracy today comprises the parliamentary and the trade union struggle in one class struggle aiming at the abolition of the bourgeois social order.

The theory of the "equal authority" or trade unions and Social Democracy is likewise not a mere theoretical misunderstanding, not a mere case of confusion but an expression of the well-known tendency of that opportunist wing of Social Democracy which reduces the political struggle of the working class to the parliamentary contest, and desires to change Social Democracy from a revolutionary proletarian party into a petit-bourgeois reform one.* If Social Democracy should accept the theory of the "equal authority" of the trade unions it would thereby accept, indirectly and tacitly, that transformation which has

* As the existence of such a tendency within German Social Democracy is generally denied, one must be grateful for the candour with which the opportunist trend has recently formulated its real aims and wishes. At a party meeting in Mayence on September 1st, 1906, the following resolution, proposed by Dr. David was carried.

"Whereas the Social Democratic Party interprets the term 'revolution' not in the sense of violent overthrow but in the peaceful sense of development, that is, the gradual realization of a new economic principle, the public party meeting at Mayence repudiates every kind of 'revolutionary romance'.

"The meeting sees in the conquest of political power nothing but the winning over of the majority of the people to the ideas and demands of the Social Democracy; a conquest which cannot be achieved by means of violence, but only by the revolutionizing of the mind by means of intellectual propaganda and practical reform work in all spheres of political, economic and social life.

"In the conviction that Social Democracy flourishes far better when it employs legal means than when it relies on illegal means and revolution, the meeting repudiates 'Direct Mass Action' as a tactical principle, and holds fast to the principle of 'Parliamentary reform action', that is, it desires that the Party in the future as in the past, shall earnestly endeavour to achieve its aims by legislation and gradual development.

long been striven for by the representatives of the opportunist tendency.

In Germany, however, there is such a shifting of relations within the labour movement as is impossible in any other country. The theoretical conception according to which the trade unions are merely a part of Social Democracy, finds its classic expression in Germany in fact, in actual practice, and that in three directions. First, the German trade unions are a direct product of Social Democracy; it was Social Democracy which created the beginnings of the present trade union movement in Germany and which enabled it to attain such great dimensions, and it is Social Democracy which supplies it to this day with its leaders and the most active promoters of its organisation. Second, the German trade unions are a product of Social Democracy also in the sense that Social Democratic teaching is the soul of trade union practice, as the trade unions owe their superiority over all bourgeois and denominational trade unions to the idea of the class struggle; their practical success, their power, are a result of the circumstance that their practice is illuminated by the theory of scientific Socialism and they are thereby raised above the level of a narrow-minded Socialism. The strength of the "practical policy" of the German trade unions lies in their insight into the deeper social and economic connections of the capitalist system, but they owe this insight—entirely to the theory of scientific Socialism upon which their practice is based. Viewed in this way, any attempt to emancipate the trade unions from the Social Democratic theory in favour of some other "trade union theory" opposed to Social Democracy, is from the standpoint of the trade unions themselves and of their future, nothing but an attempt to commit suicide. The separation of trade union practice from the theory of scientific Socialism would mean to the German trade unions the immediate loss of all their superiority

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"The indispensable condition for this reformist method of struggle is that *the possibility of participation of the dispossessed masses of the people in the legislation of the Empire and of the individual States shall not be lessened but increased to the fullest possible extent.* For this reason, the meeting declares it to be an incontestable right of the working class to withhold their labour for a longer or shorter period to ward off attacks on their legal rights and to gain further rights, when all other means fail.

"But as the political mass strike can only be victoriously carried through when kept within *strictly legal limits* and when the strikes give no reasonable excuse to the authorities to resort to armed force, the meeting perceives the only necessary and real preparation for the exercise of this method of struggle in the further extension of the political, trade union and co-operative organizations. Because only in this way can the conditions be created amongst the wide masses of the people which can guarantee the successful prosecution of a mass strike: conscious discipline and adequate economic support."

over all kinds of bourgeois trade unions, and their fall from their present height to the level of unsteady groping and mere dull empiricism.

Thirdly and finally, the trade unions are, although their leaders have gradually lost sight of the fact, even as regards their numerical strength, a direct product of the Social Democratic movement and the Social Democratic agitation. It is true that in many districts trade union agitation precedes Social Democratic agitation, and that everywhere trade union work prepares the way for party work. From the point of view of effect, party and trade unions assist each other to the fullest extent. But when the picture of the class struggle in Germany is looked at as a whole, and its more deep-seated associations, the proportions are considerably altered. Many trade union leaders are in the habit of looking down triumphantly from the proud height of their membership of one and a quarter millions on the miserable, organised members of the Social Democratic Party, not yet half a million strong, and of recalling the time, ten or twelve years ago, when those in the ranks of Social Democracy were pessimistic as to the prospects of trade union development. They do see that between these two things—the large number of organised trade unionists and the small number of organised Social Democrats—*there exists in a certain degree a direct causal connection.* Thousands and thousands of workers do not join the party organisations precisely because they join the trade unions. According to the theory all the workers must be doubly organised, must attend two kinds of meetings, pay double contributions, read two kinds of workers' papers, etc. But for this it is necessary to have a higher standard of intelligence and of that idealism which, from a pure feeling of duty to the labour movement, is prepared for the daily sacrifice of time and money, and finally, a higher standard of that passionate interest in the actual life of the Party which can only be engendered by membership of the party organisation. All this is true of the most enlightened and intelligent minority of Social Democratic workers in the large towns, where party life is full and attractive and where the workers' standard of living is high. Amongst the wider sections of the working masses in the large towns, however, as well as in the provinces, in the smaller and the smallest towns where local political life is not an independent thing but a mere reflex of the course of events in the capital, where consequently, party life is poor and monotonous, and where finally, the economic standard of life of the workers is, for the most part, miserable, it is very difficult to secure the double form of organisation.

For the Social Democratically-minded worker from the masses the question will be solved by this joining his trade union. The immediate interests of his economic struggle which are conditioned by the nature of the struggle itself cannot be advanced in any other way than by membership of a trade union organisation. The contribution which he pays, often amidst considerable sacrifice of his standard of living, bring him immediate, visible results. His Social Democratic inclinations, however, enable him to participate in various kinds of work without belonging to a special party organisation; by voting at parliamentary elections, by attendance at Social Democratic public meetings, by following the reports of Social Democratic speeches in representative bodies, and by reading the party press. Compare in this connection the number of Social Democratic electors or the number of subscribers to *Vorwärts* with the number of organised party members in Berlin! And what is most decisive, the Social Democratically-minded average worker who, as a simple man can have no understanding of the intricate and fine "two-soul theory" so-called, feels that he is, even in the trade union *Social Democratically* organised. Although the central committees of the unions have no official party label, the workman from the masses in every city and town sees at the head of his trade union as the most active leaders, those colleagues whom he knows also as comrades and Social Democrats in public life, now as Reichstag, Landtag or local representatives, now as trusted men of the Social Democracy, members of election committees, party editors and secretaries, or merely as speakers and agitators. Further, he hears expressed in the agitational work of his trade union much the same ideas, pleasing and intelligible to him, of capitalist exploitation, class relations, etc., as those that have come to him from Social Democratic agitation. Indeed, the most and best loved of the speakers at trade union meetings are those same Social Democrats.

Thus everything combines to give the average class-conscious worker the feeling that he, in being organised in his trade union, is also a member of his labour party and is Social Democratically organised, *and therein lies the peculiar recruiting strength of the German trade unions*. Not because of the appearance of neutrality, but because of the Social Democratic reality of their being, have the central unions been enabled to attain their present strength. This is simply through the co-existence of the various unions — Catholic, Hirsch-Dunker¹⁴, etc.—founded by bourgeois parties by which it was sought to establish the necessity for that political "neutrality". When the German

worker who has full freedom of choice to attach himself to a Christian, Catholic, Evangelical or Free-thinking trade union, chooses none of these but the "free trade union" instead, or leaves one of the former to join the latter, he does so only because he considers that the central unions are the avowed organisations of the modern class struggle, or, what is the same thing in Germany, that they are Social Democratic trade unions. In a word the appearance of "neutrality," which exists in the minds of many trade union leaders, does not exist for the mass of organised trade unionists. And that is the good fortune of the trade union movement. If the appearance of "neutrality", that alienation and separation of the trade unions from Social Democracy, really and truly becomes a reality in the eyes of the proletarian masses, then the trade unions would immediately lose all their advantages over competing bourgeois unions, and therewith their recruiting power, their living fire. This is conclusively proved by facts which are generally known. The appearance of party-political "neutrality" of the trade unions could, as a means of attraction, render inestimable service in a country in which Social Democracy itself has no credit among the masses, in which the odium attaching a workers' organisation injures it in the eyes of the masses rather than advantages it — where, in a word, the trade unions must first of all recruit their troops from a wholly unenlightened, bourgeois-minded mass.

The best example of such a country was, throughout the whole of the last century, and is to a certain extent today — Great Britain. In Germany, however, party relations are altogether different. In a country in which Social Democracy is the most powerful political party, in which its recruiting power is represented by an army of over three million proletarians, it is ridiculous to speak of the deterrent effect of Social Democracy and of the necessity for a fighting organisation of the workers to ensure political neutrality. The mere comparison of the figures of Social Democratic voters with the figures of the trade union organisations in Germany is sufficient to prove to the most simple-minded that the trade unions in Germany do not, as in England, draw their troops from the unenlightened bourgeois-minded mass, but from the mass of proletarians already aroused by the Social Democracy and won by it to the idea of the class struggle. Many trade union leaders indignantly reject the idea — a requisite of the "theory of neutrality"— and regard the trade unions as a recruiting school for Social Democracy. This apparently insulting, but in reality, highly flattering presumption is in Germany reduced to mere fancy by the circum-

stance that the positions are reversed; it is the Social Democracy which is the recruiting school for the trade unions. Moreover, if the organisational work of the trade unions is for the most part of a very difficult and troublesome kind it is, with the exception of a few cases and some districts, not merely because on the whole, the soil has not been prepared by the Social Democratic plough, but also because the trade union seed itself and the sower as well must also be "red", Social Democratic, before the harvest can prosper. But when we compare in this way the figures of trade union strength, not with those of the Social Democratic organisations but — which is the only correct way — with those of the mass of Social Democratic voters, we come to a conclusion which differs considerably from the current view of the matter. The fact then comes to light that the "free trade unions" actually represent today but a minority of the class conscious workers of Germany, that even with their one and a quarter million organised members they have not yet been able to draw into their ranks one half of those already aroused by Social Democracy.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from the facts above cited is that the *complete unity* of the trade union and the Social Democratic movements which is absolutely necessary for the coming mass struggles in Germany *is actually here*, and that it is incorporated in the wide mass which forms the basis at once of Social Democracy and trade unionism, and in whose consciousness both parts of the movement are mingled in a mental unity. The alleged antagonism between Social Democracy and trade unions shrinks to an antagonism between Social Democracy and a certain part of the trade union officials, which is, however, at the same time an antagonism within the trade unions between this part of the trade union leaders and the proletarian mass organised in trade unions.

The rapid growth of the trade union movement in Germany in the course of the last fifteen years, especially in the period of great economic prosperity from 1895 to 1900 has brought with it a great independence of the trade unions, a specializing of their methods of struggle, and finally the introduction of a regular trade union officialdom. All these phenomena are quite understandable and natural historical products of the growth of the trade unions in this fifteen-year period, and of the economic prosperity and political calm of Germany. They are, although inseparable from certain drawbacks, without doubt an historically necessary evil. But the dialectics of development also brings with it the circumstance that these necessary means of promoting trade union growth become, on the contrary, obstacles

to its further development at a certain stage of organisation and at a certain degree of ripeness of conditions.

The specialization of professional activity as trade union leaders, as well as the naturally restricted horizon which is bound up with disconnected economic struggles in a peaceful period, leads only too easily, amongst trade union officials, to bureaucratism and a certain narrowness of outlook. Both, however, express themselves in a whole series of tendencies which may be fateful in the highest degree for the future of the trade union movement. There is first of all the over-valuation of the organisation, which from a means has gradually been changed into an end in itself, a precious thing, to which the interests of the struggles should be subordinated. From this also comes that openly admitted need for peace which shrinks from great risks and presumed dangers to the stability of the trade unions, and further, the over-valuation of the trade union method of struggle itself, its prospects and its successes. The trade union leaders, constantly absorbed in the economic guerilla war whose plausible task it is to make the workers place the highest value on the smallest economic achievement, every increase in wages and shortening of the working day, gradually lose the power of seeing the larger connections and of taking a survey of the whole position. Only in this way can one explain why many trade union leaders refer with the greatest satisfaction to the achievements of the last fifteen years, instead of, on the contrary, emphasizing the other side of the medal; the simultaneous and immense reduction of the proletarian standard of life by land usury, by the whole tax and customs policy, by landlord rapacity which has increased house rents to such an exorbitant extent in short, by all the objective tendencies of bourgeois policy which have largely neutralized the advantages of the fifteen years of trade union struggle. From the *whole* Social Democratic truth which, while emphasizing the importance of the present work and its absolute necessity, attaches the chief importance to the criticism and the limits to, this work the *half* trade union truth is taken which emphasizes only the positive side of the daily struggle. And finally, from the concealment of the objective limits drawn by the bourgeois social order to the trade union struggle, there arises a hostility to every theoretical criticism which refers to these limits in connection with the ultimate aims of the labour movement. Fulsome flattery and boundless optimism are considered to be the duty of every "friend of the trade union movement." But as the Social Democratic standpoint consists precisely in fighting against uncritical trade union optimism, as in fighting against uncritical parliamentary optimism, a front

is at last made against the Social Democratic theory: men grope for a "new trade union theory", that is, a theory which would open an illimitable vista of economic progress to the trade union struggle within the capitalist system, in opposition to the Social Democratic doctrine. Such a theory has indeed existed for some time — the theory of Professor Sombart which was promulgated with the express intention of driving a wedge between the trade unions and the Social Democracy in Germany, and of enticing the trade unions over to the bourgeois position.

In close connection with these theoretical tendencies, is a revolution in the relations of leaders and rank and file. In place of the direction by colleagues through local committees, with their admitted inadequacy, there appears the business-like direction of the trade union officials. The initiative and the power of making decisions thereby devolve upon trade union specialists, so to speak, and the more passive virtue of discipline upon the mass of members. This dark side of officialdom also assuredly conceals considerable dangers for the party, as from the latest innovation, the institution of local party secretariats, it can quite easily result, if the Social Democratic mass is not careful that these secretaries may remain mere organs for carrying out decisions and not be regarded in any way the appointed bearers of the initiative and of the direction of local party life. But by the nature of the case, by the character of the political struggle, there are narrow bounds drawn to bureaucratism in Social Democracy as in trade union life. But here the technical specializing of wage struggles as, for example, the conclusion of intricate tariff agreements and the like frequently means that the mass of organised workers are prohibited from taking a "survey of the whole industrial life," and their incapacity for taking decisions is thereby established. A consequence of this conception is the argument with which every theoretical criticism of the prospects and possibilities of trade union practice is tabooed and which alleges that it represents a danger to the pious trade union sentiment of the masses. From this the point of view has been developed that it is only by blind, childlike faith in the efficacy of the trade union struggle that the working masses can be won and held for the organisation. In contradistinction to Social Democracy which bases its influence on the unity of the masses amidst the contradictions of the existing order and in the complicated character of its development, and on the critical attitude of the masses to all factors and stages of their own class struggle, the influence and the power of the trade unions are founded upon the upside down theory of the incapacity of the masses for criticism and decision. "The faith of the people must be maintain-

ed"—that is the fundamental principle, acting upon which many trade union officials stamp as attempts on the life of this movement all criticisms of the objective inadequacy of trade unionism. And finally, a result of this specialization and this bureaucratism amongst trade union officials is the great independence and the "neutrality" of the trade unions in relation to Social Democracy. The extreme independence of the trade union organisation has resulted as a natural condition from its growth, as a relation which has grown out of the technical division of work between the political and the trade union forms of struggle. The "neutrality" of the German trade unions, on its part, arose as a product of the reactionary trade union legislation of the Prusso-German police State. With time, both aspects of their nature have altered. From the condition of political "neutrality" of the trade unions imposed by the police a theory of their voluntary neutrality has been evolved as a necessity founded upon the alleged nature of the trade union struggle itself. And the technical independence of the trade unions which should rest upon the division of work in the unified Social Democratic class struggle, the separation of the trade unions from Social Democracy from its views and its leadership, has been changed into the so-called "equal authority" of trade unions and Social Democracy.

This appearance of separation and equality of trade unions and Social Democracy is, however, incorporated chiefly in the trade union officials, and strengthened through the managing apparatus of the trade unions, Outwardly, by the co-existence of a complete staff of trade union officials, of a wholly independent central committee, a numerous professional press, and finally, of a trade union congress, the illusion is created of an exact parallel with the managing apparatus of the Social Democracy, the party executive, the party press and the party conference. This illusion of equality between Social Democracy and the trade union has led to, amongst other things, the monstrous spectacle that, in part, quite analogous agendas are discussed at Social Democratic conferences and trade union congresses, and that on the same questions different, and even diametrically opposite, decisions are taken. From the natural division of work between the party conference, which represents the general interests and tasks of the labour movement, and the trade union congress (which deals with the much narrower sphere of social questions and interests) the artificial division has been made of a pretended trade union and a Social Democratic outlook in relation to *the same* general question and interests of the labour movement.

Thus the peculiar position has arisen that this same trade union movement which below, in the wide proletarian masses, is absolutely one with Social Democracy, parts abruptly from it above, in the superstructure of management, and sets itself up as an independent great power. The German labour movement therefore assumes the peculiar form of a double pyramid whose base and body consist of one solid mass but whose apices are wide apart.

It is clear from this presentation of the case in what way alone in a natural and successful manner that compact unity of the German labour movement can be attained which, in view of the coming political class struggles and of the peculiar interest of the further development of the trade unions, is indispensably necessary. Nothing could be more perverse or more hopeless than to desire to attain the unity desired by means of sporadic and periodical negotiations on individual questions affecting the labour movement between the Social Democratic Party leadership and the trade union central committees. It is just the highest circles of both forms of the labour movement which as we have seen, incorporate their separation and self-sufficiency, which are themselves, therefore, the promoters of the illusion of the "equal authority" and of the parallel existence of Social Democracy and trade unionism. To desire the unity of these through the union of the party executive and the general commission is to desire to build a bridge at the very spot where the distance is greatest and the crossing most difficult. Not above amongst the heads of the leading directing organisations and in their federative alliance, but below amongst the organised proletarian masses, lies the guarantee of the real unity of the labour movement. In the consciousness of the million trade unionists, the Party and the trade unions are actually *one*, they represent in different forms the *Social Democratic* struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. And the necessity automatically arises therefrom of removing any causes of friction which have arisen between the Social Democracy and a part of the trade unions, of adapting their mutual relation to the consciousness of the proletarian masses, that is, *of rejoining the trade unions to Social Democracy*. The synthesis of the real development which led from the original incorporation of the trade unions to their separation from Social Democracy will thereby be expressed, and the way will be prepared for the coming period of great proletarian mass struggles during the period of vigorous growth, of both trade unions and Social Democracy, and their reunion in the interests of both, will become a necessity.

It is not, of course, a question of the merging of the trade union organisation in the party, but of the restoration of the unity of Social Democracy and the trade unions which corresponds to the actual relation between the labour movement as a whole and its partial trade union expression. Such a revolution will inevitably call forth a vigorous opposition from a part of the trade union leadership. But it is high time for the working masses of Social Democracy to learn how to express their capacity for decision and action, and therewith to demonstrate their ripeness for that time of great struggles and great tasks in which they, the masses, will be the actual chorus and the directing bodies will merely act the "speaking parts", that is, will only be the interpreters of the will of the masses.

The trade union movement is not that which is reflected in the quite understandable *but irrational* illusion of a minority of the trade union leaders, but that which lives in the consciousness of the mass of proletarians who have been won for the class struggle. In this consciousness the trade union movement is a part of Social Democracy, "And what it is, that should it dare to appear."¹⁵

Kuckka'a, Finland. Autumn 1906.

NOTES

1. "The Holy Month"—was the name given by the Chartist Convention of 1839 to their proposal of a general strike. (See Engels: *The Condition of the Working Class in Britain* in Marx & Engels: *On Britain*, Moscow Edition 1953 p. 266 et seq. and G.D.H. Cole: *The Second International*, p. 329 et seq.) p. 11
2. "Alliancists"—During the years of the decline of the First International, Bakunin and his Anarchist followers formed the "Alliance of Social Democracy" (1868). In September 1873 the Alliancists held a counter Congress to the 6th Congress of the First International. Both took place in Geneva. (See Mehring: *Karl Marx*, p. 495 et seq.) p. 11
3. Kladderadatsch—an onomatopoeic word meaning a great noise. Title of a satirical paper published in Berlin in 1848. p. 15
4. The Cologne Congress of Trade Unions held in 1905 decided against the mass strike. The next year a compromise was reached between the leaders of the Party and those of the trade unions whereby a mass strike decision would be taken only after consultation with the trade unions, and with their consent. This decision, taken against the background of the Russian revolution clearly indicated that the majority leaders of the German Social Democracy learned nothing from historical events. p. 15
5. The Jena Congress of the German Social Democracy in 1905 after a full discussion of the mass strike as a political weapon adopted a vague resolution in favour of the strike, but practically worthless. p. 18
6. *Osvoboshdenye* (Emancipation) published from Stuttgart by P. B. Struve for the bourgeois-liberal Emancipation League. p. 26
7. Straw fire—a type of passing ardour.—Trans. p. 29
8. The Bulygin Duma—Russia's first parliament—was announced on August 19th 1905. It was to be a mere advisory body of representatives of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie. The events of October prevented the convening of this body, and Count Witte, the premier in the period of the October general strike and the first soviets, by the Czar's Manifesto of October 30, convened the Witte Duma with restricted franchise granted to the workers. In June 1906, this "liberal" period ended and the reactionary Stolypin government emerged. p. 38
9. Vogtland—An old district of Germany in the South West of the kingdom of Saxony.—Trans. p. 53
10. An allusion to the "Batrachomyomachy"—the Battle of the Frogs and the Mice, a Greek parody of Homer's Iliad—Trans. p. 56
11. The Anti-Socialist Laws were introduced in Germany by Bismarck in 1878. Assemblies and even literary works on socialism were forbidden on pain of deportation. The law was extended till 1890 when Bismarck was dropped and the Reichstag refused to extend it further. German Social Democracy emerged into legality with a three fold increase in membership and a vote of three and a half million. p. 58
12. At the Konigsberg Trial (July 12-25, 1904) nine German Socialists were charged (after six months in remand) with "association with illegal secret societies" and "insulting the Czar". Their real "crime" was helping in the distribution of "Iskra". They were defended by Karl Liebknecht. p. 68
13. Junkers (from "Jungherr"—young aristocrat or military cadet) were Prussian landlords with large estates east of the Elbe. They were the dominant conservatives of Germany, retaining their medieval rights until the end of the 1st World War and their estates until the end of the 2nd. p. 68
14. Hirsch-Dunkers or "free" trade unions in Germany were organized as rivals to the Social Democratic by Max Hirsch and Franz Dunker. p. 75
15. An adaptation of a line from Schiller's *Maria Stuart*: "And what she is that dares she to appear." p. 82

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Bakunin, Mikhail (1814-1876): Of Russian origin, he was a contemporary and antagonist of Marx in the First International, and the founder of the Anarchist movement.

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932): German Social Democrat of Jewish origin. Left Germany during the Anti-Socialist laws and edited *Sozial Democrat* in Switzerland. Expelled from there in 1888, lived in London till 1900. A friend of Engels in the last years of the latter, he was appointed literary executor, in which capacity he censored Engels' works. Reichstag deputy from 1902-1906, 1912-1918, 1920-1928. A pacifist-centrist in World War I. Founder of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) but returned to the Social Democracy in 1919. Chief exponent of revisionism and reformism for over twenty five years, beginning 1896. Author of *Evolutionary Socialism*, (1899), and other works.

Danton, Georges Jacques (1759-1794): Leader Right Wing Jacobins in French Revolution of 1789.

David, Eduard (1863-1930): German Social Democrat. Reichstag Deputy from 1903; Revisionist. In World War I, a Majority Socialist., i.e. a supporter of the imperialist war. Minister without Portfolio 1919-1920. First President of the National Assembly 1919.

Eisner, Kurt (1867-1919): Moderate Socialist who came into prominence as the first president of the Bavarian Socialist Government for a brief period in 1919. Assassinated by Count Arco, 21st February 1919.

Gapon, Georgiy Appolonovich (Father) (1870-1906): Russian priest. Later known to be a Czarist police spy. Organized "Assembly of Russian Factory Workers" in 1904. On January 22nd 1905, led the march to the Winter Palace after secretly writing to the Czar. In spite of this, the massacre of "Bloody Sunday" occurred. Escaped abroad, but failed in his efforts to unify all anti-Czarist forces. Tried to smuggle arms into Russia. Tried to recruit Social Revolutionaries to become Czarist spies and hanged by members of that party in April 1906.

Kasprzak, Martin: Of working class origin, led the Warsaw group of the Proletariat Party in the last decades of the 19th Century. Friend and mentor of Rosa Luxemburg. Spent most of his life in prison and ended it in the gallows.

Nicholas II (Romanov) (1868-1918): Last of Russia's Romanov dynasty, ruled 1894-1917.

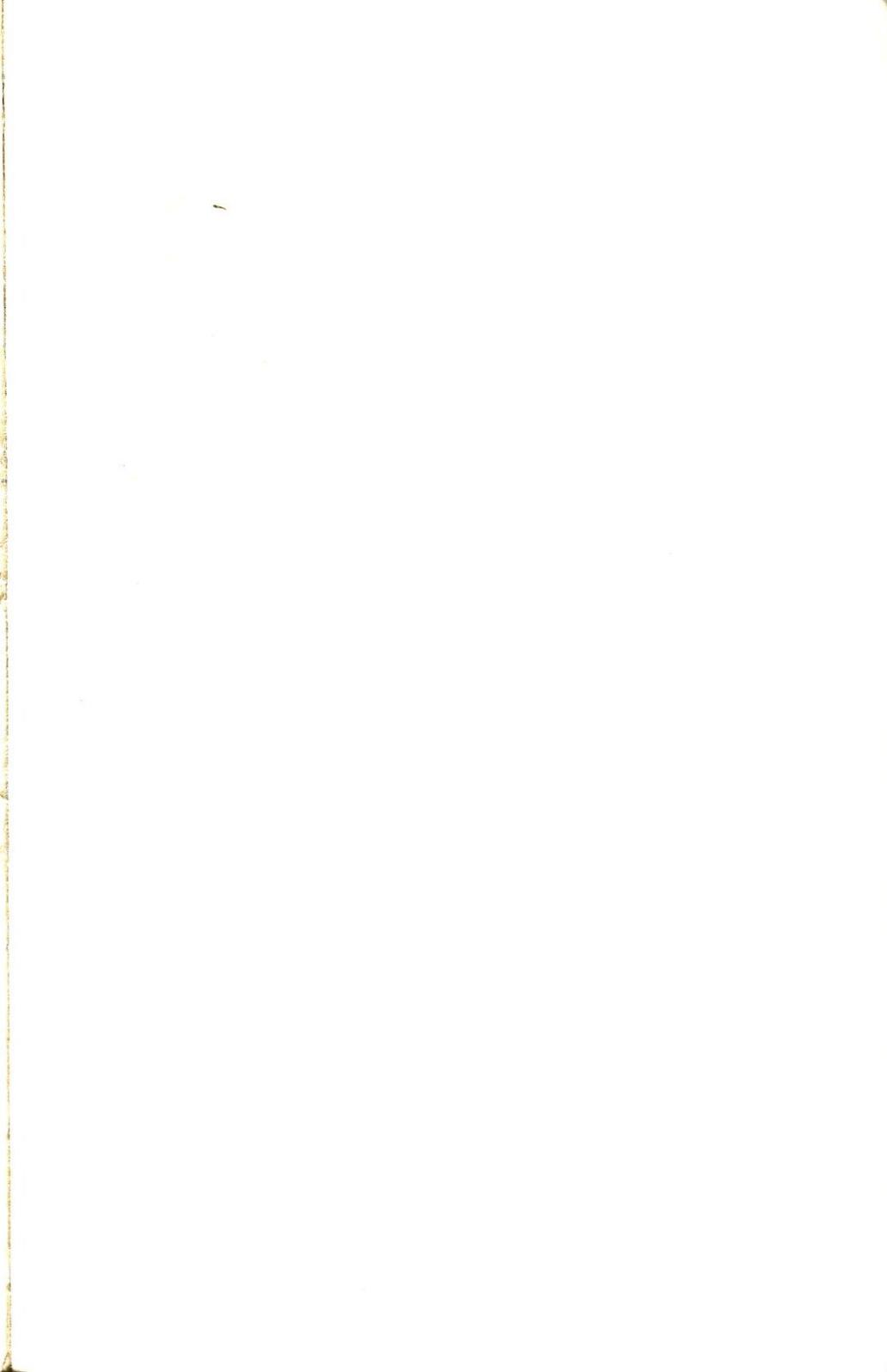
Puttkammer, Robert Victor von (1828-1900), Prussian Minister of the Interior 1881-1888. Most reactionary member of Bismarck's cabinet. Dismissed 6th June 1888.

Roland-Holst, Henrietta (1869-1952): Dutch poet, writer and Marxist; Left Wing member of Social Democracy—"Tribunist", Organizer of women's trade unions. Belonged to the Zimmerwald Left. In 1916 joined the Left Socialist Party, in 1918 the Communist Party. In 1924 formed the Independent Communist Party, finally became a Christian and retired from politics.

Sombart, Werner (1863-1941): German bourgeois economist; anti-Marxist.

Struve, Peter Bergardovich (1870-1932): A Social Democrat in the 1890's. Author of the first Manifesto of the Russian Social Democracy. Economist and legal Marxist. Deputy to the 2nd Duma. Liberal till 1905, when Right Wing Cadet. After the 1917 Revolution a monarchist and Minister in the counter revolutionary White Guard Government of Denikin and Wrangel.

Zubatov, Sergei Vasilievich (1864-1917): Police Chief under General Trepov. Organized the break-up of the 1st Congress of the Russian Social Democracy—Minsk 1898. Brought Russian police methods up to date by introducing fingerprinting, photography and the secret service. At the turn of the century was head of Moscow Okhrana. In May 1901 formed the Moscow Society for Mutual Aid for Workingmen in the mechanical industries in an attempt to prevent workers moving to the Social Democracy—Russia's first legal trade union. Within five days of formation it mobilized 50,000 workers. He organized Jews separately in the Jewish Independent Workers Party in 1901. The movement spread to South Russia in 1902, and with partial successes in winning demands found itself heading mass strikes in 1903. Removed from office under pressure of imperialist interests in 1903. Reinstated 1905. Committed suicide after Czar's abdication.



THE WORKS OF ROSA LUXEMBURG
A LIST OF TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

- 1900 Social Reform or Revolution.*
- 1900 The Crisis in the French Social Democracy—(*New International NY* 1939
Incomplete)
- 1903 The Stagnation and Progress of Marxism*
- 1903 On the 20th Anniversary of Marx's Death—(*Fourth International Dec.*
1941)
- 1904 Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy—(*Russian
Revolution: Ann Arbor Paperbacks* 1961)
- 1905 Socialism & the Churches*
- 1906 The Mass Strike, the Political Parties and the Trade Unions*
- 1906 What is Economics?*
- 1912 The Fallen Women of Liberalism—(*New International NY July* 1942)
- 1913 The Accumulation of Capital—(*Routledge* 1951 *MR Press NY* 1964)
- 1915 The Crisis in the German Social Democracy (The "Junius" Pamphlet)*
- 1916 Theses on the Tasks of the International Social Democracy*—("Junius"
Young Socialist Edn.)
- 1916-18 Letters from Prison to Sonia Liebknecht—*Trans. E. and C. Paul
Socialist Book Centre London* 1946)
- 1916-18 Letters to Karl & Luise Kautsky
- 1917-18 The Russian Revolution—(*Ann Arbor Paperbacks* 1961)
- 1918 The 2nd and 3rd Volumes of Capital—(*Chap. XII, Section 3 of Franz
Mehrings Karl Marx*)
- 1918 Life of Korolenko—(*International Socialist Review Jan.-Feb.* 1969)
- 1918 Against Capital Punishment—(*International Socialist Review Jan.-Feb.* 1969)
- 1918 The German Spartacists: Their Aims & Objects—*British Socialist
Party* 1919)
- 1918 The Programme of the Spartacists*
Introduction of Capitalism in South Africa—*Fourth International,
Amsterdam No. 9.* 1960)

* *Young Socialist Publications.*