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SOCIALIS'CPARTLES. The origin of socialist parties may be tracod to the rise of the industrial proletarial, just as the more remote lineage of the Europcan liberal and conservative parties goes back to the medideval cmates. 'The peculiar idcalogy acquired by each of the older parties is paralleled by the position which Marxism has hold since the rineteenth century in the class policy of the industrial workers. If Marxism be interpreted, in this context, as aiming to replace
the capitalistic system by the ancialization of the means of production, oncialist parties may be definod as those political partics of unflustrial workers which are striving to realize the transformation of the prevailing political and coonomic syatern in acoordance with the teachinge of Karl Marx. The parties formed after 1914 as a result of secessions from the older socialist parties and nowy nnited in the Communist International have been treated clsewhere (see Communist PakTis), as have the libor partics (g.v.) of Anglo-Saxmon ountries. While the latter lave never formally subscribed to Marxist tenets, from the beginning they have had significant telations with the professedly MTarsist socinlist parties and since the Wrorld War British Labour has evolved into the leading socialist party of the world.

As a result of the slower pace of their industrial development the continental countries, where socialist parties originated and have attaimed their greatest sucows, failed until 1848 to produce a labor movement remotcly comparable with that of Fingland. In the form of Chartism the first genuine labor party had apparcol in Ery. land before the publication of the fundamental ductrites of scientific socialism. Upon their arrival in England Mary and Engels, realizing the significance of the Chartist movement, sought to cacablish comections with its leaders and were disposed to convert it into a Marxist party, until its decline in the 1850 's disappointed their hopes.

During the period when Chartism was at its height the only continental partiea which stood to the left of the liberala were composito grournd representing the poorer and more radical elements of the population in general-petty bourgeoisie, peasants and intellectuals as well as workers; it was such democtatic movements which constituted the forie belind the revolutions of 1848 -49 in Germany, France and elaewhere. In $13_{4}$, however, the Communist Leaguc had been foundex under the leadership of Marx and Engels. Mars and Engels intendexd that the league should join in the revolutionary struggles as the left wing of the democratic movements and after the victorious consummation of this first stage carry the revolution beyond its loupgeois limits. But eves in Germany, where most of its following was recruited, tho Communist Ieague never became a real political patty. Weals both in numbers and in the techniques and agencies necessary for effective agitation, it was unable to excrcise an inde-
pendent influence on the masses and finally collapsed in 1552.

The first Marxist to win a few thousand workers from bourgcois liburalism and to weld them into a well knit and permanent organization carrying on an overt campaign of mation wide scope was fierdinamd Tassalle. In 1863 Lassalle foumded in Germany the earliest real晾cialist labor party, the Alfomeiner deutscher Arbeitarverein. His orgalumation, surviving his death in 1864 , was to become the basia of the German Soxial Democratic party and the model for all other socialist parties. Parallel to the Alloemennar deutscher Arbeiferwerein there arose a second small German mocialist party, cruated by August Bebci and Wilhelm Licbknecht and formally launcled in 1860 at Eismach as the Seciardemokratische Arbeiterpartec. 'The designafion social democratic was also used ly Lasaalle's party: henceforth this tomn, which in the earlier period had been applied to all democrats with an interest in social problems, or mocialiat, which had fomerly becn a generic name for social reformers, was generally assumed by Marxist groups, while communist, the term used in 1848 , lell into discand. Between the two German socialist labor parties an impertant difference cxisted. The group foumded by Liebknecht and Bebel was strongly anti-Plussian and gross deufsch, whereas Tassalle's followers aceeptexl is inevitable the unification of Germany under Prussian lewlerstrip. Marx and Engels, accusing the Lasswilleans of cxecssive sulmissiveness in their attitude toward the Prussian govemment, became increasingly estrangesl from them, until firully an open break resulted. It is curionsly ironical that the first real socialist labor party nras diskuined by Marx.

The lirat International, which was established in 1864 under the lealership of Mara and which dominated the international labor movemont for the next decade, can scatcely be considered to have been a cartel of socialist partics. Its basic nucleus consisted of the Linglish trade unions, which after the decline of Chartism began to take a growing interest in political questions. In addition it included certain laloor groups from the I atitumations, America, Switzorland and wther countries; these were more or less loosely organized and waried greatly in ideology and tendency. The only genuinc labor parties in the International were the two German partics and of these the lassallean group sown withdrew. In France no socialist or labor party was in existence even at the time of the great uprising
of the Parisian workers which culminater in the Communc of 1871 , while the disastrons defeat of the commume prevented the emergence of a socialist or revolutionary organization of French workers for many years to come. After the English trade unims abandoned active politics the International broke up as a tesult of the fundamental ungoundncss of its structure.
In 1875 at Gotha the two German parties morgol as the Sorialiwivine Arbeterpostet Tentachlosuls, a name soon changed to Sercioldemolratische Puptei Deutwchlunds. With the new united front Cetman Social Democracy eritered upon a period of standy numericel expansion. Even the laws promulgated by Pismarek in 1878 against the labor movernent involved only a temporary setback. During the -880's Harxist partics and groups arose also in France, Italy, Auatria, Standingyia, Holland and Belgium. In I889 all these socialist Iartics combined in the Sceond International, which lasted until wid. Thuting thin era the incialist parties succeeded in enlisting the majority of the industrial workers in [Gcmbany, lirance, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Sviteetand, Holland, Belgium, the Standinavian countrics, the Balkarrs and, despite enormous difficultics, in Kussing In Englarkd, on the other hand, nowrithatanding rumerous attempts to foynd sucialist parties on the model of the continental partics, a accialist mass party failed to develop before 1914. The English trade unions increased in significance lout couriuted themselves almast exchusively to their economic functions. The majority of the Engliah workers cortimued to vinte for the Liberals or even fur the Conservatives and did not recognize the necessity of a separate socialist lahor farty. Even the Lahour party, which appeared in the House of Commons in 1gof, was wothiug more than an appendage of the great Liberal party and in the years preceding the outbreak of the World Whar had only from about 30 to 40 representatives in the Ergelish Parliament out of a total membership of 670 . In the linited Stentes also, although the present Sovialist party was foumded in Igor, the overwhelming mijority of the workers contimed to cast their ballots for the two great bourgcois partics. Nor did the Second International aequire any significant influence in Asia, Africa or South Amerita, The strong Laloner Putty of Australia, which achieved political power even before the World War, pursued its separate course. Thus to all intente and purposess the sucielist parties of the Second International were confined to continental Europe.

Ry far the largest and heat organized party of the Second International was that of Germany, especially after the fans restricting socialist activity in that country were rewakel in 1800 . At the outbreak of the World War the German Reichstag ineluded mo Soxial Jemocratic deputies out of a total membership of $39_{i}$. By virtue - of their revolutionary and theoretical activitiea the Russians alow mecuriod a position of great significance in the International, while the Angla-5mxons and the Latins played a subordinate role. Tlie outstanding theorists of the ancialist partics were the German Karl Kautsicy ff and the Rusian Plecihanoy. 't The undisputed political leader of the International, after the dearh of liriedrich Lingels, was August Bebel, the leater of the German socialists.

All the parties of the Second International were confronted by a basic dilemma. Owing if their existence to the growth of induscrial capitalism and to the rapidly cxpanding army of indubstial prolecariana, the partits were, on the one hand, the political representatives of working class intertents. But simes they had aweepted as their ideological hasis the revolutionary Marxism of 1848 , it was also their avowed purprese to capture political power lay revolutionary means and to abolish the private owncrahip of the instramenta of production.
During the period between $188_{9}$ and 19I4, both in the United States and in all the Luriopran nations exceput Rusaia, the proition of the extablishad governments and of the existing social order seerued too impregnable to offer any opportunity for sericus resolution. The socialist prattics were cyerywhere in a minority, and outside of Rassias no revolutionary bourgecis groups existed with whom they could combine to nsertlirow the goverment. Hence none of them except the Russian carried on any real preparatory work for revolution, nor did any of them even visualize a socialist revolution with any dogree of clarity. Had they been mierely occupational parties of the working classes, their task of formulating a practical routine policy and program would have been comparatively simple. They would naturally have taken the same attitude toward state, nation, army and forcign policy as would, for instance, a pradadus, party; they would merely have represented the interests of the workers within flic framework of the cristing political order and with legal means. Such a policy they might perhaps hive pursued with resolutemess and clarity, had it not been for the complications resulting from their ad-
herence to Marxism. Yot they clung tenaciously to Marxist theory, despite the impossibility of redizing it in practise, bexause this theory provided the iteotogicil fore which distinguished them from the bourgeois parties and gave elant to the socialist organization.

It was natural that Marxism itself should undergo certain modifications in the course of thewe development What the secialiat partics of the Sccorul International trook ower was not the ratistic and emprical revolutionaty doctrines of 1848 but rather a sybtem of dogmas which sought to supply a dellimite answer to cicry yutsion. 'L'he sum of thesc answers represented the party ideology. Friedrich Engels elcarly recognized the itecological shortomomings of the Second International, although he was powerless to alter its course. White the Russian socialists towk a revolutionary stand even during the periou of the Second International, almost all the theorctitians among them were consinced that the imminent revolution in their country would be bourgeois rather than aocialist. In Russia thertere Mharxist doctrine was used to demonstrate the necessity of developing bourgeois erpitalism and to work out the organization and technique fitted to the bourgenis revolution. The contratiction betreen the practital activity of the socialist purties and the ultirnate Atarxist goat is the basic explanation of all the facillations, diasensions and difficultics with which the history of the parties duyn to IgIt is replece.

All sincialists of the Second Intamational were agreed on matters of practical swial legislation, such as the eight-hour day, incteasod wagle and improvement of working conditions. Likewise they all fawored democracy, universal suffrage and the vesting of supreme authority in the deciaions and asswrublies which wate thased on universin sulfrage. The Russiath gincialists wete no execptions in this respect, for they plamed to convole after the victorious rcwolution a Russian national assembly, which should catablish a demouratic and republitan constitution. In principle the republican form of government mas favored by all the socialist prartiea, but in practise they carried on an active struggle against monarchy onily in lands, such as Germany and Russia, where monarcly was of a fcudal and semi-ahsolutistic typre.
The socialist partics experienced particular difficulty in defining their relations toward state and nation. In view of the impossibility of carrying out a revolution the only policy which they
could adopt toward the existing system without repudiating Matxism was one passive intranigence. The symbolic expression of this attitinde was the oppositim tarried on by socialist parliamentary depulies tokerd the government budget. They criticizad all measures proposed by the governments and woted against chem. In particular the mationalistic, imperialintie: and militaristic policies charataristic of the great powers in the gencration before the World War came under the constant fire of the ralical siocialists, who made the surport of international pacifision part of their daily routinc. This intvolved a highly significont medification of Marxism, for Marx and Fingels had always recognized war and force as decisive waprons and had morewotr approved the existence at lewst of the great nations. 'I'leit only demand Iad been that the proletariat "must coistifute itself' the nation." The pracilism of the prartics of the Secomed Triternational was a specific realt of their inability wither to approve the existing order or to alter it by revolution.

This policy of unflimehing obstructionism withnut real prepratation for the revolution was characteristic of offichal suciatisin and until 1144 was the gencral directiun followed by the Gcrman party executives, the miajority of the ltalian party and the intertiational socialist curgresses. But disagrecment over the major political problems locl to the developmont of internal cleavages both to the right and to the left.
To the right of the official radicals stond the revisionists. Refusing to allowi heir day to day policies to be determined by reference to what they rogardesl ut a chimerical final goal, they strove to achieve practical guins for the warking classes within the framework of the existing order. 'l'hey saw no reason to sfirink from compromise and would have weloomed any bourgeois allics who could be inducad tor support their routise policy. Minorities in the Cicrman and Italian partics belomged to the revisionist faction. In Framce an unusual opportanity was offered to the revisionists by the bitter clash, (framatized in the Drigfiss aitiair and the anticlerical mowernent, helween opposing factions of the bourgeoisie, the monarchistic and authoritarian right and the liberal and democratic left. Taking advantuge of the situacion the revisionist wing under the leadership of Jumes juned the bourgeos liberals in a left thoc for the defensuive the republic. In chis way the I'rench sucialists hecame for a long time a gowernment party. Despite vehement protest on the part of the
ratical mombers of the Socialist International, they even contributed to coalition cahinets of the left individual ministers, such as Millerand and Iriand, both of whom eventually went over to the bourgeois camp.

The left wing of the socialist parties consisted of those members who discountenanced the unsublestantial Miarxism of the cermer because they were convinced of the imminence of a period of great wars and rewolutions. They believed therefore that the workers shonld make residy for teal revolutionary activity, study the doctrines of the Russian revolution of 1905 -o6 and syuip themselves for a general strike. Numerically weak, the left wing of the Socialist International was confined chicfly to the Rona Luxemburg group in Germany and a small Marxist coterie in Holland.

Within Russian Social Democracy official radicalism in general mas represented by the Mensheviks and the left by the followers of Trotaky. There were alao certain adherents of revisionian The Bolahevik group umber Temin, taking a unique stand, denied the adrisability of huilding a mass watt of workers organized on democratic pripeiples and made it their chief ohjective to develop a highly disciplined nucleus of professinimal revulutionaries, wlo would be able to assume the leadership of the workers and peasants in the uprising againat czarism.

The factional antagonisms within the encialist partics led to several open schisms. The Russian Toolahewika liroke away in moz. In litench sscialism various conflicting parties and groups existed from the very beginning and it was not until igos that they achieved even a formal unity. Schisms also occurred in Holland and Bulgaria in the period prior to 1914 .
The international afiliations lectween the individual socialist parties were wery loose. Intemational congresses, such as those held at Amsterdam in 1904, at Stuttgart in igo-, at Copernhagen in igio and at Basel in 1912, were convened at intervals of several years but their decisions exerted no profound influence on the policies of the individual national parties. The function of coordinating the parties rested wich the International Sncialist Hurtean, estahbished in 1900 at Drusscls, but this organization was deverid of executive prower. Sinec a strong and active international arganivaliun suade have been a prcroquisite for any serious struggle against nationalism by the socialist parties, its absence is further indication that their profession of internationalism was merely formal.

Parallel with their own onganizations the socialist parties in all countrics ondeavored to create trade unions. The latter were internded to direct the purely coonomic and industrial diaputes between workers and employers and were to recruit as many workers as possible, even those still indifferent to political madicalisin. Although numinally independent, in practise those unions which were under socialiat leaderahip worked in cooperation with the party. In Relgilim the sucialist latwor party wats nothing more than a cartel of the political, the trade union and the cooperative organizations.
In order to alltatet the Ialmoriug elasiotes the socialist partics werc forcod to wage war on two fronts. In the first place they were confronted by the problem of winning over workers who thus far had been satisfied with the bourgeois parties. Thia group indudeal most of the warkers in

England aud in the Vnites, States as well as those in Germany who belonged to the Catholic Center party. On the oppositc front were arrayed the numemous workers who took the Byadicalist view. These rejected the bourgeois partics but belicyed that no political party whatsoever could help then. Maintaining that the socialist party only became corrupted in the capitalistic parliament, they wished the working classes to alxandon the parliamentary anflicts and to confine theirattention totheir occupational organioations, the trade umions, which should carry on the struggle for power throurgh direct action and particularly through the general strike Itrectucilable mponterts of the smcislist party, the syndicalists repuciated the trade unions dominated by socialist Icaders and ideas and set up rival unims of their own. While they were comparatively wak in the Anglo-Saxon countries, the syndiadiats controlled the majority of the workers in Spain and had consideralate intlucnes in france and Italy. In líance, for instance, the socialist patty could make little headway with the trade unions because of synclicalist resistanec.

The great historical achievement of the Socialist International during the periond between $188 y$ and 1914 consists in its having effectively raised the self-comsionisness, the standard of living and the cultural level of the proletariat in all the countrics where it held the loadership-of the workers. At the same time, frowever, the Second International spread an absitract and unrealiatic dogmatism that was ncither clearly revolutionary nor outarokernly refurnist. In times of peace such a formal radicalism was in-
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nocuous enough, for the strong bourgeons political power protected it from its own conscquences. But socialist parties so oriented could not withstand a scrious crisis. This tweame apparent with the oustbreak of the World War.
The enllapse of the Second International in IgI4 cannot be attributed to the inability of the socialists to prevent the war, since dhey were in a minority in afl the lelligerent nations and nome of the war cabincts was under aocialist influence. Nor can the socialist workers be condemned for participating in the defense of their country: Marx and Engels had newer challenged the right of national defernse. Nevertheless, whon the socintist parties in Gemmany and lirance as well as in Austria and Belgium approved the mar credits and etatlished a truce with their governments and the bourgeois partics, the daydream of radieal intransigemce vanished into thin air. The pury members were cut alrife from their historical moorings, and the party organizations themsolves in this unaceustomed situation bocume inett and followed mockly the dictates of their governmente. In Russia, on the other hand, where the akcialisits had always pursued a genuinely rewshutionary goal, the majority of the party opposed the government's war policy- The Sociulist party of Italy also remained in the opposition; here, however, the division of the bourgcois parties on the question of entry into the war eased the problem for the Socialists. Tut in any casc, with the German and Austrian socialists ranged behind the Central Powers and the French, English and Belgian socialists supporting the Einternte, the International was shattered.

As the war continued, however, certaingroups among the socialists began to oppuse the truce, and the desire to resume the class struggle reenerged. This was particularly true in Germany, where in 1915 the opponents of the truce withdrew from the majority socialists and in 1917 formed the Independent Social Democratic party. At comferences hold at Zimmerwald and Kienthal in Switzorland the socialists of the nentral countrics togellier with the Russians, the Italians and the independent elements in Germany, France and clscwhere sought to revive the Internationas. Thut the Zimmerwald movertent was istolf lacking in unity. Whercas the majority wished to reestablish the old International on the basis of repudiation of the truee policy, Lerin, who as early as 1914 had promesunced the Second Internatioual dead, insisted upon the creation of a Third International of active reve-
lutionaries fitted to carry on the world uprising which he confidently expocted would follow upon the World War. The left Timmerwaldians under Lenin's leadership attracted only a scattered following outside of the Bolshowiks, and the Zimmerwald movernent left no permaneat organization.

For che German and Anscro-Hungarian bourgeois rerolutions, which came in 1918 as a result of the complete exhaustion of the musses, the ridespread yearning for peace and the discrediting of the reigning gowemments, the socialists liad done moshing to pave the way. Hence they were hardy able to convert them into socialist revolutious. It wate purely a resinf uf historical circunstances that after the collapsc of the monarchy the leadership of the Cemtuan Repul)lie as wefl as of the new states of Austria, Czechoslowakia and Iturgary passed into their hands. In Russia after the bourgoois reswalution of February, ryip, the Munsheviks, or democratic sncialists of the weatern Eusopoan type, joined the government of the short lived bourgeois republic. With the Toplshevik revolution of October, however, the Menshevik party was annihilated.

The Bolshevik victory, with the resulting party dictatorship and inauguration of state socialism, made a profonnd impression upon workers all ower the world. Lcnin's eall to thes workers of all nations to abandom the disintegrated Second International and join the revolutionary Third International was rexcived with enthusiasm. During 1949 and 1920 all the socialint. pmrtita exoepr. British I serinus internal consulsions and diaturbances. The majurity of the workens in Germany, France, Italy anul many smaller countrics were ready to adhere to the Third International, which had diwaralet the compromised name of socialist and called itself communist in the spirit of 1848 . That the sipatenily imposaible task of reqiving the sucialist parties and reconstructing the Second Intemational was successfully performed in these circumstances musi lee laid to the policy adopted try the Bolsheviks thernselves. The Russian leaders had no dcsirc to crente a frec commurity emblisacing all workrs. They wished rather to enjoy complete control of parties in other lands and to matace them serve the interests of the Russian state. For this reason the Brolsheriks repelled the majority of the socialist workers originally attractat to them and werc able to organive into the Commumist Internutionel only a minofity of the international
proletariat. Many ercialist parties and groups which had at first sympathized with the Third International united to frome the Vienna International, and at the Hamburg Congress of 1923 they jointel the other socialist parties in the I ahor and Socialist Intematiumal, with headquarters nov located at Zurich. The International Federation of Trade Unions, which had Ireen estahlished before the war under socialist leadership, was reorganized in 1919 at Amsterdam, where its central office was lexatul uutil 1931-Afterward it was transferred to Berlin, and now its scat is in laris.
In the listory of the socialist partice the decade 1923-33 was marked by struggle against tho communists on the one hand and againot the bourgesia counter-revolutionary movements, such as fascism and watimul sucialism, on the other. The pre-war tradition of alastract radicalism had to he abandoned by the socialists, and its perpetiation fell rather to the low of the conmunist partics. In taking up the task of building a new theoretical and tactical foundation the accialists turned to pro-wat rovisionism for their guiding principles. It was the English sorixlists, eatrying on the tradition of the l'abians and the guid socialists, and the Austrians, the somalled Austro- -latxists, who made the most imporlant conililailions to these theoretical developments.

The socialist parties now emphatically nioclaimed their intention to attain power ionly through democratic meams rather than through the forcible dictatorship of a minority. The lise of firece was said to be permissible only when a reactionary minority wrested power by violence from the democratic-socialist majority of the nation. The socialists of all lands also openly announocd that they were working for reforms within the framework of the capitaliat society. Reagnition of a constitutionat monarchy, coalition with bourgenis parties, participation on the part of socialist ministers in bouxgeois governments and approval of the buclgets of capitalist states, all came to be revarded as consistent with socialist theory: the decision in cach case was to be made from a practical point of viess. Yet deapite all these compromises the parties did not renounce the objective of carrying on a definitive struggle against the capitalist economic system and settiny up a socialist society.

The difficulty which the socialist parties experienced in attempting to develoy a realistic and activist policy from one based on abstract slogans is particularly well excmplified by the German Social Democrats. Their abstract re-
pudiation of the old empire became transformed into an equally abstinct surpott of the new republic, of which they sssmed the leadership on November $9,19^{18}$. They came to identify themselves with that republic and thus were swallowed up in its catastruplaic overthrow in r933. This was the more ironical bocausc the Social Democrats had early lost their leaderathip of the republic. 'The divisiom between majority socialists and the independents until thesir union in I922 and subsoquently the rivalty berween communists and socialists dissipated the forec of the socialist worling classes. The butryenisie suon recouped its powers under the republic, and since 1923 except for brief intervals the German national government has been wholly boungeois, although until 1933 the socialists continued th share in the local administrations of the states and municipelitics. The Sucial Democrats, however, still look od upon the erection of the demucratic republic as an enomous achievement, a view which in itsolf is entirely justified. At all/ times they remained ready to enter into coxalitions with the bourgeois partics fur the protection of the republic. As the bom togeos democratic republie, umable either to ease the coonomic digtress or to achieve cyuality for Germany in foreign relations, promessively lost prestige among large masses of the population, especially wibin the middle classes, the mass hostility came to be directed also agginst the Social Democrats as the cypical republicun party. When the National Socialist cahinet aucceeded the military gowermment of General Schleicher in Jamary, 1933, they were not scizing puwer from the socialists and republicans: one bourgeois govern ment merely succeeded another. Hitler's government proceeded to suppress completely first the German Canmunist party and shontly thereafter the Social Democratic party. It is difficult at present to offer any definite judgment as to the future of German socialism.

During the post-war period the British Iabour party developed frami a wirtually insignificant parliamentary group into a powerful organization backed by millions of supporters. British Labour had the great adsantage of not having grme fhatough the school of the Second International from 1889 to 1914 . It therefore has remained froe from all the veculiar contradicLiones spriruging from the official Marxist dergmas of the Sccond Internationsi. It auffered no embarrassment in formulating its attitude toward nation and state, the struggle for power and monarchy. At the same time it was in a better
position than most of the continental partics to offer the masses a clent anod precise program of socialization with a view to the formation of a
socialist society, As a result the Communist party in England is praclically insignificant, while with the collapse of the Liberal pratty atter the war Iabour beame and has remained the second strongest $p$ arty in the land. Its amazing display of vigor in weathering ita two great criscs-the unforturiate gencral strike of 1926 and in 193 the electond defeat and the withdrawal of MacDonald--is added proof of its vitality.

In France the position of the socialists is virtually the same as before the war. In the struggle between the national bloc of the boungedis right and the radicals or the trontgeois left they often hold the tralance. On numerous occasions siuve the wat the lireuch socialists have mode stategie alliancas with the bourgeois left and have thus cexcreal an intluence on the direction of national policy. Although during IgIg and 1920 most of the French workers were in the Communist camp, the socialists have since succeeded in wimuing back the great majority. In the course of the conflict hetween socialists and communists the French trade unions were split into two groups, the socialise and the communist-syndicalist.

In Italy the cntire socialist party entered the Third International after the war, hat. as the result of a dispute wifh Moscow the majority of the party hater withdrew. The Italian socialists had a rragic fate. While they appeared revolutionary chough to arouse the apprehensions of the bwargeoisic, they were not sufficiently su to carty through the actual seizure of power. This was but a recurrence of the old dilemma of the pre-war Socond International. Hence both oncialism and communism in Italy have been annihilated since 1920 by the Fascists. Only snall groups of Italian sutialist and commumist émigrés remain.
In the United States the numerical influence of the socialists is no greater than before the World War. Socialistic icteas have undoubtedly become diffused to a certain cextent among the intellectuals of the country; but at the presiden-1 tial elextion of 1922 , which came at the height of the economic crisis, oniy a small percentage of the voters suppurted the Socialist candidate. The Communist party is even weaker, while the Tarmer-Labor party has also collaysed except within the state of Minnesonta. Neverthelese, the ideas and achievenents of the Roosevelt ad-
ministration may open the way for a stronget socialist influence.

In 3pain following the establishment of the republic in 1931 the socialists participated in the coalition government until the end of 1933 . Their position, however, is dificult, since the majority of the Spanist proletariat still sympathize with the syndicalists. 'I'he sncialist parties have a greater intlucnce in the Scandinavian countrics, in Belginm and Holland, in Suritacrland and in Czochoslowakia. In Austria the socialists successfully controlled the administration of the tity of Yienna from ig18 until 1934. They struggled hard to protect the democratic national constirution agninat: the [ewerfill hourgexis groups of Christian Secialists, National Socialists and the Heimwchr. But in February, 1934, after an armol uprisitg of workers, the Austrian Socialist party was suppressed.

In the industrialivasi countries where socialism has wom over the majority of the industrial workers, the combined wote of socialists and communists duting the last detade has ordinarily aceraged about 30 or 40 percent of the total number of ballots east. 'lhis was true in England, Austrin, Czcchoslovakia, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and in Germany so long as there vere free elections. The strixing uniformity of this percentage reverls the fact that the rugcialists have failed to attract any sections of the population outside of the workiny clanses. In the modern industrialized mations the majority of the population consists of employecs but not of factory workers alone. Among wither types of cmployee groups-clerks, civil seryants, craftymenand agricultural vorkers-socis. lism has had slight sucxess. Judging by past experience it is virtutally impossible for the socialists to grasp control of the state if they must rely silely on the industrial proletariat. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia was able to aucceed only thriough an alliance of workers with peasants.

In Asia the leadership of the working class movement after the war fell into the hands of the communists, hut in the last fow ytats the Communist International has declinet in Asin as well as elsewhere. Although it is still impossible to predict the firture of the labor mowement in the leading Asiatic countrics, significant socialist tendencies are to be fround in Japan, particularly among the intellecturals. In Australia the opposition to the bourgeoisic is the powerful Labour party, which belongs to no intemational. Similar smaller but also influential Labour partics are
found in New Zcaland and south Africa as well in Treland.

Argentina has long had a socialist party, and military and revolutionary leaders in the other South American countries. Itave not infrequently professod adhererice to socialism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain to what extent such declarations really emanate from a labor movement. Mexico is cumtrofled by a powerful workers' and peasants' movement which is carrying out a revolutionary recxonstruction of society but which dues mot belong to any international.

The communism of the Moscow waricty is tolay politically powerful only in Rusaia. The only other country where the Communist party still has some influence: is Czechoslowakia. Socialism is at present suppressed in Russia, Italy, Germany and Austria, but the parties in Irance, England and the stualler Europcan coumtries and the prospects in Asia and America make it still a signtificant international fower. Present day whialism represents a continuation of the prewrar Second International only in a fnrmal sensc. Actually the Internationsal utider English and French direction is quite different from the old Intemational controlled by Russians and Germants. A socialist international of the English and French type may be expocted to depart further and further from the stereotyped Marxist dogmas, which never gained a foothold in Enghand and exerted very slight inflience in France. This doea not imply that it will renentice true Marxism, which is thoroughly undogmatic and realistic. The socialist partics will in fact become more tuly Harxist as they abandon the traditional dogmas of the official Marxists. In Russia the dynamic RHaxism of the revolutionary period has lang since been reduced to an inflexible gramume of authoritarian politics. 'The future of socialism thus fests with the democratic and intellectually indeperndent parties of the Weat.

Anthim Rusenberg
See: Somalism; Comuninisi Parties; Labor Pahtins; Lanor Moyement; 'Thade Unions; Ronftimtam; Sivihicalisa; Cifars Struchles Proletarit; Maserz; Intilluctionta; Reyolution ald Countrr-krydix:tion; Grninal. Sthiks; Soclilization; Goverialkit Onnfrahtp; Lauoh Legislation and lanm Russiav Revolutiun; Comminf of Pakis; Confidifation Gánérsib du Traysti; Parteses, PoLutical.
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