

Adolf Huronthal The tragedy of European labour 110/159
1944 (preface dated 1942) 1918-1939

1. Char. of Pressure-groups. Soc party, elections, gov. offices, former governments, political program, stood for Soc. reorganisation, but all pr-gr. mentality. Other methods than America (Lobbyists). No economic program policy. Power wielded by prun-grs and coherent and well organized soc. claims.
2. Overturn radical. mid 1903 en intern. in Amst 1904. "most fateful event" event of pre-war soc. Two poss. ways of pol. action lost at that time. No cooperation with progressive middle-class groups for democ. aims; no possib. of strikes, revol. blow, by military strength of gov; hence only huge great electoral machines.

No programme for transform soc. by non-violent democ. means ever thought out by the soc. movement
Lenin's theory, workers left to themselves, trade-union mentality; leaders necessary for socialism, revolution. Was in minority in Zimmerwald-Kiental

Rosa Luxemburg
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Rosa Luxemburg against Lenin's general staff of world rev; against found of 3^d Intern.
Feb 1919 int. soc. by cons. Bern, pro-contra Russ rev.
1920 Geneva: 2^{de} Int. herald (Eng L.P., Du Meerd, Belg, Nederl, Zwed, Den, Kleine Fe. prop)
secr. Ramsay MacDonald London
Lentine group (Du Meerd, Ost, Spone, Nordw.) Intern 2^{de}

24 Jan 1919 in Moscow rev. group voor org 3^{de} Int.
Kwam by een 2 Maart 1919; 2^{de} Congr in 1920, Juli
Spartaan-afrev. stelt voor uitstel; verwerpen (Hong. en Beiere waren)
1919-23 Leninisme offensief; 1923 N.B.P.

Middle class everywhere in progress, had destroyed any prospect of successful prol. rev. Far more important issue, constructive political action versus trade-unionist pressure-group activity, disregarded.

C.P. tried to insure supremacy of political over pressure group action
1920-21 Bolshevik regime stabilized, tremendous growth of Comm. parties
actual leadership secret committee.
Majority workers Europe expected Com, turned to Soc; Comm. P. dev. into pressure groups.

In Du. 1919 Müller Prulenz. Zater, 1920 Kanselier; 1923 verhuist soc. overtu
Müller Kanselier, Hilferding, Winkell, Severing ministers; Zak-Kruiser
Crisis 1929; geen nieuwe pol., alleen maar loon en uitkeers, in standgehoud
middel

Majority Soc. fear Bolsh experiments and Allied milit. interv.; for democracy
Indep. Party, right wing near to Hög; left wing (Revolutionäre Betriebszellen)

for councils, near to Spartacus
Lux and Kiebtnecht realized German Republic a middle-class state, masses followed Major Soc, disappointment would come, prepare for it. But in Spart. they were minority "Middle-headed revolutionists, opposed to any sort of discipline or cool reasoning, and unfamiliar with traditions of lab. mov." overruled them, under Russian influence.

Dec 1918 de 3 Independ. ministers gaan er uit.
Major Soc. governed alone. No nationalization of coal mines, no democ. army.
tried to build democ. system upon anti-dem. army, civil service and judiciary
Congres v. Arb u Soldrate Dec 1918 350 va 450 leden waren Meerd Soc.

"A conflict between the Government and a mutinous group of so-called
revolut. sailors found the Gov. entirely unprepared".
End Dec 1918 Spart. const. itself a Comm. Party. Ontslag Eickhorn; demosta,
strijd om Vorwärts, Noke, Freikorps., mood op Lux en Kiebtnecht.
Kurt Eisner in Beieren tot Apr 19.

Oostenryk: Fritschler & Hoffbauer leiders van linker-internat vleugel
Comm. P. bleef er onbedruwend. Gecomb. regeeris, SD maakte intrek van Volkswehr.
Democr. staat gereed tegen Comm. aanstax; want O. machteloos tegen milit. Allien,
en stedel. arbeiders machteloos tegen boerenbevolutie. 110/160

13. Mei 1920 Kapp-put in Berlyn. Door mama-stakings verolagen
(arb. opvoetsaan, middle-clan evenso, warden reaktionair)
Leger was anti-soc.

Vorstel vakbew. tot gecomb. arbeiders-regeeris te verwerpen door Onafh. S.P.
Regeeris met H. Brücker als kanselier (Soc, Dem, Kath); Ruhr-putland door
Reichswehr verolagen (Gen. Von Watter, juist rebel tegen regeeris, nu gedraacht);
Verkeers 6 Juni 1920: O.S.P. sterke winst over S.P.; regeeris Fehrenbach, xendel soc,
met liberalen.

In Frankrijk Soc P. 1918-19 toename, 1920 180000 leden.; CGT 800000, 2,5 mill
in Engeland L.P. 2,5 mill 1917, 3,5 mill in 1919, 4,4 mill in 1920
Verkeeris in national. sfeer: L.P. 22% vote, 10% leden, 57 leden.
Dec 1918 Lloyd George.

Frankrijk Clemenceau 16 Nov 1919, soc verloren 70 zetels
Soc. geen eigen intern. politiek; hoopten op Vollebunbond.; in elk land volgen ze
buitent. pol. v middle-clan. Toen later in Eng. Fe. democr. regeeris kwam; e caat

In Du. door soc. armoede, reall. groep breide uit, Janisme, rastheorie
Moorden op Brauberg en Rathenau.
Oct 20 te Halle O.S.P. meerderheid door Tinovriev naar C.P. De rechtler-
minderheid (Dikman, Hilferding, Borelscheid, Crispin) naar de S.P. terug.
Dus C.P. in Du. nu numeriek sterk; Jan 11. 1923 geall. troepen bezetten Rijnland

Passieve resistente, inflatie, breakdown of currency
Perod. situatie, massa's bereid, chaos.
Abaur C.P. (Brandler) deed niets: geloof nu op parlem. weg, meerderheid
Van uit Moskoe revolutie afgelast (zomer 1923) met soc.

In herfst artikel weer moedeloo's; C.P. illegaal verklaard.
Na deze comm. nederlaag 8 Nov 23 Hitler's Biergarten-Pubek.
Daarna stabilisatie v markt, "influx of foreign, primarily Amer. capital"

In Rusland 1920 Aug. oorlog met Polen (Pilscedkie wilde Ukraine pokke)
by Warschau teruggerolagen.
Nieu door Europa reache en stabilisatie

(1923) N & P.; propaz v United Front; splitsing in C.P.
1928-34 Comm. erfgenaam v vooroorlogsch radicalisme, talrijk bij and
Daarna eerst het roodfront. doing little

In Mei 1930 Hilferding waarschuwt SD ~~inrichting~~, dat als zij compromisi
min. v finance verwerpen, hardere eisen zullen keten.
Hilferding; kabinet Brücker valt (Hilferding leuder van minderheid Onafh. Soc P)
die Tinovrievs eisen verwierep

As Minister of Finance in 1923 he prepared the way for the stabilization of
the mark, though Schacht succeeded in appropriating the credit for himself
who came close to being a Manchester Liberal

1930 Brüning kanselier na Brücker. In Sept 1930 verkiez. Nazis wonnen
(6,5 mill. st) 107 zetels, 2^{de} party in sterkte. Dus soc moeten Brüning steunen,
ondanks verminderde werkloosheids uitkeers (C.P. 4,6 mill.)

(1925 was Hindenburg president geworden)
1924-1929 economische bloei. In 1929 S.D. 153 zetels (9 mill stemmen)
C.P. 3 miljoen)

1929 C.P. proclameert dat dit toepunt v Nazisme is, endat dan pool. ren komt
Wir sind die Sieger von morgen die Frage nicht wer wem wird besiegen,
diese Frage ist schon entschieden; die Frage nur, in welchem Augenblick
werden wir die Bourgeoisie stürzen (Remmele in Ruyenda)

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1918 L.P. reeml soc. progr aan (Sidney Webb "Labour and the new social order")

many unions under leftist leadership. ^{Koninkrijk} ^{meesters} ^{cap. aan}

1920 Britain began deflationist policy, attack on wages; memberships had grown

Conflict centred in the coal mines; ^{early} 1919 Sankey ^{appointed by Gov.} ^{Comm.}

recommended reduced hours to 7, wage increase 2, ^{and} ^{reduction} of police. Statement of Sir John S.

himself "even upon the evidence already given the present system of ownership

" and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must

" be substituted for it, either nationalisation or a measure of unification by national

" purchase". The Commission was also "prepared to report now that it is in the interest

" of the country that the colliery workers shall in the future have an effective

" voice in the direction of the mines"

Subsequently, ~~at~~ the request of the miners, the Government declared in a written

statement by Bonar Law that it was "prepared to carry out in the spirit and in

the letter the recommendations of Sir John Sankey's report"

In exchange for this solemn promise the miners abandoned their strike preparations.

Then Lloyd George ann. in the H of C. that Justice S's recomm. of public ownership

could not be accepted by the Government.

Miners prepared for strike. Before war Triple Alliance (miners, railway, transport union)

1921 threat of wage cut for miners, others promised help. Additional demands for

national pool of coal mine earnings, national agreement. On 15 Apr. 1921 J.H. Thomas,

railway-leader called off sympathetic strike (Black Friday). Miners singly defeated.

Wage cuts and trade-union defeats rapidly ensued.

Political now better: Election Nov 22 L.P. 142 seats (gain 67), Lloyd George coal

L.P. now 2^d party, chief opposition. (Conserv Party Stanley Baldwin Government)

Baldwin 1923 Nov, issue protective tariff as remedy for unemployment; defeated,

new elections, L.P. 191, with Liberals - majority Jan.

Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald 1924 - (1919 Churchill

had denied, in utter contempt, that Labour was fit to govern)

(Br. Comm Party very small, out of remnants Shipstewards, and Br. Soc. Party.)

(J.L.P.; MacDonald and Snowden members; after the War L.P. changed constitution,

now individual members, local sections; now J.L.P. for definite tactical concepts.)

J.L.P. now proposed socialist issues, against Liberals, to bring Soc. versus Cap. before

public, and win pure majority. Macd. rejected it; no propaganda but action,

by progressive measures acceptable to Liberals (Speech Macd. at Dundee 1924,

socialism far-away dream, even if 50 years from now, because the com war still green")

Labour in office behaved like moderate work-class wing of liberalism

Oct 24 Vote lib-cons ag. Gov. (on miners question), House dissolved. Duris election campaign

5 days before "Xenon's letter" (forged) frightened public. Big majority Conservatives

Lib. reduced to 39.

Disappointed; turned to industrial action

31 Dec 1926 groote stakie, 3 millioen

Before: Miner's cause was doomed; industry could not fulfill workers' demands. Unions

in militant mood, transport should be stopped 31 July 25; Government paid subsidy to mine owners

to continue wages bill 1 May 26

Polit. action