



Ier OLYMPIADE  
OUVRIERE

INTERNATIONALE  
DE JEUNES HOMMES ET DE JEUNES FEMMES

VIENNE  
JUILLET

## **Social-Democratic Internationals. A Bibliography**

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In continuation of the migrations of medieval journeymen, the 19th century saw considerable migratory activities on the part of European workers. Immediately prior to the outbreak of the revolutions in Europe in 1848, France alone had a foreign population of 850,000 people, mainly skilled workers and artisans. It is an established fact that this nascent radical Labour Movement gave rise to concern among the ruling classes; attempts were made to restrict or even ban migration, and certainly to prevent the setting up of workers' organizations, for which reason they had to operate clandestinely during these years<sup>(1)</sup>.

More important than migrating journeymen is, of course, industrialization which slowly emerged from the middle of the century, and created the class for whom international organization was to be of decisive importance. The emerging working class took an interest in the International Working Men's Association (IWA) to the extent that and for as long as it was

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capable of managing activities to prevent the importation of scabs, and could actively assist the workers engaged in industrial action. For quite some time, the IWA was able to do that<sup>(2)</sup>. But the IWA was dissolved and a new International only saw the light of day when the newly formed labour parties and trade unions met at the Paris Congress in 1889<sup>(3)</sup>.

However, international experience was to have implications for the development: as a result of this comprehensive worker migration, the members of the working class had an unarticulated understanding of the nature of capitalism in some of those respects that directly affected workers: they had themselves experienced that contradictions between work and capital existed throughout the industrialized world, that, universally, attempts were made to keep working hours long and wages low, that state and capital cooperated towards these ends, in short, that conditions for working people were more or less identical no matter what country they found themselves in. This basis of experience was crucial and impacted on the acceptance of the general Marxist theory in wide working-class circles because Marx and Engels were able to formulate the international experience of workers into a coherent theory acceptable to these groups; this, in turn, provided a basis for a more or less profound acceptance and appropriation of the other components of the theory in the working class. However, during this time, i.e., the 1880s and 1890s, industrial workers accounted for a relatively modest proportion of the total population, with the exception of countries like Great Britain and Belgium.

The political International developed during the years after 1900, and from 1901, national federations began developing mutual cooperation which, a short time before 1914, was institutionalized in the International Federation of Trade Unions. However, at the same time, such institutionalisation led to a weakening of spontaneous internationalism; this was almost inevitable in light of the fact that the Labour Movement had become a mass movement which, in order to be able to handle its tasks, had found it necessary to employ a number of functionaries, working for the movement in various capacities such as editors of dailies and the many different periodicals, as chairmen of trade union organizations, as statisticians, etc. The internationalist position did not die, but it did become less vigorous, its role was weakened as a result of its institutionalisation.

The Social-Democratic parties attempted to reestablish cooperation after World War I, but it took from 1919 to 1923 before the different parties were able to reach so much agreement that a new International was formed: The Labour and Socialist International (LSI), with institutionalized cooperation with the Socialist Youth International (SYI) and the International Federation of Trade Unions. Under the Social-Democratic umbrella, the interwar years saw the birth of a series of new international associations. To some extent, these Internationals shared their foundations with those which arose again following the Second World War: they reflected the fact that in and around the Social-Democratic Labour Movement various occupational and cultural

activities arose contributing towards disseminating the ideology of this movement to broader layers of the public, and through them attempts were made to integrate ever larger groups into the activities of the movement. Apart from the Workers' Sports International they were not large-scale organizations, and they developed virtually no bureaucratic structures, but survived on the basis of efforts made by some few activists.

During the interwar years it is, however, characteristic of Social-Democratic workers' internationalism that it could exercise no organizational sanctions against its affiliates. It was, in any case, one of the major differences between the LSI and the centralist Communist International that the latter could, in fact, impose sanctions on its affiliates. Organizational internationalism - including the LSI and the SYI - was based on consensus. Increasingly, over the interwar years, national Social-Democratic parties, who were in government office, rejected any possibility of providing the International with anything but powers of moral persuasion vis-à-vis the actually doable policies as perceived by the government parties in the individual countries. The problem of coupling the struggle for power in the parties' own countries to fundamental solidarity with and assistance to the movements of other countries was not solved during the interwar years, and the scope for action of the International gradually shrank, and in the autumn of 1939 it was, in fact, dissolved. Until that time, it had acted as an important forum for information and discussion.

As early as in the final phase of the Se-

cond World War, attempts were made anew to reestablish international cooperation between the Social-Democratic parties, attempts which finally led to the (re)founding of the Socialist International in 1951; the youth organizations reestablished their own International in 1946, and some of the other Internationals tried to resume cooperation as if nothing had happened.

However, it is plain that the Social-Democratic parties, as distinct from the trade union Internationals, are united only by a more or less identical basic position in relation to international problems, by a common social-affairs stance, but in many topical or urgent problems they make up their own minds based on the perceived interest of their nation state - little or no attempt is made (any longer) to link national and international tasks into a common struggle. However, this basic common position often led to similar developments, as became clear from the amendments made to several of the parties programmes from the late 1950s and onwards. Similarly, several parties reacted more or less identically to the new political framework conditions of the 1970s by placing themselves, left of centre' in the political spectrum.

Until the 1950s the special Social-Democratic ideology was strong enough for the parties to attempt new initiatives in the field of - especially cultural - cooperation. However, practical circumstances made it impossible to set up, for example, alternative Social-Democratic news dissemination in the at that time still not insignificant newspapers published by the Social-Democratic Labour Movement.

The International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press held a number of conferences and published various periodicals to disseminate information of interest to the Labour press, but without a sufficient strength of impact to secure the activity over a protracted period.

It goes without saying that internationalism is not a constant factor whose nature is forever firmly fixed. Rather, it is an insight based on experience, an insight that might fade if it is no longer based on actual experience of the type originally made by migrating journeymen. Together with the various phases of capitalist development, internationalism also undergoes changes during which it can deteriorate into a purely notional position void of any practical implications. This does not mean that it will have lost all meaning in the working class, something which became clear during the interwar years vis-à-vis refugees from Fascism who were aided by other working-class and Labour organizations. One type of aid provided by the LSI was the establishment of the Matteotti Committee, and in spite of the prevailing high rates of unemployment in the 1930s, comprehensive xenophobia or racism did not afflict the working class. These phenomena were certainly not unknown in middle-class strata, but unlike what was to be the case in the 1980s and 1990s, they were not echoed in the working class.

In the 1970s, at least, an upswing in international solidarity activities could be observed, finding expression, for example, in connection with the reestablishment of Social-Democratic mass parties in Portugal and Spain, in the support given to

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 TO CRUZ PEDRO ARAUZ PALACIOS OSCAR TUPAC KATARI ANTONIO MORALES AVILES JULIO BUITRAGO GE  
 IMAN POMARES PABLO UBEDA JOSE BENITO FERRER CARLOS ROBERTO HERRERA DE LA ROSA  
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 RYTE ISRAEL LEWITES JUAN CARLOS NI LANGRAND CLAUDIA CHAMORRO RENE  
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 TO DOMINGO BEHAVIDES FAUSTO HERRERA FRANCISCO MORENO OSCAR DAMILO  
 GARCHEZ FERDIN DIAZ FELIPE ORTIZ TIMOCO RENE HERRERA MANUEL DULY  
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 A DIAZ M. JOSE V. HERMANDET C. MI E. JUSTO C. CASTILLO M. CESAR A. M  
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 LBAUNZA ROBERTO VANGAS BAYRES I INDIANA FERNANDEZ MARIA M. AVEP  
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 MARVIN GAITAN YAMIL CAI ADRIAN REYES HERMAN CH  
 TOMAS OCAÑO CHAYARRIN EDDY BERRIOS ALEJANDRO DAVILA BOLAÑOS JORGE SIMFOROSO BRAYO GASPAR GARCIA LAVIANA  
 GEORGINO ANDRADE R. YAZMINA RUIZ D. JULIO CANALES EDDY QUIROZ LUIS EMILIO VASQUEZ

Y LOS MILES DE HEROES Y MARTIRES CAIDOS POR LA LIBERACION NACIONAL, LA DEFENSA Y CONSOLIDACION DE LA REVOLUCION POPULAR SANDINISTA

# LET NICARAGUA LIVE



INTERNATIONAL UNION  
 OF SOCIALIST YOUTH  
 UNION INTERNACIONAL  
 DE JUVENTUDES SOCIALISTAS

Poster of the International Union of Socialist Youth in support with the Sandinist movement in Nicaragua

the Sandinist movement in Nicaragua, in the support allocated to the liberation struggle in southern Africa and elsewhere. Social-Democratic organizations - including the Socialist International - played a decisive role in this connection<sup>(4)</sup>. Solidarity activities seem to have been replaced by activities more orientated by humanitarian considerations, but nevertheless there is still a fundamental position in the Labour Movement concerning the importance of internationalism. Whether the new European trends, including European Works Councils in multinational companies and the right to free movement of persons within the external frontiers of the European Union, will entail a new basis for internationalism, at least in the core groups of the Labour Movement remains to be seen. However, it is not certain by any means that the present-day Labour Movement will be capable of reacting politically and strategically adequately to the internationalization of capital and the fluctuations of world markets. The Internationals are there - can new life be breathed into them? But irrespective of whether and how they can be used, their development and publications constitute a store of significant experience, and this bibliography should constitute a tool in connection with the analysis of the historical manifestations of internationalism in the Labour Movement Internationals. Thus, it is hoped, it will contribute towards clarifying problem formulations in the current situation.

In addition to providing bibliographical information, the purpose of the biblio-

graphy is to contribute towards improving the conditions for research into Labour Movement history. In the present situation scholarly and theoretical efforts constitute an important factor in the development of a framework for continuing emancipatory activities of the Movement. The International Association of Labour History Institutions (IALHI) considers it one of its tasks to further scholarly work in the field of Labour History. For this reason the IALHI has endeavoured - among other efforts - to establish bibliographies of various Labour publications, e.g. of microfilms of the central organs of Labour parties<sup>(5)</sup>.

This new bibliography aims to register all publications of the various Social-Democratic and Socialist Internationals in the period from 1914 to 2000, whether they are printed or, as in some cases, mimeographed. The criterion for inclusion is whether the publications were intended to be used also outside the organisation, that is all material intended for use only internally in the different Internationals has been excluded.

The reason for setting the starting point in 1914 is that in his bibliography on the Second International, Georges Haupt made the planned Congress of the International in Vienna August 1914 the last one to be included<sup>(6)</sup>. The bibliography on the Communist International by Vilem Kahan, of which only volume 1 has as yet been published, begins in 1919, but may include the material of the Women's International and the Youth International during the First World War in the forthcoming volumes as they in the main must be considered part of the left wing which

in 1919 established itself as the Communist International<sup>(7)</sup>. The different Fourth Internationals – of which the various Trotskyist international organisations have been covered in part by Petra and Wolfgang Lubitz<sup>(8)</sup> – also falls outside the scope of the present bibliography.

Although it has not been possible to find material from various Internationals, and as, furthermore, the publications found only exist scattered over several libraries of the IALHI members, we believe that this bibliography is a decisive step forward, as many Internationals are only now recognized as such and the possibility exists to collect the now identified missing items. Probably most of the publications of the 39 Internationals listed in this bibliography, out of which 12 are still publishing today, have been found – with the exception of the European Socialist Party. Here a great and probably difficult task awaits us. But this only indicates what is the case with most of the Internationals of the post-Second World War period: their publications have not been collected systematically, nor do the Internationals themselves feel the necessity to keep record of their own history. Among others things, this shows a loss of historical identity in the Labour movement.

(1) See J. GRANDJONC, *Die deutsche Binnenwanderung in Europa 1830 bis 1848*. In: O. BUSCH et al. (eds): *Die frühsozialistischen Bünde in der Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Vom "Bund der Gerechten" zum "Bund der Kommunisten" 1836-1847*. Ein Tagungsbericht, Berlin: 1975, pp. 3-20.  
*Der Bund der Kommunisten. Dokumente und Materialien*, vol. 1-3, Berlin 1970-1984, and M. HUNDT, *Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten 1836-1852, Philosophie und Geschichte der Wis-*

*senschaften, Studien und Quellen* 3, Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang, 1993.

- (2) U. HERMANN, *Der Kampf von Karl Marx um eine revolutionäre Gewerkschaftspolitik 1864 bis 1868*, Berlin, 1868.
- (3) A brief survey of the various congresses is provided by A. REISBERG, *Von der I. zur II. Internationale. Die Durchsetzung des Marxismus im Kampf um die Wiederherstellung der Arbeiterinternationale*, Berlin, 1980, pp. 98-138. For the first years of the new International, see M. BÜRGI, *Die Anfänge der Zweiten Internationale. Positionen und Auseinandersetzungen 1889-1893. Quellen und Studien zur Sozialgeschichte*, 16, Frankfurt, 1996; for the refoundation of the Labour and Socialist International, see R. SIGEL, *Die Geschichte der Zweiten Internationale 1918-1923 – Quellen und Studien zur Sozialgeschichte*, 7, Frankfurt/M., 1985.
- (4) For the activities of Danish Social-Democratic organisations in this field the survey in C. LARSEN-JENSEN (ed), *Vi forandrer verden ... - dansk arbejderbevægelse og internationaliseringen [We Change the World - the Danish Labour Movement and Internationalization]*, Copenhagen, 1999.
- (5) See: Second International Series on Microfilm. In: *Newsletter*, IALHI, (1993)7 and (1995)9.
- (6) G. HAUPT, *La deuxième Internationale 1889-1914. Etude critique des sources. Essai bibliographique*, Paris, 1964.
- (7) V. KAHAN, *Bibliography of the Communist International (1919-1979)*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1990.
- (8) P. & W. LUBITZ, *Trotsky bibliography. An international classified list of publications about Leon Trotsky and trotskyism 1905-1988*, München, 1999; *Trotsky Serial Bibliography 1927-1991. With locations and indices*, München, 1993.

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