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LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM

BY
LEWIS L. LORWIN

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DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

In many directions economic, social, and political forces and movements are being conceived and organized with a view to co-operative action along international lines. One of the earliest and the most dramatic of these movements has been that which, for almost a century, has been enrolled under the banner of "Workers of the World, Unite". This book tells the story of that movement. It traces the origin of the idea of international labor co-operation, the successive attempts to embody it in functional organizations, the effect that it has had on world history, and the complex systems of international associations which seek to make the idea a living reality today.

In our time these international activities of labor are almost entirely misconceived, when not ignored. In the popular mind the internationalism of labor is generally identified with the Third International. In better informed circles, there is more or less adequate information about the International Labor Office or one or another of the international labor organizations. There has never existed, however, in any language, a systematic and comprehensive account of the international labor movement as a whole

—of its subdivisions, its internal struggles, and its meaning to world relations in general. This gap is filled by Dr. Lorwin's book herewith presented by the Institute of Economics. In the light of the facts and of his analysis, the Third International appears in its true perspective, as do all the other organizations which, though less spectacular and alarming, may have no less importance for the social history of the world.

While containing a comprehensive survey of the social radicalism of today in its world aspects, *Labor and Internationalism* is primarily concerned with the analysis of the capacity and validity of what is called workers' internationalism. The historical sections of the volume—as well as Book II—bring out clearly the difficulties which labor has faced in its efforts to build up an internationalism of mind and interests, and the limitations which political and economic facts impose upon all international ideals.

In the course of his investigation, Dr. Lorwin twice visited most of the countries of Europe and interviewed trade union leaders, politicians, statesmen, economists, government officials, and "rank and file" members of labor organizations. He was accorded kindly assistance everywhere—for which the Institute of Economics and the author wish to express their appreciation and gratitude to all and to every single person individually.

In the preparation of Parts II, III, and IV, and of Chapter XIX, the author had the assistance of

DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

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Jean A. Flexner, to whose splendid abilities and valuable co-operation he feels it a pleasure, as well as a duty, to pay tribute. The investigation, as a whole, has been under the supervision of a committee consisting of the Director, Robert R. Kuczynski, Isador Lubin, and Leverett S. Lyon.

HAROLD G. MOULTON,

Director.

Institute of Economics,
November, 1928.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

In the writing of this book which ranges over a wide field, it was necessary to draw upon a large number of books, pamphlets, documents, reports, and periodicals. While the author is tempted to conform to the ancient and honorable tradition of piling up an impressive bibliography, he would not be serving an important enough purpose to justify the extra space required. The titles listed below are arranged by chapters and are intended to help the reader in finding the sources of quotations used, and in pursuing further phases of the subject in which he or she may be especially interested.

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CHAPTER I

THE TEEMING MASS OF IDEAS, 1830-1848

As our perspective widens, the social history of the first half of the nineteenth century appears more fascinating and significant. That is especially true of the history of socialist ideas. Marxian socialists, following

Engels, have drawn a sharp line between their own "scientific" socialism and the "utopian" socialism of Marx's predecessors. But our changed view of science invalidates this distinction and places a new value on the conceptual innovations and inventive schemes of the pre-Marxian socialists. Much new light has been thrown on these earlier socialists in the recent writings of Tugan-Baranowsky, L. Pöhle, R. Liefmann, H. Bourguin, and Franz Oppenheimer; while the meaning of the earlier labor movements is made clearer in the works of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, John R. Commons, G. D. H. Cole, and R. H. Tawney.

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THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL, 1864-1876

There is no adequate history of the First International. Most accounts have been written either by pro-Marxians or Bakuninists.

The literature on Marx and Marxism is voluminous, but a satisfactory account of the man and of his work may be obtained from the biographies written since 1918 by M. Beer, H. J. Laski, F. R. Salter, Ferdinand Toennis, R. Wilbrandt, and A. Loria. The most elaborate biography is that written by Franz Mehring. The shorter writings of Marx—such as the *Civil War in France*—are brilliant in style and revelatory of his passion, wide knowledge, and political insight.

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WORLD UPHEAVAL, 1919-1920

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THE COURSE OF "AMSTERDAM"

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CHAPTER XVII

"AMSTERDAM'S" SOCIALIST ALLIES

There are no outstanding theoretical writers in the socialist movement at the present time. Kautsky, though still writing, no longer enjoys the position he held before the War. Otto Bauer, the leader of the Austro-Marxists, regarded by many as the most brilliant representative of the Socialist International today, is overburdened with the work of editor, parliamentarian, and party leader, and can point to no theoretical work of major importance. The same may be said of Rudolf Hilferding, the present Minister of Finance in Germany, whose book *Das Finanz-Kapital*, published before the War, gave him theoretical prominence. Most of the socialist writers in France, England, and elsewhere, are publicists and politicians, who have neither the time nor the equipment for intensive theoretical work.

Current socialist thought can be followed best through the *Socialist Review*, published in England, *Der Kampf*, published in Vienna, *L'Avenir Social*, published in Brussels, *Die Gesellschaft*, published in Berlin, and the *Socialist Messenger* (in Russian), published by exiled Russian socialists in Berlin.

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CHAPTER XVIII

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CHAPTER XX

THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

Communists admit that they suffer from a paucity of men and women capable of independent theoretical work. Most of the theorizing in the Third International is done by N. Bukharin, the editor of the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, the *Pravda*. Bukharin is a man of wide range in the field of philosophy, history, and economics, but he does not always rise to great theoretical heights, and is prone to formulate sweeping generalizations, à propos of a passing situation.

Aside from Bukharin's books, communist doctrines are elaborated in the theses, resolutions, and programs of the Third International. Though Bukharin has been the guiding spirit of these, during the past few years, they show the effects of collective thinking of the leaders of the communist movement. A striking feature of communist thinking, as reflected in these resolutions and programs, is its rapid shifting of position under pressure of changing conditions.

Communism produces an extensive pamphlet literature. This is due to the fact that the communists of different countries select whatever strikes them as important in proceedings of congresses or in their maga-

zines or in the speeches of leaders, and reprint such material for popular circulation.

Most of the reports of the proceedings of communist congresses, the resolutions adopted, and the programs can be found in the *International Press Correspondence*, which is published weekly. Summaries and interpretations of these are usually published in communist and labor magazines, among the best of which are the *Communist International*, the *Red Trade Union International*, and the *Labour Monthly* published in London.

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THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND ITS SATELLITES

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- Adler, Victor, 1852-1918. Founder and leader of Austrian Socialist Party till his death; p. 70.
- Andreev, A., 1885—. Russian metal worker. Bolshevik since 1914; member of executive committee of All-Russian Trade Union Council and of Russian Communist Party; p. 230.
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- Applegarth, Robert, born in 1833. British trade unionist. Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, 1862-1871; p. 31.
- Appleton, W. A., 1859—. Secretary of the General Federation of British Trade Unions since 1907; pp. 110; 176; 178; 196; 232-3; 260-1; 264-5; 411.
- Asquith, Herbert H., Lord Oxford, 1852-1928. Leader of Liberal Party of England and several times Prime Minister; p. 95.
- Baboeuf, François Noel, 1760-1797. French communist. Founded *Société des Égoux* in 1795. Was guillo-

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- Bakunin, Michel, 1814-1876. Russian anarchist and revolutionist; pp. 22; 47; 52-6; 67; 135; 559; 575.
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- Barnes, G. N., 1859—. British labor leader and government official; p. 190.
- Bauer, Otto, 1881—. Leader of Austrian Socialist Party. Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 1918-19—; p. 437.
- Baumeister, A., assistant to Legien; p. 176.
- Bebel, Ferdinand August, 1840-1913. One of founders of German Social Democratic Party. Leader of his party from 1900 to 1913; pp. 47; 70; 78; 85; 135.
- Beesly, Edward Spencer, born in 1831. Professor of History at University College in London. Follower of Auguste Comte; pp. 34-5.
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- Berkman, Alexander. Anarchist. Born in Russia. Emigrated to the United States about 1890. Departed to Russia in 1920. Left Russia in 1922; p. 230.
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- Bevin, E., 1881—. Secretary of Gas Workers' Union of England. Influential in British Trade Union Congress; p. 332.

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- Bissolati, Leonida, 1857-1920. Italian reformist-socialist. Cabinet Minister during 1914-18; p. 150.
- Blanc, Louis, 1811-1882. French historian and socialist. Author of *L'Organisation du Travail* in 1840; p. 37.
- Blanqui, Louis Auguste, 1805-1881. French socialist and revolutionist. Spent over 40 years of his life in prison for conspiring against various French governments; pp. 16; 18; 19; 24.
- Blatchford, Robert P., 1851—. British socialist. Known especially as founder of *The Clarion* in 1892, and as author of *Merrie England*; p. 152.
- Blum, Leon. Present leader of French Socialist Party; p. 223.
- Boncour, Paul, 1873—. One of leading members of right wing of French Socialist Party. Influential in League of Nations until his resignation in 1928; p. 438.
- Bordiga, Amadeo. Leader of "left" opposition in Communist Party of Italy; pp. 224; 312.
- Bourderon, A., 1858—. Member of French Socialist Party; member of the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labor; pp. 155-6; 180.
- Bowerman, C. W., 1851—. President of Printing and Kindred Trades' Federation of England. Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, 1910-1923; pp. 260; 265.
- Brailsford, Henry Noel, 1873—. British Socialist writer; p. 429.
- Bramley, Fred, 1874-1925. Secretary of British Trade Union Congress, 1923-1925; p. 308.
- Brandler, Heinrich, 1881—. German communist. Sec-

- retary of State in workers' government of Saxony in 1923; pp. 252; 311.
- Branting, Karl Hjalmar, 1860-1925. At one time astronomer in Stockholm observatory. Founder of Swedish Socialist Party. Several times Prime Minister of Sweden; pp. 66; 159; 167.
- Briand, Aristide, 1862—. At one time member of French Socialist Party. Several times Prime Minister of France. French Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1925; p. 72.
- Bright, John, 1811-1889. One of founders of Anti-Corn Law League. Member of Parliament, 1858-1889; p. 33.
- Broadhurst, Henry, 1840-1911. Secretary of Parliamentary Committee of British Trade Union Congress after 1874. Member of Parliament, 1894-1906; p. 117.
- Brown, John W., 1886—. One of organizers of National Federation of Professional, Technical, Administrative, and Supervisory Workers of England; pp. 273; 299; 309; 331; 365-6; 368; 411.
- Buchez, Filippé J. B., 1796-1865. At one time a member of the Society of Carbonari. Editor of *Le Producteur*, devoted to the propaganda of co-operation in France. President of Constitutional Assembly in 1848; p. 12.
- Bukharin, N. I., 1888—. Member of Bolshevik Party since 1906. Editor of Russian paper in the United States in 1916. Editor of *Pravda* and member of Politbureau of Russian Communist Party; pp. 321; 339; 341; 349; 352; 357; 363.
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- Burns, John, 1858—. At one time member of Amalga-

- ated Engineering Union of England, and of British Socialist Party, from which he resigned in 1906. President Board of Trade in 1914; pp. 65; 66; 120.
- Butler, H. B., 1883—. Assistant to secretary of the British Minister of Labor in 1917. Assistant to the general secretary of the International Commission on Labor Legislation in 1919; p. 485.
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- Cameron, A. C. American trade unionist between 1860 and 1870; p. 50.
- Capmany, Rafael Z. Secretary of State for Mexico under President Carranza; p. 283.
- Carranza, Venustiano, 1859-1920. President of Mexico, 1914-1920; pp. 278; 282-4; 292-3.
- Chamberlain, Sir Austen, 1863—. Member of British Parliament since 1892. Secretary of Foreign Affairs since 1924; p. 358.
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- Cipriani, Amilcare, 1845-1918. Italian revolutionist and socialist. Took part in Garibaldi expedition in 1860. Member of First International. Imprisoned at various times in Italy and France and expelled from both countries; p. 70.
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- Cobbett, William, 1763-1835. English radical writer and agitator; p. 14.
- Cobden, Richard, 1804-1865. English statesman. Founder of Anti-Corn Law League; pp. 21; 57.
- Colins, J. G. C. A. H., 1793-1859. Belgian sociologist and socialist; p. 42.
- Condé, Eduardo, Spanish immigrant, at one time active in labor movement of Cuba; p. 276.
- Cook, A. J., 1884—. Secretary Miners' Federation of Great Britain since 1919; pp. 333; 335.
- Costa, Andreas, died in 1910. Italian socialist. At one time follower of Bakunin, then organizer of Italian Socialist Party; p. 70.
- Coullery, Dr. Swiss social reformer; p. 42.
- Cramp, C. T., 1876—. English labor leader. Secretary National Union of Railwaymen. Member of Executive Committee of Labor Party; p. 332.
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- David, Eduard, 1863—. German socialist. Member of Reichstag since 1903. Under-secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in 1918; p. 152.

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- De Geyter, Pierre. Brother of Adolphe; p. 58.
- De La Haye, Victor. French trade unionist; p. 120.
- De La Huerta, Adolpho. Mexican general; p. 300.
- De Leon, Daniel, 1852-1914. Leader of Socialist Labor Party of America. Came to United States in 1872 from the Dutch West Indies where he was born; pp. 74; 79.
- Denikin, Anton, 1872—. Russian general and leader of army against the Soviet government; pp. 212-13.
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- Diaz, Porfirio, 1830-1915. President and dictator of Mexico from 1877 to 1911; pp. 94; 277-9; 283.
- Disraeli, Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield, 1804-1881. British statesman; p. 55.
- Dogadov, Alexis, 1888—. Member Metal Workers' Union since 1906 and of Bolshevik Party since 1905. Secretary of the All-Russian Trade Union Council; pp. 230; 246.
- Dunne, William F., American communist. Member of the Montana legislature 1918-1920. Co-editor of the *Daily Worker*; p. 244.
- Ebert, Friedrich, 1871-1925. German socialist leader. First President of German Republic from 1919 to 1925; pp. 152; 212; 252.
- Engels, Friedrich, 1820-1895. Friend and collaborator of Karl Marx; pp. 24-27; 37; 51; 54-56; 74; 119; 135; 144; 349; 352; 498; 549.

- Fenner-Brockway, A., 1889—. Secretary British Independent Labor Party. Imprisoned during the war as conscientious objector; p. 324.
- Ferri, Enrico, 1856—. Italian criminologist and socialist. Resigned from Socialist Party and from parliament in 1908; p. 78.
- Fimmen, Edo, 1875—. Former Secretary of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions. Secretary International Federation of Transport Workers; pp. 196; 244; 247; 327; 331; 411; 476.
- Fischer, Ruth, 1895—. German communist. Member of German Reichstag; pp. 311; 320; 340; 352; 383; 528.
- Foster, William Z., 1881—. Successively socialist, syndicalist, and communist. Communist candidate for United States President, 1924 and 1928; pp. 129; 229; 271-2.
- Fourier, Charles F. M., 1772-1837. Author of *Théorie des Quatres Mouvements* and founder of Associationist School of Socialism; p. 12.
- Fox, Peter. Secretary of First International; p. 45.
- Frey, John P., 1871—. Editor of *Molders' Journal of America* from 1903 to 1927. Secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor since 1927; pp. 267; 369.
- Frossard, Ludovico-Oscar, 1889—. General secretary French Socialist Party in 1918-19. Secretary French Communist Party 1922-23; pp. 160; 214; 243.
- Furuseth, Andrew, 1854—. President International Seamen's Union of America since 1909. Born in Norway; came to United States in 1880; pp. 177; 257.
- Garza, Mexican general, p. 288.
- George, David Lloyd, 1863—. British statesman. Prime Minister, 1918-1922; p. 95.

- Gladstone, William E., 1809-1898. British statesman and leader of the Liberal Party; p. 55.
- Goldman, Emma, 1869—. Anarchist writer and agitator. Born in Russia, migrated to United States in 1886. Deported to Russia in 1920; left Russia in 1922; p. 230.
- Gomez, Juan Vicente, 1859—. President of Venezuela since 1922; p. 375.
- Gompers, Samuel, 1850-1924. Born in England. Came to United States in 1863. President of the American Federation of Labor from 1882 to 1924; pp. 103; 118-128; 132-3; 140; 161; 166; 174; 176-7; 179; 183; 185-8; 190-6; 233; 253-4; 258-61; 263-5; 267-9; 273-5; 278; 281-7; 289-91; 295-7; 299-301; 372-3.
- Grassman, Peter O., 1873—. Vice-President of the German Federation of Trade Unions since 1919. Socialist member of Reichstag since 1924; p. 366.
- Gray, John, 1799-1850. Became famous for his *Lecture on Human Happiness*, published in 1825; p. 12.
- Green, William, 1872—. Secretary United Mine Workers of America, 1913-1924. President American Federation of Labor since 1924; pp. 369; 374.
- Grimm, Robert, 1881—. Swiss socialist. At one time member of the Swiss National Council; pp. 154; 156.
- Guesde, Jules B., 1845-1922. French disciple of Marx. Member of Chamber of Deputies from 1893 to 1921. Minister without portfolio during war; pp. 65; 70; 77; 78.
- Guillaume, James. Swiss teacher. Disciple of Bakunin. A leader in First International; p. 140.
- Haase, Hugo, 1863-1919. Socialist member of the Reichstag from 1897-1918 with some intervals. Member of Council of People's Commissars after the Revolution of 1918. Was assassinated in the Reichstag; pp. 137; 152; 156; 212.

- Hardie, J. Keir, 1856-1915. Founder of the British Independent Labor Party in 1893. Leader of Labor Party in 1906; pp. 70; 80; 92.
- Harding, Warren G., 1865-1923. President of the United States, 1921-1923; p. 269.
- Haywood, William D., 1869-1928. American labor leader. One of the founders of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905. Arrested many times for industrial activities. Escaped in 1920 to Russia where he died; pp. 229; 560.
- Heine, Wolfgang, 1861—. Socialist member of German Reichstag 1898-1920. At one time Minister of the Interior of Prussia; p. 152.
- Henderson, Arthur, 1863—. British socialist. At one time member of Friendly Society of Iron Founders. Secretary of Labor Party since 1911. Minister without portfolio during war. Home Secretary in 1924; pp. 79; 139; 161; 166; 187-8; 217; 437.
- Herriot, Edouard, 1872—. French statesman. Prime Minister 1924-25; pp. 305; 319; 442.
- Hervé, Gustave, 1871—. French writer and journalist. Extreme anti-militarist before the war. Nationalist and anti-socialist since the World War; p. 91.
- Hicks, George, 1879—. Successively secretary and president of the Federation of Building Trades Operatives of England since 1919. Member of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress; pp. 310; 336; 367; 411.
- Hilferding, Rudolf, 1878—. German socialist writer and leader. Minister of Finance in the Stresemann government of 1924, and again in the coalition government of Hermann Mueller of 1928; p. 217.
- Hillquit, Morris, 1870—. American socialist leader. Born in Riga, Latvia. Came to United States in 1886; pp. 79, 161; 217.

- Hindenburg, Paul von B., 1847—. German Field Marshal during the war. President of the German Republic since 1925; pp. 316; 320.
- Hitler, Adolf. Leader of Fascists in Bavaria. Held power in Munich with Ludendorff in 1923, for a day. Tried for treason in 1924 and sentenced to short term in prison; p. 251.
- Hodges, Frank, 1887—. Secretary of Miners' Federation of Great Britain from 1918 to 1924. At present adviser to Employers' Association; p. 333.
- Hodgskin, Thomas, 1783-1869. Author of *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital*, published in 1825; p. 12.
- Hoffman, Adolph, 1858—. German socialist who became communist; pp. 155; 226.
- Horthy de Nagybányá, N., 1868—. At one time aide-de-camp to Emperor Francis-Joseph. Regent of Hungary since 1920; pp. 206-7; 212.
- Howell, George, 1833-1910. Secretary of London Trades' Council from 1860 to 1862; p. 31.
- Hueber, Anton, 1861—. Member Social Democratic Party of Austria since 1880; secretary of Austrian Trade Union Federation; p. 127.
- Huerta, Victoriano, 1854-1916. Mexican leader of military bands; pp. 278; 282.
- Hunt, George W. P., 1859—. Elected first Governor of State of Arizona in 1911. Re-elected in 1915, 1919, and 1922; p. 288.
- Huysmans, Camille, 1871—. At one time professor at the University of Brussels. Member Belgian parliament since 1910; pp. 87; 127; 151; 166.
- Hyndman, Henry Mayers, 1842-1921. Founder of British Social Democratic Federation in 1881; pp. 65; 67; 74; 79; 152.
- Hynes, John P., 1872—. Organizer and president of the

International Association of Sheet Metal Workers of America, p. 191.

- Iglesias, Pablo, 1850-1927. Leader of Spanish Socialist Party. Printer by trade; p. 70.
- Iglesias, Santiago, 1872—. Leader of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico since 1899, and of the Socialist Party of Porto Rico. Senator in Porto Rico since 1917; pp. 276-7; 376; 385.
- Ilg, Conrad, 1877—. President of the Swiss Metalworkers' Federation since 1917. Secretary of the International Federation of Metal-workers since 1920. A member of the Swiss parliament; p. 476.
- Jaurès, Jean Léon, 1859-1914. At one time professor of philosophy at Toulouse. Vice-President of French Chamber of Deputies under the Combes Ministry. Great orator; pp. 77-8; 85; 92; 137; 142.
- Jensen, J. Leader in Danish trade union movement; p. 101.
- Jessup, W. American labor leader during the eighteen sixties; p. 44.
- Johnson, Andrew, 1808-1875. Vice-President and President of United States, 1865 to 1869; p. 41.
- Jouhaux, Léon, 1879—. At one time secretary of the Match Workers' Union of France. Secretary of the French Confederation of Labor since 1909. Member of the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations since 1920; pp. 127; 129; 174-7; 179; 181-4; 188; 190; 194; 196; 260; 364-5; 367; 411.
- Joynton-Hicks, Sir W., 1865—. British Home Secretary since 1924; p. 330.
- Kalinin, Michael Ivanovich, 1875—. President of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic since 1919 and

- of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics since 1923. Member Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party since 1919; p. 341.
- Kamenev, Leon B. (other name Rosenfeld), 1883—. Member Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party since 1903. Was President of Moscow Soviet and held important positions in Soviet government and in the Communist Party from 1918 to 1927; pp. 163; 321; 340; 362; 383; 528.
- Kapp, Wolfgang, 1868—. A leading Junker of East Prussia. Headed conspiracy to overthrow German Republic in 1919; p. 213.
- Kater, Fritz. German worker and syndicalist. Secretary of German Free Labor Union; p. 561.
- Katz, Jacob. A worker in Belgium in 1836; p. 16.
- Kautsky, Karl J., 1854—. Austro-German socialist. Founder and editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, 1833-1917. Supervised publication of German official documents on the origin of the World War; pp. 74; 76-8; 135; 137; 144; 152; 165; 217.
- Kolchak, Vladimir V., 1870-1920. Russian Admiral. Leader of anti-Soviet forces, 1917-1920; pp. 169; 212-13.
- Kollontai, Alexandra, 1872—. Founder of working women's socialist organizations in Russia. Commissar of Social Welfare in the Soviet government. Minister Plenipotentiary from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Norway and to Mexico; p. 241.
- Korsch, Karl. German "Left" communist. At one time professor of jurisprudence; pp. 311; 340; 352.
- Kropotkin, Peter, 1842-1921. Russian prince, scientist, and anarchist, p. 67.
- Kun, Bela, 1886—. Hungarian socialist. War prisoner in Russia where he became communist. Organized Communist government in Hungary in March, 1919,

which was overthrown in August. Escaped to Russia; p. 212.

- Ladd, William, 1778-1841. American philanthropist and pacifist; p. 21.
- Lafargue, Paul, 1842-1911. Born in Cuba but settled in France in 1851. Son-in-law of Karl Marx. Writer on socialism; pp. 70, 74.
- Lassalle, Ferdinand, 1825-1864. Agitator for universal suffrage in Germany. Founded German Workingmen's Association in 1863; p. 37.
- Lavigne. French trade unionist; p. 71.
- Lazzari, Constantino. At one time secretary of Italian Socialist Party. One of the founders of Left wing in the party; p. 150.
- Ledebur, Georg, 1850—. German socialist. Member of Reichstag, 1900-1918. One of founders of Independent Socialist Party in 1916; pp. 152; 155; 244.
- Lee, Algernon, 1873—. Member of Socialist Party of America. New York alderman 1918-1921; p. 161.
- Legien, Carl, 1861-1920. German labor leader and socialist. Member of Reichstag 1903-1920. Member of German Peace Delegation to Versailles; pp. 101-2; 107; 112; 121; 126; 132-3; 174; 176-9; 182-4; 194; 196.
- Le Grand, Daniel, 1783-1859. Alsatian manufacturer and social reformer; pp. 20; 43; 114.
- Leipart, Theodor, 1867—. Member of German Woodworkers' Union. President of General Federation of German Trade Unions since 1921; pp. 364; 367; 411.
- Lenin, Nicolai (Ulianov, Vladimir Ilyitch), 1870-1924. Founder and leader of Russian Bolshevik Party; pp. 78; 92; 153; 155; 161; 163; 165; 211; 225; 228; 312; 349; 351-2; 499-501; 538; 549.

- Lensch, Paul. At one time leading German socialist. Recently director of non-socialist newspapers; p. 152.
- Leo XIII, Pope, 1810-1903. Elected Pope in 1878; pp. 115; 580.
- Leroux, Pierre, 1797-1871. French writer on social questions. Follower of Saint-Simon; p. 12.
- Levi, Paul, 1883—. German socialist who joined Communist Party. Communist member of Reichstag in 1920. At present a member of the Social Democratic Party and of the Reichstag; pp. 226-7; 528.
- Lewis, John L., 1880—. Vice-president and president of the United Mine Workers of America since 1917; p. 268.
- Liebknecht, Karl A. F., 1871-1919. Son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, German socialist. Tried for high treason for his book on *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*, in 1907. Imprisoned for anti-militarist activities during war; pp. 91; 137; 153; 211-12.
- Liebknecht, Wilhelm, 1826-1900. Leader of German Social Democratic Party of Germany. Close friend of Karl Marx; pp. 47; 70.
- Limousin, Georges. Died in 1909. French socialist and trade unionist; p. 33.
- Lincoln, Abraham, 1809-1865. American statesman and Civil War President; p. 41.
- Longuet, Jean, 1876—. French socialist and journalist. Grandson of Karl Marx. French Deputy from 1914 to 1919; pp. 70; 152; 156; 165; 167; 172; 217; 223.
- Lord, James, 1877—. Vice-President and president of the Mining Department, American Federation of Labor, 1913-1923; p. 287.
- Loriot, Fernand. Treasurer of French Socialist Party, 1914 to 1918. Imprisoned as communist in 1920; p. 180.
- Losovsky, Arnold, 1878—. Russian Bolshevik and trade

- unionist. At one time secretary of Moscow Trade Unions. Secretary of Red International of Labor Unions since 1921; pp. 218; 230; 243; 532-3.
- Loveira, Carlos. Mexican labor leader; pp. 283; 286.
- Lovett, William, 1800-1877. A Cornish workman. Chartist leader. Later active in educational work and as pacifist; pp. 16-19.
- Ludendorff, General von, 1865—. Chief of German General Staff, 1914-1918. One of leaders of nationalist and fascist groups in Germany since 1918; p. 51.
- Luxemburg, Rosa, 1870-1919. Born in Poland. Came to Germany at the age of 16. Active in German Social Democratic Party before the war. Leading anti-war socialist, 1914-1918. Assassinated in 1919; pp. 92; 137; 153; 212.
- MacDonald, James Ramsay, 1866—. Leader of British Labor Party. Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1924; pp. 79; 138; 152; 167; 237; 305; 316; 336; 442.
- McGuire, P. J., died in 1906. At one time Secretary of United Brotherhood of Carpenters. President of American Federation of Labor in 1894; p. 120.
- Machado, Gerardo, 1873—. President of Cuba; p. 375.
- Madero, Francisco I., 1873-1913. Leader of revolution against Diaz. President of Mexico 1911-1913. Assassinated in 1913; p. 278.
- Madsen, Carl F., 1862-1928. Danish labor leader and socialist. Secretary and president of Danish Federation of Labor after 1903; p. 367.
- Magon, Enrique. A leader of the Liberal Party of Mexico in its fight against President Diaz; pp. 278-9.
- Magon, Picardo, brother and associate of Enrique Magon; pp. 278-9.

- Malatesta, Enrico, 1853—. Italian follower of Bakunin, and leader of anarchist movement; p. 67.
- Mann, Tom, 1856—. British labor organizer and agitator. Secretary of Amalgamated Engineers' Union, 1919-1921. Successively socialist, syndicalist, and communist; pp. 65; 66; 121; 229; 560.
- Martoff, L. Died in 1923. Russian leader of the Menshevik faction of the Social Democratic Party. Writer and journalist; p. 78.
- Marx, Wilhelm, 1863—. Chancellor of Germany in 1924 and candidate for President of Germany; p. 320.
- Marx, Heinrich Karl, 1818-1883. Author of *Das Kapital* and founder of scientific socialism. Born in Germany. Active in revolution of 1848. After 1849 lived in London where he died; pp. 23-27; 35-37; 39; 41-43; 45; 49-56; 66-67; 74; 135; 140; 144; 173; 312; 349; 352; 419; 427; 498-500; 503; 549; 559.
- Maslov, F. German communist of Russian origin; pp. 311; 320; 340; 352; 383.
- Mazzini, Giuseppe, 1805-1872. Leader of nationalist movement of Italy. Ardent republican; pp. 12; 16; 35; 40.
- Mehring, Franz, 1846-1919. German socialist and historian; pp. 137; 153.
- Merrheim, A. Died a few years ago. French socialist and secretary of Federation of Metal Workers; pp. 153; 155-6; 177; 180.
- Mertens, Corneille, 1880—. At one time secretary of the Belgian Bookbinders' Union. Secretary of Belgian Federation of Labor since 1911. Member of Belgian Labor Party; pp. 176; 178; 188; 192; 196; 364; 367; 411.
- Metternich, Clemens, Prince von, 1773-1859. Austrian statesman; p. 11.
- Millerand, Alexandre, 1859—. At one time member of

- French Socialist Party. President of French Republic 1920 to 1924; p. 77.
- Mitchell, Isaac. Secretary of Federation of British Trade Unions; p. 101.
- Monatte, Pierre. French syndicalist. Printer by trade; pp. 153; 180; 229; 352; 560.
- Moneda, Eduardo. Member of Printing Trades' Union of Mexico. Secretary of the C. R. O. M. Director of the Government Printing Bureau of Mexico; p. 285.
- Monmousseau, Gaston. Secretary of United Confederation of Labor of France; p. 560.
- Morgari, Oddino, 1865—. Member of Italian Socialist Party since 1892. At one time deputy of Italian parliament; pp. 150; 156.
- Morones, Luis N., 1890—. Minister of Labor and Industry in Mexico under President Calles; pp. 283; 285; 287; 290; 299.
- Morris, William, 1834-1896. British poet and socialist. Author of *News from Nowhere*; p. 65.
- Morrison, Frank, 1859—. Typographical worker. Secretary of American Federation of Labor since 1897; p. 260.
- Most, John, 1846-1906. Member of German Social Democratic Party, and Deputy of German Reichstag, 1874-1878. Turned anarchist and migrated to United States in 1890; p. 67.
- Mueller, Hermann, 1876—. German socialist. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1919-20. Chancellor of Germany from March to June, 1920. Chancellor of Germany in 1928; pp. 136-7; 437.
- Murray, Gilbert, 1866—. Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford; p. 248.
- Murray, John. American trade unionist and journalist; pp. 278; 285; 287; 291.

- Mussolini, Benito, 1883—. At one time trade union and socialist agitator. Founder of Italian Fascism. Premier of Italy; pp. 150; 154; 244.
- Naine, Charles, 1874—. Swiss socialist and writer. At one time member of Swiss National Council; p. 156.
- Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela, born in 1846. Originally preacher at the Hague. Socialist member of Dutch parliament from 1888 to 1901. Became anarchist and anti-militarist; p. 70.
- Nin, A. Spanish syndicalist who became communist; p. 560.
- Noske, Gustav, 1868—. German socialist. Minister of War in 1919 and 1920. Since President of the Province of Hanover; pp. 152; 212; 217.
- Obregon, Alvaro, 1880-1928. Commander of Western Army of Mexico during the revolution of 1913. President of Mexico 1920-1924. Assassinated in 1928; pp. 293; 296; 299; 300.
- O'Connor, Feargus, 1794-1855. Leader of Chartism between 1840 and 1848; p. 24.
- Odger, George, 1820-1877. English trade union leader; pp. 31, 33-35; 45.
- Oudegeest, Jan, 1870—. Dutch trade union leader and socialist. Member of Governing Board of International Labor Organization, 1920-1927; pp. 127; 178-9; 182; 186; 188-9; 196; 245; 247; 260; 264-5; 267; 269-70; 309; 331; 364-6; 368-9; 411.
- Owen, Robert, 1771-1858. British manufacturer and social reformer; pp. 12; 17; 20.
- Painlevé, Paul, 1863—. French mathematician and statesman. Minister of War and Prime Minister in 1917. Republican socialist; p. 319.

- Perkins, George W., 1856—. President of Cigar-Makers' Union of America; p. 131.
- Perrochon, French labor leader during the eighteen sixties; p. 33.
- Piatakow, George, 1878—. Russian communist. At one time acting chairman of Supreme Council of National Economy; pp. 340; 362; 383.
- Plekhanov, Georges, 1857-1919. Founder of Social Democratic Party in Russia. Leader of Mensheviks; pp. 70; 74; 78.
- Poincaré, Raymond, 1860—. President of French Republic in 1913. Many times Minister and Premier of France; pp. 248; 305.
- Pottier, Eugène, 1816-1887. French socialist. Author of the *Internationale*. Fugitive to England and America after the Commune; p. 58.
- Preobrajensky, E., 1886—. Russian communist of many years' standing. Writer on financial questions; p. 340.
- Proudhon, Pierre J., 1809-1865. French economist and anarchist. Printer by trade. Became famous as author of *What Is Property?* published in 1840; pp. 37; 43; 67.
- Purcell, Albert A., 1872—. Secretary Amalgamated Polishers of England from 1900 to 1910. Member of General Council of British Trade Union Congress since 1921; pp. 309; 334; 336; 365; 367; 411.
- Radek, Karl. Active in socialist movement of Austria before the war. One of communist leaders after 1917. Brilliant journalist; pp. 251-2; 340; 528.
- Rakovsky, Christian, 1873—. Organizer and founder of Rumanian Socialist Party before the war. One of communist leaders in Russia between 1917 and 1927. President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in 1919; pp. 340; 362; 528.

- Ravachol, François-Auguste, 1860-1892. His father's name was Königstein, but he adopted his mother's name. Born in Lyon, France, and executed in Paris; p. 72.
- Réclus, Elisée, 1830-1905. French anarchist, writer and leader; p. 67.
- Renaudel, Pierre, 1871—. French socialist and member of the Chamber of Deputies; pp. 152; 217; 223.
- Rokker, Rudolf, 1870—. German anarchist and syndicalist. Spent many years in exile in London where he published an anarchist paper; returned to Germany after the war; p. 561.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 1858-1919. American statesman. President of the United States, 1901-1909; p. 95.
- Rosenberg, Arthur, 1899—. Professor University of Berlin and communist member of the Reichstag since 1924; p. 311.
- Rosmer, French syndicalist and communist; pp. 229; 352; 560.
- Rossoni, E. Former Italian syndicalist. Now head of the Fascist trade unions of Italy; p. 492.
- Russell, Charles Edward, 1860—. American writer and one time member of Socialist Party. Member of American Mission to Russia in 1917; p. 161.
- Rykov, Aleksei I., 1881—. Member Russian Bolshevik Party since 1905. President of the Council of People's Commissars of U. S. S. R. since 1924; pp. 321; 341; 363.
- Saint-Simon, Claude H., 1760-1825. French socialist. Author of *Le Nouveau Christianisme*; p. 12.
- Sandler, Rickard J., 1884—. Swedish socialist since 1911. Teacher by profession. Minister of Commerce and Finance in various governments. Prime Minister of Sweden since 1925; p. 438.

- Sapronov, T. V., 1887—. Russian trade unionist and communist. At one time member of Central Committee of Communist Party and important member of Soviet government; pp. 340; 383.
- Sassenbach, Johann, 1866—. Active in educational and labor movements of Germany. Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions since 1923; pp. 192; 270; 309; 364; 369; 382; 411.
- Saunonneau, Louise, 1875—. French Socialist and communist; p. 180.
- Scheidemann, Philipp, 1865—. German socialist leader. Chancellor of Germany in 1919; pp. 152; 211; 217.
- Scholem, A. German communist of Russian origin; pp. 311; 340; 352.
- Serrarens, P. J. S., 1888—. Dutch labor leader and social worker; p. 596.
- Serrati, Giacinto M., 1872-1926. Italian socialist. Editor of Italian newspapers in Italy, New York, Switzerland. Imprisoned many times for anti-war propaganda; pp. 224; 244.
- Shaw, George Bernard, 1856—. English playwright and socialist; p. 65.
- Shaw, R. Secretary of First International; p. 45.
- Shaw, Thomas, 1872—. Formerly textile worker. Secretary of International Textile Workers' Union. Formerly also secretary of Second International; p. 436.
- Shliapnikov, Alexander, 1883—. Russian metal worker and Bolshevik. In 1917-18 was Commissar of Labor; p. 241.
- Skoropadski, Paul. Hetman of Ukraine in 1918; p. 169.
- Smilga, I. T., 1892—. Russian communist. In 1921-23 was acting chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy; pp. 340; 361; 383.

- Smirnov, V. M. Russian communist; leader of "opposition group"; p. 340.
- Sorge, F. A. German socialist. Came to America after 1848. Active in American labor and socialist movements; pp. 55; 119.
- Suchy, A. German journalist. Secretary International Association of Workingmen; p. 561.
- Souvarine, Boris. French journalist. At one time one of the leaders of the French Communist Party; pp. 312; 352; 528.
- Stalin, Joseph V. (Dzugashvili), 1879— Georgian by birth. Member of Russian Social Democratic Party since 1896. At one time Commissar for Nationalities. Secretary of Russian Communist Party; pp. 321; 339; 341; 349; 350; 352; 357; 363.
- Stambolisky, A. Prime Minister of Bulgaria from 1920 to 1923; p. 250.
- Stegerwald, A. A leader in the Christian trade union movement and in the Catholic Center Party of Germany; p. 116.
- Stresemann, Gustav, 1878—. Chancellor of Germany in 1923. German Minister of Foreign Affairs in various governments; pp. 249; 252.
- Stuergh, Count. Premier of Austria during the war; p. 158.
- Sudekum, Albert. At one time leading German social democrat and member of Reichstag; p. 152.
- Sun-Yat-Sen, Dr., 1867-1925. Leader of republican movement in China after 1895. Founder of Chinese nationalist movement; p. 355.
- Swales, A. B., 1870—. Member of Amalgamated Engineering Union of England since 1890. Socialist; p. 336.
- Sylvis, William H., 1828-1869. American labor leader; p. 44.

- Tarnow, Fritz. President of Woodworkers' Union of Germany and leading member of the German Federation of Trade Unions; p. 476.
- Tayerle, R. President of the "free" trade union federation of Czechoslovakia; p. 367.
- Thalheimer. German communist; pp. 252; 311.
- Thälmann, Ernest, 1866—. At one time member of German Social Democratic Party and of Transport Workers' Union. One of organizers of the Spartacus Bund during the war. Leader of German Communist Party. Communist candidate for the German Presidency in 1925; p. 320.
- Thomas, Albert, 1878—. French socialist since 1904. Minister of Munitions during the war. Director of the I. L. O. since 1919; pp. 152; 166; 217; 260; 382; 485.
- Thomas, J. H., 1873—. Secretary of British Railwaymen's Union. Member of Parliament. Secretary Colonial Office in the MacDonald Government in 1924; pp. 232; 309; 336; 411.
- Thompson, William, 1775-1833. Follower of Bentham and Robert Owen. Published in 1824 a volume under the title *Inquiries into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness*; p. 12.
- Tillett, Benjamin, 1860—. British labor leader and socialist. Known as great orator and strike organizer; pp. 66; 121.
- Tobin, Daniel J., 1875—. President of the Brotherhood of Teamsters since 1907. Treasurer of American Federation of Labor from 1917 to 1928; pp. 191; 290.
- Tolain, Henri L., 1828-1897. French worker and follower of Proudhon. Member of French Senate in later years of his life; pp. 33; 35.

- Tomsky, Michael, 1880—. Russian socialist and trade unionist since 1905. Chairman of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council since 1919. Member of Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party; pp. 230; 246; 314; 322; 337.
- Trevino, Ricardo, 1895—. Mexican labor leader and socialist. Secretary of the Mexican Labor Party since 1923; pp. 285; 287.
- Tristan, Flora, 1813-1844. French feminist and socialist writer; p. 23.
- Trotsky, Leon (Bronstein), 1879—. With Lenin organizer and leader of Bolshevik Revolution. Organizer of Soviet Red Army; pp. 153; 163; 312; 339; 340; 351; 358; 362-3; 383; 528.
- Turati, Filippo, 1857—. Leader of Italian Socialist Party until Fascist revolution; pp. 74; 78; 150.
- Urbahns. German communist; pp. 340; 352; 383.
- Vaillant, Edouard, 1840-1915. French socialist. Member of Chamber of Deputies from 1893 to 1914; pp. 70; 77; 92.
- Vaillant, A. French anarchist. Executed in Paris in 1894; p. 72.
- Vandervelde, Emile, 1866—. Belgian socialist leader. Minister of Justice 1918-1921, and of Foreign Affairs 1925-1926; pp. 138; 151-2; 166; 239; 438.
- Van Kol, Hendric, 1851-1925. Leader of Dutch Socialist Party. Member of parliament; p. 86.
- Vargas, Canuto A. Labor Attaché of Mexican Embassy in Washington in 1925; pp. 287; 291; 374.
- Villa, Francisco, 1868-1923. Mexican revolutionary general. Assassinated in 1923; pp. 282; 284.

- Villareal. Mexican revolutionist; p. 278.
- Vollmar, Georg von, 1850-1922. German socialist and member of Reichstag for many years. Leader of revisionists; pp. 70; 78.
- Walling, William E., 1877—. American writer on socialist and political questions; p. 161.
- Webb, Sidney, 1859—. British economist and socialist. President of the Board of Trade in the MacDonald Government; pp. 65; 430.
- Weitling, Wilhelm, 1808-1871. German tailor and communist. Migrated to the United States where he published a paper and organized a socialist colony in Wisconsin; p. 19.
- Wells, H. G., 1866—. English novelist and socialist; pp. 65; 152.
- Wels, Otto, 1875—. German socialist and trade unionist. Commander of city of Berlin in 1918. One of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag; pp. 212; 437.
- Wilhelm II, 1859—. Former Emperor of Germany; p. 95.
- Wilson, Joseph Havelock, 1859—. Secretary of the Seamen's Union of England and member of Parliament several times; p. 162.
- Wilson, William B., 1862—. First Secretary of Labor of the United States from 1913 to 1921; p. 288.
- Wilson, Woodrow, 1862-1924. American statesman. President of the United States 1913-1921; pp. 95; 159; 168; 190; 191; 198; 253; 255-7; 284; 287; 297.
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- Woll, Matthew, 1880—. President of the Photo-Engravers' Union of North America since 1906. Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor

- and Acting President of the Civic Federation; pp. 260; 262; 377.
- Wright, Chester M., 1883—. Secretary of Pan-American Federation of Labor, 1921-1927; pp. 161; 385.
- Wright, Frances, 1795-1852. English feminist and social reformer. Lived in the United States; pp. 13; 14.
- Yudenich, Nicolai, 1862—. Russian general. Led campaign against Soviet Russia in 1920; pp. 212; 213.
- Yudico, Samuel O., 1889-1928. At one time secretary of *La Casa del Obrero Mundial* of Mexico; p. 285.
- Yvetot, Georges, 1868—. French syndicalist and anarchist. Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor from 1902 to 1914; pp. 127; 129.
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- Zetkin, Clara, 1857—. German socialist and feminist. Active anti-militarist during the war. Communist member of Reichstag since 1920; pp. 70; 153; 226.
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