



EDUARD BERNSTEIN.



KARL LIEBKNECHT.



EDUARD DAVID.



PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN.

18me1

A

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY DURING THE WAR

U_H 67-23
120

BY

EDWYN BEVAN



LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.
RUSKIN HOUSE 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C. 1

A

First published in 1918

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ
БИБЛИОТЕКА
СООП
И. И. М. БИРНА

U 22419-67

(All rights reserved)

PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to put together in a consecutive narrative the principal events which make up the history of the German Social Democrat Party from the outbreak of the Great War till the elevation of Count Hertling to the Imperial Chancellorship at the beginning of November 1917. Of course any account of German Social Democracy written in England at this period must be—to use a delightful phrase of the late Professor T. K. Cheyne's—"strongly marked with provisionalness." This account is based upon the printed utterances—in papers, pamphlets, and books—of those who have themselves taken part in the events narrated: to that extent it is already possible to have first-hand data. Further, since the war literature produced by the opposing Social Democrat groups consists largely of mutual criticism and polemic, it is often possible to check one mode of representation by another. For a finally satisfactory account to be given, it will no doubt be necessary, not only that first-hand data should be available with regard to the separate facts, but that the person who constructs out of those facts a living whole should himself have been inside the movement and, grasping the inner forces at work, the interplay of personal influences, should select and order the facts in such a way as to exhibit their organic significance. That an English

writer in the fourth year of the war cannot do. Yet the outlines are already established, and one may hope that if such an account as the present one would need a great deal of supplementing in the light of fuller knowledge, it would not need much correction. It seems of great importance that we in England should gain without delay such clearness as is now possible on the part played by Social Democracy during these fateful years in Germany.

A great deal of the material from which the account is derived is still dispersed in newspapers and periodicals (as will be seen by the footnotes), but a few books may be mentioned which have already put some of the material together. For the earlier part of the war we have the account written by a German Social Democrat of the extreme Nationalist wing, Konrad Haenisch, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie in und nach dem Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1916), and a book by Dr. Richard Berger (Catholic "Centrum" Party), *Fraktionsspaltung und Parteikrisis* (München in Gladbach, 1916), referred to as "Berger" in the footnotes—which, although ill-constructed and wooden, is useful in so far as it puts together a certain number of documents. On the other side one may call special attention to Eduard Bernstein's article "Der Riss in der Sozialdemokratie" in *Die Zukunft* of April 21, 1917. One may also mention *La Faillite de l'Internationale*, by Alexandre Zévaès (Paris, 1917), a book written apparently with a strong anti-Socialist bent, and *The Socialist Party in the Reichstag*, by P. G. La Chesnais (Fisher Unwin, 1915). I regret that I did not see, in time to make use of them, Berger's second volume, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie im dritten Kriegsjahr* (1917), or *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie während des Weltkrieges*, a little book, published posthumously,