

I. Answers to the *Soziale Frage* in the 19th century in Germany (and beyond)

Social-democratic ideas	Non-Socialist ideas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work stoppages / strikes (<i>“Alle Räder stehen still, wenn dein starker Arm das will.”</i> Georg Herwegh) • 1863: General German Workers’ association (ADAV), F. Lassalle, Leipzig, non-Marxist, co-operative, pro-Prussian • 1869: Social Democratic Workers’ Party (SDAP), A. Bebel and W. Liebknecht, Eisenach, Marxist, internationalist • 1875: Socialist Workers’ Party (of Germany) (SAP(D)), Lassalleans + Bebel / Liebknecht, Gotha • 1890: Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Germany (SPD), Erfurt, Marxist (R. Luxemburg, K. Liebknecht) + Reformist (E. Bernstein + K. Kautsky), internationalist <div data-bbox="220 1025 721 1451" style="text-align: center;"> </div> <p data-bbox="236 1451 705 1552">© AdsD FES http://www.geschichte-der-sozialdemokratie.de/index.php?id=75&tx_igbildarchiv_pi1[p]=1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal: self-help associations, co-operative movement (co-operative shops, mutual insurances, etc.), F. Harkort, H. Schulze-Delitzsch • <i>Kathedersozialisten</i> (professors lecturing on social reforms): the state should be the mediator between workers and employers, G. Schmoller • The Churches <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roman Catholic Church: A. Kolping’s Journeymen’s Union of 1849; Archbishop C. A. Freiherr von Ketteler supported the idea of social reform and the right to strike; Vatican: <i>Encyclical Rerum Novarum</i>, 1891 (fairer distribution of wealth based on Christian ethics; state intervention to protect workers against exploitation; right to form trade unions and to strike); but not aiming at equality of workers; the social programme of the Center Party (<i>Zentrumspartei</i>) - Protestant / Lutheran Churches: J. H. Wichern’s Inner Mission of 1848 to reach out to workers and bring them back into the churches (Protestant social work) • Patriarchal company owners such as A. Krupp offered their workers certain benefits such as sick pay in exchange for their loyalty.
<p>Social legislation (<i>Deutsches Reich</i>), enacted by the governments led by O. Fürst von Bismarck: health insurance (1883), accident insurance (1884), casualty insurance / old-age insurance (1889) → first state-enacted insurance scheme in the world; paid for by workers’ and employers’ contributions; meant to lure the workers away from socialism</p>	

II. Struggle between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachs

The SPD originated in the union of two factions: the Lassalleans and the Eisenachs. Who were the two factions?

Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) was a son of a wealthy Jewish trader. He participated in the revolution of 1848-49, for which he got a year in prison and was banned from living in Berlin. However, in 1855 Lassalle applied to the police commissioner and to a Prussian prince, begging for the ban to be lifted. According to Marx, this was a compromise with the powers that be.

In the beginning of 1860's, Lassalle makes speeches in the workers' clubs. In 1863, he founded the General German Workers' Association (ADAV, *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*). The principles of the organization were: 1) struggle for a general right to vote by peaceful, legal means; 2) state subsidies for workers' productive cooperatives [*Genossenschaften*].

Marx, in a letter dating from 13 October, 1868, to [Johann Baptist von] Schweitzer, a chairman of ADAV at the time, characterized Lassalle in the following way: "As for the union of Lassalle, it appeared in the period of reaction. After a 15 year slumber, Lassalle has awoken in Germany the workers' movement, and that is his immortal service. But he has committed big mistakes... A trifle starting point - his opposition to Schulze-Delitzsch - he has made the central point of his agitation, - the state subsidy as opposed to self-help... Thus he was forced to make compromises with the Prussian monarchy and Prussian reaction (feudal parties) and even clerics".

Lassalle was known for his compromising with Bismarck. [...] According to [the historian Franz] Mehring, in 1864 there were private negotiations between Lassalle and Bismarck regarding the electoral right and state credit for workers' productive associations. All writings of Lassalle were sent by the author to Bismarck. [...]

On 15 December 1864, there was a trial issue of "Social Democrat", a newspaper of [the] ADAV. Marx and Engels were among the collaborators. In the newspaper, Schweitzer spoke favorably of Bismarck and the Kaiser. Marx and Engels left the editorial board. In a statement on 23 February, 1865 they demanded that the same language be used in reference to the feudal-absolutist party as towards the Progressive party. W. Liebnecht also left the editorial board because Schweitzer was too soft on official Prussia.

Source: <http://wikibin.org/articles/history-of-german-social-democratic-party.html>

Task: Extract the differences between Lassallean and Marxist ideas.

III. Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891)

Rerum novarum: The opening words and the title of the Encyclical issued by Leo XIII, 15 May, 1891, on the "Condition of Labour". Although the Encyclical follows the lines of the traditional teaching concerning the rights and duties of property and the relations of employer and employee, it applies the old doctrines specifically to modern conditions. Opening with a description of the grievances of the working classes, it proceeds to refute the false theories of the Socialists, and to defend the right of private ownership. The true remedy, continues the pope, is to be found in the combined action of the Church, the State, the employer and the employed. The Church is properly interested in the social question because of its religious and moral aspects; the State has the right and the duty to intervene on behalf of justice and individual and social well-being; and employers and workers should organize into both mixed and separate associations for mutual protection and for self protection. All this is set forth with sufficient detail to reach the principal problems and relations of industrial and social life. [...]

Source: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12783a.htm>

Task: Explain Roman Catholic social teaching in your own words and compare it to the other attempts of social reform.