

## “Performing Inter-Nationalism” in Stuttgart in 1907: French and German Socialist Nationalism and the Political Culture of an International Socialist Congress\*

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**SUMMARY:** The emphasis on ritual, political symbolism and public display at international socialist congresses highlights important cultural dimensions of the Second International that historians have, until now, left unexplored. From 1904 until the International Socialist Congress of Stuttgart in 1907, French and German socialists articulated – in both symbolic and discursive forms – a socialist nationalism within the framework of internationalism. The Stuttgart congress represented a public spectacle that served a cultural function for international socialism. The international performance at Stuttgart was, however, undermined by the inability of the SFIO and the SPD to reconcile their conflicting conceptions of “inter-nationalism”.

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Maurice Agulhon has aptly characterized the period from 1880 to 1889 as the “*dix années fondatrices*” of the French Third Republic, culminating with the grand celebration of the centennial of the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1889.<sup>1</sup> Although it did not receive as much attention at the time, 14 July 1889 also marked the founding date of the Second International. In front of comrades from several countries, French “Marxist” socialists publicly staked their own claim to the legacy of the French Revolution and to their own vision of the French nation through political symbols and rituals. The congress hall was decorated with red tapestries, flags, and a banner with embroidered gold letters reading “Proletarians of all countries, unite!”. A shield hung above the rostrum for all delegates to see and contained the inscription: “In the name of Paris of June 1848 and March, April, and May of 1871 and the France of Babeuf, Blanqui and Varlin, greetings to the socialist workers of both worlds.” To conclude the congress in a sacrosanct manner, sixteen delegates carried a wreath to the mass grave of the Commune martyrs in the Père Lachaise cemetery. Thereafter, French delegates paid homage to August Blanqui at his gravesite. The German delegation

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1. Maurice Agulhon, *La République de Jules Ferry à François Mitterrand 1880–1995* (Paris, 1997), pp. 21–55.

visited the graves of Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne to honor their contribution to the German socialist cause.<sup>2</sup>

The emphasis on ceremony and political symbolism at the founding congress of the Second International highlights important cultural dimensions of international socialism that historians, until now, have largely left unexplored and unexplained.<sup>3</sup> The conventional historiography of the Second International may best be characterized as an intellectual and political history,<sup>4</sup> an approach Georges Haupt criticized as an overly congress-centered perspective that tended to treat the Second International outside of specific historical trends.<sup>5</sup> The research agenda has subsequently shifted to a comparative study of working-class movements from an international perspective and the theme of internationalism in the labor movements.<sup>6</sup> Most recently, Markus Bürgi's detailed account of the beginnings of the Second International addresses briefly the symbolic self-image of the first three international socialist congresses.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Marie-Louise Goergen's excellent doctoral thesis examines closely the relations between the French and German socialist parties in the Second International.<sup>8</sup>

This article will offer some new perspectives on the Second International by examining the political culture of French and German socialist nationalism and internationalism from 1904 until the meeting of the Seventh International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in August 1907. The major hypothesis is that French and German socialists during the years 1904 to 1907 became increasingly aware of the need to articulate a socialist nationalism in order to differentiate their own putatively benign and peace-stabilizing patriotic feelings from the deleterious forms of bourgeois nationalism. Domestic and foreign policy tensions – the Russian revolution, the Moroccan affair, the anti-militarist campaign of Gustave Hervé, and the

2. Julius Braunthal, *Geschichte der Internationale*, I (Berlin–Bonn, 1974), pp. 204–206.

3. There is, however, a substantial literature on socialist workers' culture on a national level: Vernon Lidtke, *The Alternative Culture* (Oxford, 1985); Albrecht Lehmann (ed.), *Studien zur Arbeiterkultur* (Münster, 1984); Patrick E. Hutton, *The Cult of the Revolutionary Tradition, The Blanquists in French Politics, 1864–1893* (Berkeley, CA, 1981); and the dissertation by Keith Phelan Gorman, "Cults of the Dead: French Socialism and the Politics of Memory, 1914–1924" (University of Wisconsin, 1994).

4. The standard works are James Joll, *The Second International, 1889–1914*, 2nd edn (London, 1974), G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, III, *The Second International* (London, 1956) and a less well-known but valuable study by M.M. Drachkovitch, *Les Socialismes français et allemand et le problème de la guerre, 1870–1914* (Geneva, 1954).

5. Georges Haupt, *La Deuxième Internationale, 1889–1914. Étude critique des sources. Essai bibliographique* (Paris, 1964), pp. 62–65.

6. Frits van Holthoorn and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830–1940*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1988), Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870–1914*, 2 vols, (Leiden, 1990).

7. Markus Bürgi, *Die Anfänge der Zweiten Internationale* (Frankfurt/Main, 1996), pp. 580–588.

8. Marie-Louise Goergen, "Les Relations entre socialistes allemands et français à l'époque de la Deuxième Internationale (1889–1914)" (Doctoral thesis, Saint-Denis, Paris, 1998).

SPD defeat in the so-called “*Hottentotten*” election of 1907 – created an atmosphere in which socialists felt compelled to respond forcefully to the antipatriotic derision and slander to which they were subjected in French and German society. The volatile period of 1904 to 1907 was not the first time European socialists confronted the issue of nationalism and internationalism, but this period stands out, as evidenced by the consistent attempt of socialists to emphasize their own so-called “healthy” patriotism, reflected both in symbolic and discursive ways.<sup>9</sup>

It is not instructive to speak of a transparent, monolithic and clearly articulated socialist nationalism, especially on a symbolic level. There was no such uniformity of expression or overarching coherence. There were, however, certain recurring themes and motifs. A French socialist nationalism manifested itself frequently as the logical extension of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune in what may be called a “socialist republicanism”. A German brand of socialist nationalism traced its roots back to the cosmopolitan traditions of the German Enlightenment and to radical democrats of the 1848–1849 revolutions.

One of the central preoccupations of historians with respect to the Second International is the ostensible contradiction seen between the professed internationalism of socialist parties and their “betrayal” of such sentiments in August 1914. In German historiography, this viewpoint has informed the conceptual framework of entire monographs.<sup>10</sup> While this perspective has convincingly been called into question,<sup>11</sup> it remains nevertheless a common explanation to describe the actions of the SPD on the eve of World War I.<sup>12</sup> Implicit or explicit in this approach is the assumption that internationalism and nationalism stand in opposition to each other. Class loyalties and patriotism are apparently irreconcilable identifications. To be sure, socialist adversaries in French and German society (and later Lenin)

9. There was a qualitative shift in the consciousness of European socialists with respect to the issue of nationalism and internationalism from 1904 to 1907. The French newspaper *La Vie socialiste* conducted an international inquiry into the topic in 1905, not to mention several articles in socialist journals and Otto Bauer’s classic *Nationalitätenfrage und Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1907). For earlier examples of when socialists faced the issue of nationalism and internationalism, see Andrew Bonnell “Between Internationalism, Nationalism and Particularism: German Social Democrats and the War of 1870–1871”, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 38 (1992), pp. 375–385, as well as Dieter Groh and Peter Brandt, “*Vaterlandslose gesellen*”, *Sozialdemokratie und Nation, 1860–1990* (Munich, 1990).

10. Refer to all of the standard works listed earlier, as well as to Gary Steenson, “*Not one man! Not one penny!*”, *German Social-Democracy, 1863–1914* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1981).

11. See, above all, Jolyon Howorth’s brilliant article “French Workers and German Workers: The Impossibility of Internationalism, 1900–1914”, *European Quarterly Review*, 15 (1985), pp. 71–97. The best treatment of this revisionist approach is to be found in the collection of essays in Marcel van der Linden and Gottfried Mergner (eds), *Kriegsbegeisterung und mentale Kriegsvorbereitung* (Berlin, 1991), and Wolfgang Kruse, *Krieg und nationale Integration* (Essen, 1993).

12. John J. Kulczycki, *The Foreign Worker and the German Labor Movement: Xenophobia and Solidarity in the Coal Fields of the Ruhr, 1871–1914* (Providence, RI, 1994), pp. 1–2.

sought hard to construct such a dichotomous stereotype for political reasons, but it may be best to jettison the socialist/nationalist and nationalist/internationalist binary oppositions for their simplicity.<sup>13</sup> For most French and German socialists, the nation represented the constitutive building block of any internationalism; hence, my choice of terminology “inter-nationalism”.<sup>14</sup>

The Stuttgart Congress was one, albeit the largest, of a series of international congresses which served a ceremonial and ritualistic function for socialism. Just as with May Day celebrations, the Stuttgart congress operated at a symbolic and metaphorical level. As Vernon Lidtke has put it in the context of worker festivals,

The labor movement was on public display, often in seemingly innocent clothing, but never lacking sufficient symbols to make a clear public declaration of political ideas and social values [...] labor movement festivals, even the least political of them, were established not only for entertainment but as a way to answer the claims of German nationalism.<sup>15</sup>

An international socialist congress was a well-organized and orchestrated public spectacle designed to perform an internationalism that would both sustain the socialist cause and intimidate bourgeois governments. Since the Stuttgart congress was the Seventh International Socialist congress, it had inherited a set of customs, rituals and political symbolism which connected the past congresses with the present one and created the expectation of another congress in the future. These customs were also in the process of being re-experienced, reconstituted and sometimes new traditions were invented.<sup>16</sup> The Stuttgart congress likewise represented a powerful image of the future, wherein socialist nations would peacefully coexist in an international framework, a “counter-image” to the chauvinistic bourgeois nations of the present and their international disputes. The success of the international performance at Stuttgart hinged on the interaction of the French and German delegations and their ability to reconcile the conflicting values of French and German socialism.

#### GERMAN WELTPATRIOTISMUS AND FRENCH SOCIALIST REPUBLICANISM, 1904–1907

Political symbolism and ritual are certainly not new creations. They are vestiges of European monarchs in the form of what Jürgen Habermas has

13. Vladimir Ilich Lenin, *The Collapse of the Second International* (The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow, n.d.), translated by Alexander Sirnis.

14. Werner Jung's *August Bebel. Deutscher Patriot und internationaler Sozialist* (Pfaffenweiler, 1986) illustrates beyond a doubt the “inter-nationalism” of Bebel.

15. Vernon Lidtke, *The Alternative Culture* (Oxford, 1985), p. 81.

16. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

called a “representative publicness”.<sup>17</sup> Symbols operate on an expressive, presentational and evocative level. A symbol comes attached to a constructed meaning and connotation that appeals directly to an individual’s inner intuition and storage of experiences and associations; it can also work as an instrument of exclusion, demarcating a specific group identity from the rest of society. Slogans like “Workers of all countries, unite!”, “*Vive la République sociale*” and “*Hoch die Internationale*” are able to transcend the rational–discursive strictures of language and function primarily on a symbolic rhetorical level. A set of symbols forms a symbolic system that reproduces certain values.

The central symbolic figure in German social democracy was unquestionably Ferdinand Lassalle. Lassalle appropriated the red flag of the 1848 revolutions and made it the key element in the German socialist political iconography. The red flag stood for a social republic, but this connotation seems not to have been as important in German socialism when compared to French socialism, in which socialists repeatedly propagated the ideal of the social republic. To commemorate Lassalle’s quixotic death on 31 August 1864, worker associations would annually hold a festival, a holiday fittingly called the *Lassallefeier*.<sup>18</sup> It is particularly interesting that this festival could contest the patriotic celebrations of Sedan Day, the de facto national holiday of imperial Germany.

After 1890 the *Lassallefeier* diminished in size and importance in comparison to May Day demonstrations, but the Lassalle cult continued to make its presence felt. For example, during the 1890s, the *Arbeiter–Marseillaise* was sometimes referred to as the Lassalle song or simply the “*Lassalleaise*”.<sup>19</sup> A passage of the *Arbeiter–Marseillaise* reveals a nationalist motif to save the German nation and *Volk*. In this stanza, Lassalle resembles a savior and a redeemer who leads the fatherland and the *Volk* out of misery.

*Wir strecken aus die Bruderhand,* (We extend a brotherly hand,  
*Aus geist’ger Schmach das Vaterland,* (Out of spiritual disgrace to save)  
*Das Volk vom Elend zu erretten!* (The fatherland, the people from misery!)  
*Nicht zählen wir den Feind,* (We do not count the enemy,)  
*Nicht die Gefahren all!* (Nor all the dangers!)  
*Der Bahn, der Kühnen, folgen wir,* (We follow the path of boldness,)  
*Die uns geführt Lassalle!* (To which Lassalle led us!)<sup>20</sup>

Lassalle was a frequently used name for the diverse German worker

17. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 15th edn (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 17–25.

18. For more about the Lassalle cult, see Andrew G. Bonnell, “The Lassalle Cult in German Social Democracy”, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 35 (1989), pp. 50–60, and Gottfried Korff, “Rote Fahnen und tableaux vivants”, in Lehmann, *Studien zur Arbeiterkultur*, pp. 103–141, 118–123.

19. Beatrix W. Bouvier, “Die Marseillaise in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung vor 1914”, in van Holthoorn and van der Linden, *Internationalism in the Labour Movement*, pp. 137–162, 154.

20. Udo Achten (ed.), *Zum Lichte empör. Mai-Festzeitungen der Sozialdemokratie 1891–1914* (Berlin, 1980), p. 29.

associations. At the Stuttgart congress, one of the two singing clubs that participated in the commencement ceremony was called *Lassalia*. In addition, on the right side of the stage stood a large pedestal covered in a red drape with a huge bust of Lassalle.<sup>21</sup> Since Lassalle was an adherent of Prussian nationalism and the *kleindeutsch* solution to the German question, it is conceivable that some French delegates may have been disconcerted by the appearance of the huge Lassalle bust at the Stuttgart congress.<sup>22</sup>

The themes of SPD official May Day festival newspapers often intersected with the political events of the time, so these newspapers can be used to gauge to what extent individual socialists were concerned about the issue of nationalism. On occasion, the motif of patriotism can be found before 1904; for example, a poem titled *Fatherland* appeared in the 1896 edition.<sup>23</sup> In 1898, the fiftieth anniversary of the 1848 revolutions, the cover of the festival newspaper displayed an image of the socialist movement taking on the responsibility to create a democratic German nation (Figure 1). The picture illustrates the German democratic national caricature, the German Michael (*der deutsche Michel*), holding a broom, sweeping away a pile of trash that comprises the crown of a monarch and placards with words like private property and stocks and dividends.<sup>24</sup> In the background stands a man wearing a garment with the German national colors and a Jacobin hat. The group of children and adults around the man suggests the unity of the nation.<sup>25</sup> It is significant that German socialists emphasized the national implications of the 1848 revolutions more than the actual revolt of the masses.

An explicit articulation of the theme of a socialist patriotism occurred in 1904, a year that witnessed the outbreak of the Russo–Japanese war. Georg Gradnauer’s article “May Light” criticized the Prussian military because rank was determined by money and birthright, not by one’s ability to defend the fatherland. He also made a scathing criticism of the Prussian ruling class for its support of the Russian empire. Gradnauer constructed a bifurcated picture of Europe between east and west, in which the east represented barbarity and a lack of civilization while the west, symbolic of socialism, stood for humanism, civilization and progress. This image is powerful because it connects a prevalent stereotype in German socialism, namely

21. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907.

22. French socialists with a background in the Broussist, Allemanist, or Blanquist tradition may have been offended by the Lassalle, or even the Marx bust, although this is difficult to prove. At the 1893 international socialist congress at Zurich, V. Jaclard expressed his disapproval that there was no Blanqui bust next to the Marx painting. V. Jaclard, “Le Congrès socialiste international de Zurich”, *La Revue socialiste*, September 1893, pp. 294–311, 297–299.

23. Achten, *Zum Lichte empor*, p. 70.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 79. I am also referring to the interpretation of this picture by the editor on page 16.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 16.



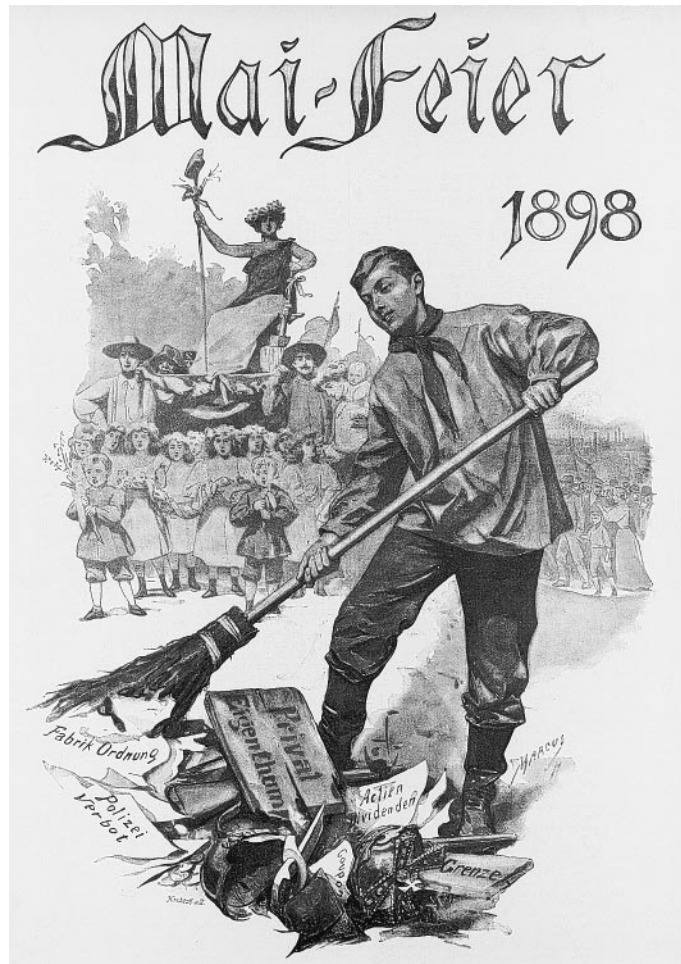


Figure 1. Cover image of the SPD *Maifeier-Festzeitung* of 1898. The German Michael (*der deutsche Michel*) holds a broom, sweeping away a pile of trash that comprises the crown of a monarch and placards with words like “private property” and “stocks and dividends”.  
Collection IISH

Russophobia, with the defeat of reaction. The Junkers’ complicity with Russia is portrayed as an affront to the possibility of the creation of a German nation based on the ideals of the West which reside in the working class. Gradnauer wrote:

The decisive battle between the West of freedom and the East of Russian barbarity takes place in Germany. The east-Prussian Junkers have entered into a solidarity

pact with the Russian reaction; they are ready to hand over the fatherland to the Cossacks before their rule is jeopardized and their injustices overthrown.<sup>26</sup>

Kurt Eisner's contribution "World Patriotism" sought to show how the idea of internationalism and world patriotism emerged in the eighteenth century through German philosophers like Herder and Kant. At this time, according to Eisner, the bourgeoisie espoused the principle of cosmopolitanism because it was engaged in an international struggle with feudalism and absolutism. Once in power, the bourgeoisie jettisoned its cosmopolitan belief, thus abandoning the cause of humanity. Eisner claimed that the socialist proletariat resurrected the idea of world patriotism.<sup>27</sup>

Eisner denounced the bourgeois nationalism of his time in disparaging terms. To do so, Eisner appropriated common arguments and linguistic phrases like *Vaterlandslosigkeit* (without a fatherland) and *Vaterlandsverrat* (treason), both of which were frequently used against the SPD in the public discourse on nationalism. According to Eisner, bourgeois nationalism was the most shameless example of *Vaterlandslosigkeit* because it sacrificed the most valuable property, the strength of the *Volk*, for profit. Capitalism itself, especially in the form of imperialism, was an organized form of treason (*Vaterlandsverrat*). In conclusion, Eisner argued that only through socialist world patriotism would it be possible to create a true fatherland.<sup>28</sup>

Eisner's motivation to honor Kant and Herder was symptomatic of the reverence German socialists had for thinkers of the German Enlightenment. For the occasion of the centennial of Schiller's death, 9 May 1905, the SPD's largest publishing house, *Vorwärts*, printed a special anniversary book, a Schiller *Festschrift*, to commemorate his legacy. Franz Mehring published a slim volume, appropriately called *Schiller. A Portrait for German Workers*.<sup>29</sup> The celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's death included a diverse set of activities in the social-democratic cultural milieu.<sup>30</sup> For example, Engelbert Pernerstorfer delivered speeches in Berlin, Vienna and Prague to venerate Schiller's legacy. Realizing his audience in Prague would include non-German nationals, Pernerstorfer prefaced his speech by exclaiming:

Nothing brings the nations closer together as the serious attempt to understand thoroughly the other's foreign national spiritual life. The nation, which attempts to do this most persistently and without prejudice, will ultimately be the richest

26. *Ibid.*, Georg Gradnauer, "Mai-Licht", p. 128.

27. *Ibid.*, Kurt Eisner, "Weltpatriotismus", pp. 129–132.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Franz Mehring, *Schiller. Ein Lebensbild für deutsche Arbeiter* (Leipzig, 1905).

30. *Programm zum Gedächtnis von Friedrich Schiller am 100. Todestag* (Leipzig, 1905), located in the pamphlet (*Flugblatt*) collection of the *Archiv der Sozialdemokratie* in Bonn. Also see Dr Max Alberty, *Schiller. Gedächtnis Rede gehalten bei der Schiller-Gedächtnisfeier der Arbeiterschaft Münchens im Münchner Kindl-Keller am 8. Mai 1905 von Dr Max Alberty* (München, 1905).



and greatest. This nation takes in equally the entire world culture and reproduces it in its special way.<sup>31</sup>

Pernerstorfer’s understanding of internationalism here may be best described with an analogy, where national identity acts as a filter through which all international or non-national cultural products go before being reproduced.

It is worthwhile to further elaborate on Pernerstorfer’s theory of culture because it illustrates in clear terms not only his essentialist notion of German nationality, but also the role socialism was to play in unifying the German *Volk*. Culture, according to Pernerstorfer, is produced primarily by the lower and middle classes. Under capitalism, however, the producers of culture are stripped of their products. The proletariat is not allowed to take part in the nation’s cultural life, to which it contributes the most. What socialism offers is a state, an equivalent of Schiller’s “*sittlicher Staat*”, where each individual can realize his/her potential and achieve a “totality of character”,<sup>32</sup> a balanced personality that harmonizes objective and subjective existence. The key to the socialist state lies in the unity of the *Volk*, which is attained through the socialist movement. Pernerstorfer is generally vague in his description of the characteristics of the German *Volk*, but he touches upon them indirectly in his proclamation that Schiller was quintessentially German, and nothing but German.

And who would deny it; Schiller was German. He was so German that only we Germans can completely understand him [...]. It is without doubt that he was German in the unsurpassable depth of his feelings, he was German in his aspiration to pursue things until their finality [...]. He was especially an expression of the best in the German soul because he relentlessly pursued freedom for his entire suffering life.<sup>33</sup>

The most prevalent motifs of a German socialist nationalism explicated above center on themes of culture. Many socialists believed that each nation contained a number of cultural treasures, such as great thinkers and writers, who helped define a country’s nationality. However, as Pernerstorfer clearly expressed, workers were not given sufficient access to cultural activities and education in bourgeois society. Thus, an integral component of a German socialist nationalism was to enable the whole German *Volk*, not just the bourgeoisie, to participate in a German cultural identity. This identity was not to simply be a plebeian culture of the working class. German socialists insisted on a literate “high” cultural identity that would largely entail the appreciation of specific cultural traditions of Germany, most notably the Enlightenment and radical–democrats of the 1840s and 1850s. The German Enlightenment was probably seen as the heyday of German culture, the

31. Engelbert Pernerstorfer, *Friedrich Schiller. Gedenkrede zur 100. Wiederkehr des Todestages Schillers* (Vienna, 1905), p. 3.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

origin of many bourgeois convictions like cosmopolitanism and humanism. Of course, German socialists were very receptive to non-German cultural personalities such as Charles Darwin, Leo Tolstoy, and Emile Zola, but such figures were understood to be part of an international cultural heritage, whereas individuals like Schiller and Lassalle were experienced primarily in national terms.

National cultural traditions in German social democracy consisted mainly of intellectual and literary personalities. This marks a fundamental contrast to a French socialist nationalism that revolved primarily around the French Revolution, the Paris Commune and great republican heroes. Due to their own socialist republican traditions, most leaders of the SFIO did not reject the political symbolism and national iconography of the Third Republic. On the contrary, many socialists embraced them, but also contested their meaning and reconfigured them to form a symbolic system that imparted the values of a social republic. For example, republican iconography could figure prominently in May Day celebrations and the decoration of national party congresses. Red flags signified a social republic, but it was also not uncommon to see a tricolor flag. One report of a May Day procession in 1890 indicated that a painting representing the republic was located on the white stripe of the tricolor. The republic in turn held a dagger over the head of the bourgeoisie while it held a laurel wreath over the head of a worker, signifying that the working class was the true protector of French republican traditions.<sup>34</sup> The Marianne assumed a sacrosanct place in the political symbolism of French socialism. At the national congress of 1907 held in Nancy just days before the Stuttgart congress, the hall was decorated richly with red flags and busts of Marianne.<sup>35</sup>

The May Day celebrations in France in 1905, 1906 and 1907 marked a qualitative change in their character.<sup>36</sup> Albert Thomas, a leading French socialist, observed that in past years May Day had decreased in significance, but 1905 represented a rejuvenation of the proletarian forces and symbolized

34. Michelle Perrot, "The First of May 1890 in France: The Birth of a Working-Class Ritual" in Pat Thane, Geoffrey Crossick, and Roderick Floud (eds), *The Power of the Past* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 143–173, 159.

35. *L'Humanité*, 12 August 1907. Also see the interesting painting *La Libératrice* (1904) by the socialist Théophile Alexandre Steinlen which appears to depict a revolutionary Marianne; Agulhon, *La République de Jules Ferry à François Mitterrand*, pp. 116–117, and the photos in Rémy Cazals "Marques républicaines dans le syndicalisme mazamétain" in Maurice Agulhon (ed.), *Cultures et folklore républicaines. Actes du colloque "Les Marques républicaines dans la culture populaire en France"* (Paris, 1995), pp. 97–109, 98–101.

36. Refer to the reports in *L'Humanité* for the years 1905–1907 as well as Maurice Dommanget, *Histoire du premier mai* (Paris, 1972), pp. 215–245. For an excellent comparative perspective of May Day in European countries, refer to Gita Deneckere, Marie-Louise Goergen, Inge Marssolek, Danielle Tartakowsky and Chris Wrigley, "Premiers mai" in Jean-Louis Robert, Friedhelm Boll, and Antoine Prost (eds), *L'Invention des syndicalismes* (Paris, 1994), pp. 199–217.

a socialist 14 July and a proletarian Easter.<sup>37</sup> Gabriel Bertrand called it the "sacred communion of the working class".<sup>38</sup> For May Day of 1907, the SFIO printed a special May Day edition of *L'Humanité*, which contained a letter from the leader of the SPD, August Bebel. This insertion may have been intended to assuage the increasing fear among French socialists of the SPD's reluctance to honor its "international" commitments. Bebel expounded that the key to internationalism lay in the efforts of the international proletariat to oppose the menacing forces of reaction in the various countries of the working classes. Bebel continued, "The working class of each country will make in this way a service to its fatherland and to humanity."<sup>39</sup> In Bebel's formulation of inter-nationalism, the nation or the national working class of each country represents the rudimentary building block of internationalism.

The special May Day edition of 1907 included pictures, illustrations, poems and songs. The most popular French May Day song *La Chanson du premier mai*, written by Charles Gros, contained a patriotic appeal to the working classes of all countries. The second stanza reads:

*Sur le sol natal, c'est l'exil,* (On the native ground, it is in exile.)  
*Partout où l'on vit de misère.* (Wherever one lives in misery.)  
*Au peuple ouvrier que faut-il?* (What do the working people need?)  
*Il faut que la patrie ouvrière.* (They need a workers' fatherland.)  
*D'un bout du monde à l'autre bout,* (From one end of the world to the other.)  
*Que le même cri retentisse.* (The same cry is resounding.)  
*Les prolétaires sont debout* (The proletarians are standing up)  
*Et leur patrie est la justice.* (And their fatherland is justice.)<sup>40</sup>

The lyrics suggest that the working classes were in a state of exile in their own countries; therefore, it is necessary to create their own fatherland, one based on justice. Another song *La Marseillaise de la paix*, written by Lamartine in 1840, touched upon similar themes.<sup>41</sup> Of note is France's special role in the international movement. The last refrain is particularly interesting for it reiterated a definition of internationalism that paralleled the one in Bebel's letter.

*Le monde en s'éclairant s'élève à l'unité.* (The world through enlightenment rises up towards unity.)  
*Ma patrie est partout où rayonne la France,* (My fatherland is wherever France radiates.)  
*Où son génie éclate aux regards éblouis!* (Where her genius shines to dazzled faces!)

37. *L'Humanité*, 1 May 1905: "1889–1905" by Albert Thomas.

38. *L'Humanité*, 1 May 1905: "Le Premier mai" by Gabriel Bertrand.

39. *L'Humanité*, 1 May 1907.

40. *Ibid.*, *La Chanson du premier mai*.

41. Refer to Robert Brécy's valuable article "Les Chansons du premier Mai", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 28 (1981), pp. 393–432, 402, for more examples of songs with patriotic contents from earlier May Day celebrations.

*Chacun est du climat de son intelligence;* (Every man belongs to the clime with which he is in accord;)

*Je suis concitoyen de toute âme qui pense:* (I am a fellow citizen of all souls who think:)

*La vérité, c'est mon pays!* (The truth, that is my country!)<sup>42</sup>

In this instance, an image of internationalism is constructed in which France assumes center stage, a tradition of Jacobin universalism firmly rooted in French socialist nationalism.

The motifs of May Day in the years from 1904 to 1907 illustrated the interconnectedness of patriotism and internationalism defined largely in opposition to the French bourgeois government. The celebration of the Bastille offered an excellent opportunity to contest the legacy of the French Revolution and transform it into a socialist republican holiday. Even though the SFIO and radical leaders had developed an adversarial relationship, certain politicians could at times set aside their differences to participate together in public rituals and acts of commemoration.<sup>43</sup> As opposed to German social democracy, where the boundaries of political identification were more pronounced and demarcated in opposition to the rest of German society(ies),<sup>44</sup> SFIO leaders had to constantly negotiate the points of commonality and distinction of a French socialist republican identity vis-à-vis the radicals. Fourteenth of July celebrations illustrate how this complicated process of national identification operated.

French socialists paid homage to 14 July 1905 in various ways. One group of socialists in the Parisian fourth district organized a meeting at which “citizen Grollet” gave a lecture titled “A Lesson of the Revolution of 1789 and the Socialist Ideal”.<sup>45</sup> Another festival held in Champigny was described as the “socialization of the national holiday”. The aim of this gathering was to teach school children about the social dimensions of the French Revolution.<sup>46</sup> The major news of 14 July 1905 concerned the erection of a public statue in Paris to honor August Blanqui. Gustave Geffroy made an appeal to all *L'Humanité* readers to make a contribution to support the project because Blanqui was a French patriot who had devoted his life to the establishment of a social republic.<sup>47</sup> The exoneration of Alfred Dreyfus dominated the headlines of the press on Bastille Day of 1906, while in 1907 the occasion to participate in the activities surrounding the erection of a

42. *L'Humanité*, 1 May 1907: *La Marseillaise de la paix*.

43. For an example of this in 1899, see Agulhon, *La République de Jules Ferry à François Mitterrand*, p. 108.

44. See Lidtke's erudite discussion of the relationship of the social-cultural milieu of social democracy with other parts of German society.

45. *L'Humanité*, 14 July 1905.

46. *L'Humanité*, 16 July 1905.

47. *L'Humanité*, 15 July 1905: “Le Monument de Blanqui” by Gustave Geffroy.

Garibaldi statue in Paris was newsworthy.<sup>48</sup> French socialists had constructed an elaborate repertoire of political symbols and rituals, through which they could experience their national identities as socialist republicans and contest directly the national political iconography of the bourgeois Third Republic. In addition, by annually celebrating May Day, commemorating the social republic of 1871 on 18 March and commemorating the martyrs of the Commune at the end of May, French socialists participated in solemn rituals that reinforced their commitment to the International and their opposition to the bourgeois Third Republic.

“PERFORMING RED INTER-NATIONALISM” IN  
STUTT GART

The Seventh International Socialist congress of the Second International convened in Stuttgart in August 1907. The SPD was determined to make it a grandiose public spectacle that would not only overshadow previous international socialist congresses, but also dwarf, as one socialist journalist put it, the “blue-blooded” internationalism of the European aristocracy and, as August Bebel ironically explained in his opening remarks, the “International of Governments” convening at the Hague, the Netherlands.<sup>49</sup>

The venerable Austrian socialist Victor Adler saw the congress as a drama, a theatrical masterpiece the world had never experienced. Comparing the congress to subjugated monarchs at the hands of Napoleon, Adler proclaimed:

Napoleon had once arranged a theatre in Erfurt with a great parterre of Kings. Tame, oppressed Kings who were lying on their stomachs before the powerful conqueror. We now show the world a much greater spectacle, a spectacle that the world has not seen: a parterre of fighters, each of whom represents a life full of self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, and devotion, in thirty countries, in five parts of the world, they fight for a common goal, for one thing.<sup>50</sup>

The Stuttgart “parliament of peoples” certainly had important matters to attend to in terms of establishing general policy guidelines for international socialism, but it equally served crucial functions as a socialist ritual to sustain the movement and as a public relations performance of internationalism. Both of these operated on two levels; first, to impress workers of the grandeur of international socialism, and second, to demonstrate the prominence of the International to the governments of Europe.

The local SPD party assumed the responsibility for the organizational

48. *L'Humanité*, 13–14 July 1906, and 13–14 July 1907.

49. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907; “Zweierlei Internationalismus”, *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongreß zu Stuttgart, 18. bis 24. August 1907, Protokoll* (Berlin, 1907), p. 16. Bebel was alluding to the international peace conference of the European governments at the Hague.

50. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907: speech by Victor Adler delivered at the “mass meeting”.





Figure 2. Photograph of the opening session (*Eröffnungssitzung*) of the Stuttgart Congress, 18 August 1907. From the souvenir pamphlet of the Congress.  
*Second International Collection, nr 446, IISH*



details of the Stuttgart congress, while the representatives of the International Socialist Bureau through negotiation set the agenda.<sup>51</sup> Local party representatives worked in tandem with the Stuttgart and Württemberg authorities in order to ensure that the congress and its many related social activities would transpire in an orderly fashion. In fact, the German chancellor von Bülow made it clear to the Württemberg government that he did not want an international socialist congress to take place on German soil. However, von Bülow backed down from compelling the Württemberg authorities to prohibit the congress because he believed such heavy-handed tactics would make a bad impression on his government and the state of Prussia.<sup>52</sup> The state of Württemberg also had a vested interest to present itself as a liberal government in contradistinction to the state of Prussia.

The local committee lived up to the SPD’s reputation as masters in organization by creating a detailed tourist guide booklet of Stuttgart for foreign delegates.<sup>53</sup> The guide included practical information for foreign delegates in their capacity as tourists. Thus, there were descriptions of museums, art galleries and hiking trails in Stuttgart and its environs. The guide also devoted considerable space to describing the local SPD party organization and affiliated trade unions with particular emphasis on party-owned facilities.<sup>54</sup> As the national headquarters of several trade unions and the publishing center for the *Neue Zeit*, *Die Gleichheit* and *Der Wahre Jacob*, Stuttgart was an optimal place for the SPD to display its movement to its international comrades.

To utilize the civil liberties in Württemberg to its fullest, local party members decorated the Stuttgart train station to greet arriving socialists; a reception bureau ensured that all foreign delegates could reserve accommodation and find their way to congress activities. The reception of foreign delegates was a custom that paralleled the arrival of monarchs and governmental leaders.<sup>55</sup> Delegates to the congress were representatives of the nobl-

51. *Einladung zum Internationalen Sozialistischen Kongress zu Stuttgart*, Second International Collection, 425, International Institute of Social History (IISG), Amsterdam. Also see documents in the Camille Huysmans Archive, Antwerp, 1645 and 1606/26.

52. EG-R515 (*Arbeiter- und Sozialisten-kongress, 1. Januar 1907–15. November 1910*) in *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes* (PA-AA), Bonn. The German chancellor expressed his disapproval of allowing an international socialist congress to take place in Germany, informing the Württemberg authorities of ways to prevent the convening of the congress by tactics of intimidation. When it was clear that the Württemberg authorities could not prohibit the congress outright for fear of having to face public pressure in the Württemberg *Landtag*, von Bülow decided not to pressure the government in Württemberg because of the bad image this would create in Germany and abroad.

53. *Wegweiser durch Stuttgart und Umgebung. Den Teilnehmern am Internationalen Sozialistischen Kongress in Stuttgart zugeeignet* (Stuttgart, 1907).

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–40.

55. Refer to Klaus Tenfelde’s article, “Adventus. Zur historischen Ikonologie des Festzugs”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 235 (1982), pp. 45–85, for an insightful portrayal of the meaning of receptions and processions.

est cause and needed to be dignified accordingly. Being greeted at the train station was only the first part of an elaborate welcoming ritual that culminated in a huge reception festival at the Cannstatt public park on the Necker River on a Sunday afternoon. Foreign delegates were introduced to the German *Volk* and likewise the Stuttgart working class was introduced to the heroes of international socialism. Throughout the morning and early afternoon, the Stuttgart working-class populace made its way through the grand avenues of Stuttgart and environs from all directions to participate in the Cannstatt “mass meeting”. Some traversed the famous *Karlsbrücke*, which was richly decorated with red flags, emblems and shields of local worker associations. These associations also coordinated processions to the Cannstatt field. Youth organizations played an important role in this collective ceremony to venerate the leaders of the Second International.<sup>56</sup>

Six grandstands were erected on the Cannstatt field, from which the socialist delegates would publicly speak to the assembled crowd.<sup>57</sup> Each grandstand was decorated with red flags and banners from the diverse worker associations of Stuttgart. Portraits of Marx and Lassalle were painted on several of the banners.<sup>58</sup> Around four in the afternoon the socialist leaders of the world arrived in horse-drawn coaches; the assembled people cheered and waved hats as the carriages passed by. As one journalist noted, “the color red predominated everywhere”.<sup>59</sup> A prominent leader of the German working-class movement headed each grandstand. At half past four a trumpet signal officially inaugurated the Cannstatt meeting. Thereafter, socialist leaders addressed the crowd of over 50,000 people; the venerable Jaurès, who spoke in German, and Bebel received the most adulation. Socialist photographers captured the historic “mass meeting” on film and during the course of the Stuttgart congress workers were able to relive the Cannstatt festival in a local movie theatre. The public demonstration on the opening day of the Stuttgart congress was a performative activity of international socialism, a custom from previous international socialist congresses.<sup>60</sup>

The decoration of the congress hall and the commencement ceremony of the Stuttgart congress matched the pomp and fanfare of the Cannstatt meeting. The congress took place in the opulent Stuttgart *Liederhalle*. A brigade of SPD ushers strictly controlled entrance into the *Liederhalle*. Each usher wore red armbands, the leader adorned with a green rosette. The square hall contained a large grandstand, behind which were situated a

56. *Vorwärts*, 21 August 1907; *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 21 August 1907.

57. *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 15 August 1907. This local SPD newspaper describes in detail the meticulous organization that went into the “mass meeting”.

58. *Le Temps*, 20 August 1907.

59. *Vorwärts*, 21 August 1907.

60. The first time a “mass meeting” was held for an international socialist congress was in 1893 for the Zurich congress. Two of the next three congresses continued this custom, at London in 1896 and Amsterdam in 1904.



Figure 3. Jean Jaurès addressing the Cannstatt mass meeting.  
Collection IISH

music platform and a large organ. Red draped pedestals with large busts of Marx and Lassalle stood on the left and right sides of the stage respectively. Shields were mounted on the wall to commemorate the six previous congresses: Paris in 1889, Brussels in 1891, Zurich in 1893, London in 1896, Paris in 1900 and Amsterdam in 1904.<sup>61</sup> This symbolism connected past congresses to the present, and set the expectation for others in the future.

The arrival of people into the opening session paralleled the structure of the Cannstatt meeting. Spectators filled the balconies, then between ten and eleven in the morning delegates took their seats, a total of 884 in all. Thereafter, two singing clubs and a choir of white-dressed girls assumed their positions on the music platform in front of the organ. Shortly after the arrival of the representatives of the ISB, the choir and singing clubs sang, in unison with the organ, the spiritual Lutheran hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (“Our God is a Mighty Fortress”). Jakob Audorf had rewritten the original lyrics to give it a socialist motif; the title of the song was subsequently named *Ein feste Burg ist unser Bund* (“Our Union is a Mighty

61. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907.



Figure 4. Rosa Luxemburg addressing the Cannstatt mass meeting.  
Collection IISH

Fortress”).<sup>62</sup> This song contained an inspirational metaphor; it evoked the memory of the struggle Lutherans had waged against the Catholic church in the Reformation. It was the “church *Marseillaise* of the emerging German Protestantism against the Rome hierarchy”.<sup>63</sup> In 1907 in Stuttgart the socialists were prophets in a struggle against the international bourgeoisie. The Second International embodied the Messiah to bring salvation on earth and to lead the workers to the Promised Land.<sup>64</sup>

To conclude the day filled with festive occasions and solemn ceremony, a workers’ orchestra and choir performed a concert in the evening in dedication to the foreign delegates. The repertoire comprised an eclectic mix, including German classical music, pieces like Mozart’s *Eine kleine deutsche Kantate*, folk songs and a few foreign compositions, including Sibelius’s *Finlandia* and the overture to Littolf’s opera *Robespierre*. The performance of Hugo Wolf’s rendition of Goethe’s poem *Prometheus* was particularly symbolic, connecting the international socialist movement with the Promethean metaphor. The performance of Uthmann’s *Verheissung* (“Promise”)

62. *Stuttgart, Protokoll*, p. 12. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907.

63. *Vorwärts*, August 22, 1907.

64. See the opening speech of Vandervelde to the congress, *Stuttgart, Protokoll*, pp. 16–18, as well the speeches of various socialists at the Cannstatt meeting, *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907.



INTERNATIONALER SOZIALISTISCHER KONGRESS  
 □ □ IN DER LIEDERHALLE IN STUTT GART VOM 18. BIS 24. AUGUST 1907 □ □

KONZERT

zu Ehren der Delegierten des Internationalen  
 Sozialistischen Kongresses

Sonntag, 18. August 1907, abends 8<sup>1/2</sup> Uhr, im Festsaal der Liederhalle

Mitwirkende:

Frau **Emma Tester**, fürstl. hohenzollernsche Kammersängerin  
 Herr **Karl Reusch**, Konzertsänger  
 Musikdirektor **G. A. Nack**, Klavier und Orgel  
 Liedertafel **Lassallia, Freya** und **Vorwärts-Cannstatt**, Dirigent: Musik-  
 direktor **R. Brenner**  
**Cannstatter Kur-Orchester**, Dirigent: Kgl. Musikdirektor **H. Rückbeil**  
Konzertflügel aus der Hofpianofortefabrik C. A. Pfeiffer, Stuttgart.

PROGRAMM

1. <b>Seht, er kommt mit Preis gekrönt!</b> (Aus „Judas Makkabäus“) für Orchester mit Orgel . . . . .	Händel
<small>Orgel: Herr G. A. Nack.</small>	
2. <b>Willkommgruss</b> . . . . .	Brenner
<small>Liedertafel Lassallia, Freya und Vorwärts-Cannstatt.</small>	
3. <b>Eine kleine deutsche Kantate</b> , mit Orchesterbegleitung . . . . .	Mozart
<small>Frau Emma Tester.</small>	
4. a. <b>Ausfahrt</b> . . . . .	A. Jensen
b. <b>Jung Volker</b> . . . . .	Wallnöfer
c. <b>Drei Wandrer</b> . . . . .	Hermann
<small>Herr Karl Reusch. Am Klavier: Herr G. A. Nack.</small>	
5. <b>Finnlandia</b> , Tondichtung . . . . .	Sibelius
○ ○ Pause ○ ○	
6. <b>Ouverture zu „Robespierre“</b> . . . . .	Littolf
7. <b>Prometheus</b> , mit Orchesterbegleitung . . . . .	H. Wolf
<small>Herr Karl Reusch.</small>	
8. <b>IV. Satz der Orgelsonate</b> . . . . .	Piutti
<small>Herr G. A. Nack.</small>	
9. a. <b>Von ewiger Liebe</b> . . . . .	J. Brahms
b. <b>Da unten im Tale</b> . . . . .	
c. <b>Dort in den Wäldern</b> . . . . .	
<small>Frau Emma Tester. Am Klavier: Herr G. A. Nack.</small>	
10. <b>Verheissung</b> , mit Orchesterbegleitung . . . . .	Uthmann
<small>Liedertafel Lassallia, Freya und Vorwärts-Cannstatt.</small>	
11. <b>Rhapsodie Nr. 2</b> . . . . .	F. Liszt

Rauchen ist nicht gestattet.

Figure 5. Title page of the program of the concert performed in dedication to the foreign delegates. *Second International Collection, nr 450, IISH*

was the highlight of the concert, as parts of the lyrics were sung aloud again upon demand to a captivated audience. The last six lines characterized well the mission of international socialism at the Stuttgart congress.

*Ich bin der neue junge Gott* (I am the new young God)  
*Und lehr' euch neue Sitte!* (And teach you new values!)  
*Erhebet all zu mir den Geist,* (Everyone raise the spirit to me,)  
*Ich bin's, der sonn'gen Pfad euch weist* (I am he who points to you the sunny way)  
*Aus allem Elend, allem Leid.* (Out of all misery and all suffering.)  
*Ich bin der Sozialismus, der die Welt befreit!* (I am socialism that liberates the world!)<sup>65</sup>

During the congress week, the organization committee planned a variety of activities in order to allow foreign delegates to learn more about the Stuttgart working-class movement and to socialize amongst themselves. For example, as was the tradition at previous congresses, the local committee invited all delegates to a *Kommers* on a Wednesday evening at a tavern on the edge of the forest. An orchestra played revolutionary socialist songs, while young girls, dressed in white and donning Phrygian caps, offered the guests food and drink. After a fireworks display, socialists commingled late into the evening with song and dance; at one point all delegates sang together their own versions of *The Red Flag*.<sup>66</sup> Foreign delegates were able to reciprocate the hospitality of their German comrades by agreeing to give speeches to local party associations throughout Stuttgart and Württemberg. Engelbert Pernerstorfer and the Swiss, Herman Greulich, addressed an audience of over 6,000 people.<sup>67</sup>

The various activities discussed above represented the key components of the performance of internationalism at the Stuttgart congress. They promoted a sense of solidarity and common purpose among delegates and displayed to the entire world the grandeur and prominence of the International. Socialist delegates imagined themselves participating in an event of historic importance. For an entire week, the members of the “peoples’ parliament” assumed the central role on the world stage, convinced that they were the true representatives of civilization and humanity.

The congress decoration and symbolism simultaneously put into sharp relief the historical roots of international socialism and German socialism. The political symbolism of internationalism was circumscribed to a certain extent in the national political iconography of German socialism. The Marx bust could act as a polyvalent symbol, representing both the father of international socialism and the father of German socialism. The Lassalle bust displayed the founder of the German socialist party. It would have been

65. *Konzert zu Ehren der Delegierten des Internationalen Sozialistischen Kongresses*, Second International Collection, 450, IISG, Amsterdam, and *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 19 August 1907.

66. *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 22 August 1907.

67. *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 21 August 1907.



possible to decorate the congress hall devoid of German socialist icons, in particular the Lassalle bust, or to have played the *Internationale* instead of *Ein fester Burg ist unser Bund* in the convocation ceremony. The presence of German motifs, however, suggests the reality of the structure of the Second International, namely socialist identities rooted in national traditions underpinning an international identification, or simply an international identity.

Since the ceremonial and festive events at the congress were structured, there was little chance that during these activities the congress would manifest itself as a “performance of inter-nationalism”. Disruptions first occurred when the discrete opinions of the various national delegations were heard. The procedures of the congress included a de facto powerful mechanism of censorship, which could augment the impression of international solidarity. All issues were first discussed in a commission and once major differences of opinion had been ironed out, discussion was moved to a plenary session. “Bourgeois” journalists were not granted access to the commissions. The procedure of commissions was in part a question of practicality, but it also served to mask the deep-seated animosity between and within delegations.

The debate on antimilitarism was the most explosive issue addressed in Stuttgart.<sup>68</sup> The standpoints represented by the various delegations, in particular the German, were not, however, entirely new. The “Marxist” founding congress of Paris in 1889 passed a resolution calling for the abrogation of standing armies. At the next two congresses in Brussels in 1891 and Zurich in 1893, the Dutch delegation, pioneered by the anarchist F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, sought to have the International endorse resolutions that called for a general strike in the case of war.<sup>69</sup> Wilhelm Liebknecht, speaking for the SPD, opposed Nieuwenhuis’s challenge with success. In many ways, the Liebknecht–Nieuwenhuis polemics at Brussels and Zurich foreshadowed the tenor of the debates at Stuttgart.<sup>70</sup> The issue of the general strike resurfaced at the Paris congress of 1900 and the Amsterdam congress of 1904, although not in relation to the war issue. French Allemanists threw their support behind this tactic, but the Paris congress rejected the adoption of the general strike, largely at the insistence of Germany’s leading trade unionist, Carl Legien. The Amsterdam congress produced a compromise resolution that rejected the anarchist conception of a general strike, but endorsed

68. The debate on colonialism was also very contentious. For more about this, refer to Roger Fletcher, *Revisionism and Empire: Socialist Imperialism in Germany 1897–1914* (London, 1984).

69. *Congrès international ouvrier socialiste tenu à Bruxelles du 16 au 23 Août 1891* (Brussels, 1893), pp. 64–73. *Protokoll des internationalen sozialistischen Arbeiterkongresses in der Tonhalle Zürich vom 6. bis 12. August 1893* (Zurich, 1894), pp. 20–30.

70. Nieuwenhuis’s characterization of the SPD at Paris, Brussels, and Zurich, and in his memoir parallels interestingly Hervé’s image of the SPD. F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, *Van Christen tot Anarchist. Gedenkschriften van F. Domela Nieuwenhuis* (Amsterdam, n.d.), pp. 270–319.

the idea of a mass strike.<sup>71</sup> The success of the general strike in the Russian Revolution of 1905 gave the topic a new lease on life. A broader spectrum of French socialism began to support the issue, in particular the vocal antimilitarist Gustave Hervé.

The major point of contention over the issue of antimilitarism existed between Hervé and the German delegation.<sup>72</sup> Hervé wanted the International to pass a resolution to stipulate that all socialist parties were obligated to start a general strike, and if necessary, an armed insurrection, in the case of war breaking out. The German delegation considered this proposition untenable for three reasons. First, it did not want to grant the International so much authority over the actions of national parties. Second, many delegates did not want to commit themselves to a position where they would not have the flexibility to determine if they should support their fatherland in a war. Finally, many SPD and trade union leaders, especially Bebel, feared the consequences of state repression. The majority of the French delegation agreed with the opinion of Vaillant and Jaurès on this matter. Both defended the right of a nation to protect itself, but, unlike the German delegation, Jaurès and Vaillant wanted the International to stipulate that the working classes were obligated to prevent a war by resorting to national and international actions of resistance, ranging from parliamentary intervention to a general strike. With the exception of Hervé and his supporters, most French and German socialists believed devoutly that socialists reserved the right to protect their fatherland and, in this way, their own conceptions of the French and German nations.

The issue of antimilitarism was so highly contested that it was never brought to a plenary session for public debate. In fact, the French–German polemics in this commission were so volatile and unproductive that it proved necessary to create a special subcommission with even fewer delegates to hammer out a final resolution. Even this impromptu structural change was to no avail. At the last minute, Victor Adler, Jean Jaurès, and Émile Vandervelde were forced to draft a compromise resolution that would not tarnish the reputation of the Second International.

The remarks of French and German delegates in the commission reveal how deeply socialists valued their own national identities. The discourse surrounding the issue of anti-militarism was couched in terms of defending one's own national traditions. A discernible discursive logic of binary oppositions emerged, in which a particular idiom reproduced prevailing stereo-

71. *Cinquième congrès socialiste international tenu à Paris du 23 au 27 Septembre 1900. Compte rendu analytique officiel* (Paris, 1901), pp. 96–100. *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Amsterdam 1904* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 24–31.

72. For more about Hervé's view on internationalism, refer to "Antipatriotism. Address of Gustave Hervé at the Close of his Trial for Anti-Militarist Activity, before the Jury of La Seine, December 1905", in Mark Weitz (ed.), *European Socialism and the Problems of War and Militarism* (New York, 1972), pp. 1–29.

types which French and German socialists held about each other. French and German socialists were frequently imposing their own national assumptions of what socialism meant and its attendant values on the other party. French socialists employed an idiom of “socialist republicanism” to undermine a challenger. German socialists utilized two idioms: first, a negative stigmatization of associating the antagonist with anarchism, and second, a positive idiom of an organizational and intellectual/ideological *Musterpartei* (model party), which implied accentuating these dimensions of the SPD in juxtaposition to French socialism.

August Bebel was the first delegate to offer his opinion on the antimilitarism question. His first priority was to denounce Hervé. Bebel skillfully compared Hervé to the Dutch anarchist F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, who, according to Bebel, had advanced similar arguments about the nation in the 1890s. Bebel attempted to impugn Hervé’s reputation as a social democrat by associating him with the veritable enemy of social democracy.<sup>73</sup> Bebel then gave a precise statement of his view toward the nation: “What we fight is not the fatherland in itself, which belongs to the proletariat much more than the ruling classes, but the conditions present in the fatherland which serve the interests of the ruling classes.”<sup>74</sup>

Hervé expressed his suspicion that the SPD would not honor its international commitments. To advance his argument forcefully, Hervé underscored how French socialists had a revolutionary tradition, a point of contradistinction designed to highlight the SPD’s putative lack of a revolutionary past. Referring to the offensive statements Bebel had articulated at the International Socialist congress in Amsterdam in 1904, Hervé proclaimed: “Bebel had said in Amsterdam that the Prussian bayonets had given us the Republic. The Prussian bayonets were not, however, responsible for July 14, the storming of the Tuileries, the February and the March revolution.”<sup>75</sup>

Hervé continued his assault against German socialism by describing the SPD as an “election and numbers machine, a party with mandates and money” that wants to conquer the world through the ballot box.<sup>76</sup> Hervé criticized the SPD for its pedantic theoreticians, implying that, as Jaurès had stated at Amsterdam in 1904, there was a marked discrepancy between the SPD’s impressive organization and its political impotence in the *Kaiserreich*. In an emphatic conclusion, Hervé exclaimed:

The French general staff is morally disarmed by us, it knows that war means an insurrection of the proletariat. For Germany, however, I assume that with the submissiveness, which the social democrats demonstrate here for the “Kaiser”

73. *Stuttgart, Protokoll*, p. 81.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

76. *Ibid.*

Bebel, the social democrats will follow the “Kaiser” without resistance into a war and will place their bayonets on the chests of French proletarians, who will defend the Revolution with barricades and the red flag.<sup>77</sup>

Hervé’s perception of German socialism consisted of the following stereotypes: organized, submissive, passive, theoretical, politically impotent and devoid of revolutionary and republican traditions. These qualities were explicitly juxtaposed to the values of French socialism, namely, republican, revolutionary and active.

Vaillant and Jaurès defended their resolution by espousing more subtle, but similar arguments to those of Hervé. Vaillant remarked that SPD fears of governmental repression in the case of a war were unfounded; it was not enough simply to be satisfied with agitation and organization.<sup>78</sup> Jaurès agreed with Hervé’s point that socialist parties needed to be concerned with action, not just election results. With respect to the fatherland, Jaurès exclaimed, “Hervé wants to destroy the fatherland. We want to socialize the fatherland to the benefit of the proletariat [...]. The nation is the treasure house of human genius and progress [...]”.<sup>79</sup>

Georg Vollmar expressed overtly his pride in German nationalism. Like Bebel, he compared Hervé with the “anarchist dreams” of F. Domela Nieuwenhuis. Vollmar also warned Vaillant and Jaurès to retract their resolution so that it would not create a test of wills between French and German socialism.<sup>80</sup> In a precise formulation, Vollmar proclaimed that his national loyalty superseded any form of international identity. Vollmar said:

It is not true that international is equal to anti-national. It is not true that we have no fatherland, and I use the word fatherland here without adding any hair-splitting explanation of the concept. I know that and why socialism must be international. But the love for humanity cannot prevent me at any moment from being a good German, just as it cannot prevent others from being good Frenchmen and good Italians.<sup>81</sup>

Two days later Bebel had an opportunity to respond to Hervé’s invectives. Bebel addressed Hervé’s criticism that the SPD was a great “election and number machine” by pointing out that the SFIO had also become a party orientated toward elections. As for the SPD’s strong financial base, Bebel considered this a virtue worthy of imitation, implying correctly that the SFIO did not have its finances in order.<sup>82</sup> Finally, Bebel asserted, as he had done at Amsterdam in 1904, that French socialists overestimate the value of the French republic and therefore German socialists would not

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

attempt to defend it if it meant the SPD party organization would be jeopardized.<sup>83</sup>

The debate on antimilitarism exposes discursive structures that formed an idiom pregnant with specific historical connotations that complicated the attempts of French and German socialists to understand each other. An attempt to construct a schema of binary oppositions which underlay the French–German discourse may appear something like this:

<i>French positive stereotype/German countertype</i>	<i>German positive stereotype/French countertype</i>
Republican/non-republican-authoritarian	Organized/disorganized
Revolutionary/non-revolutionary–reformist	Financially responsible/insolvent
Party of action/passive–timid	Modular, <i>Musterpartei</i> /disunified
Practical–pragmatic/too theoretical	Social democratic ideology/anarchism
Spirit of insurrection/submissive	Disciplined/impulsive
International/national	Substance in speech/too much
Politically powerful/organization but	revolutionary rhetoric
political impotence	International/Jacobin chauvinism
French/Prussian	

Looking briefly at how the French and German socialist press represented each other illustrates the considerable extent to which these stereotypes were being reproduced to readers. For example, describing the German proletariat at the Cannstatt meeting, Gustave Rouanet observed:

The forces are admirably harnessed and contained, ordered, and disciplined in social democracy. But it should not remain indefinitely in a state of potentiality as it has been until this day in the socialist party of Germany [...]. The socialist party of Germany should become a party of action [...] where this party will consider itself as an end, not as a means.<sup>84</sup>

Jaurès wrote an editorial with a fitting conclusion, “From Germany, France borrows the admirable qualities of organization, but she (France) will also stimulate by her vitality the action of German socialism.”<sup>85</sup> Other French socialists were not as measured in their commentary on the SPD as Jaurès. Jean Allemane asserted aggressively that the French republic was more valuable than the German empire, and Allemane also inveighed against the SPD for its timidity and its lack of revolutionary spirit.<sup>86</sup>

It was precisely these kinds of stereotypes, deeply embedded in national traditions, which complicated the task of French and German socialists in projecting a powerful image of international socialist solidarity at the Stuttgart congress. As the congress approached a conclusion, Adler, Vandervelde, and Jaurès were compelled to find a compromise wording on the

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101. Also see the interesting section in Goergen’s dissertation “Les relations entre socialistes allemands et français” (University of Paris 8, 1998), titled “République ou monarchie?”, pp. 513–528.

84. *L’Humanité*, 20 August 1907: editorial by Gustave Rouanet.

85. *L’Humanité*, 25 August 1907 : editorial by Jean Jaurès.

86. *L’Humanité*, 25 August 1907 : editorial by Jean Allemane.

resolution on antimilitarism. Failure to produce a resolution would have caused the International tremendous embarrassment. Thus, the result was a long muddled and self-contradictory tract, papering over the differences between the SPD and the SFIO. Trying to give the congress a greater public image of solidarity, Paul Singer proclaimed at the conclusion of the congress that the resolution should be accepted without discussion and in unanimity in order to exhibit “a powerful demonstration”.<sup>87</sup> The stage was set for a splendid culmination of the Stuttgart congress and the reputation of international socialism. But Hervé was not satisfied. He demanded to speak before the plenary session voted on the resolution, and effectively exposed its ambiguous and cosmetic nature. Hervé exclaimed before the entire congress and the press of the bourgeois newspapers:

The elegant manner of the closing of the congress dignifies the skill of the sub-commission, in which I never doubted. But this elegant manner is too obvious not to be a clumsy affair. Who do you really want to deceive? Do you believe that the whole world will not see the difference between the resolution, that will now be unanimously accepted, and the speeches that were held up there in the room?<sup>88</sup>

Singer disregarded his comments and motioned to accept the resolution in unanimity once again. The resolution was accepted, at which point Hervé and his supporters jumped on the table and began singing the *Internationale*.<sup>89</sup> Singer apparently told Hervé and his supporters to calm down and continued with the business of officially concluding the congress. The veneer of internationalism, however, had cracked and exposed the congress as a “performance of inter-nationalism”. The ritual aspects of the congress were nevertheless once again set in motion. After Singer told the congress that he hoped to see all the socialists at the next international socialist congress in Copenhagen, he gave the cue for the entire congress to join in unison to proclaim three times, “Long live the international, revolutionary social democracy and the proletariat of all countries!”. Thereafter, the congress delegates sang their cherished revolutionary songs, the German delegation singing *The Socialist March*, French socialists singing the *Internationale*, and the British and the “Slavs” singing *The Red Flag*.<sup>90</sup>

87. *Stuttgart, Protokoll*, 1907, p. 70.

88. *Ibid.*

89. What exactly transpired is difficult to say. According to the official proceedings, Hervé stood on the table and expressed his support of the resolution; *Stuttgart, Protokoll*, p. 70. Other newspapers, however, paint a different, and probably more accurate, picture. One newspaper, as described above, claims that Hervé and his compatriots jumped on the table to interrupt Singer by singing the *Internationale*; *Kölnische Zeitung*, 26 August 1907. Another newspaper reported that as the resolution was voted on, a part of the French delegation began to sing “*Vive la république*, down with the cannons!”; *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 24 August 1907.

90. *Stuttgart, Protokoll*, p. 75.



CONTESTING REPRESENTATIONS OF THE  
STUTT GART CONGRESS IN THE FRENCH AND  
GERMAN PUBLIC SPHERES

The Stuttgart congress took place in a period when the topic of nationalism dominated public discourse in French and German society. The SFIO was grappling with the anti-militarist campaign of Hervé, while the SPD was attempting to recuperate from its defeat in the highly contested “*Hottentotten*” election of January 1907. As a result of this backdrop and the confrontational nature of the resolution against militarism, the coverage of the congress in the press focused mainly on issues of nationalism and internationalism. Contesting voices attempted to influence the degree to which the Stuttgart congress would resonate in the public sphere and to propagate the “official” meaning of the event.

The tone of the Stuttgart congress for French socialists had been set earlier because the SFIO held its national party congress just days before in Nancy. The overriding agenda of *L’Humanité* in its coverage of the Nancy party congress and the Stuttgart congress appears to have been threefold: to distance the party from the antipatriotic proclamations of Hervé, to articulate a socialist nationalism in the face of the French bourgeoisie and to assuage the apprehension which French workers felt vis-à-vis the SPD and its commitment to internationalism. Paul Lafargue wrote an editorial titled “Militarism and Patriotism” at the onset of the Nancy congress, in which he reiterated the argument that the French bourgeoisie had often betrayed the interests of the nation; thus, French socialists were its true protector.<sup>91</sup>

Other French newspapers drew different conclusions about the meaning of the Nancy congress. *La Petite république* maintained that the only thing worthwhile to remember about the Nancy congress was the fact that Hervé, “the apostle of desertion before the enemy”, was still a member of the Socialist Party. The conservative paper *Le Gaulois* pointed out that the SFIO would learn something positive in Stuttgart from German socialists, namely the importance of defending one’s country. *L’Aurore* attacked the French socialists for their alleged motivation to attend the Stuttgart congress in order to demonstrate to the entire world their desire to abandon the French nation.<sup>92</sup>

*L’Humanité* painted a different picture of the impending congress in Stuttgart. In order to convey to French workers the atmosphere in Stuttgart,

91. *L’Humanité*, 12 August 1907: “Militarisme et patriotisme” by Paul Lafargue. See also Jolyon Howorth, “The Left in France and Germany, Internationalism and War: A Dialogue of the Deaf 1900–1914”, pp. 81–100, and John Schwarzmantel, “Nationalism and the French Working-Class Movement 1905–1914”, pp. 65–80, 71; both in Eric Cahm and Vladimir Claude Fišera (eds), *Socialism and Nationalism in Contemporary Europe, 1848–1945*, 2 (Nottingham, 1979).

92. *L’Humanité*, 17 August 1907: “Le Congrès de Nancy et la presse bourgeoise”.

*L'Humanité* furnished several pictures of Stuttgart such as the train station and the *Liederhalle*. Other photographs illustrated the arrival of French and German leaders in horse-drawn carriages on the way to the Cannstatt public meeting; an impressive photo showed Jaurès addressing the massive crowd. French workers were familiarized through photographs with the faces of the leading personalities of the Second International, a new technology for *L'Humanité* designed to give French workers visible representations of socialist leaders.<sup>93</sup>

Another method *L'Humanité* used to recreate the atmosphere in Stuttgart was to devote much attention to describing the Cannstatt meeting. Gustave Rouanet portrayed this occasion in a fashion meant both to impress French workers of the magnitude of the public demonstration as well as to accentuate implicitly ideological objectives. In speaking to Belgian, American and British delegates, Rouanet proclaimed that even foreigners who were used to living in a “free country” were impressed by the organization and participation of the Stuttgart working class in the mass meeting. His depiction of the Cannstatt festival testified to the peculiar attitude many French socialists had toward German socialism. On the one hand, the sheer size and level of organization of the German labor movement overwhelmed French socialists. On the other hand, the political weakness of this well-disciplined movement in German society disappointed French socialists, in particular German socialism’s perceived incapacity for political activism.<sup>94</sup>

*Le Temps*, the leading bourgeois organ in France, gave a different account of the Cannstatt meeting. *Le Temps* underlined how the foreign delegates of each country stayed close together, insinuating that they felt uncomfortable in a foreign environment.<sup>95</sup> *Le Temps* also regarded the actions of French socialists at Stuttgart as a litmus test for their patriotic convictions. The non-socialist French and German press would frequently depict socialists of the other country as paragons of national pride and patriotism. Thus, for French newspapers like *Le Gaulois*<sup>96</sup> and *Le Temps*, Bebel was considered an ardent German nationalist. Commenting on the consequences of the resolution on antimilitarism, *Le Temps* concluded that in a case of a war, German socialists would be able to defend their fatherland, while French socialists would abandon theirs.<sup>97</sup>

After the conclusion of the Stuttgart congress, *L'Humanité* began to advertise a public meeting, at which Jaurès would discuss the resolution on militarism. Jaurès was determined to provide his own account of the significance of the Stuttgart congress for French workers, in particular to refute

93. *L'Humanité*, 18 through 26 August 1907.

94. *L'Humanité*, 20 August 1907: editorial by Gustave Rouanet.

95. *Le Temps*, 20 August 1907.

96. *Le Gaulois*, 22 August 1907: editorial, “Ce qui se passe. La leçon allemande”.

97. *Le Temps*, 25 and 26 August, 1907: editorial, “Nos Socialistes français – mais surtout anti-français, ont la presse qu'ils méritent”.

claims in the bourgeois press that the SFIO had suffered a defeat at the hands of patriotic German socialists.<sup>98</sup> Jaurès recapitulated in great detail his own vision of an international system of arbitration designed to preclude international conflicts.<sup>99</sup> Jaurès also asserted that German socialism no longer occupied a hegemonic position in the International; French socialism was now on an equal footing with the SPD. This comment testified to the concern French workers had when it was perceived that French socialism did not stand in the vanguard of the international socialist movement. Jaurès concluded his speech by proclaiming unequivocally the function the International would have in helping French workers conquer and socialize the French nation.

It is very easy to speak badly about the fatherland. They are only words. It is more worthwhile to conquer it [...]. Why is there a bourgeois fatherland? Because you are divided, because you are egotists [...]. If you have the organization and the will, you can socialize it, you can make it yours, you can make it your domain, the thing of the proletariat. It is in this way that the International asks you, it is with this goal that we will go with our comrades of all the countries.<sup>100</sup>

In a precise formulation, Jaurès had articulated a vision of inter-nationalism, in which the International helped further the cause of the French working class to realize its own socialist nation.

*L'Humanité* also used caricature and allegory to impart messages to its readers. A few days after the Stuttgart congress, *L'Humanité* reproduced an illustration of a German socialist postcard, reformulating its content to convey that German socialists, by being patriotic, were advancing the cause of internationalism. The postcard exhibits a map of central Europe with Germany in the middle surrounded by a large stone wall. Male workers are located on both sides of the wall, holding tools to demolish it. The word tariff is written in German all over the wall so the explicit message of the illustration is that European workers should agitate for the reduction of tariffs.

*L'Humanité* took the liberty to interpret the postcard in its own way by furnishing its own heading “How our comrades of Germany are patriots”. Moreover, the editor added at the bottom of the postcard the sentence “In agreement with their German comrades, the French, Swiss, Austrian, Russian, and Danish proletariats work for the demolition of frontiers.” The heading expressed clearly that German socialists were patriots because they were working for the abolition of borders between countries. In this instance, to be a patriot was synonymous with being an adherent of internationalism. Through the reproduction of a German propaganda postcard, the editor successfully contested the antipatriotic/antinational and

98. *L'Humanité*, 9 September 1907.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Ibid.*

## COMMENT NOS CAMARADES D'ALLEMAGNE SONT PATRIOTES



« D'accord avec leurs camarades allemands, les prolétaires français, suisses, autrichiens, russes et danois travaillent à la démolition des frontières. »

(Reproduction d'une carte postale de propagande internationaliste publiée par la librairie du Parti socialiste allemand à plusieurs millions d'exemplaires)

Figure 6. Reproduction of a German socialist postcard, on the front page of *L'Humanité*, 29 August 1907: "Comment nos camarades d'Allemagne sont patriotes".  
Collection IISH



national/international binary oppositions of the bourgeois press and supplanted it with his own internally consistent definition of patriotism and internationalism.<sup>101</sup>

The German socialist press represented the Stuttgart congress in even loftier terms than *L’Humanité*. Both the local socialist newspaper in Stuttgart, the *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, and the satirical newspaper, *Der Wahre Jacob*, produced special editions in dedication to the international socialist congress. The editors of both newspapers felt the medium of poetry to be appropriate to welcome the foreign guests to Stuttgart. The poem “*Willkommen!*” emphasized the simple dignity of the “proletarian parliament” in contradistinction to the gaudy festivals of princes and represented the International as a European movement.<sup>102</sup> In addition to this poem, *Der Wahre Jacob*, as *L’Humanité* had done, furnished spectacular photographs such as the entrance to the *Liederhalle*, a few panorama pictures of the massive Cannstatt meeting and, most impressive of all, a full-page photograph of the convocation ceremony of the congress.<sup>103</sup>

The poem *Stuttgart 1907* paid homage to Karl Marx’s epithet “Workers of all countries, unite!” and its content described in metaphoric language how this phrase had become the basis of international socialism. The “master” (*Meister*), referring to Karl Marx, made an appeal to the “disinherited nation” (*enterbte Nation*), and subsequently, the slogan “Workers of all countries, unite!” became the foundation of the international solidarity of workers. Marx’s slogan is depicted in quasi-religious terms as the “word” of international socialism, as the middle section of the poem shows:

*Auf dieses Wort ist unser Bund gegründet,* (Our union is founded on this word,  
*Und erdenweit erstreckt sich sein Gebiet.* (And its area extends all over the earth.)  
*Des Sozialismus Lehre wird verkündet,* (The teaching of socialism is proclaimed,  
*Soweit Kultur die Segenskreise zieht.* (As far as culture spreads the blessed circles.)  
*Was nie das Schwert der Mächtigen errungen,* (What never the sword of the powerful  
 achieved,  
*Was selbst der Sänger nur im Liede kennt.* (What even the singer only knows in a  
 song.)  
*Die Arbeit hat den Völkerhass bezwungen* (Work has defeated chauvinism)  
*Und eingesetzt ein Friedensparlament.* (And instituted a parliament of peace.)<sup>104</sup>

The *Die Schwäbische Tagwacht*’s special edition included an interesting contribution penned by August Bebel titled “Are National and International Contradictions?”. Bebel, anticipating the type of critique the Stuttgart congress would receive from adversarial newspapers, attempted to destabilize the

101. *L’Humanité*, 29 August 1907: illustration titled, “Comment nos camarades d’Allemagne sont patriotes”.

102. *Der Wahre Jacob*, 550 (1907).

103. *Der Wahre Jacob*, 550, 551, and 552 (1907).

104. *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 17 August 1907.



prevalent international/antinational binary opposition in German society. In order to do this, Bebel first argued convincingly that most aspects of the modern world were in fact international due to the international economy. According to Bebel, every cultured person was indeed a representative of internationality (*Internationalität*). With this explanation of the international nature of the modern world, Bebel asserted that the “goal of the working classes of all cultural countries is both national and international”.<sup>105</sup> Bebel believed that to make progress on a national level was equivalent to contributing to the international wellbeing of the working class, but likewise the success a socialist movement could have in its own nation depended on the development of the international movement. Thus,

National and international are not concepts and aspirations which negate each other, but rather enhance each other. As within one’s own people the true wellbeing of all national comrades depends on the welfare of each, thus within the great people’s family, the wellbeing of one people depends on the wellbeing of all the others.<sup>106</sup>

In this article, Bebel expressed a formulation of inter-nationalism, whereby a national and an international identity not only peacefully coexist, but reinforce and accentuate each other.

The first impression the readership of *Vorwärts*, the national organ of the SPD, received came from an article titled “At the Stuttgart Parliament of Peoples”.<sup>107</sup> The intention of this piece was to underline that the peoples of the world only had true representation in the international parliament of world socialism, a direct challenge to the legitimacy of the *Reichstag*. French socialists did not present the congress in this way, suggesting that the SFIO leaders were content with their own parliamentary system. The Stuttgart congress was depicted as a symbol of the future fight for liberation. The SPD also wanted to stake its own claim to be the true and legitimate force of internationalism.<sup>108</sup> *Vorwärts* did not attempt to downplay the prospect of highly-contested debates for the upcoming congress; instead, it presented this possibility as a sign of the vitality of international socialism. The newspaper asserted that the result of the congress would in any case be clear, “the advance of the great international proletarian army” in which all socialist parties feel as “equal units of the great socialist proletarian army”.<sup>109</sup> The self-representation of the German socialist movement and international

105. *Schwäbische Tagwacht*, 17 August 1907: article by August Bebel, “Sind national und international Gegensätze?”

106. *Ibid.*

107. *Vorwärts*, 18 August 1907: “Zum Stuttgarter Völkerparlament”.

108. German socialists perceived the movement of socialism in competition with other forms of internationalism such as an international aristocracy and the Catholic Church; *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907, titled “Zweierlei Internationalismus”, and “Rote Internationale”.

109. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907.

socialism through a masculine military idiom was a common motif designed to highlight the impending confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie, to intimidate the bourgeoisie with images of the organized Red menace and to draw clear lines of demarcation and exclusion between the socialist movement and the rest of German society.

Max Grunwald wrote a commemorative article dedicated to the fortieth anniversary of Marx’s publication of *Capital*.<sup>110</sup> Grunwald sought to laud the great contribution of the German intellect to the idea of internationalism. Marx’s *Capital* was “a monument of German work, which Germany had not witnessed since the period of classical philosophy and poetry”.<sup>111</sup> Grunwald proclaimed that the international community could not criticize German socialists for experiencing a justified feeling of national pride about the contribution the German mind had made to the International. Karl Marx was an example of the greatness of German thought in the social sciences; he had single-handedly turned political economy into a science. In a blatant outburst of national pride, Grunwald wrote:

Valuable as the writings by Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier are and will remain – it was first reserved for a German to reach new heights, from which the entire area of modern social conditions were clearly and understandably presented [...]. There can be no argument about the fact that the German nation, where it influenced seriously and without prejudice international learned work, has always shown a special degree of thoroughness and insight in the construction of concepts.<sup>112</sup>

In conclusion, Grunwald referred to *Capital* as the Bible of the working class.

*Vorwärts* had produced articles to shape the parameters of how German workers were to interpret the forthcoming congress. Several objectives were in operation in tandem; to accentuate the grandeur of the International, to represent the International as a powerful image of the future and the world parliament of the present and to put into sharp relief the position of a great German socialist prophet, namely Karl Marx, in the growth of internationalism.

In order to clearly underscore the importance of the German nation on a day which was synonymous with the International, *Vorwärts* also furnished a book summary of the Austrian socialist Otto Bauer’s *Nationalitätenfrage und Sozialdemokratie*. Bauer touched upon many themes that are likely to have resonated well among German workers. In fact, Bauer located the original ideal nation in what he described as the first stage of history, namely primitive communism. Bauer defined the nation as a cultural construct, which after the dissolution of primitive communism had always been the

110. *Vorwärts*, 18 August 1907: August Bebel, “Internationale” and Max Grunwald, “Ein Jubiläum der Internationale”.

111. *Vorwärts*, 18 August 1907: Max Grunwald, “Ein Jubiläum der Internationale”.

112. *Ibid.*

privilege of the ruling classes. Thus, socialism would be the first movement to recover the unity of the nation. According to Bauer, the nation and communism were not irreconcilable notions, but on the contrary, only in communism would the nation be able to achieve unity. Bauer impugned conservative national policies because they halted national development and bourgeois nationalism for its exclusivity. Whereas the bourgeois sense of nationality had resulted in imperialism, the proletarian feeling of nationality had created the principle of internationalism.<sup>113</sup>

The Catholic newspaper *Kölnische Zeitung* tried to tarnish the reputation of the SPD in the International by summarizing an article written by Robert Michels that was very critical of German socialism.<sup>114</sup> Michels wanted to prove that the SPD had lost its hegemonic position and its status as the *Musterpartei* in international socialism because of its decadence and timid reformism. The SPD party was bureaucratic and produced an ethos of subordination among the rank and file. The SPD could also no longer claim to be the forerunner in socialist theory as evidenced by its incapacity to respond to new issues like the general strike and antimilitarism. According to Michels, French socialism had assumed the leadership position of international socialism through its emphasis on direct action.<sup>115</sup>

Since the *Kölnische Zeitung* wanted to protect its own constituency of Christian trade unions from socialist propaganda, the editors attempted to highlight the internationalism and revolutionary ideology of the Second International in contradistinction to the healthy Christian, reformist and national attitudes of members of the Christian trade unions.<sup>116</sup> A satirical article titled “International Parliament of Peoples” exposed well the discrepancy between the well-orchestrated theatrics of the congress and the prominent internal differences of the various delegations. The author described the congress in a sardonic manner as a “brilliant firework of richly-phrased speeches of fraternity” and ridiculed the rhetorical proclamations of the socialists like the “unity” of the “workers of all countries” and the “fraternity of peoples”.<sup>117</sup>

The organ of Junker conservatism, the *Neue preussische Zeitung*, ridiculed as well the vocabulary employed by German socialists at the Stuttgart congress. The “glorious international socialism” was in reality a child doomed to death at its birth; all artificial attempts to resuscitate it would inexorably

113. *Vorwärts*, 18 August 1907: Otto Bauer, *Nationalitätenfrage und Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1907). The tone of the book review was neutral.

114. *Kölnische Zeitung*, 16 August 1907. This newspaper was probably referring to Michels’s article “Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie im internationalen Verband”, *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 25 (1907).

115. *Kölnische Zeitung*, 16 August 1907.

116. *Kölnische Zeitung*, 20 August 1907: article, “Sozialdemokratische Gewerkschaften und christliche Arbeiterbewegung”.

117. *Kölnische Zeitung*, 27 August 1907: “Internationaler Völkerparlament”.

fail.<sup>118</sup> The “proletarian International” had managed to display at the Cannstatt festival a “world-historical spectacle”, in which the German *Volk* took part.<sup>119</sup> The *Neue preussische Zeitung* not only attacked the “Red International”, but also condemned the Stuttgart and Württemberg authorities for allowing the congress to take place on German soil.

The conservative *Deutsche Tageszeitung*’s account of the congress was filled with anti-Semitic and racial overtones. According to this newspaper, it was understandable that a Jew like Paul Singer could embrace the idea of internationalism, but the fact that the German working class would reject the natural instinct of love for one’s fatherland was a sign of backwardness. The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* regarded the presence of Japanese delegates at the congress a direct threat to German culture.<sup>120</sup>

Representations of the Stuttgart congress from conservative newspapers incited a strong and hostile reaction from *Vorwärts*. To countermand invectives such as *Vaterlandslosigkeit*, a socialist journalist responded by asking the rhetorical question “Is not all of German history a single proof of the *Vaterlandslosigkeit* of the ruling classes, the princes, and the nobility?”<sup>121</sup> The author continued by enunciating a long list of historical examples to prove that the aristocracy had consistently acted against the interests of the German nation. For example, German princes were held accountable for the shambles of the Thirty Years’ War, a veritable action of treason against the nation. Another accusation concerned the 1806 erection of the Confederation of the Rhine, where the nobility sold out German national interests to Napoleon. Finally, the author claimed, Junkers who instituted the three-class voting system in Prussia were enemies of the German nation-state.<sup>122</sup>

The progressive newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* provided the most uncritical and accurate description of the Stuttgart congress, perhaps with the intention of leaving the door open for a possible social-democratic–liberal alliance. One journalist observed that the debate on antimilitarism was deliberately kept in the commission in order to prevent a public fiasco for the International.<sup>123</sup> Instead of trying to call into question the patriotism of German socialists, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* assured its readership that the critique of conservative newspapers against the SPD was unfounded. The employment of injurious epithets like *Vaterlandslosigkeit* and *Staatsfeindlichkeit* only served to compel German socialists to respond in kind with the result of polarizing German society. Another journalist captured the essence of the French–German socialist dynamic of the Second International, commenting that, “The German and French social

118. *Neue preussische Zeitung*, 20 August 1907.

119. *Ibid.*

120. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907: reprinted article from *Deutsche Tageszeitung*.

121. *Vorwärts*, 20 August 1907: editorial, “Zweierlei Internationalismus”.

122. *Ibid.*

123. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 19 August 1907.

democracy exhibit extraordinary differences, differences of tradition, of temperament, and of political philosophy. Both are, however, national in their own ways, and it serves no purpose to argue over which one of them is more patriotic."<sup>124</sup> The resolution on militarism was also understood as a compromise between the French and German delegations; "In the war question, the German delegation was in an uncomfortable position of isolation which was finally overcome, in that it made some concessions to the wishes of the French in the resolution."<sup>125</sup> Of all the representations of the Stuttgart congress presented above, the journalists of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* captured most accurately the underlying dynamic and multi-dimensional functions of the International Socialist congress at Stuttgart.

#### CONCLUSION

The underlying objective of this article is twofold. First, it is important to consider the political culture of the Second International and the multifaceted functions of an international socialist congress. Second, it is worthwhile to re-examine the topic of nationalism and internationalism for French and German socialists in the context of the International. The period 1904–1907 was pivotal. Both socialist parties came to the realization that it was no longer sufficient to passively tolerate the virulent and derisive criticisms to which they were constantly subjected in the French and German public sphere. Set against the backdrop of domestic and foreign tensions, socialists began to articulate more clearly their own nationalist sentiments and a vision of a socialist nation. This transformation was evident on both a symbolic and discursive level. A direct result of these changes was a restructuring of the discourse on the nation in the French and German public sphere.

The performance of internationalism at Stuttgart created a structured and dignified atmosphere, through which socialists could re-experience their identities. The ritual and ceremony of the Stuttgart congress was built largely on customs of previous congresses, such as the "mass meeting", the reception at the train station, and the *Kommers* evening. These activities had become a permanent fixture in the political culture of an international socialist congress. Novelties at the Stuttgart congress included opening the congress with music, producing a tourist guide for foreign delegates and, most symbolic, making an elaborate commemorative pamphlet so that foreign delegates had a tangible souvenir of the historic occasion at their dis-

124. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 21 August 1907.

125. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 26 August 1907.



posal.<sup>126</sup> The performance of a variety of ritualized, ceremonial and festive activities accentuated the common goal for which all socialists were striving, and in this way contributed to cement feelings of international solidarity and common purpose. Simultaneously, the performance of internationalism demonstrated the prominence and grandeur of the International to the entire world; an international socialist congress represented the pinnacle and spectacular event of the international socialist movement every three to four years. The performance at Stuttgart, however, could not entirely prevent the display of French and German inter-nationalism, which underlay the major source of tension between French and German socialists within the Second International.

126. Previous international socialist congresses included music, either played at the mass meeting as in 1893 at Zurich, or, what appears to have been an impromptu performance in London in 1896, when the organ played the *Marseillaise* in order to pass the time as a result of the French delegation's tardiness. The organizers of the Amsterdam congress, in correspondence with Victor Serwy, had expressed their intention of creating a tourist guide booklet for the foreign delegates, but I have come across no evidence that this was ever made; Henriette Roland Holst to Victor Serwy, 4 October 1902. Camille Huysmans Archive, 1611/36, Antwerp. *Sonderheft betr. Kongress zu Stuttgart*, Second International Collection, 446, IISH.

