

How Leaders Mobilize Workers

Social Democracy, Revolution, and Moderate Syndicalism

This book explains why leaders choose social democracy, revolution, or moderate syndicalism to mobilize workers, and why it matters. In some countries, leaders have responded effectively to their political environment, while others have made ill-fitting choices. Vössing explains not only why leaders make certain choices, but also how their choices affect the success of interest mobilization and subsequent political development.

Using quantitative data and historical sources, this book combines an analysis of the formation of class politics in all twenty industrialized countries between 1863 and 1919 with a general theory of political mobilization. It integrates economic, political, and ideational factors into a comprehensive account that highlights the critical role of individual leaders.

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Moderate Syndicalism*

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*Dedicated
to Nicoleta*

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Abbreviations

ADAV	<i>Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein</i> (General German Worker Association)
AFL	American Federation of Labor
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AME	<i>Altalanos Munkasegylet</i> (General Workers' Society)
B	Overall benefits
C	Overall costs
CGT	<i>Confédération Générale du Travail</i> (General Confederation of Labor)
CCF	Cooperative Commonwealth Federation
DNA	<i>Det Norske Arbeiderparti</i> (Norwegian Labor Party)
ENV	Environmental prerequisites
FOOTALU	Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada
FPTSF	<i>Federation du Parti des Travailleurs Socialistes de France</i> (Federation of the Party of Socialist Workers of France)
ILP	Independent Labor Party
INS	Insurrectionism
INS-AS	Insurrectionism, anarchist–syndicalist type
INS-B	Insurrectionism, Bolshevik type
LRC	Labor Representation Committee
MAMP	<i>Magyarországi Altalanos Munkaspart</i> (General Workers' Party of Hungary)
MAX	Maximum scope of access
MS	Moderate Syndicalism

MSZDP	<i>Magyarországi Szocialdemokrata Part</i> (Hungarian Social Democratic Party)
ORG	Investment in organization building
PAC	Potential for access to power
PIN	Potential for institutionalization
PO	<i>Parti Ouvrier</i> (Labor Party)
POB	<i>Parti Ouvrier Belge</i> (Belgian Workers' Party)
POF	<i>Parti Ouvrier Français</i> (French Labor Party)
PSI	<i>Partito Socialista Italiano</i> (Italian Socialist Party)
PSOA	<i>Partido Socialista Obrero Argentino</i> (Socialist Workers' Party of Argentina)
PSOE	<i>Partido Socialista Obrero Español</i> (Socialist Workers' Party of Spain)
PSRI	<i>Partito Socialista Riformista Italiano</i> (Reformist Socialist Party of Italy)
RIS	Personal risks
RSDRP	<i>Rossiiskaia Sotsial-Demokraticheskaia Rabochaia Partii</i> (Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party)
SAP	<i>Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti</i> (Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden)
SD	Social Democracy
SDAP	<i>Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei</i> (Social Democratic Workers' Party, Austria)
SDAP	<i>Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij</i> (Social Democratic Workers' Party, the Netherlands)
SDB	<i>Sociaal-Democratische Bond</i> (Social Democratic Association)
SD-E	Social Democracy, evolutionary type
SDF	<i>Socialdemokratisk Forbund</i> (Social Democratic League)
SD-QR	Social Democracy, quasi-revolutionary type
SD-QR (P)	Social Democracy, quasi-revolutionary type, parliamentary variant
SD-QR (EP)	Social Democracy, quasi-revolutionary type, extra-parliamentary variant
SDV	<i>Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging</i> (Social Democratic Association)
SFIO	<i>Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière</i> (French Section of the Worker International)
SLP	Socialist Labor Party
SMP	Social Mass Party

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SP	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz</i> (Social Democratic Party of Switzerland)
SPA	Socialist Party of America
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
TLCC	Trades and Labor Congress of Canada
U	Utility
USE	Model-environment usefulness
USPD	<i>Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany)