

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- ADAV (General German Workers' Association), 36
- Adler, Max, 116, 153, 248, 251
- Adler, Victor, 20, 82, 84, 118
- Adorno, Theodor W., 251
- advanced capitalism, 9, 10, 11
- Agrarian Question, 82
- Anderson, Charles W., 259
- Anti-Dühring* (Engels), 39–40, 41, 45, 46, 48, 91, 92, 93–94, 171
- anti-Semitism—
and Dühring, 39
Bernstein's writings on, 172
in Prussia, 39
and Zionism, 222
- Arendt, Hannah, 19
- Auer, Ignaz, 33, 62, 71, 77, 84, 118, 162, 166, 212
on class, 173–174
- Aveling, Edward, 71
- Bakunin, Mikhail, 238
- Barber, Benjamin, 257, 260
- Barth, Ernst, 114
- Barth, Theodor, 157, 191, 194–195, 196
- Bassermann, Ernst, 159, 160
- Baudrillard, Jean, 254
- Bax, Ernest Belfort, 69–70, 153, 154, 206–207
- Bebel, August, 4, 118
and Dühring, 39
and Bernstein's "Canossa Pilgrimage" to England, 46–47
on Bernstein's character, 20
and Bernstein's "noble patriotism," 197
and Bernstein's revisionism, 77, 78, 83–84, 151, 156–157, 178–179
and colonialism, 205
and cooperation with the liberals, 194–195
criticisms of Bernstein, 156–157, 161
death, 217
and *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 51
and the Eisenachers, 37
and Engels' death, 71
and German nationalism, 191
and the German workers' movement, 37–38, 42
and Höchberg, 46
idea of collapse of capitalism, 32, 54, 77, 80
and the "Leipzig High Treason Trials," 30–31
and the mass-strike debate, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188
and the Millerand Affair, 155–156
principles and political expediency, 178
and scientific socialism, 108
and the SPD, 49, 77
bureaucrats, 211–212, 213, 214, 215
Dresden Party Conference, 179–180
Erfurt Party Program, 63–64
Lübeck Party Conference (1901), 168, 169
socialist revolution blueprint, 63, 73
Youngsters' rebellion, 60, 61
and the steamship subsidy bill, 52
Women under Socialism, 39
- Ben-Gurion, David, 222
- Bentham, Jeremy, 7
- Berlin, Sir Isaiah, 19
- "Berne International Conference for the Facilitation of International Peace," 204
- Bernstein, Aaron (Bernstein's uncle), 21–23, 32, 70
- Bernstein, Eduard—
and Dühring, 39
assessment of, 247–252
banking career, 26
and Bolshevism, 224
and the British labor movement, 66–70
death, 247
early revisionism, 3–4

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

278 Index

- Bernstein, Eduard (*cont.*)
 and Engels' *Anti-Dühring*, 40
 in England, 47, 57–59, 66–70, 166–167
 family origins and childhood, 21–25
 images of, 19–21
 last years, 245–247
 lectures—
 “How Is Scientific Socialism Possible?,” 167
 “What is Socialism,” 223
 “What Marx Really Taught,” 74
 marriage, 56
 nervous breakdown, 70
 as *Reichstag* representative, 167–171
 and religion, 25–26
 return to Germany, 165–167
 school years, 25–27
 “sexual education,” 27
 as a socialist, 27–34
 “Stuttgart Letter,” 84
 in Switzerland, 45–57
 and the USPD, 224
 works—
 “The Bolshevik Brand of Socialism,” 239–240
 “Class and Class Struggle,” 173
Commentary on the Görlitz Party Program, 227–228
Cromwell and Communism, 58, 172, 248
The Essence of Economics and Economic Development, 225
Ferdinand Lassalle As a Social Reformer, 58, 248
From Sect to Party, 177
The German Revolution, 225
History of the Berlin Labor Movement, 172
The Labor Movement, 177
 “The Nationalism of Fichte and Lassalle,” 202
 “Parliamentarianism and Social Democracy,” 172
The Preconditions of Socialism, 85, 151, 155, 157, 159–160, 173, 239
Socialism Past and Present, 225–226
 “The Task of the Hour,” 246–247
 “Three Star Article,” 173
 “Twelve Principles of the Political Mass Strike,” 188
 and Zionism, 221–223
 Bernstein, Jakob (Bernstein's father), 21, 23, 24, 25, 26
 Bernstein, Johanna (Bernstein's mother), 21, 23–24, 25
- Bernstein, Max (Bernstein's brother), 25, 33
 Bernstein, Regine (formerly Zadek-Schattner, Bernstein's wife), 56–56, 245
 “Bernstein Renaissance” (1970s), 146
 Bismarck, Prince Otto von, 28, 29, 31, 32
 anti-socialist laws, 41–45, 53, 57, 60
 dismissal of, 59
 and Lassalle, 36
 social legislation, 44, 51
 Blanqui, Auguste, 236
 Bloch, Joseph, 166, 191–192, 199, 210
 Bloss, Wilhelm, 44, 50
 Blum, Leon, 251
 Bobbio, Norberto, 251
 Böhm-Bawerk, Eugen von, 120, 124–125, 126
 Bolshevism, Bernstein's critique of, 224, 236–241
 bourgeois press, and the Revisionist Controversy, 162–165
 Brandt, Willy, 253
 Braun, Adolf, 243
 Braun, Heinrich, 160–162, 163
 Braun, Lily, 176
 Braunthal, Julius, 10
 Breitscheid, Rudolf, 191
 Brentano, Lujó, 5, 31, 33, 38, 220
 Breslau Party Congress (1895), 72
 Breuel, Ernst, 50–51
 Bright, John, 220
 Britain—
 Bernstein in England, 47, 57–59, 66–70, 166–167
 and the Kaiser's foreign policy, 202–203
 labor movement, 47, 66–70
 liberals, 67–69, 131, 210
 Bronner, Stephen Eric, 174, 248
 Brunhuber, Robert, 164
 Büchner, Georg, 34
 Büchner, Ludwig, 47, 111
 Buckle, Thomas Henry, 47
 Bukharin, M., 239
 Bülow, Chancellor Prince Bernhard von, 166, 176, 189
 “Bülow Bloc,” 190–191
 Butler, Judith, 254
- Calwer, Richard, 193
 Campbell-Bannerman, Henry, 220
Capital (Marx), 40, 58, 71, 76, 89, 93, 117
 and Bolshevism, 238
 and the labor theory of value, 121

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

Index

279

- and Marxism socialism, 89, 90, 91
- capitalism—
 - advanced, 9, 10, 11
 - and Bernstein's revisionism, 80–81
 - and historical materialism, 112–113
 - and liberal socialism, 139
 - post-industrial, 253–254
 - and scientific socialism, 94–95, 102
 - and theories of value, 120–128
 - theory of “collapse” of, 32, 54, 70, 77, 80, 94, 95, 102, 153
- Caprivi, Leo von, 59
- Carey, Henry, 38
- Catholic Centre Party, 176, 190
- Central Working Alliance, 231
- civil liberty, 138
- civil society, and liberal socialism, 135, 136, 137–138, 258
- class—
 - and Bernstein's revisionism, 82, 173–174, 176, 205
 - in the Weimer Republic, 233
- class conflict, and “liberal” socialism, 132–133
- Cobden, Richard, 7, 67–68, 210
- Cohen, G. A., 125
- Cohen, Hermann, 116, 118
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 68
- Coletti, Lucio, 125
- colonialism, and culture, 205–211
- commodity fetishism, 121–122
- Communist Manifesto* (Marx and Engels), 9, 32, 37, 43, 153
 - and Bolshevism, 236, 237–238
 - and historical materialism, 110
 - and liberalism, 135
 - and scientific socialism, 91
 - and the SPD Youngsters' rebellion, 60, 61
- Comte, A., 99
- Constitutional Patriotism, 198
- cooperation, and evolutionary socialism, 139–140
- cooperative ideal, democracy as a, 257
- cosmopolitan patriotism, 202
- “Covenant of Peace among the Nations,” 203
- critical idealism, 116, 157
- critical socialism, 107
- Critical Theory, 251
- cultural rights, 208
- culture, and colonialism, 205–211
- Cunow, Heinrich, 219, 227
- Dahrendorf, Ralf, 10
- Darwin, Charles, 47
 - Origin of the Species*, 93
- David, Eduard, 59, 83, 116, 156, 209, 212
 - and the First World War, 219, 220, 221
- democracy—
 - and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 7–8, 10, 143
 - as a cooperative ideal, 257
 - direct, 131, 143, 228
 - extending political and economic, 140–147
 - representative, 143
- Democratic Union Party, 194
- Dietz, J. H. W., 50
- Dilthey, Wilhelm, 116, 248
- direct democracy, 131, 143, 228
- Dolchstosslegende*, 241–242
- Dühring, Eugen, 7, 31, 34, 38–39, 111
 - see also Anti-Dühring*
- Ebert, Friedrich, 12, 213, 217, 219, 225, 231, 241, 243
- economic democracy, extending, 140–147
- economic policies, and left-liberalism, 158
- Einstein, Albert, 21, 220
- “Eisenacher” socialists, 30–31, 32, 36–37, 38, 53, 144, 213, 217, 244
- Eisner, Kurt, 116, 180, 215
- Elm, Adolf von, 182
- Elster, Jon, 125
- empiricism, and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 117
- encirclement theory, 241
- end of socialism, 6, 14–15
 - and evolutionary socialism, 253–260
- Engels, Friedrich, 4, 8, 19, 26, 118
 - Anti-Dühring*, 39–40, 41, 45, 46, 48, 91, 92, 93–94, 171
 - and Bernstein in England, 69, 70–71
 - Bernstein as successor of, 249
 - Bernstein's relations with, 47, 55, 58, 59, 71
 - and Bernstein's revisionism, 78–79, 80–81, 84, 103, 144, 164
 - and Bernstein's wife, 57
 - and Bolshevism, 237, 238
 - and colonialism, 205, 206
 - and criticism of Kautsky, 49–50
 - and critics of Bernstein, 153, 154
 - death, 71
 - and *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 51
 - and the Franco-Prussian War, 219

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

280 Index

- Engels, Friedrich (*cont.*)
 and the German workers' movement, 34, 37, 45
 and the Gotha Program, 38
 and historical materialism, 110–112
 and Höchberg, 45–46
 influence on Bernstein, 248
 and the “Lassalle Legend,” 63
 and liberal democracy, 134
Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy, 111
 and Marxist socialism, 89–90
 and the mass-strike debate, 186
The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 134
 and scientific socialism, 92–94, 95, 100–101, 175
Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, 92
 and the SPD—
 Erfurt Party Program, 64–65
 policy of “intransigent opposition,” 53–54, 55
 socialist revolution blueprint, 61–62
 Youngsters' rebellion, 60–61
 on the state, 130
see also Communist Manifesto
- Erfurt Party Program (1891), 62–65, 66, 73, 80, 83, 91, 226
 and Bernstein's revisionism, 157, 175
 Kautsky's commentary on the, 91, 94–95
 and Kautsky's *The Road to Power*, 214
 1921 revision of, 231
 and scientific socialism, 100, 106, 107
- Erzberger, Matthias, 190
 ethical socialism, 45, 74, 253
 and Bernstein's revisionism, 97
 and instrumentalism, 259
- ethics—
 and historical materialism, 108–115
 and scientific socialism, 128
 and theories of value, 127–128
- ethnonationalism, 199–200, 201, 203, 204, 218
- Eurocommunism, 253
- European social democracy—
 crisis of, 1, 2
 and pluralism, 256
- evolution and sexual behaviour, 207
 exchange value, 121
- Fabian socialism, and Bernstein, 66–68
 factory councils, 227–228
 Falkenhayn, Erich von, 201, 202
 Ferry, Luc, 251
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 34, 36, 79
 and Bernstein's “noble patriotism,” 201–202
- First World War, 217–223
 and German war guilt, 241–244
- Flesch, Karl, 46
- Fourier, Charles, 79, 95, 105
- Fox, Charles James, 220
- France—
 1848 revolution, 236
 Millerand Affair, 155–156
 and the Moroccan Crisis (1905), 190
 Franco-Prussian War (1870), 27, 31, 172, 219, 244
- Frankfurt National Assembly, 24, 34
 Frankfurt School of Social Research, 251
 free trade, 210, 223
- freedom, individual, 130, 137, 138
- Freiheit, Die* (Liberty), 43
- French Labor Party, 110
- French “Minimalist Program,” 63
- French Revolution, 255
 and liberal socialism, 136, 137, 139
- Fritzsche, Friedrich, 29, 30
- Fukuyama, Francis, 253
- Gay, Peter, 1
- Geiser, Bruno, 44
- General German Workers' Association (ADAV), 36
- German Communist Party (KPD), 228, 229, 232, 240
- German Democratic Party, 232
- German labor movement, 34–40
see also SPD (German Social Democratic Party)
- German liberalism, 22
 decline of, 28, 33
- “German Question,” 196, 241
- German Revolution (1918–19), 142, 223–225, 236
- German social democracy, 2, 3, 34–40
see also SPD (German Social Democratic Party)
- German war guilt, and the socialist right, 241–244
- Göhre, Paul, 161
- Gölitz Program (1921), 13, 226–229, 231
- Gotha Program (1875), 38, 63, 65
- Gouldner, Alvin, 89
- Great Depression (1873), 32, 49
- Great War, 217–223
- Grey, Sir Edward, 206, 209
- Grillenberger, Franz, 44, 51
- Groener, Wilhelm, 231

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

Index

281

- Groh, Dieter, 62
 Grün, Karl, 34
 Guesde, Jules, 43, 155
- Haase, Hugo, 218, 219, 222, 225
 Habermas Jürgen, 198, 255
 Haeckel, Ernst, 47
 Hallgarten, Charles, 161
 Hardy, James Keir, 68
 Harrington, Michael, 258–259
 Harrison, Austin F., 164–165
 Hasenclever, Wilhelm, 44, 50, 51
 Hasselmann, Wilhelm, 43
 Hatzfeldt, Countess Sophia von, 35, 36
 Hegel, G. W. F., 9, 75–76, 79, 92, 249
 and historical materialism, 111
 and neo-Kantianism, 115, 116, 117
 and scientific socialism, 92, 93, 96, 100
 Heidegger, Martin, 254
 Heidelberg Program (1925), 229, 231
 Heidelberg School, 116
 Heimann, Eduard, 230
 Heine, Wolfgang, 83, 161, 179, 186–187, 210
 Heller, Hermann, 230
 Helphand, Alexander (“Parvus”), 80, 83, 153, 183
 Heretier, Louis, 76
 Hes, Moses, 34
 Hildebrand, Gerhard, 180–181
 Hilferding, Rudold, 234, 246
 historical materialism, 11
 and ethics, 108–115
 and scientific socialism, 96, 106
History of the 1848 French Revolution (Heretier), 76
History of British Trade Unions (Webb), 56
 Hitler, Adolf, 235, 246, 247
 Hobhouse, L. T., 7, 68, 131
 Hobson, J. A., 7, 68, 131
 Hoch, Gustav, 243
 Höchberg, Dr Karl, 45–46, 48, 75, 76, 76–77
 Hollweg, Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann, 219
 Hook, Sidney, 1
 Horkheimer, Max, 251
 Hué, Otto, 159
 Hugenberg, Alfred, 192
 human rights—
 and Bernstein’s evolutionary socialism, 119
 and liberalism, 136, 137–138
 Humboldt, Alexander von, 21
 Hunley, J. D., 249
- Hyndman, Henry, 69–70, 153
- ILP (Independent Labour Party), 68
 “immiseration thesis,” 82
 Imperial Government steamship bill, 51–53
 Independent Labour Party (ILP), 68
 individual freedom—
 and liberal socialism, 137, 138
 and the state, 130
 industrialization in Germany, 76, 158
- Jacobinism, 172
 Jacoby, Johann, 7, 24, 35
 Jaurès, Jean, 153, 219, 248, 251
 Jevons, Stanley, 120
 journals—
 revisionist, 171
 socialist, 47
Sozialdemokrat, Der, 42, 46–47, 49, 50–51, 53, 57, 66, 197
Sozialistische Monatshefte (journal), 166, 199, 210, 220
Vorwärts, 47, 58, 79, 84, 165, 180, 240
 Judaism, 21, 23, 26
 and Zionism, 221–223
- Kampffmeyer, Paul, 84, 212
 Kant, Immanuel, 7, 11, 79, 107, 114, 115, 203
 and colonialism, 209
 and cosmopolitan patriotism, 202
 and liberalism, 136, 137
Perpetual Peace, 249
 and representative democracy, 143
 see also neo-Kantianism
- Kautsky, Karl, 4, 12, 39, 118
 on Bernstein, 20
 and Bernstein in England, 70
 and Bernstein’s empiricism, 115
 and Bernstein’s “noble patriotism,” 197, 201
 Bernstein’s relations with, 47–49, 51, 58, 245
 and Bernstein’s revisionism, 78, 83, 84, 96, 97, 119, 152–153, 157, 171, 178, 250
 and the state, 132
 and Bolshevism, 237
 and colonialism, 205
 criticisms of Bernstein, 161
Das Erfurter Programm, 91, 94–95
 and democracy, 176
 and Engels’ *Anti-Dühring*, 40
 Engels’ criticism of, 49–50

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

282 Index

- Kautsky, Karl (*cont.*)
 and the First World War, 220, 221
 and German nationalism, 191, 193–194
 and German war guilt, 244
 and the KPD, 229
 and liberalism, 135
 and Marxism internationalism, 203
 and the mass-strike debate, 183, 185, 186, 188
 and the Millerand Affair, 155–156
 and *Neue Zeit* (journal), 50, 55, 58
 and reformism, 143, 210–211
The Road to Power, 214–215
 and scientific socialism, 100, 106, 108
 and the SPD, 54–55, 72, 75, 78
 bureaucrats, 211, 212, 214–215, 216, 217
 Dresden Party Conference, 179, 180
 Erfurt Party Program, 63–64, 91, 94–95
 Lübeck Party Conference (1901), 168, 169
 Keim, General, 192
 Kingsley, Charles, 68, 71
 Korsch, Karl, 251
 KPD (German Communist Party), 228, 229, 232, 240
 Kreisky, Bruno, 253
- labor movement—
 British, 47, 66–70
 German, 34–40
 see also SPD (German Social Democratic Party)
Labor Question, The (Lange), 75
 labor unions, *see* trade unions
 Labriola, Antonio, 100, 107, 237
 Lafargue, Paul, 43
 Lange, Friedrich Albert, 4, 7, 35, 45, 74, 133
 Bernstein's study of, 75–76
 and neo-Kantianism, 103, 116–118
 “regulative ideals,” 113
 The Labor Question, 75
 Lassalle, Ferdinand, 31, 34, 35–36, 37, 38, 39, 63, 75
 Bernstein's study of, 58–59, 63, 248
 and the Görlitz Party Program, 227
 and the role of the state, 130
 and the universal suffrage, 143
 Lassalleans (state socialists), 53
 Law of Incomplete Realization, 257
 League of Nations, 223–224, 225
 Ledebour, Georg, 219
 Lederer, Emil, 230
- left-liberals—
 democratic alliance with socialists, 194–197, 218
 and German nationalism, 190–191
 and the mass-strike debate, 186, 188–189
 overtures to Bernstein, 157–162
 Legien, Carl, 184–185, 231
 “Leipzig High Treason Trials,” 30–31
 Lenin, V. I., 4, 118, 140, 153, 237, 239, 240
 What is to Be Done?, 251
 Leuthner, Karl, 193, 199, 203, 252
 liberal critics of Bernstein, 12
 “liberal imperialism,” 206
 liberal socialism, contemporary forms of, 251, 257–260
- liberalism—
 and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 6–10, 119, 177
 British liberals, 67–69, 210
 German, 22
 and Bernstein's “noble patriotism,” 200–201
 New Liberals, 68–69, 131, 138
 and socialism, 119, 133–140, 147, 232
 and the state, 131–134
 and the “workers” question, 29–30
 see also left-liberals
 Liebknecht, Karl, murder of, 225
 Liebknecht, Wilhelm, 30, 31, 37, 55, 118, 144
 and Bernstein's revisionism, 7, 84
 and Dühring, 39
 and the Erfurt Party Program, 63
 and evolutionary socialism, 62
 and the First World War, 218
 and German nationalism, 193, 194
 and the Gotha Program, 38, 63
 and the Leipzig High Treason Trials, 30
 and the mass-strike debate, 183, 185, 187
 and the SPD bureaucrats, 217
 and the steamship subsidy bill, 52
Vorwärts (journal), 58
 Löbe, Paul, 20, 247
 Locke, John, 136, 208
 logical positivism, 251
 Lukács, Georg, 115, 248, 251
 Luther, Martin, 37
 Luxemburg, Rosa, 4, 7, 12, 118, 163
 and Bernstein's empiricism, 115
 and Bernstein's revisionism, 83, 84, 89, 96–97, 119, 152, 153–155, 165, 171

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

Index

283

- and liberalism, 134–135
- and the mass-strike debate, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188
- murder of, 225
- Reform or Revolution?*, 92, 95–97, 153–155
- and reformist gradualism, 143
- and SPD bureaucrats, 217
- Liotard, Jean-François, 254
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 68, 167, 220
- Malon, Benoit, 43
- Man, Hendrik de, 230
- Marat, Jean Paul, 70
- Marburg School, 116, 117, 118
- marginal utility theories of value, 120, 124–126
- Marx, Eleanor, 71
- Marx, Karl, 4, 21, 31
 - and Bernstein, 12, 47, 248
 - Bernstein's criticisms of, 197
 - and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 164
 - and Bolshevism, 237–238, 239
 - and colonialism, 205
 - and critics of Bernstein, 154
 - Critique of the Gotha Program*, 129
 - and Dühring, 39
 - and the Franco-Prussian War, 219
 - and the French "Minimalist Program," 63
 - and the German workers' movement, 34, 35, 36, 37, 45
 - and the Gotha Program, 38
 - and historical materialism, 109, 110, 111, 114
 - and Höchberg, 45–46
 - "immiseration thesis," 82
 - and Kautsky, 50
 - Lange on, 117
 - and Lassalle, 63
 - and liberalism, 134, 135–136
 - and Marxism socialism, 89–90, 95–96
 - On the Jewish Question*, 129
 - "Robinson Crusoe economists," 129
 - and the role of the state, 128–130
 - and scientific socialism, 92, 93, 100–108
 - see also *Capital*; *Communist Manifesto*
- Marx-Lafargue, Laura, 61
- Marxism—
 - and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 8–10
 - and Bernstein's "noble patriotism," 203–204
 - and Bernstein's revisionism, 71–85, 151–157, 163–165, 251
 - and Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, 45
 - "Eisenacher" socialists, 30–31, 32, 36–37, 38, 53
 - and factory councils, 227–228
 - and the German labor movement, 37, 41
 - and German nationalism, 191–195
 - and historical materialism, 108–115
 - and Liebknecht, 37
 - Marxism socialism in the 1890s, 89–97
 - and the "New Left," 257
 - and political expediency, 181–182
 - postive-inductive method of Marxist socialism, 99
 - and the SPD, 54–55, 59–60, 72, 73–74
 - in the Weimar Republic, 232–234
 - and theories of value, 120–128, 133
 - "theory of breakdown," 75
 - and the "Three-Star Article," 46
 - see also orthodox Marxism
- Marxism–Leninism—
 - Bernstein's critique of, 236–241
 - collapse of, 1, 2, 253
- Massingham, H. W., 68
- Mayer, Gustav, 162
- Mehring, Franz, 153, 171, 195
- Meinecke, Friedrich, 248
- Menger, Carl, 120
- Michels, Robert, *On the Sociology of Parties in Modern Democracy*, 215–216
- Michnik, Adam, 255
- Mill, John Stuart, 4, 7, 11, 68, 75
 - and liberalism, 136
 - and representative democracy, 143
- Miller, Suzanne, 220
- Millerand, Alexandre, 155–156
- Miquel, Johannes von, 30
- Misère de la Philosophie*, 57
- Mitterand, François, 253
- modernity—
 - and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 9
 - and the state, 131
- Molkenbuhr, Hermann, 191
- Mommsen, Theodor, 5
- moral historicism, 109
- More, Sir Thomas, 28
- Moroccan Crises, 189, 190, 193, 202
- Morris, William, 44, 68
- Most, Johann, 43
- Motteler, Julius, 49, 57

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

284 Index

- MSPD (Majority Socialists), 231
Müller, Hermann, 213
- Naphtali, Fritz, 146, 230
Nathan, Paul, 166, 191
Nation, The (journal), 166
nationalism—
 and Bernstein's "noble patriotism," 197–204
 ethnonationalism, 199–200, 201, 203, 204, 218
 Prussian, 27
 threat of, 189–197
Nationalist Controversy, 204
nationalist revisionists, 192–194, 204, 211, 252
 and the First World War, 218–219
Natorp, Paul, 116, 251
natural law, 136
Naumann, Friedrich, 5, 12, 158–160, 181, 201
 and colonial policies, 209
 Demokratie und Kaisertum, 160
Nechaiev, Sergei, 238
Nelson, Leonard, 230
neo-Kantianism, 95, 115–119
 and Bernstein's revisionism, 74, 75–76, 97, 157, 178, 251
 and Bolshevism, 239
 and ethics, 114, 115
 Marburg School, 116, 117, 118
 and scientific socialism, 103–104, 107–108
Neue Rheinische Zeitung, 50
Neue Zeit (journal), 50, 55, 58, 166, 179, 215
 and Bernstein's revisionism, 75, 79, 84, 97, 165
Neurath, Otto, 251
New Fatherland Association, 220
New Liberals, 68–69, 138
 and the state, 131
newspapers, and the Revisionist Controversy, 162–165
Nietzsche, F., 192–193
noble patriotism, Bernstein's theory of, 197–204
Noske, Gustav, 192, 193, 219, 225
Nove, Alec, 125
- Oberwinder, Heinrich, 48
On Social Peace (Schulze-Gävernitz), 75
Oppenheimer, Franz, 5, 157, 158
Origin of the Species (Darwin), 93
Oswald, Eugen, 71
- Owen, Robert, 68, 79, 95, 105
- pacifism, 220–221
Palme, Olof, 253
Pannekoek, Anton, 153
Paris Commune (1871), 27, 41, 130
"Parvus" (Alexander Helphand), 80, 83, 153, 183
patriotism—
 Bernstein's theory of noble, 197–204
 constitutional, 198
 cosmopolitan, 202
 "Peace Manifesto," 220–221
Pease, Edward, 67
Peffer, R. G., 109, 122
Peus, Heinrich, 83, 156
Philosophic Radicalism, and Bernstein, 67–68
Pierson, Stanley, 181
Plekhanov, George, 4, 80, 97, 118, 153
political democracy, extending, 140–147
political economy, and theories of value, 120–128
Popper, Karl, 109, 112, 251
post-modernism, 254
Praktiker, 73–74
private property—
 and capitalism, 123
 right to, 147
 and the "transition question," 228
protectionism, 210
Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 57, 123, 127
Prussia—
 anti-Semitism, 23, 26
 1848 revolution, 24
 nationalism, 27
 system of government, 24–25
- Quark, Max, 59
- Radicalism, Philosophic, 67–68
Reform or Revolution? (Luxemburg), 92, 95–97, 153–155
reformist gradualism, 140, 142, 201, 228–229, 248
Reichstag representative, Bernstein as, 167–171
religion, Bernstein's views on, 25–26
Renaut, Alain, 251
revisionism, 71–85, 89, 90–91, 96–97, 151, 176–204
 and Bernstein's "noble patriotism," 197–204
 and Bernstein's writings, 171–175
 and the bourgeois press, 162–165

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

Index

285

- critics of, 152–155, 156–157
 and the Dresden Party Conference (1903), 179–182
 and left-liberalism, 157–162
 and the Lübeck Party Conference (1901), 168–169
 and Marxist socialism, 89–91, 96–97, 163–165
 and the mass-strike debate, 182–189
 Revisionist Controversy, 12–13, 20, 72–85, 228
 and SPD bureaucrats, 211–217
 and the threat of nationalism, 189–197
see also nationalist revisionists
 revolution, and reformist gradualism, 142
 revolution (1848), 24, 129, 236
 Ricardo, David, 121, 122
 Richter, Eugen, 5
 Rickert, Heinrich, 116
 Rifkin, Jeremy, 257
 rights—
 cultural, 208
 and economic democracy, 147
 industrial, 144
 and liberal socialism, 134, 135–136, 258
 political, 144, 186
 to private property, 147
see also human rights
 Robinson, Joan, 125
 Rodbertus, Carl, 34
 Roemer, John, 125
 Rosebery, Archibald Philip Primrose, fifth Earl of, 206
 Rosselli, Carlo, 251
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 143
 Ruskin, John, 68
 Russian revolutionaries (1905), and the mass-strike debate, 183–184

 Saint-Simon, Claude Henri, Comte de, 79
 Sand, George, 47–48
 Schattner, Carl, 56
 Scheidemann, Philip, 213, 219, 225, 241, 243
 Scheu, Andreas, 48
 Scheu, Josef, 48
 Schiller, Friedrich, 26, 137
 Schippel, Max, 193, 210
 Schmidt, Helmut, 256
 Schmidt, Konrad, 7, 83, 97, 116, 251
 Schmöller, Gustav, 31
 Schönlank, Bruno, 59, 73–74, 169
 Schorske, Carl, 13
 Schramm, C. A., 46

 Schulze-Delitzsch, Hermann, 22, 30
 Schulze-Gävernitz, Gerhard von, 75
 Schumpeter, Joseph, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 163
 Schweitzer, Johann-Baptiste, 36
 science—
 natural and social, 98–99, 102
 and teleology, 101–108
 scientific socialism, 91, 92–108
 Bernstein's refutation of, 167–168
 and ethics, 118
 and theories of value, 127
 SDAP (German Social Democratic Workers' Party, later SPD), 38
 sexual behaviour, and evolution, 207
 Shaw, George Bernard, 7, 67
 Sighele, Scipio, 76
 Simmel, Georg, 116
 Singer, Paul, 185, 195, 205
 Smith, Adam, 121, 122
 social democracy—
 German, 2, 3, 34–40
 and left-liberalism, 157–158
 and liberal socialism, 133
see also SPD (German Social Democratic Party)
 Social Democratic Association, 222
 social justice, ideal of, 260
 social legislation, under Bismarck, 44, 51
 "Social Question," 255
 socialism—
 and liberalism, 119, 133–140, 147
 meaning of, 89–119
 and science, 98–101
see also scientific socialism
Socialism and the Capitalist Economic Order (Wolf), 75
 socialist colonialism, 206–211
 Socialist International, Stuttgart Congress (1907), 209
 Sombart, Werner, 124, 125, 126, 163
 Sorel, Georges, 251
 Soviet communism, collapse of, 253
Sozialdemokrat, Der (SPD journal), 42, 46–47, 49, 50–51, 53, 57, 66, 197
Sozialistische Monatshefte (journal), 166, 199, 210, 220
 Spartakus Uprising (1919), 225
 SPD (German Social Democratic Party)—
 and Bernstein as Reichstag candidate, 170
 "Bernstein Renaissance" (1970s), 146
 and Bernstein's evolutionary socialism, 4, 5, 147, 151, 175

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

286 Index

- SPD (German Social Democratic Party)
(*cont.*)
and Bernstein's "noble patriotism,"
197–204
and Bernstein's writings, 173, 174, 175
and Bismarck's anti-socialist laws,
41–45, 53, 57, 60
blueprint for "reformist" party
program, 175
and Braun, 162
Breslau Party Congress, 72
Chemnitz Party Conference (1912),
181, 217
colonialism and culture, 210–211
and cooperation with the liberals,
194–197
Dresden Party Conference (1903),
176–182
and the First World War, 218–221
general elections—
(1903), 177–178
(1924), 244
and German nationalism, 190,
191–197
and German war guilt, 241–244
Görlitz Party Program (1921), 13,
226–229, 231
Gotha Program (1875), 38, 63, 65, 66
Hanover Party Conference (1899), 155,
156
Heidelberg Program (1925), 229, 231
Jena Party Conference (1905), 185
and the "Kautsky–Bebel axis," 55
Lübeck Party Conference (1901),
168–169
Mannheim Party Conference (1906),
185, 216
and Marxism, 54–55, 59–60
and the mass-strike debate, 182–189
moderates, 44, 51–53, 54, 60, 62
and the "New Course" in Germany,
59–65
origins, 38
policy of "intransigent opposition,"
53–54, 55
and political democracy, 141–142
radicals, 44–45, 49, 52
and the steamship subsidy bill, 51–53
taxation policy, 170–171
theory–practice gap, 55, 171, 230–236
and the USPD, 224, 244
victory of the "party bureaucrats,"
211–217
in the Weimar Republic, 230–236
Weltanschauung, 33–34, 54
Youngsters faction, 60–61, 110
see also Erfurt Party Program;
revisionism; *Sozialdemokrat, Der*
Spencer, Herbert, 210
Spengler, Oswald, 248
Stalin, Joseph, 246
Stampfer, Friedrich, 246, 247
state, role of the, 128–134
Staudinger, Franz, 116, 251
Stenson, Gary, 52, 54, 185
Stinnes, Hugo, 231
Stresemann, Gustav, 12, 159
surplus value, theory of, 120, 122,
126–127, 128
Sweezy, Paul, 125
Switzerland—
Bernstein's exile in, 45–57
SPD conferences in, 43
taxation, and the SPD, 170–171
teleology, and science, 101–108
Thalheimer, August, 233
Third World communism, 253
"Three-Star Article," 46
Tillich, Paul, 230
trade unions—
and democracy, 141–142, 144–145
and the Görlitz Program (1921), 228
and left-liberals, 158
and liberal socialism, 133
and the mass-strike debate, 182–189
and theories of value, 127
transcendental ideal, in evolutionary
socialism, 101–102, 103–104
"transition problem," in socialist theory,
80–81, 228
Trotsky, Leon, 183, 239
Tudor, Henry, 43, 53, 79
universal suffrage, 130, 143, 144
use-value, 121, 126
USPD ("Independent" Social Democratic
Party), 222–223, 224, 225, 226,
228, 229, 241, 244
"Utopia," 28, 29
utopian socialists, 95, 105
Vahlteich, Julius, 30
value, theories of, 120–128
VDAV (Congress of German Workers'
Associations), 36–37
Verein, 31–32
Versailles Treaty (1919), 242
Vollmar, Georg von, 46, 59, 72, 73,
178–179

Cambridge University Press

0521025052 - The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy

Manfred B. Steger

Index

[More information](#)

Index

287

- and the Dresden Party Conference, 179, 180
- Volrländer, Karl, 7, 20, 116, 118, 157, 251
- Vorwärts* (journal), 47, 58, 79, 84, 165, 180, 240
- wages—
 - system of wage determination, 128
 - and theories of value, 122–123, 127
- Walzer, Michael, 255
- Webb, Beatrice, 7, 56, 67, 68
- Webb, Sidney, 4, 7, 56, 67, 144
- Weber, Max, 5, 9, 29, 31
 - Archives for Social Science*, 249
 - on Bernstein, 20–21
 - and colonial policies, 209
 - and Naumann, 158, 159
 - and neo-Kantianism, 107–108
 - The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 20–21
 - and SPD bureaucracy, 216
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, 42, 72, 231
- Weimar Constitution, 231
- Weimar Republic, 13, 14, 176, 196, 224–229
 - dynamics of social change, 230–236
- Weiting, Wilhelm, 34, 95
- West, Cornel, 5–6
- Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (later German Emperor), 27, 28
- Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 41, 59, 189, 190, 202
- Wilson, Woodrow, 223
- Windelband, Wilhelm, 116
- Winkler, Heinrich August, 242
- Wolf, Julius, 75
- “workers” question, 29–30
- Young Liberal Clubs, 159
- Zadek, Ignaz, 56
- Zadek, Lily, 222
- Zadek-Schattner, Regine (Bernstein’s wife), 56–56, 245
- Zetkin, Klara, 193, 233
- Zionism, 221–223