THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION IN BOHEMIAN WORKERS' MOVEMENTS

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The two-fold effects of the industrial development on the nationality problem of the Cisleithanian part of the Hapsburg empire is reflected in the relation between German and Czech workers' movements in Bohemia. Its international character was, in fact, reinforced by national population shifts, motivated by industrialisation, into the German-settled areas, which were affected, exclusively at first, by the process of industrialisation. The common social interests of the workers of both nations, along with the opposition to German entrepreneurs, guaranteed an originally orthodox internationalism, which was represented by a social democracy based on the original German pattern. Only with the advancing mechanisation of industry did the workers' movement win to itself the working masses, whereas before, the proletariat, in a state of flux and socially under-privileged on account of national wage-pressures, had remained politically passive. In place of an international workers' élite there now appeared nationally-independent socialdemocratic organisations which took the linguistic division into consideration. But not until industrialisation moved into the Inner Bohemian districts did the national division take on greater importance and force Czech social-democracy into a federalisation of the hitherto international and formally united National Party.

The time-lag between the industrialisation of the German and Czech areas corresponds to the shift of the nationality-struggle from the mixed regions into the closed settlement areas, and to the change from a struggle of minorities to a "struggle of the Austrian nations for the state". The international programme of the social-democrats was made easier for them by the fact that social and national emancipation went hand-in-hand not only for the non-German workers' movement, but also that from the point of view of the Germans too, a purposeful social policy lent its support to the reinforcement of the German element — a fact which inspired the celebrated Victor Adler, originally a member of the "German Nationalist" party, to go over to international social-democracy. On the other hand, however, the international integration of German and Czech workers suffered from the widespread idea that Czech migration into the German-settled areas would continue unchecked, and thus bring about a shift in the language frontiers; this, however, was only the case in the early stage of industrialisation. At the Brünn Party Conference Czechs and Germans did
manage to agree on a common nationality programme, but only because
the Czech socialists, influenced by this conception of the migratory move-
ments, were not prepared to come to a firm decision, wishing to avoid a
definitive solution. This was also an important reason for their rejection
of Bohemian „Staatsrecht“ (proposals for constitutional unity of Bohemia
and Moravia within the Hapsburg Monarchy). The difficulty underlying
the nationality problem — that the national movement for equal rights was
tied up with the desire to put an end to the economic predominance of the
German element — was solved neither by the leading theorists, Bauer,
Renner, and Smeral, nor by Kramář’s theory concerning tax-sources. Inter-
national integration of the Austrian social-democrats ran aground not least
because of the contradiction between the political and economic-political
programmes, the former aiming at self-government and national autonomy,
the latter at a centralisation of economic power through the trades-union
organisation. Therefore the party as a whole failed over the question of
international or national trades-union organisation at a period when the
national discord took on the character of an imperialism within the state,
by the addition of economic rivalries as well as Darwinian theories, a state
of social transition which was not overcome by the development of a more
consolidated and developed capitalistic system.

POSITION AND IMPORTANCE
OF THE BOHEMIAN-MORAVIAN INDUSTRY
WITHIN THE AUSTRIAN-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

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Despite the still underdeveloped industrial statistics of the Danube Mo-
narchy the economic importance and progressive industrialization of the
Bohemia-Moravia and Austrian-Silesia group of countries is shown by the
fact that in 1910 the proportion of the working population occupied in
industry was 35% while in Cisleithania it was only 23%, and in the whole
monarchy was a still smaller proportion. This region was more thickly po-
pulated than the rest of the Monarchy, since in 1918 Czechoslovakia took
over approximately one quarter (27,4%) of the whole population, though
only one fifth of the land. Through the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans
after 1945 however, the much more industrialized west of the C.S.R. lost so
many people that the proportion of its population compared with that of
the whole C.S.R. dropped from 77% (1920) to 70% (1959). By the policy
of systematic industrialization the formerly insignificant share of Slovakia
in the industrial output of the C.S.R. will be increased, for in the plans of