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## **Toward Socialist Republic. Study in Political Thought of Polish Socialist Party (1929-1939) [summary]**

The 1930s decade was a period of deep political crisis in the whole Europe as well as sharp ideological antagonisms between different political agents. Background and one of the causes at the same time for the crisis of the 1930s was created by Great Depression in economy started in 1929. Deep and long-lasting economic crisis, rise of the mass fascist and authoritarian movements and inflation of unbounded violence in political life constituted serious challenges for political theory and strategic assumptions formulated in the 1920s by European socialist parties. That ideological crisis touched Polish Socialist Party (PPS) as well, which resulted in acrimonious debates and polemics between leaders, publicists and socialist activists. The main aim of the presented dissertation is to describe and examine these theoretical discussions conducted in PPS during the 1930s.

In direct reference to the inner logic of the socialist ideology in the first half of the twentieth century, dissertation is divided into three chapters, corresponding to different layers (or levels) present in that ideological construct. Level of economical "base" is discussed in the first chapter. In the 1920s ideologists of PPS were often referring to Rudolf Hilferding's theory of "organized capitalism" as justification for their evolutionary strategy. Due to the Great Depression experience, many socialists changed their mind about dynamics and future of capitalist economy. According to programmatic statements of PPS and Labour and Socialist International as well, Great Depression was a symptom of the structural and terminal crisis of capitalist system. Among Polish socialists particularly comprehensive explanations of the depression were developed by Zygmunt Zaremba and Oskar Lange. It is easy to point substantial differences in their argumentations (Zaremba saw the most important cause of the depression in uneven distribution of the national income, deepened by postwar rationalization; Lange, on the other hand, accentuated negative results of the cartelization process, especially deficiency of the automatic regulation of the market in quasi-monopolist phase of capitalism), but conclusions were similar – structural crisis of the capitalist system had been started and the only way out of the depression is socialization of the economy. Better conjuncture in the

second half of the 1930s did not caused any significant changes in socialists' opinion on the condition of capitalism, but it is worth to note that they started to perceive new, pre-Keynesian methods of pro-demand policy as a direct step on the way toward socialist economy.

Thesis about structural crisis of capitalist system and necessity of the immediate transition to socialism obviously caused significant modifications in strategic assumptions of the movement. This issue is discussed in the second chapter of the dissertation, where special attention is paid to socialists' analyses of fascism (as historical phenomenon as well as an mass movement) and class transformations induced by the economic depression. Problems of deeply pauperized "intermediate classes" and premises of its potential alliance with working class dominated socialist's debates in the mid-1930s. Two main attitudes could be extracted: "revolutionary romanticism" distinctive for more radical activists ("intermediate classes" are virtually ready for the revolution and needs only impulse and working-class leadership) and strategy of cross-class alliance based on partnership and common platform of structural reforms. The most eloquent supporter of the later attitude was editor-in-chief of the "Robotnik" ("Worker"), Mieczysław Niedziałkowski.

Different views on the collaboration with "immediate classes" and on the mechanism of political mobilization under socialist banner constituted premises for the different positions on tactical issues, which were examined in the third chapter of dissertation. In the first subchapter theoretical and practical assumptions of PPS tactic in 1929-1930 (Centre-Left parliamentary coalition, "Centrolew") are discussed. Thereafter, dynamics of change in PPS's tactical conceptions in the first half of the 1930s is discussed. According to proposed interpretation, there was a noticeable link between theoretical reevaluations examined in former chapters and tactical controversies among socialists in this time. In the next subchapter PPS's reception of the "united front" rhetoric is presented as well as vehement arguments about tactical conception adequate for the socialist movement in the face of fascist threat. In the last subchapter course of the last PPS congress in interwar Poland (1937, Radom), which was peculiar epilogue for the significant tactical controversies of the 1930s, is closely analyzed.

Doubtlessly, for Polish socialist movement the 1930s decade was a period of firm radicalization and sharp tactical controversies. Furthermore, as it is argued in the conclusion of the dissertation, it was a time of lasting, structural transformations in the political thought of PPS. Under pressure of economic crisis and right-wing political threat socialists finally left historical optimism rooted in deterministic Marxism of the Second International, still typical

for the 1920s. Slogan of the "Socialist Republic", explicitly articulated in the new programme of PPS as a direct political aim, could be interpreted as an symptom of deeper "activist" turn in socialist thought, which was in some reasons similar to contemporaneous reevaluations in political thought of western socialist parties.

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