

Jean Jaurès – An Apostle of Peace in Pre-War Europe, 1905-1914

The decade preceding the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was marked not only by an intensification of armaments and confrontations of the world powers in their quest to acquire new resources, markets and influence, but also by an increasingly growing international peace movement, supported by hundreds of thousands of people. They came from different social groups, but what united them all was their common dream of harmony and peace in society, their belief that progress should not be based on violence and wars as means of resolving the emerging conflicts ought to be abolished. The Hague Conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes of 1899 and 1907 gave some hope for the realization of their vision of a peaceful world, but in fact these conventions were mainly intended to diminish the evils of militarized conflicts and not to prevent their outbreak or escalation.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, one French philosopher, historian and politician, Jean Jaurès, vigorously joined in the search for means to prevent wars among nations. To all who were disappointed with the failure of the ongoing initiatives, he offered a new, different perspective: the organization of a mass movement for peace, which would involve not only the governments but also the nations, in which the international solidarity of working men and women would oppose the constant threat of war. Jaurès demonstrated an extraordinary and unique activity in the struggle which he undertook against colonialism and war. This was exactly what determined the immense influence which he acquired among the broad masses of the people, and, to a large extent, his position of a socialist leader not only in France, but also in the international socialist organization - the Second International, founded in 1889. This activity provoked against Jean Jaurès the strongest hatred that could be directed at a socialist on the eve of World War I, and it cost him his life. The purpose of this paper is to present Jean Jaurès as a socialist politician and thinker with original ideas, to outline the evolution of his political understanding in connection with some of the major issues of his time, and, mostly, to emphasize his efforts for the preservation of peace in the world,

because Jaurès is best known for his antimilitarism. His struggle to prevent the war and his tragic death have turned him into a symbol of the human will for peace and agreement among nations.

Jean Jaurès was born in 1859 in the town of Castres, located in the Tarn department in southern France, in a family which belonged to the petty bourgeoisie¹. After brilliant studies at the elite Paris school *École normale supérieure*, he taught philosophy at first not far from his hometown - at the *lycée* in Albi, and then at the University of Toulouse. In 1885, at age only 25, Jaurès entered politics being elected Republican deputy for the department of Tarn.

In the 1880's and even later, political life in France was, to a considerable degree, still dominated by the conflict between the supporters of the late Eighteenth-century Revolution, which had given birth to republicanism and constitutional democracy, and the advocates of the Old Regime society controlled by traditional forces, such as the king, aristocracy and Church. Being firmly attached to the values of the Republic and the Rights of Man and Citizen, ignoring the complexity and variety of political groups, organizations and factional fighting, during his first term as Member of the French Chamber of Deputies (1885-89) Jaurès did not support the Socialists or the Radicals, but gave confidence to the moderate Republicans – the Opportunists, believing they would work to improve the institutions of the French Republic. As a young philosopher to a certain extent he was interested in the ideas of Socialism and it was not by chance that he chose as subject of his doctoral thesis in Latin "the origins of German socialism"². But at that time he regarded Socialism only as a philosophical doctrine without any political importance. Only when he entered in contact with the workers in the small mining town of Carmaux, near Albi, to support their strike against the illegal dismissal of a socialist worker, Jaurès realized with certainty that his vocation was to defend the interests of the working people. In 1893, he agreed to represent in Parliament the workers and peasants from the region of Albi and for the rest of his life, with only one interruption (1898-1902), was elected as their deputy.

The tasks which Jean Jaurès assigned to himself can be best summarized by his own words: "I carry within me a dream of fraternity and justice, and toward those goals I wish to work."³ Jaurès's commitment to the defence of the working class (the proletariat), had the logical consequence of adopting certain socialist ideas, but his

vision of Socialism was very specific and distinct from the dominant socialist theories at that time. Orthodox Marxists like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Germany, Jules Guesde in France, claimed that Socialism would be built through class struggle and violent revolution, through forcible seizure of the state power by the working class and establishment of its dictatorship. Reformists like Eduard Bernstein in Germany, and the Possibilists in France, insisted that socialists should be guided by the immediate interests of the working class and struggle for the improvement of the conditions of life of workmen through reforms in Parliament.

Jean Jaurès developed his own socialist doctrine, in which he tried to adapt the universally sounding socialist ideas to the political and economic conditions in France, to France's historical traditions and spirit. According to him, Socialism in France owed its existence to the accomplishments of the Revolution, of the Republic and democracy, and these accomplishments should be preserved at all costs. The French Republic had achieved a lot. It had equalized the learning opportunities for all citizens by introducing the compulsory secular education; legalized the political equality through the universal suffrage; and permitted the strikes as a means for protecting the workers' interests. But the Republic had not liberated the workers economically. Their liberation could be achieved only when the "political Republic" became "a social Republic" based on the public ownership of the means of production⁴. How could that transformation be done?

Jaurès disagreed with the Marxist idea about establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat and violent overthrow of the bourgeois society. He expected, if that happened, the new rulers to become "a gang", seeking to perpetuate their power in order to abuse the resources of the country⁵. Jaurès never totally excluded the possibility of a violent revolution, but thought it would be "unnecessary and regrettable"⁶. He defended the view that the liberation of labour would be best achieved through slow evolution, by peaceful and legal means, as a continuous process in which the reforms for improving the situation of the working people would lead to their final emancipation. Socialism should not abolish but perfect the bourgeois Republic. It would extend the Rights of Man and Citizen from the political to the economic sphere. Some reforms planned by Jaurès were: voting rights for all workers, democratic jurisdiction, separation of church and state, progressive income tax, a weekly rest day for all workers and employees, social security measures, government loans for small farmers, worker-owned and state-

owned enterprises⁷. Jaurès specially underlined the importance of introducing new collective forms of property in his present-day society because, he thought, they would accelerate the coming of the new social order.

For the improvement of society, Jaurès stated his readiness to work with everyone, regardless of their social group or political party. That caused a negative attitude towards Jaurès from the part of the French Marxists – the Guedists, especially when Jaurès supported the participation of the socialist Alexandre Millerand in Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau’s coalition cabinet of “Republican Defence” (1899-1902). In 1902-05 Jaurès gave his approval and to the coalition cabinet of the so called “Left Block”, led by the anti-clerical politician Émile Combes, and worked hard with it for the passing, in 1905, of the law on the separation of the Church and the state.

Jaurès’s theory, although containing elements of Marxism, as a whole was different from it, and it may seem that it stood closer to the “evolutionary socialism” of the German social-democrat thinker Eduard Bernstein⁸. However, Jaurès was not a simple evolutionist or reformist. He insisted that the workers movement should always keep its spirit of revolt, and criticized Bernstein to whom “the final goal” of socialism was “nothing”. Jaurès thought that the final goal was a fundamentally transformed society, in which the slogan “liberty, equality and fraternity” of the highly admired by him Eighteenth-century Revolution in France, would turn into reality.

Some French Socialists disagreed with Jaurès’s reformism but others decidedly approved it emphasizing the depth and significance of the proposed reforms by Jean Jaurès. Alexandre Zévaès wrote about him:

Unlike some reformists and Possibilists, who under the motive for immediate results get stuck into reforms, mediocre and lacking depth, Jaurès has always been focused on the final goal, on the future, on the noble and distant horizons of light and peace, on the liberated, renewed and revived humanity.⁹

To emphasize the specificity of his theory and method Jaurès described them as “*revolutionary evolution*” [emphasis in the original]¹⁰.

Considering everything, Jean Jaurès can be characterized more as a radical thinker and a revolutionary than as an ordinary reformist, although he preferred the peaceful means and insisted that social transformation should always develop “under the law of democracy”¹¹. In fact, Jaurès’s projects planned revolutionary changes. It is exactly for this reason that at the conference of the French Socialists in Lille, in 1900,

Jaurès himself explicitly stated: “I am not a moderate; I am, with you, a revolutionary”¹².

The most original characteristic of Jaurès’s theory, maybe, is not so much in the unification and balance of two contradictory ideas - revolution and evolution, but in its broad humanitarian vision of the future society. Socialism according to Jaurès would assure happiness and well-being not only to one class – the proletariat, but to the whole nation; it would create a society in which the rights and dignity of every person would be respected and protected, a society of real fraternity and justice. A bright illustration of these ideas was the support that, at the end of the 1890s, Jaurès gave to the unjustly convicted captain Alfred Dreyfus. To his socialist colleagues - the Guesdists, who accused him of having left the area of the working class movement and devoted his forces to the defence of a rich man who belonged to the privileged military caste, Jaurès responded with a series of arguments: Dreyfus was innocent; by his misfortune, he was stripped of all class character; being a socialist did not mean you had to ignore the problems of suffering people; when the Republic, justice and human rights were threatened, Socialists should do everything possible to protect them. Jaurès took part in the *Dreyfus Affair* with brilliant speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, and writing a series of articles published in the newspaper *La Petite République*, and as a separate volume under the title *Les Preuves (The Evidence)*¹³.

In the early years of the twentieth century, Jean Jaurès was already convinced that in order to serve more effectively the interests of the working people, Socialists in France, despite their differences and the passionate arguments they had over the methods and tactics, should join forces and form a single political party. In 1905, largely as a result of his persistent efforts, in France, was founded the so-called *Parti Socialiste, Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière*, (SFIO) (Socialist Party, French Section of the Workers' International). The official declaration of the united French Socialists asserted, in a Marxist fashion, that "the Socialist Party, although pursuing the realization of the immediate reforms that the working class wants, is not a party of reforms but of class struggle and revolution"¹⁴. However, the actual inspirer and leader of the party, its eloquent speaker in Parliament, the founder and director of its newspaper *L'Humanité*, was not the Marxist Jules Guesde, but the radical reformer Jean Jaurès. At the party congress held in Toulouse in October 1908, Jaurès pronounced

a famous speech in which he brilliantly defended democracy - the basis of the labour movement, and proved the need for gradual, through the means of reforms, achievement of the ultimate goal - the social state¹⁵. At that congress the authority of Jean Jaurès further increased, and he confirmed his position of a leader of the French Socialists¹⁶.

But how could the goals Jaurès strived for be achieved, how could it be possible there to be justice and happiness in society, if there was no peace? The late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were characterized by an increase of the contradictions between the major European states. In several stages, two threatening each other alliance blocks were formed: Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, on the one hand, France, Russia and Great Britain, on the other.

Jaurès's attitude towards war is briefly but expressively described by his contemporary and friend the socialist Charles Rappoport:

The entire noble character of Jaurès, his whole philosophy, his entire social and political concept had opposed, so to say, organically to the brutal violence and its systematic and desired realization, the war¹⁷.

Early in his political career as a socialist, Jaurès manifested his hatred towards military conflicts denying France's revanchism against Germany over Alsace-Lorraine. In his speech before Parliament, on 7 March 1895, he declared: "The solution is not in the war of revenge. The war of revenge can have no other effect than to turn back into a field of carnage, blood and ruins the controversial areas."¹⁸ To the policy of solving France's territorial problems by military means he opposed the policy of peace negotiations, expansion of democracy, disarmament and the signing of a peace pact. Only then the people in Alsace and Lorraine would have the strength to fight for their rights and freely manifest their historical traditions¹⁹.

Although sharing the Marxists' view that war was the inevitable companion of capitalism²⁰, Jean Jaurès did not at all accept their position that struggle against war was useless while capitalism existed. In his view, it was exactly the Socialists who, as an organized international force, had to lead that struggle. But it should not be limited only to their actions. All people should be engaged in the battle for peace, no matter of their political beliefs. Jaurès's great idea was the creation of a "European party" or "European League of Peace". In that League, together with the Socialists, would work "all people of sound mind who are aware of the constantly growing threat to humanity from militarism"²¹. Jaurès insisted his initiative to be discussed at the International Socialist

Congress, scheduled for September 1900, in Paris, but his plan was not carried out. The Paris Congress of the Second International dealt mainly with the issue if a socialist had the right to participate in a "bourgeois government". So the "League of Peace" remained just an unrealized dream.

In the period until 1905, Jean Jaurès had not yet completely made clear his thoughts and ideas about the most appropriate actions to be taken to protect peace. Moreover, his sense of realism and insight into the problems of international relations had not fully manifested itself. For example, he still underestimated the colonial rivalry between the great powers as a threat to the world peace and naively trusted the statements of the French government that the initiated direct penetration of France in Morocco (1900) was completely peaceful, that its purpose was to restore and maintain the order in the country and to disseminate the achievements of the French civilization. As a result, Jaurès expressed his conviction that the French Republic had the right to possess colonies²², that it could greatly contribute to the progress of the colonial nations, distributing among them its language, culture and democratic traditions. The only thing required was France's means of action not to involve violence.

At that time, Jaurès was deceived by the seeming decrease of tension in the international relations because of the Franco-Italian rapprochement in 1902 and the conclusion of the *Entente Cordiale* between France and England in 1904. He began to see the realization of his hope for preventing wars in the government initiatives to create alliances of countries in which a pacifist spirit would gradually penetrate. In his article *Alliance européenne (European Alliance)* (September 1902) he wrote: "Europe already organized by the Triple Alliance, on the one hand, by the Franco-Russian Alliance, on the other, can little by little be established as a definitive system in which any chance of war will be excluded"²³. In another article from July 1903, Jaurès argued that Europe, although still "monarchical, warlike and controversial" was "permeated more and more by the influence of peace, by a great international spirit"²⁴.

Jaurès's illusions quickly dispersed in 1904-1905, when several major events profoundly changed his way of thinking.

The Russo-Japanese war, which began in February 1904, seriously alarmed Jaurès. He was afraid that the war might lead to a major international conflict, as Japan would rely on its alliance with England, and Russia on its alliance with France. The

Franco-Russian Alliance, recently welcomed by him, in his views became "exclusive and reckless", "a danger and a threat" to peace²⁵. Jaurès's reaction against the war in the Far East was immediate. At public meetings - in Saint-Etienne on 13 February, in Saint-Chamond on 15 February, in Levallois-Perret on 27 February - he delivered fiery speeches in which he urged the French government to disclose France's obligations under the secret treaty between France and Russia²⁶.

In January 1905, the first Russian Revolution broke out and it had a wide response among the French socialists. The events in Russia allowed Jaurès to better appreciate the importance of mass revolutionary actions, to consider new ways of struggle against war such as the general workers' strike which up to that moment he had recommended only as a means to impose reforms that serve the immediate interests of the working class²⁷.

In the same year, the First Moroccan Crisis developed, deteriorating the relations between Germany and France, between Germany and Great Britain. It revealed to Jaurès what dangerous consequences the colonial contradictions and struggles for spheres of influence might have.

But it was not only the international context that affected the conceptual evolution of Jean Jaurès. The conditions in France changed too. In the early twentieth century the strike movement increased. In one year only, 1905, nearly half a million of workers went on strike. At the same time, after the union of the socialist parties and fractions, Socialism became stronger and much better represented in the French Chamber of Deputies²⁸. That strengthened the Socialists' self-confidence and their energy for antiwar initiatives. Besides, the early twentieth century was marked by a better appreciation of the values of anti-militarism in the French society as a whole, by the appearance of many pacifist organizations. Between 1899 and 1904, forty-seven new peace societies were founded in France, along with the existing ones²⁹.

From 1905 on, Jean Jaurès led his "war against the war" without a break and everywhere: in Parliament, in the press, at meetings with thousands of people, at the National Congresses of the French Socialist Party (SFIO), at the Congresses of the Second International, "in the smallest villages of France", and "in the greatest capitals of Europe"³⁰. He reinforced his criticism of all forces which could represent danger for peace. Jaurès denounced the military, industrialists and financiers engaging France in

colonial adventures; condemned the politicians, diplomats and journalists who lied to society and aimed to get the public opinion on their side by taking advantage of the power of the printed word. He insisted that the scattered and wavering will for peace activate and help the working class – the only organized social force which, according to him, was able to put pressure on the governments to make the world a more peaceful place.

A man of incredible energy, brilliant intelligence, rich and profound culture, hardworking in his daily life with total disregard for personal glory, famous for his honesty, Jaurès acquired immense popularity. It is remarkable that he gained the confidence even of the French revolutionary syndicalists, who rejected parliamentarism and political action in favour of direct action by the workers and their unions³¹. One of Jaurès's most important distinctive features was his unusual and rare oratorical talent. His eloquence had a very strong emotional impact on his audiences; it engaged them; it affected their feelings and beliefs, in some cases, it almost hypnotized them. As a speaker Jaurès was admired even by his most determined political opponents.

After the Moroccan alert in 1905, Jaurès began to see the germs of the world war in every colonial conflict, but he paid attention mostly to the French penetration in Morocco which caused severe international problems. It became clear for him that the French expansion there was not peaceful but bloody, it brought destruction and death to the local population, and furthermore, it violated the agreements reached with Germany. For ten years, Jaurès made more than twenty long and detailed speeches in the French Chamber of Deputies and published hundreds of articles in which he expressed his grief, anger and disappointment of the hypocrisy and dishonesty of the French politicians, in which he insisted the public opinion in France to condemn the colonial policy in Morocco. In an article published in *L'Humanité* (11 February 1909), Jaurès offered a program how to achieve a lasting peace between Germany and France. It included the following conditions: withdrawal of French troops from Morocco and abandoning the idea of a French protectorate there; respect for the interests and dignity of the Moroccan people from both France and Germany, and finally, establishment of a democratic and humane regime in the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine seized by Germany, and at a later stage, providing autonomy to these provinces³². During the new Moroccan crisis in 1911, Jaurès with even greater sense of urgency called for a cessation of

diplomatic frauds, for reconciliation, understanding and cordiality between France and Germany³³. His active position made him the undisputed leader of the French anti-colonial movement.

On the eve of World War I, Jean Jaurès abandoned not only his faith in the positive effects of French colonialism, but also his hope that the spirit of pacifism and mutual respect would spread in the hostile European Alliances. Under the conditions of recurrent crises and conflicts, in the atmosphere of arms-race, he thought, all possible means to protect peace must be mobilized and used: and the parliamentary ones, and the revolutionary ones; and the means of diplomacy, and the mass protest of the people.

During that period, Jaurès believed that one of the most important tasks of the French socialists and of the international socialist organization – the Second International, was to identify the specific methods of struggle against war and organize mass actions against any political event or activity that could endanger peace. That was not easy because among the Socialists there were many issues that gave rise to passionate debate.

In the pre-war years Socialists were focused on two main problems. The first was: should there be any organized actions against war, having in mind that war would give birth to a proletarian revolution which in its turn would abolish capitalism and in that way remove the very source of war? The second problem concerned the relationship between the national and international in the activities of the working class: was the proletarian internationalism compatible with patriotism, should the working class defend their country in case of war?

Jaurès spent a lot of energy to convince his party fellows – the Guesdists, who thought that anti-militarism was unnecessary, what the consequences of the impending war might be. He was one of the few who managed to foresee the future war with all its horrors and atrocities. Years later, when the war had already begun, on the battlefield of Roye in north-eastern France, where the sky was aflame, the shells were bursting, the earth was shaking, and men were falling dead, Jaurès's friend Commandant Henry Gérard said: "I feel as though this is all familiar to me... Jaurès prophesied this hell, this total annihilation."³⁴ In 1905, in his article *La Paix et le Socialisme (Peace and Socialism)*³⁵ Jaurès agreed with those socialists who thought that „a European war can lead to the outbreak of revolution, and the ruling classes would do well to think about

it”, but he warned: “it can also lead for a long period to counter-revolutionary crises, furious reaction, exasperated nationalism, stifling dictatorship, monstrous militarism, a long chain of retrograde violence and abominable hatred, reprisals and servitude”. His conclusion was that “any thought of war must be rejected, because it will be a war against democracy and the proletariat”³⁶.

Jaurès took a firm stand and on the heavily debated question if the workers had or did not have a fatherland. He never accepted the idea that they should be unpatriotic. His opinion was that “nations and fatherlands are a fact... only in the nations and through them [the proletarians] can work internationally for their emancipation and organization”. To the French socialist Gustave Hervé, who proudly manifested his anti-patriotism and claimed that it did not matter at all to the proletarians what the national label of the capitalists who exploited them was³⁷, Jaurès replied:

Citizen Hervé, ... you have the same behaviour toward the fatherland as, a century ago, the workers... had toward the machines. The proletariat must not break the machines, it must conquer them. It does not have to destroy its fatherland, it must socialize it³⁸.

This meant to create a state with justice and happiness for all. Jaurès insisted that in case of a defensive war the workers together with the whole nation should fight for the independence of their country.

In the disputes between the various socialist currents, Jaurès came out victorious. He helped impose the view that the proletarian internationalism did not deny patriotism and that struggle against the coming war was possible and necessary. The resolutions of the Congresses of the French Socialists (in Limoges in 1906 and Nancy in 1907) and of the Second International (in Stuttgart in 1907, in Copenhagen in 1910, and in Basel in 1912) adopted his ideas about the means of fight against the threatening global conflict: war should be prevented by all means, including parliamentary intervention, public agitation, popular demonstrations, general strike, and, if necessary, insurrection³⁹.

For Jean Jaurès the transformation of war into revolution was the final and not much desired possibility. Most important to him was to avoid war and as a particularly suitable means to prevent it, he recommended the creation of an International Court of Arbitration to examine the controversial issues and settle the conflicts. Another way of establishing peace in the world, according to him, was the simultaneous and total disarmament of all countries, but Jaurès realized that there were no conditions for that

yet⁴⁰. What seemed more realistic to him was the reorganization of the armies in such a way that they would serve both national defence and world peace.

In November 1910, Jean Jaurès proposed in the Chamber of Deputies a law for a new organization of the French army, comprising 18 articles⁴¹, and the arguments and reasons of that law, he developed in a voluminous work published early the next year under the title *L'Armée nouvelle* (*The New Army*). The main idea of the author was the army to be separated from the reactionary circles in the country that used it both to repress the labour movement and to conquer new territories as shares in the partition of the world. According to him, France needed a new type of military organization in which the army would consist of the whole armed nation, of all citizens capable of bearing arms, aged 20 to 45, and the officer corps would be accessible by working class people. Any thought of aggression or adventure would be alien to the new national army. Its only purpose would be to safeguard the independence of the country.

Jaurès's project of the *new army* was not discussed in Parliament. In 1913, in response to the steady expansion of Germany's army, rather than accept the idea to arm the entire nation for defence against possible aggression, the French government introduced a law providing for the extension of military service from two years to three. Although hiding behind patriotic slogans and phrases, the concept of the government and the General Staff was not to lead a defensive war, but an offensive and aggressive one, in conformity with the doctrine *offensive à outrance* (*offense to the limit*)⁴².

Jean Jaurès became the main inspirer of the broad national movement against the "three years", organized by the Socialist Party. Every day he published in *L'Humanité* one or two articles against the false patriotism of the government. On 25 May 1913, at a grand meeting in Pré-Saint-Gervais, near Paris, in which participated 150,000 people, Jaurès convincingly denounced the "three-year" law. In his speeches before the Chamber of Deputies, he developed his concept of how most effectively to organize the defence of France, and proved that it was not necessary to keep soldiers in the barracks, but to mobilize all citizens against a foreign attack.

Despite Jaurès's passionate patriotism, a defamatory campaign began against him. The conservative press accused him of being a "German agent", of being bribed with "German gold"⁴³. The prominent French writer and politician, supporter of

extreme nationalism, Maurice Barrès, wrote, that “Jaurès was penetrated, intoxicated with Germanism”⁴⁴.

Jaurès did not pay much attention to his detractors but continued his restless work attending peace meetings and conferences, writing inspiring articles. On the evening of 25 July 1914, after Austria’s ultimatum to Serbia, he delivered a speech at the meeting in Vaise, near Lyon. That was his last speech in France. Jaurès made a detailed analysis of the international situation and predicted: "Now maybe we are on the eve of the day when Austria will attack the Serbs, and when Germany and Austria attack Serbia and Russia, it means that Europe will be on fire". Despite the uncertainty and tension, Jaurès kept his belief that it was possible to avoid a global conflict, precisely because it would be the most horrible, it would bring a countless number of casualties, destruction and suffering. The united forces of all workers in Europe, according to him, could overcome the danger⁴⁵. Jaurès remained optimistic even after Austria had declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. In his last public speech delivered in Brussels in connection with the extraordinary meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, he revealed his hope that the conflict could remain local and the world peace still could be saved⁴⁶.

Jean Jaurès was assassinated on July 31, 1914 in Paris by Raoul Villain, a French nationalist who believed Jaurès was aiding Germany against France. Three days later Germany declared war on France and, on August 4, 1914, the day of Jaurès’s burial, the French socialists and the German social-democrats voted in favour of the war budgets of their governments. The dream of the international fraternity of the working class collapsed.

Had the Socialists forgotten Jaurès’s appeal to all mankind in one of his best speeches delivered in 1912, in the cathedral of Basel? Invoking the motto which Friedrich Schiller had chosen for his famous *Das Lied von der Glocke* (*Song of the Bell*), Jaurès had made his plea for international peace:

Vivos voco, I call the living to defend themselves against the monster which appears on the horizon; *Mortuos plango*, I mourn the dead lying out there to the East, the stench of whom reaches us like a remorse; *Fulgura frango*, I will break the thunderbolts of war which are threatening in the clouds.”⁴⁷

Certainly the French Socialists asked themselves what Jaurès would have done once the Germans attacked France, and the majority thought he would have accepted the

idea of defending his fatherland⁴⁸. It was like this that Jaurès's death, in fact, facilitated the rallying of all political forces in France - from the extreme right to the extreme left - in a *Union Sacrée* (*Sacred Union*) of national defence.

With the death of the “apostle of peace, of international agreement”⁴⁹ the last hope for preserving the peace of the world was gone. The war from a local conflict in Europe soon became a global one, as bloody as Jean Jaurès had foreseen it years before. Some critics may argue that he started a mission that was impossible to win. It is true that Jean Jaurès could not “break the thunderbolts” of the First World War but he did more than anybody else to prevent it, and he left to the future generations, to us, his optimism and his dream for a just and peaceful world.

¹ For the biographical data of Jean Jaurès, see Zévaès, Alexandre. *Jean Jaurès*. Paris: la Clé d'or, 1951; Auclair, Marcelle. *La vie de Jean Jaurès ou la France d'avant 1914*. Paris: Seuil, 1954; Poulain, Gaston. “Biographie de Jean Jaurès” in *Jean Jaurès présenté par Vincent Auriol*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962, 20-32; Goldberg, Harvey. *The Life of Jean Jaures*. Madison: University of Wisconsin press, 1962; Rabaut, Jean. *Jaurès*. Paris: Perrin, 1971.

² According to the requirements for obtaining a Doctor's degree in Philosophy Jean Jaurès defended two dissertations. The first one was in French - “De la réalité du monde sensible”, and the second one in Latin - “De primis socialismi germanici lineamentis apud Lutherum, Kant, Fichte et Hegel”.

³ Cited in Goldberg, *The Life of Jean Jaures*, 60.

⁴ Jean Jaurès developed this idea in many of his speeches and articles. See, for instance, his speeches in *Journal officiel. Débats parlementaires*, vol. 36, 6^e législature, session extraordinaire de 1893, 6^e séance, 21 Novembre 1893, 81-83; *Ibid.*, vol. 47, 6^e législature, session ordinaire de 1897, 91^e séance, 3 Juillet 1897, 1801-1811; and his articles “République et Socialisme” and “Le mouvement rural” in Jaurès, Jean. *Études socialistes. Présentation de Madeleine Rebérioux*. Paris; Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1979, LXI-LXXII, 3-11.

⁵ See the letter of Jean Jaurès to Charles Péguy (17 novembre 1901), in Jaurès, *Études socialistes*, XXVI.

⁶ Wohl, Robert. *French Communism in the Making, 1914-1924*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, 9.

⁷ These are the reforms stated in the program of the founded by Jean Jaurès, in 1902, French Socialist Party in response to the founded, in 1901, Socialist Party of France led by Jules Guesde. See *Quatrième Congrès général du Parti socialiste français, tenu à Tours du 2 au 4 mars 1902. Compte rendu sténographique officiel*. Paris, Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1902, 375-382.

⁸ For a good analysis of Bernstein's views, see for instance Steger, Manfred B. *The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism. Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

⁹ See Zévaès, *Jean Jaurès*, 132. See also Rappoport, Charles. *Jean Jaurès: l'homme, le penseur, le socialiste*. Paris: Rivière, 1925, 325-326.

¹⁰ Jaurès, *Études socialistes*, 42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, LII.

¹² See *Les deux méthodes. Conférence par Jean Jaurès et Jules Guesde, à l'Hippodrome Lillois*. Lille: Imprimerie ouvrière P. Lagrange, 1900, 9.

¹³ Jaurès, Jean. *Les preuves. Affaire Dreyfus*. Paris: La petite République, s. d. [1898].

¹⁴ See this declaration in *2^e Congrès national [du Parti socialiste (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière)]: (congrès d'Unité) tenu à Paris les 23, 24 et 25 avril 1905. Compte rendu analytique*. Paris: Au Siège du Conseil National, 12-14.

¹⁵ See Jaurès's brilliant speech in 5^e Congrès national [du Parti socialiste (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière)] tenu à Toulouse les 15, 16, 17 et 18 Octobre 1908. *Compte rendu sténographique*. Paris: Au Siège du Conseil National, 311-368.

¹⁶ Droz, Jacques. *Le Socialisme démocratique, 1864-1960*. Paris: A. Colin, s. d. [1966], 74.

¹⁷ Rappoport, Jean Jaurès, 63.

¹⁸ Jaurès, Jean. "La nuée dormante de la guerre" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Textes rassemblés présentés et annotés par Max Bonnaïfous. Pour la Paix*, vol. 1, *Les Alliances européennes (1887-1903)*. Paris: Rieder, 1931, 78.

¹⁹ Jaurès, Jean. "Les chances de la paix" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 1, 389-411.

²⁰ Jean Jaurès developed this idea in many articles and speeches. One of his famous speeches on this issue was before the French Chamber of Deputies on 7 March 1895, when he declared that capitalism "carries war within it, as the rain-cloud carries the storm". See Jaurès, Jean. "La nuée dormante de la guerre", 75.

²¹ See Jaurès's articles "L'Europe" and "La Ligue de la Paix" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 1, 238-241, 242-244.

²² See for example the speech of Jean Jaurès in the French Chamber of Deputies on 20 November 1903, in which he stated that "in Morocco France has interests of primary importance", which gave her some rights: a right to „economic and moral action”, as well as to „necessary political penetration”, in Jaurès, Jean. *Textes choisis. Contre la guerre et la politique coloniale*. Paris: Éditions sociales, 1959, 116-122.

²³ Jaurès, Jean. "Alliance européenne" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 1, 349.

²⁴ Jaurès, Jean. "France et Europe" in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, *La Paix Menacée (1903-1906)*. Paris: Rieder, 1931, 11.

²⁵ Article in *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, 4 March 1904, published in Jaurès, Jean. "Le Parti de la Guerre" in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 92.

²⁶ Rebérioux, "Jaurès – un classique du peuple", 26.

²⁷ Jaurès's views on the general strike, before 1905, were best expressed in two articles published in August and September 1901 in *La Petite République*. See *La Petite République, Vingt-sixième année*, n° 9267, 29 Août 1901, and n° 9270, 1 Septembre 1901.

²⁸ In 1906, as members of Parliament, were elected 54 socialists, in 1910 – 76, in 1914 – 103.

²⁹ See Clinton, Michael. "Frédéric Passy (1821-1912), Patriotic Pacifist" in *Journal of Historical Biography*, n° 2 (Autumn 2007), 53.

³⁰ Goldberg, *The Life of Jean Jaures*, 381.

³¹ See Julliard, Jacques. "Jaurès et le syndicalisme révolutionnaire" in *Jaurès et la classe ouvrière*. Paris, Les Éditions ouvrières, 1981, 101-123.

³² Jaurès, Jean. "Les causes et les conséquences" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 4, *Europe incertaine (1908-1911)*. Paris: Rieder, 1934, 76-80.

³³ See Jaurès, Jean. "L'Accord franco-allemand", "Les deux conventions", "Conclusions générales", "Pour la paix", "La ratification de l'accord franco-allemand" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 4, 364-373, 394-434.

³⁴ See Auclair, *La vie de Jean Jaurès*, 367; for the English translation, see Goldberg, *The Life of Jean Jaures*, 385.

³⁵ This text had a history. On July 9, 1905, Jaurès was invited by the German socialists to give a speech at a meeting in Berlin. The German Chancellor von Bülow, being afraid of the influence of his words on the workers, prohibited Jaurès's participation in public events in the German capital. Jaurès's speech was published on July 9 in the newspapers *L'Humanité* in Paris and *Vorwärts* in Berlin. See Rabaut, *Jaurès*, 358-360.

³⁶ Jaurès, Jean. "La Paix et le Socialisme" in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 2, 241-260.

³⁷ See the position defended by Gustave Hervé in 3^e Congrès national [du Parti socialiste (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière)] tenu à Limoges les 1^{er}, 2, 3 et 4 novembre 1906. *Compte rendu analytique*. Paris: Siège du Conseil National, 260 (Proposition de l'Yonne), and in 4^e Congrès national [du Parti socialiste (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière)] tenu à Nancy les 11, 12, 13 et 14 août 1907: *Compte rendu sténographique*. Paris: Au Siège du Conseil National, 210-217.

³⁸ For Jaurès's opinion on this issue, see 4^e Congrès national, 259-267, 277-286.

³⁹ These means were recommended, at the congress held in Limoges, by the Socialist Federation of the Seine, which reflected Jaurès's views. It won the majority of votes. See 3^e Congrès national, 260-262. The congress in Nancy confirmed the Limoges resolution. See 4^e Congrès national, 318-319. The Congress of the Second International in Stuttgart did not enumerate the methods of struggle against war. It stated that the working class and its representatives in Parliament should prevent war by all means, but if a war should nevertheless break out, the working class would be obliged to strive for its speedy

termination and use every means to take advantage of the economic and political crisis arising from the war to hasten the abolition of capital class rule. See *VII^e Congrès socialiste international tenu à Stuttgart du 16 au 24 Août 1907. Comte rendu analytique, publié par le Secrétariat du Bureau socialiste international*. Bruxelles, 1908, 421-424. The congresses in Copenhagen and Basel confirmed the resolution of the Stuttgart congress. See *VIII^e Congrès socialiste international tenu à Copenhague du 28 août au 3 septembre 1910. Compte rendu analytique publié par le Secrétariat du Bureau socialiste international*. Gand, 1911, 471-475; “Comte rendu analytique du Congrès socialiste international extraordinaire tenu à Bâle les 24 et 25 novembre 1912” in *Bulletin périodique du B. S. I.* Bruxelles, 4^e année, n° 10, 9-12.

⁴⁰ These ideas were manifested in many of Jaurès’s articles and speeches on different occasions, for example in the articles “La Paix est possible” (12 January 1902), “France et Europe” (18 July 1903), “Arbitrage international” (13 September 1905), “Politique internationale” (18 March 1906), in his speech at the Congress of the SFIO at Nancy, in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies (16 January 1911), etc.

⁴¹ See Jaurès’s “Proposition de lois”, which summarized his ideas about the reorganization of the army, in Jaurès, Jean. *L’Armée nouvelle*. Paris: Éditions sociales, 1978, 399-405.

⁴² See Smith, Leonard V., Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker. *France and the Great War, 1914-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 20.

⁴³ Rabaut, Jaurès, 509; Croix, Alexandre. *Jaurès et ses détracteurs*. Paris, Éditions du Vieux Saint-Ouen, 1967, 229.

⁴⁴ Barrès, Maurice. *Chronique de la Grande Guerre. XI, 2 décembre 1917-23 avril 1918*. Paris: Plon, 1937, 90.

⁴⁵ Jaurès, Jean. “Discours de Vaise” in *Œuvres de Jean Jaurès. Pour la Paix*, vol. 5, 382-386.

⁴⁶ Jaurès, Jean. “La volonté de paix de la France ” in *Ibid.*, 393-395.

⁴⁷ “Comte rendu analytique du Congrès socialiste international extraordinaire tenu à Bâle, 6.

⁴⁸ See Guillaneuf, Raymond. “La SFIO et Jaurès 1914-1936” in *Jaurès et la classe ouvrière*, 126-128.

⁴⁹ In the words of Léon Jouhaux, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Confederation of France (French: Confédération générale du Travail), cited in Zévaès, *Jean Jaurès*, 259.