

. . . To give to the movement its character

"While the revolutionary period itself commands the creation and the computation and payment of the cost of a mass strike, the leaders of the Social-Democracy have an entirely different mission to fulfill. Instead of concerning itself with the technical side, with the mechanism of the mass movement, it is the duty of the Social-Democracy to undertake the political leadership even in the midst of a historical crisis. To give to the movement its character, to determine the direction that the struggle must take, to so fix the tactics of the political conflict that in its every phase and movement the whole sum of existing and already soluble active forces of the proletariat is realized, and finds expression in the attitude of the party, that the determination and the rigor of the Social-Democracy shall not for an instant fall below the level of actual power, but shall rather hasten in advance of its actual power, that is the important task of our party leadership in a great historical crisis.

"In a sense this leadership will then become the technical leadership. A determined, consistent, progressive tactic of the Social-Democracy creates in the masses a feeling of assurance and self-confidence, a fighting spirit. A weakly, vacillating tactic, based upon a low estimate of the power of the proletariat, lames and confuses the masses. In the first case, mass actions break out 'of their own accord,' and 'at the right time'; in the second, even a direct call for mass action on the part of the leaders often remains ineffectual."—*Rosa Luxemburg* in "Mass Strike, Party and Labor Unions," Hamburg, 1907.

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