

LEFT-WING SPLINTER PARTIES IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with left-wing splinter parties which were in existence in Germany between 1918 and 1933. In 1918 the Second Empire collapsed, the Kaiser abdicated, and the imperial government resigned. Only the socialists were relatively strong enough and, in the eyes of the public and the victorious Allies, unblemished enough to take command of the state. At this historical moment, however, the socialists were divided. The chance to install socialism into Germany was lost due to the bitter fighting among the three principal left-wing parties. The divisions in the socialist camp, which had started earlier, but which broke into open warfare at the end of the Great War, were intensified by the crises the Weimar Republic faced and led to a great number of splinter parties.

Chapter One provides the background. It concentrates on some of the problems that the SPD and the KPD faced before Hitler's take-over.

Chapter Two discusses the emergence of splinter groups. It traces each splinter group from its origin inside a larger party, its evolution, and its decline.

The Third Chapter examines the programs, platforms, and ideologies of the splinter parties. It concentrates on their political and economic demands. It also deals with their views on fascism and the methods they adopted to cope with the menace presented by the rise of Hitler's NSDAP.

The Fourth Chapter is devoted to structure and organization. The parliamentary as well as the non parliamentary activities of the splinter parties are discussed. It examines their involvement in organizations like the trade unions and affiliated youth groups. Some of the major publications of the splinter parties are listed here.

The Conclusion assesses the reasons for the failure of the splinter parties. Splinter parties were both, symptoms and victims of the turbulent times of the Weimar Republic. They were not the cause of Hitler's victory. Their importance lies not in the impact they had on Weimar, but in what they show about Weimar Germany. They reflected in a microscopic way the insecurity, the mistrust, the social decay, the social and political mobility and unrest, the countless crises, and the blind and desperate search for something better.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA, AAU, AAUD	Allgemeine Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands
AAUE, AAUED	Allgemeine Arbeiter Union, Einheitsorgan, Deutschlands
ADGB	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund
AG	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
AKP, AKPD	Alte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
ASP, ASPD	Alte Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
ASP, ASPS	Alte Sozialdemokratische Partei Sachsens
BL	Bezirksleitung
BVP	Bayerische Volkspartei
CI, Comintern	Communist International
CP	Communist Party
CPofSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund
DMV	Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband
DNP, DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei
EC, ECCI	Executive Committee of the Communist International
EECCI	Extended Executive Committee of the Communist International
EK, EKKI	Exekutiv-Komitee der Kommunistischen Internationale
EEKKI	Erweitertes Exekutiv-Komitee der Kommuni- stischen Internationale

FDGB	Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund
IHA	Internationale Arbeiter-Hilfe
IJB	Internationaler Jugend-Bund
IKD	Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands
INKOPP	Internationale Nachrichten der Kommunistischen Opposition
INPREKOR, INPREKORR	Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz
IRH	Internationale Rote Hilfe
ISK, isk	Internationaler Kampf-Bund
IVKO, IVKOPP	Internationale Vereinigung der Kommunistischen Opposition
KAI	Kommunistische Arbeiter Internationale
KAG	Kommunistische Arbeits Gemeinschaft
KAP, KAPD	Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands
KI, Komintern	Kommunistische Internationale
KJ, KJV, KJVD	Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands
KJI	Kommunistische Jugend-Internationale
KJO, KJVO, KJVDO	Kommunistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands (Opposition)
KO	Kampf Organisation
KOPP	Kommunistische Opposition
KP, KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
KPdSU(B), KPSU, KPDSU	Kommunistische Partei der Soviet Union (Bolschewiki)
KPO, KPD-O, KPD(O), KPDO	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Opposition)
LB	Lenin Bund

LO	Linke Opposition or Left Opposition
NSDAP	National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei
PV	Partei Vorstand
RGI	Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale
RGO	Revolutionäre Gewerkschafts-Opposition Revolutionäre Gewerkschafts-Organisation
RH, RHD	Rote Hilfe Deutschland
RK	Reichskonferenz
RK	Rote Kämpfer
SA	Sturmabteilung
SAI	Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale
SAJ	Sozialistische Arbeiter-Jugend
SAP, SAPD	Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands
SAZ	Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung
SB	Sozialistischer Bund
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
SJV, SJVD	Sozialistischer Jugendverband Deutschlands
SP, SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
SPW	Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft
SSB	Sozialistischer Schutzbund
SU	Soviet Union
SWV	Sozialwissenschaftliche Vereinigung
SWZ	Sozialistische Wochenzeitung
USP, USPD	Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
USSR, UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjet Republiken

VKPD, VKP	Vereinigte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
VSPD	Vereinigte Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
ZK	Zentralkomitee

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine left-wing splinter parties which existed in the Weimar Republic. Although splinter parties were a regular feature of German political life between 1918 and 1933, very little has been written about them and nothing on a comparative base.

To deal with all of the various left-wing parties and groups which appeared within the life span of the Weimar Republic is, if not impossible, too big an undertaking from Vancouver. Even for a historian living in Germany it would have been a colossal task to stay informed of all the kaleidoscopic changes and patterns which took place. Thus, some qualifications and guidelines to assist in the selection of parties for this paper had to be set.

The parties studied here were chosen for various reasons. Consideration had to be given to available material. It can be assumed with certainty that much material was destroyed by the members of splinter groups themselves during the Nazi era. Other material would be scattered in countries like France, Russia, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Mexico, and other places in which they spent their years in exile. Many documents might still be stored in some attics in Germany. A fair amount has been gathered by authors and scholars such as Hermann Weber, Karl Otto Paetel, Beradt, and the contributors to the Marburger Abhandlungen zur Politischen Wissenschaft,

namely Bock, Drechsler, Ihlau, Link, and Tjaden. Some of their works contain sections of primary materials, others are collections of documents. SPD and Comintern publications mention the splinter groups in passing. What they do report is often spiced with their own biases and dislikes. The Statistik des deutschen Reichs was invaluable for its detailed election results, but also for the candidates' geographical, occupational, and political background.

Groups included in this study were involved in day-to-day politics. This eliminated the Freidenker and the Feuerbestattung organizations, the Arbeiter sports clubs, the pacifists, as well as the intellectual groups associated with the Weltbühne.

Only groups which were or claimed to be Marxist are included in this study. This excluded the Nelson Bund from consideration, although it was an active left-wing organization and there is a considerable amount of material available. On the other hand, ~~the Iudischer Arbeiter Bund~~ ~~is included~~ ~~after some hesitation,~~ ~~the ASP,~~ although its Marxist ancestry is barely visible and material on it is scarce. Anarchists and syndicalists were also disregarded except where they were in the same organizations with Marxists as in the KAPD, the AAU, and the AAUE.

Laufenberg and Wolffheims's Nationalkommunisten and the group around Niekisch were at first considered, but then omitted, as they operated in the political twilight zone between the far Left and the extreme Right and thus could not really be called left-wing.

The study of left-wing splinter groups was complicated by the ephemeral nature of these groups. Every election, every political action, every dispute brought different groups into the field and created different combinations. Statistics referring to splinter groups are often unclear in identifying the particular group. References giving a certain amount of votes to Communist Opposition could mean the KPO, the Left Opposition, or a group connected with neither.

It is hoped that this study will give some insight into a neglected aspect of the Weimar Republic. Much has been written, much has been said about the rise of fascism, the breakdown of parliamentary democracy, the failure of the middle-of-the-road parties, the role of the Reichswehr, and countless other aspects of Weimar. Yet the splinter parties were as much a characteristic of Weimar Germany as these other phenomena. They too were the results of the same circumstances which made Weimar unique, although they existed in the shadow of parties which seemed more important, but which, in the end, failed just as dismally as the splinter parties did.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND

POLITICAL SETTING

The history of the left-wing movement during the Weimar Republic is partly a history of splits, caused by ideological, tactical, and personal disagreements. During these fourteen years the Left was divided into two, sometimes three, mass parties and scores of sects and minor sects.

Before World War I the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) (Socialdemocratic Party of Germany) was the only socialist party in Germany. Of all the socialist parties in the world, the SPD was THE party everyone assumed to be most likely to succeed in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. All socialist parties looked to the SPD for guidance; the SPD was the leader in world socialism.

However, the outbreak of World War I showed that the SPD would not live up to socialist expectations. The SPD had changed. By 1914 it had been legal for 24 years. Although not quite salonfähig, the SPD had become more "respectable" and "trustworthy" than it had been in the time of Bismarck's Sozialisten Gesetz of the 1880s. Below the revolutionary shell there was a revisionist core. The revolutionaries had turned into parliamentarians, party bureaucrats, and trade union officials (Bonzen). These people had a stake in society and in their party. A revolution would endanger their positions.

A refusal to support the war, by voting against the War Credits, would have ~~threatened~~ the very existence of the party and the positions of the party and trade union leaders¹. They would not risk this in order to exchange German, or, to be more specific, Prussian autocracy for Russian autocracy, German imperialism for French or British imperialism. They justified their stand by quoting Karl Marx, who allowed socialists to defend their country, who declared that in a war between imperial Germany and Tsarist Russia the international proletariat should support Germany as the lesser evil. "The one fact which eclipsed everything else was that Russians were on the soil of the Vaterland, Tsardom, according to the traditions in Social Democratic circles, was the darkest of horrors."² With Russia poised against Germany it seemed no contradiction for socialists to be patriotic and loyal to an imperialistic Germany. The vaterlandslosen Gesellen had now a Vaterland, a Vaterland that they were willing to defend.

But not all Social Democrats felt that way. The party still managed to draw the dissatisfied, the persecuted, the radicals, and the revolutionaries to its ranks. Some of them were members of the Reichstag. They bitterly opposed the patriotic jingoism that the party, along with the rest of Germany, fell victim to. Grudgingly, the radical minority in the Reichstagsfraktion followed party discipline and voted for the War Credits in August 1914. However, on December 2, 1914, Karl Liebknecht voted against the War

Credits. On March 20, 1915, Liebknecht and Otto Rühle voted against them. In August 1915 Liebknecht alone voted against the War Credits, thirty other SPD deputies left the House, and Otto Rühle was absent. Then on December 14, 1915, twenty SPD Reichstag members voted against the War Credits, sixty-five voted for them, and twenty left the House.³

The differences caused by the War in addition to the existing differences caused the party to develop fissures along political, organizational, and tactical lines. These lines were not just strictly Right, Left, Centre, Ultra, Right, and Ultra Left. The right-left divisions had little to do with the divisions caused by the war. Other issues created different alliances and realignments. Some of these cracks were deep, others barely scratched the surface. The intense emotionalism characteristic of war time sentiments deepened the new schism which had developed out of the different attitudes towards the war and towards the war aims expressed by some SPD leaders. The War Credit issue was the wedge which was driven into this new fissure and which eventually split the party.

A student of German Socialism, Bevan, argued that there were five groups in the pre war SPD. He called the ones farthest to the left the Extremists. This group was led by Liebknecht, Paul Lensch, Stadthagen, Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Klara Zetkin. The left Centre contained Kautsky (the editor of Die Neue Zeit), Cunow, Haase, and Ledebour. There was also a Right Centre, with Scheidemann

and Richard Fischer. This group was in control of the party's main organ, the Vorwärts. Together, the Left Centre and the Right Centre were the bulk of the party. Further to the right were the Moderate Revisionists, with Bernstein, Dr. David, and Ludwig Frank. Finally, on the extreme right were the Imperial Socialists, with Kolb, Dr. Quessel, Edmund Fischer, and Wolfgang Heine. This group was small in numbers and supported the militarist and expansionist policy of the Reich.⁴

As stated before, the war changed the pattern of alignments considerably. Three SPD newspapers, which are quoted by Bevan, enumerated six groups on the left and nine on the right during 1915 and 1916⁵. These classifications illustrate that there was more than one split taking place and that the dividing lines were continuously shifting. Bernstein, for example, was in the pre war classification considered to be to the right of Scheidemann. Lensch, a former Left Extremist and Cunow from the Left Centre had during the early war years moved to the right. The most significant division, the one which later split the party and thus initiated the appearance of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), was not a clear cut right-left division. Membership in this group was not based on pre-war issues. Thus, the groups which emerged during the war were different from the pre-war groups.

In 1917 the pattern had changed again. On the far left of the SPD were the Left Radicals, an anti parliamentarian wing, which, when the big split came in 1917, refused to

join either one of the two social democratic parties, but tried to form its own party. Failing to do so, they remained as rather loosely organized sections in major cities. Best known of these were the Bremer Linken, led by Knief, the Hamburger Linken, led by Laufenberg and Wolffheim, and the Borchard group in Berlin. They were the first to break away from the SPD. Their break-away was not a concerted action, but was undertaken individually by each local group at different dates during the later part of 1916 and the beginning of 1917.

On December 2, 1916 a meeting of the Minority Social Democrats of Berlin... decided 210:20 to stop payments to the party chest. This meant that they ... now formed a wholly distinct organization. A few days later the Brunswick Social Democrats followed suit. 6

On February 28, 1917 the Hamburger Left Radicals under Laufenberg and Wolffheim left the SPD. On March 5 the Left Radicals of Bremen, Hamburg, Hannover and Rüstingen called for a new party. Borchard joined in this call. 7

A second group, the Gruppe Internationale, organized itself around Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They were involved in the publication of the Spartakusbrieife, which consisted of polemics against the war. To the right of them was the centre group. It contained people who later, in the Communist Party, showed themselves further to the left than the Spartacists, as well as centrists and reformists such as Dittmann, Haase, and Kautsky, and the revisionist Bernstein. Their point of departure from the main body was the War Credit issue.

The largest group within the SPD supported the war. It contained the bulk of the membership and was thus able to dominate the party. At its extreme right were the trade

union bureaucrats and a group of thirty-three (out of 110) members of the Reichstag. The thirty-three deputies met regularly in the hotel "Heidelberger". Their leaders were Eduard David and Wels. This group considered breaking away and forming a new, truly reformist trade union based party.⁸

The Reichstag deputies who were opposed to the war formed on March 24, 1916 a parliamentary Arbeitsgemeinschaft (AG) of 18 members (this did not include Liebknecht and Rühle)⁹ who stayed in the party, but worked as an independent caucus. In February 1917 a large section from the centre, including the AG, and from the left of the SPD formed a new party, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany or, in German, the Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (USPD). Most of the Gruppe Internationale, also known as the Spartakusbund, joined the USPD. Rühle and some others went to the Left Radicals, who now called themselves Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD). The IKD attempted to form a national party. They failed to do this because the police closed down their founding convention in August 1917.¹⁰

At the time of the November Revolution in 1918 the socialists were badly divided and not well prepared for the seizure of power. Their leaders, being at the helm of the state, tried to emasculate the revolution. The USPD participated in the government, but its radical left wing, the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, started an armed uprising in January 1919. The Communist Party (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands or KPD), which was formed only days before by

the Spartacists, the IKD, and various other left radicals, was also involved in this. Thus, at the beginning of 1919, there were three working class parties in Germany which represented a curious pattern. The USPD, being pulled by its wings into different directions, withdrew from the government. This forced the SPD to depend on its traditional enemies, the army and the bourgeoisie, for law and order. The KPD was involved in an attempt to overthrow the socialist government for the benefit of the proletariat, which, in its majority, proved highly unappreciative of these efforts. Rosa Luxemburg, who was against this ill advised Putsch and whose political maturity and visionary idealism could have led the KPD to great heights, was murdered, together with Karl Liebknecht, by the Berserk soldateska. Instead of working together, the three different socialist groups fought each other. A unique opportunity to transform German society was lost mainly through the disunity in the socialist camp.

This disunity did not stop after this tragic experience. From each of the three proletarian parties several groups broke away within the next thirteen years. Dissatisfaction and frustration were some of the causes. Dissatisfaction with the party leaders who were too slow, too fast, too far left, too far right, dissatisfaction with the party's performance in the past, the present, or with its plans for the future drove many out of their respective parties. Frustration with the party bureaucracy, the feeling that the party was standing still, stagnating, or even decaying accounted for many splits. Disunity is an inherent ingredient in ideolo

logical parties, as idealists often find it nearly impossible to compromise. The appearance of splinter groups was not only a left-wing phenomenon; there were a number of bourgeois parties, scores of reactionary Bünde, and several fascist organizations. The unique situation Weimar Germany found itself in was conducive to the formation of splinter parties.

Germany had just been defeated in a major war. The defeat was of such a nature that many Germans did not recognize it as such. Whereas in 1945 Germany was totally defeated, its army completely annihilated, and its territories occupied by the enemy, in 1918 the enemy had not overrun the country, the cities were not destroyed, and the army was still very much in existence. A party, which was traditionally an opposition party, with an opposition mentality, which was often treated as Staatsfeind, and which was weakened by internal dissention, formed the "revolutionary" government. The victorious Allies pressed the German government to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The SPD leaders knew that whichever party signed this treaty would become a pariah in German political life. They had to maneuver the other parties into sharing the responsibility. They also felt, in order to stay in power, they needed the cooperation of the military, the bourgeoisie, and the civil service. They would not put their trust in the revolutionary potential of the working class. In their eagerness to show how trustworthy and responsible they were, they lost the last revolutionary traces. Thereby they forfeited the loyalty of many proletarians, but failed to gain appreciable support from the

middle classes and were blamed by the reactionaries and monarchists for all the real and imaginary ills that came out of Germany's defeat in World War I. These were times of stress and times of crises for the fledgling republic as well as for the socialist parties. And crises breed dissent, and dissent leads to splits.

The Peace Treaty of Versailles did not bring political stability. In the east Freikorps fought Polish troops over the possession of Upper Silesia. The government was ordered by the Allies to disband the Freikorps. British, French, and Italian troops were sent to Silesia to restore order. On March 13, 1920 a section of the German army under Lüttwitz and Erhard occupied Berlin and a few other major cities, staging the Kapp Putsch. This triggered a new civil war in which a German Red Army fought against the Reichswehr. Freikorps roamed the Reich, fighting workers, executing "traitors", and assassinating politicians. Failure to pay the Reparation installments on time brought about the French-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr district, strikes, passive and active resistance, reprisals and executions, government bankruptcy and a galloping inflation in 1923.

From 1924 till 1929 Germany experienced relative stability. Neither the Social Democratic Party nor the Weimar Republic encountered any major crisis. There was some dissatisfaction in the ranks over the fact that the SPD went into coalition with bourgeois parties, or, when not in the government, that it was a tolerant, loyal opposition. But for the most part, the members and the activists were satisfied.

It was different with the KPD, which was part of the Communist International (Comintern or CI) and was thus influenced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In compliance with orders issued in Moscow, the KPD staged two uprisings, one in 1921 and another in 1923. The first one led to the departure of two able leaders, Levi and Däumig, and the temporary outlawing of the party. The failure of the second uprising brought a group of left leaders to the top who thwarted any attempt by the Right or the Centre for a genuine United Front with the SPD. The various power struggles in Moscow - Trotsky versus Stalin, Bucharin, and Zinoviev; Trotsky and Zinoviev versus Stalin and Bucharin; and Stalin versus Bucharin - took their toll in Germany.

As the KPD became a tool of the Soviet foreign policy¹¹, its structure, functions, and short term objectives changed drastically. In the late 1920s its main objective was to destroy the SPD. It raided the SPD's membership, disrupted its meetings, discredited its leaders, and labelled them "Social Fascists" (between 1928 and 1933). The structural changes involved the substitution of factory cells for street cells. Via factory cells the members were easier to control. Functionaries were selected by their loyalty to Moscow. A good method of keeping activists loyal was by giving them employment in the party and its auxiliary organizations, at the Soviet embassy or at Soviet trade missions¹². These jobs were usually well paid; its fringe benefits included holidays at the Black Sea. Known KPD functionaries found it impossible to find employment with private enterprise.

Bureaucrats, paid with money from Moscow, took their orders from Moscow and conducted the affairs of the German party according to the needs of Moscow.

This process was harmful for the KPD. The party lost some of its credibility. Outwardly the KPD had to maintain a pretence of independence, yet it was easy to see through the feeble attempts of Thälmann and Genossen. There was little room for maneuverability. The leaders never knew if Moscow would let them follow through with tactical agreements with other groups. Any leader who fell foul of Moscow had been driven away.

Thus, the KPD's effectiveness was seriously handicapped. It was successful in preventing the SPD from ever winning a clear majority and thus helped to bring about Hitler's victory. Frustration over this process drove many away. Attempts were made to reform the KPD from within. When these attempts failed new communist parties were created whose goals were to reform the KPD from the outside. Such parties were the Lenin Bund, the Left Opposition, and the KPO among others.

In 1929 the New York Stock Market Crash triggered off a new world crisis which affected the Weimar Republic also. Unemployment and Depression intensified the class struggles between labour and management. With lock-outs the employers tried to break down the workers' resistance; with strikes the workers fought back. Bankruptcies, loss of markets, and shut-downs defeated both. In legislatures the left parties tried to uphold progressive labour laws, which were under the

combined attack by the parties of the right. In the Harzburg Front the industrialists, the Junkers, and Hugenberg agreed to finance Hitler to enable him to fight their battles for them. With the help of the dispossessed petty bourgeoisie and some unemployed proletarians the Nazis launched large scale physical attacks on the working class parties. Nazis and Communists were killing each other, both fought the SPD. More groups separated from the SPD and the KPD. They formed splinter parties which were dedicated to the unification of the working class into a mass movement. But by trying to unite they caused more splits. Over the broken bodies of socialists and communists, felled in their internecine strife, Hitler marched into power. And those, who could not find unity in the Weimar Republic, found the unity of the Concentration Camp.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE LEFT-WING SPLINTER PARTIES IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

On January 1, 1919, there were three major working class parties in Germany, the SPD, the USPD, and the KPD. Of these, the SPD was the most homogeneous party, consisting of a revisionist leadership, a reformist membership and possessing the loyalty of the majority of the working class.

The USPD covered a greater range of the political spectrum. The party was supported by that part of the working class which was still basically social democratic in outlook, but became disillusioned by the policies of the SPD. Support for the USPD grew steadily. Were it not for the intervention of the Comintern in October 1921, the USPD might have overtaken the SPD and become the only substantial mass party of the left.

The KPD included, besides the elitist Spartacists, most of the non conformist revolutionary elements of the political left.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KPD

The KPD was founded at a convention from December 30, 1918 to January 1, 1919. One hundred and twenty-seven delegates gathered in Berlin for this purpose. The majority of these delegates belonged to the Spartakus Bund, a fair number to the Internationalen Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD),

three to Roter Soldatenbund, one was classified Jugend (Youth), one as Weitere Delegierten. Among the guests were representatives of the USSR.¹ Delegates from the Spartacists included Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Hugo Eberlein, Leo Jogiches, Paul Levi, Ernst Meyer, Wilhelm Pieck, Thalheimer, Leviné, and Levien. Paul Frölich from Hamburg and Otto Rühle from Pirna were perhaps the best known delegates from the IKD.²

The debate on the question of participating in the election for the National Versammlung (National Assembly) showed best the deep rooted differences within the new party. Their differences were less ideological than tactical. They all preferred Räte democracy to parliamentary democracy. All shared an open admiration of the October Revolution in Russia and the boundless optimism that the German proletariat would soon follow the example set by their Russian brothers.

Rosa Luxemburg spoke for participation in the elections, not because she had faith in the parliamentary system, but because she wanted to use the campaign and, if elected, the parliament as her battle ground. The bourgeois parliament, she argued, can be destroyed from the inside as well as from the outside. Only about half of the Spartacus delegates endorsed this view. The others considered themselves to be more revolutionary. They did not want to divert their efforts from the revolution in order to win seats in a body that they considered obsolete and counter revolutionary, in which their voices would not be heard, and which, in their opinion, would

soon be abolished. The IKD delegates considered participation in parliaments outright opportunistic. The majority of the delegates subsequently voted against involvements in elections.

The Congress accepted overwhelmingly the draft program written by Rosa Luxemburg. Presumably most of the delegates voted for it because Rosa Luxemburg wrote it, without reading it too deeply. This would explain the fact that, although most delegates had putschist tendencies, they accepted a program that "abhorred" violence", which stated that "Spartacus would only assume power when the majority of the proletariat wanted it to do so"³. Subsequently, the KPD was handicapped at its beginning by a program which contained parts that were unacceptable to most of its members.

Moreover, the Founding Congress revealed another important source of disagreement. Some of the delegates wanted to shape the KPD into an elite party that would be the vanguard of the revolution. Its objective would be to gain power by pulling the masses into revolutionary action. Rosa Luxemburg and her supporters, on the other hand, preferred a mass party that would only participate in revolutions or gain power if it was the expressed wish of the masses. According to this concept the party would be the servant, not the master of the proletariat.

But before the party had time to solve its many problems, it became involved in what was later called the Spartakus Putsch. Locked in a mortal struggle with the social democratic republic, defeated by the military, re-

jected by the proletariat, robbed of the two leaders who were needed now more than ever, the party barely survived. Leo Jogiches led the KPD until he too was shot to death on March 10, 1919 during a general strike, which involved new fighting, new looting, and new repression. Paul Levi, a lawyer and a disciple of Rosa Luxemburg, succeeded Jogiches as leader.

Levi realized that any further involvement in street fighting would lead to disintegration. He wanted to involve the KPD in mass actions. All its past achievements were a series of poorly organized, undisciplined, aimless street brawls in which the communists were always the losers and which turned the masses against them. Levi felt that he had to purge the party of its unruly elements. To him and Radek, the Comintern representative, the immediate task was to win over the majority of the proletariat. This task included participation in trade union work and in parliamentary elections. It was clear to Levi that the left wing would consider this a betrayal of the revolutionary aims.

At the second convention of the KPD, which took place at Heidelberg in April 1920, Levi presented eight theses outlining his views on immediate tactics and aims. His theses stressed the principle of centralism and opposed anarcho-syndicalist tendencies. He maintained that the party could not afford to neglect any means to win the proletariat. It had to involve itself with trade unions and legislative elections in order to survive as a party. The crucial point was thesis # 8, which stated that members who did not accept

party policy must leave the KPD. The convention adopted this particular thesis 29:20.⁴ This resulted in an immediate reduction of the membership, which fell from 107,000 to 50,000. Of those who left, more than 30,000 joined the Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands (KAPD). Levi's surgery cleared the road for electoral work, for recruiting members in trade unions, and for unification with the left wing of the USPD.

THE KAPD

Thirty-five delegates from the KPD district organizations of Berlin, Brandenburg, North, Northwest, Thuringia, East Saxony, ~~West Saxony~~, and other places, claiming to represent 38,000 members of the KPD, met at Berlin on April 4. and 5., 1920 and formed the KAPD⁵. The founding of the KAPD was a reaction to the deliberate splitting maneuver executed by Levi. The KAPD was composed of different groups whose common denominator was mainly their resentment of the treatment they received from the KPD. Their program was a conglomeration of different revolutionary trends.⁶

Among the leaders of the KAPD were Pannekoek, Laufenberg, Wolffheim, and Pfemfert. They were all left radicals; they had all once been members of the SPD, some also of the USPD, and they were all expelled from or left on their own the KPD. Most of the early leaders left the KAPD shortly after and founded or participated in other radical splinter groups.

The convention delegates ~~decided~~ decided to remain, if possible, with the Third International⁷. Two delegates,

Jan Appel, and Franz Jung, were sent to Moscow where they met with the Comintern leaders⁸. They were treated there with ridicule, sarcasm, and other indignities⁹. Still, the KAP tried to remain on good terms with the Comintern.

As the KAPD did not hear from their first two delegates, two more, Rühle and Merges, were sent to take part in the Second Congress of the Comintern. The conditions that the Comintern presented to the KAPD for membership, would have destroyed the independence of the party. Thus, Rühle and Merges withdrew from the Congress¹⁰. The Executive Council of the Communist International (ECCI) then sent an "Open Letter to the members of the KAPD" which declared the KAPD a deviation from Communism, attacked their program, their leaders, their anti parliamentary tactics, and urged the rank-and-file members to join the KPD. Lenin's pamphlet, "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder", created a strong anti Comintern feeling within the KAPD. He attacked by name Laufenberg, Wolffheim, Rühle, and other KAPD leaders¹¹ and criticized the tactics of the KAPD, insisting that "... the German 'Lefts' may be convinced of the revolutionarism of such tactics, these tactics are fundamentally wrong, and amount to no more than empty phrasemongering."¹² Lenin examined and ridiculed every point in the KAPD program, nearly every statement of the KAPD writers, even statements which praised him and the Bolsheviks. At their Parteilage the KAPD delegates unanimously rejected the Open Letter and the Comintern's interference into their own internal affairs. The convention expressed its solitarity with Rühle, but

expelled Laufenberg and Wolffheim¹³.

Gorter answered Lenin with his "Open Letter to Comrade Lenin". In it he agreed in part with Lenin's criticism, but rejected it in general, stating that Lenin's arguments were based on false premises. He claimed that conditions in Germany were different from those in Russia; that the Communist parties were being corroded by opportunism; and that the Third International would follow the pattern set by the Second. He took strong exception to the Comintern's attempt to order the KAPD to purge Wolffheim and Laufenberg.¹⁴ He closed with the wish that the Comintern would accept the tactics of the Left, which really were the original Bolshevick or Leninist tactics adjusted to the conditions in Western Europe¹⁵.

Two tendencies emerged in the KAPD. There was an anti Moscow wing, led by Rühle, Pfemfert, and Broh, which had anarcho-communist tendencies. Opposed to it was a centralist wing under Schröder, Goldstein, Schwab, and Reichenbach, which, in spite of the treatment received, sympathized, in the interest of revolutionary solidarity, in word and deed with the Comintern¹⁶. Both wings, however, rejected emphatically Lenin's pamphlet "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder"¹⁷.

Another letter of the ECCI called again on the members of the KAPD to join the KPD. The KAPD did send a third delegation in November 1920 to Moscow, which included Gorter, Rasch, and Schröder. This resulted in the KAPD receiving associate membership in the Comintern on November 26, 1920, as a sympathizing organization with conference privileges, but without vote. The KAPD was obligated under this agreement

to reprint on request all the material the Comintern wanted to have published and support all revolutionary actions of the KPD.¹⁸

The third KAPD Parteitag at Gotha, on February 15, to February 18, 1921, supported overwhelmingly the stand and the action of the centralists¹⁹. The non centralist wing, taken by surprise, considered themselves expelled. Pfemfert, Rühle, and Broh confined their political activities to the Allgemeine Arbeiter-Union (AAU), reshaping one part of this syndicalist union and KAPD affiliate into the Allgemeine Arbeiter-Union, Einheitsorgan (AAUE). They considered the AAUE to be the only joint political and economic fighting organization of the proletariat and rejected any other form of political parties.²⁰

In March 1921 the KAPD and the KPD became involved in the Marzaktion (March Action)²¹. At the same time the KAPD tried to form an international alliance of left communist organizations to fight the "opportunism and passiveness" of the Third International, to revise the Twenty-one Conditions of Admittance to the Cominten, and to advance a left-wing platform. Among the groups contacted were the "Glasgow Communists" and the Sylvia Pankhurst group in England, the Pannekoek, Gorter, Roland Holst and Luteraan groups in the Netherlands, the Varian Martinet movement in France, the Belgian group centred around the L'ouvrier Communiste, the communist left around the Iskra in Bulgaria, the IWW in the USA, the section around Ignatov in the USSR, as well as small anti-parliamentarian groups in the Scandinavian countries

and in South Africa²². Some of these organizations participated with the KAPD in the formation of a Kommunistische Arbeiter-Internationale (KAI) (Communist Workers' International)²³.

At its Third Congress the Comintern leadership made it clear to the delegates of the KAPD that they would recognize only one Communist party in Germany. An ultimatum was issued to the KAPD, giving it three months to either unite with the KPD or withdraw from the Comintern. Zinoviev stated, "There are two possibilities for the KAPD. It is impossible to have two parties in one country, either join the KPD or get out of the Comintern."²⁴ The KAPD did the latter²⁵.

The KAPD found itself ideologically in a precarious position. It was branded anarchist by the KPD, yet at the same time ~~the~~ it was rejected by the real anarchists, in fact, it was shedding itself of anything that seemed anarchistic. In reality there was not much difference in ideology between the KPD and the KAPD. Had it participated in elections, it might have succeeded in winning disgruntled supporters and members away from the KPD. The party took part in many uprisings, strikes, and other political non-parliamentarian proletarian mass actions; but this did not win it many friends. After Levi was expelled from the KPD many KAPD members returned to the KPD. Others left the KAPD to join other parties or to retire from politics.

In summer 1921 the KAPD membership dropped considerably. At the same time the opposition to the centralist leadership grew. This developed into a witch hunt against

the intellectuals. Schröder, Goldstein, Reichenbach, and others were expelled by the Berlin organization in March 1922; Schwab left on his own accord and withdrew from politics. Schröder and a few others would not accept their expulsion, but expelled in turn the Berlin organization for "Reformism". They started a new Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung.²⁶ The Schröder-Reichenbach group became known as the Essener Richtung. It managed to attract a few insignificant locals and could boast of a membership of approximately 1,000. The Berliner Richtung, at the Fifth Reichskonferenz, found that its membership had shrunk to 2,000. As the Essen group became smaller and smaller, Schröder left it. In July 1922 Schröder, Reichenbach, and Goldstein joined Levi in publishing his journal Unser Weg and followed him into the SPD.²⁷

The Essen group disappeared completely in 1925. The Berlin group became insignificant. Most of the members of both turned towards the Pfemfert-led AAUE. In 1926 the KAPD took part in an attempt to create a united front of all ultra left groups. Before that a Leipziger Richtung had broken away and called itself Kommunistischer Rätebund which published Die Epoche and Die Perspektive.²⁸

At the end of 1925 the AAUE and the KAPD attempted to form the Spartakusbund linkskommunistischer Organisationen.²⁹ This Spartakusbund number two was finally created on June 28, 1926, by the AAUE, the Industrieverband für das Verkehrsgewerbe (Berlin), and the Linke Opposition der KPD (group Katz) as a Kampfkartell against leadership cliquism, party dictatorship, parliamentarism, the socialist-led trade unions,

and the Moscow-oriented policies of the KPD. It soon split again into three parts; respectively under Pfemfert, Katz, and Fittko and ceased to exist at the beginning of 1927.³⁰

In order to replenish their membership the KAPD contacted the Korsch-Schwarz group which was expelled from the KPD in 1925. When this group broke apart, the leaders of the KAPD and Schwarz formed an Unverbindliche Kampfgemeinschaft.³¹ In June 1927 Schwarz's Entschiedene Linke formally joined the KAPD. This increased the membership of the KAPD from between 1,500 and 2,000 to about 6,000. In the Ruhr area, for example, the KAPD had in 1926 locals only in Essen and Düsseldorf with 300 members each³². The admission of Schwarz's group into the KAPD led to the departure of several KAPD locals. After 1928 the total membership of the many independent KAPD splinter groups amounted to only a few hundred. Even so, the KAPD existed as an illegal organization after 1933.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SHOP STEWARDS

After the Spartacus League had founded its own party, there still remained a left wing in the USPD. Part of that wing consisted of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, located almost entirely in Berlin. This group was an offshoot of the left opposition within the Metallarbeiterverband (the metal workers' union). The Shop Stewards were opposed to the Burgfrieden practised by the SPD and the trade union leadership. Originally its main objective was to stop the war by revolutionary means if necessary.

During a strike of the metal workers in the early stages of the war a group of shop stewards combined and collected money. This money was used for the financial support of families whose bread winner was jailed or drafted for frontline duty for participating in the strike. Out of this self-help welfare organization developed the secret society of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, which consisted nearly entirely of metal worker trade unionists.

By 1916 it could muster about 2,000 supporters in Berlin. They used the SPD and later the USPD as a cover and a base. Most of their war time activities were inside the trade unions. Their leader was at first Richard Müller, then Emil Barth, and later Ernst Däumig.³⁵ Of the USPD leaders they only trusted Georg Ledebour, who, although not a metal worker, was accepted as one of them³⁶. Politically, the Revolutionary Shop Stewards were influenced by the ideological discourses of the Spartacists.³⁷

During the Founding Convention of the KPD representatives of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards contacted the convention with the intention of joining with the new party. They met and negotiated with Liebknecht. Of the Shop Stewards Däumig was in favour of the convention's decision opposing participation in parliamentary elections, but Ledebour was not. Müller objected to the Putsch activities of the Spartakus Bund³⁸. The Revolutionary Shop Stewards presented five conditions to the KPD. They wanted the KPD to reverse its decision in regards to participation in elections. The Shop Stewards demanded parity in the organization, the executive, all commissions and committees. The KPD was to consult with the Shop Stewards about all political actions. They demanded the right of veto over all publications. The word Spartakus was to be deleted from the name of the party /the

full name the convention adopted for the new party was
Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Spartakus) 7. 39

The Revolutionary Shop Stewards movement was mostly a one city based (Berlin) organization; the KPD, on the other hand, was a national party. Thus, the convention delegates were not willing to give full parity to the Shop Stewards. This was perhaps the main reason that the two organizations did not unite at that time.

DEFECTION OF THE LEFT USPD

The USPD was led by Haase, Dittmann, and Hilferding. During 1919 this party experienced a tremendous rate of growth. The atrocities committed by the army in ~~suppressing~~ the January disturbances, the deaths of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, were blamed on the SPD. Rosenberg claims that

Those workers who indignantly turned their back on Social Democracy either wanted to have nothing to do with politics or they joined the Independent Party. This renaissance of the USPD in 1919 was completely artificial. For the party was a chance product, convulsed with the severest internal strife and, in truth, long since ready for dissolution. 40

On January 19, 1919, the USPD, with more than 2.3 million votes elected 22 deputies to the Nationalversammlung, while the SPD received 11.5 million votes and elected 163 deputies. In the Reichstag election of June 6, 1920, the USPD received 5,046,800 votes and elected 84 deputies, while the SPD, with 6.1 million votes, elected 102 deputies.⁴¹ Before long, the Bolsheviks displayed great interest in the USPD.

To the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, three German parties were invited, the KPD with full rights and the KAPD and the USPD without voting rights. The objective

of these invitations was to raid the membership for the benefit of the KPD. Lenin wanted a mass party in Germany. The USPD fitted this description. But the USPD leaders were unacceptable to the Comintern. The Comintern wanted the USPD, but not its leadership.

The USPD at large, including some of its leaders, were not adverse to joining a new International. They had broken away from the Second International without abandoning their belief in international socialism. Thus, it would have been an easy matter to join the USPD with the KPD in Moscow, however, in order to keep the USPD leadership out, erected a stumbling block in the form of the "Twenty-one Conditions of Admission to the Comintern"⁴². Consequently, all through the summer of 1920 the USPD locals argued, discussed, and voted on the Twenty-one Conditions. A special convention to decide the future fate of the USPD was called for October 12, 1920 at Halle. Of the delegates present, 236 voted for joining the KPD, 156 against it. However, only 300,000 of the 890,000 members of the USPD went over to the KPD.⁴³

Unification took place in December 1920 in Berlin. The addition of so many members of another party which had its own outlook, tradition, and tactics changed the structure and content of the KPD drastically.

The Independent Socialists tolerated the Spartacists as an almost disagreeable, but unavoidable appendage of the Comintern. The Spartacist intellectuals accepted the welcome but very rough raw material, which needed much polishing before it could be brought to their high-class brand of Marxism. Thus, the two groups entered the new party from different premises; the life of the German

Communist Party was filled with clashes between these currents. The Spartacist leaders were jubilant over the long desired possibility of building a mass organization The Independent Socialist workers, coming from a mass organization ... strove ... for the formation of an elite party ⁴⁴

THE LEVITES

Levi from Spartacus and Däumig from the USPD became joint chairmen of the United Communist Party's Central Committee. Levi was in favour of a working class alliance of KPD, SPD, USPD, the trade unions, and left-wing splinter groups. This brought him into conflict with the left wing of his own party. Levi also fought against the Comintern's constant interference. He blamed this interference for the splitting of the Italian Socialist Party. At a Central Committee meeting of the KPD in February 1921, the Comintern representative Rakosi attacked Levi for his stand on the Italian controversy. The Central Committee supported Rakosi 28:23. Levi, Däumig, and four others resigned from the Central Committee. ⁴⁵ "The resignation of Levi and his friends was a turning point in the history of the KPD" ⁴⁶.

The lawyer Paul Levi, who successfully engineered the expulsion of the KPD's left wing, did not succeed in steering the party along a Luxemburgist line. The new majority which came from the USPD had little patience with the idealism displayed by the intellectuals from Spartakus. As the influence of Moscow increased in the KPD, Levi became more and more dissatisfied. His general dissatisfaction heightened when he discovered that Radek, Zinoviev, and Bukharin had, during the Second World Congress, tried to persuade his

colleague Ernst Meyer to form a "left-wing opposition" against him within the KPD⁴⁷.

Levi's successor, "Heinrich Brandler, . . . , was a simple pedestrian man whose intellectual qualities were overshadowed by most of his . . . colleagues" ⁴⁸ He became leader of the KPD at a time when Germany was faced with internal and external troubles. Freikorps and Poles were fighting in Silesia's disputed border regions. Bavaria defied the central government's order to disband her civil guards. The Allies threatened sanctions against the Republic. Thus, the political climate was conducive for a successful revolution.

The leftists in the party urged Brandler to take advantage of this situation. So did the Comintern leaders, who wanted to divert world attention from their own internal difficulties.

In the month preceding the Kronstadt Revolt, March 1921, an action in Germany to ~~divert~~ the Russian workers from their own troubles had been concocted by a caucus of the Russian party, centering around Zinoviev, and Bela Kun. ⁴⁹

Thus, the March Action, a series of random riots, bomb explosions, strikes, and uprisings at several different places in Germany, planned by people who did not understand the German proletariat and launched by a leader who himself did not believe in its success, had to fail. Although several Soviet advisers considered the political climate to be ripe for a revolution, the German proletariat at large was not ready for insurrection.

Revolutions can not be planned in a meeting room of a political party nor can their chances of success be cal-

culated by adding party membership, election results, and possible supporters together. Revolutions are different from wars. In a war a leader can count on a certain number of disciplined soldiers, a number, that can be increased by recruitments. These soldiers have no option, but to obey. In a revolution only those who are strongly committed and who are unafraid will fight and obey party discipline. While many members and supporters refuse to cooperate, some others, criminal elements, or anarchistic groups, may come forward to support it. These groups are harder to control, as they are neither bound by law nor by party discipline. In March 1921

Most of the actual fighting took place in the Mansfield district, ... where Max Hoelz [a German Robin Hood] and his guerrilla bands ... stole the Communists' thunder. Supported by ... the KAPD, hordes of unemployed, and the inevitable sprinkling of undefineable drifters ... [Hoelz] battled police and ransacked the country side, all in the name of justice. 50

Revolutionary activities took place in three separate localities, in Hamburg, in the Rhineland, and in Prussian Saxony. On March 21 the executive of the KPD in Hamburg called on the working class to demand the disbanding of the Orgesch (Organisation Escherich), a counterrevolutionary paramilitary organization. It also proposed that the unemployed take over the factories. These demands were to be enforced by the threat of a general strike. On March 22 the Lena works in Saxony were occupied by the rebels. On March 23 the Blohm & Voss docks in Hamburg and in St. Pauli were "liberated". The Ruhr Echo and the Neue Zeitung of Munich called for the revolution. The cities of Gevelsberg and Velbert in the Rhineland were occupied by the Communists on March 28. 51

The message for the KPD was clearly spelled out. A large number of desperate German workers, whose faith in the ability and integrity of the communist leadership was misplaced, were induced to fight. But the large mass of the German working class had no sympathy for the alien sounding translations of Russian revolutionary slogans, nor for the mediocre German imitations of Lenin and Trotsky.

As soon as the insurrection March Action had collapsed, the Communist Party underwent a grave internal crisis, set off by Paul Levi On March 29 he sent a summary to Lenin On the March Action Klara Zetkin criticized the use of extreme and unrealistic political slogans, which turned the masses against the KPD.⁵²

Levi was expelled for publicly criticizing the March Action in his pamphlet Unser Weg⁵³. "The Zentrale was outraged ... he washed the party's dirty linen in public ... he revealed secrets"⁵⁴ The Bolshevik leadership was divided over the advisability of the March Action; Lenin, Trotsky, and Kamenev condemned it; Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Radek defended it. Lenin's view prevailed and the March Action was condemned. The German authorities temporarily outlawed the KPD. Brandler was jailed, but escaped to Russia. Ernst Meyer replaced him as party leader.

On April 20, the Central Committee of the KPD ordered eight Levi supporters (Levites) to resign their Reichstag mandates. They refused.⁵⁵ Ten Reichstag delegates protested in the Rote Fahne against the Central Committee's demands to surrender their mandates. Eichhorn joined as an eleventh deputy in this protest.⁵⁶ Kurt Geyer, Fritz Düwell, and Waldemar were expelled for writing articles in Levi's Unser

Weg⁵⁷. They joined Levi to form the Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (KAG) (literally, Communist Working Cooperative), a new caucus in the Reichstag⁵⁸. Although this group was nearly as strong as the KPD in the Reichstag, it did not have a large rank-and-file membership; it resembled generals without an army.

Even so, Levi and his colleagues proved to be a source of embarrassment for the KPD. To win them back, Otto Brass, a friend of Levi, but still a KPD deputy, attended the Levites' Reichs convention of November 20, 1921. The KAG members stipulated five conditions under which they would return to the KPD. These conditions would, in their opinion, restore a relative independence of action to the KPD. They rejected the idea of creating a new party. The KPD did not accept these terms but expelled a number of party members suspected of sympathizing with Levi, among them Brass.⁵⁹ In January 1922 163 KPD members were expelled for the same reason. Most of the expelled joined the KAG.⁶⁰ The KPD had started its parliamentary career with four seats in the Reichstag. Through the merger with the left wing of the USPD it had in 1921 26 seats. After the departure of the Levites the KPD had only 15 Reichstag deputies⁶¹, which indicates that the KAG had 11 seats⁶².

FROM THE MARCH ACTION TO THE OCTOBER DISTURBANCES

After the failure of the March Action the Comintern leaders informed the KPD delegates at the Third World Congress

of the Comintern that their line had changed. Russia was embarking on the New Economic Policy (NEP) which involved concessions to the kulaks and the petty bourgeoisie. Abroad, Soviet Russia needed friends. The German section of the Comintern was thus instructed to cooperate with the SPD.

.. in 1922-23 Varga, Bukharin and Radek were discovering a new role for the German bourgeoisie, which they changed from a class enemy to a victim suffering almost as much as the German worker A theory of the revolutionary character of the German bourgeoisie substituted for this concept a communist foreign policy based entirely on power politics. The alliance between Russia and the German bourgeoisie was urged as necessary for the defence of Russia ... and was considered more realistic than one between the Russian and German workers. ⁶³

In 1923 the French occupied the Ruhr. The Cuno administration proclaimed a general strike against the French. An international conference of communist parties met at Essen to discuss their strategy. Many of the delegates felt that this would be an opportune time to overthrow the German bourgeoisie. The occupation of the Ruhr and the ensuing inflation created a revolutionary situation. With Soviet Russia's support a Soviet Germany could have repudiated the Versailles Treaty. But there was a lack of cohesion, coordination, and direction. The Zentrale and the opposition in the KPD disagreed on tactics and worked at cross purposes. Orders from Moscow were unclear; Lenin was dying. ⁶⁴ At the Essen conference the communists of the Ruhr spoke of immediate action. Klara Zetkin, the Comintern's representative, tried unsuccessfully to sway the meeting towards a policy of support for Cuno. Moscow then intervened directly: an uprising against the German government would be publicly disavowed by the Comintern. ⁶⁵

This policy of support for Cuno was confusing for the rank-and-file members of the KPD. There was no working class representation in the Cuno government. Neither was this government noted for its outstanding brilliance nor for its progressive actions. Yet the communists for quite a while did nothing to defeat it. Cuno "... was much too useful as a whipping boy, and his bungling ... drove the country closer to that stage of chaos which the KPD so eagerly awaited."⁶⁶

If the German bourgeoisie surrendered to the French, the French capitalists would gain control over the German capitalists and Russia would be completely isolated and in grave danger. By supporting the German bourgeoisie the Soviets hoped to make Germany an ally. The two outcast nations would be bound together not by mutual friendship, but by mutual need. These considerations explain the secret arrangements between the Red Army and the Reichswehr, the Rapallo Treaty, the cooperation with Cuno, and the Schlageter course. Thalheimer justified the KPD's stand towards the bourgeoisie in a rather peculiar manner. He claimed that

In the present struggle the German bourgeoisie played at times an "objectively revolutionary role" ... "the defeat of French imperialism ... in the Ruhr is a communist aim," he implied that this aim happened to coincide at the moment with the objectives of the German ruling class: ... Later the proletariat would overthrow the government. ⁶⁷

Ironically, in 1920, the KPD had expelled the Laufenberg-Wolffheim group on account of National Bolshevism. Now, three years later, in 1923, National Bolshevism was revived by the communists. The German communists rivalled Nazis in

shouting patriotic slogans. Albert Leo Schlageter, a man trained to be a Catholic priest, an anti-semite, a Freikorps leader, who had fought in the Baltic states against the Red Army, in Upper Silesia against Polish nationalists, and throughout Germany for the counter revolution, was honored by the communist Radek for sabotaging the French.

On August 12, Britain sent the Curzon Note to France and Belgium, taking a stand against the occupation of the Ruhr. Stresemann, who meanwhile had replaced Cuno as Chancellor, discontinued the passive resistance on September 26. The Poincare administration in France was replaced by the more conciliatory Herriot and Briand government. Western Europe was showing signs of rapprochement. The chance to make Germany depend on Soviet Russia's support suddenly seemed far removed. At the same time, the internal picture in Germany looked gloomy. Inflation and strikes had weakened the economy; right wing extremists were ruling in Bavaria, left wing extremists in Saxony and Thuringia. If Stresemann was allowed to solve Germany's internal difficulties, chances for a communist victory would be small.

The strategists at the Kremlin summoned Brandler, who had returned to Germany under an amnesty and had become the KPD chieftain again, to Moscow and presented him with a set revolution date. Experts were sent to Germany to help him. Against his better knowledge, Brandler was persuaded to agree. Again, the revolution was well calculated in advance.

Skoblewski had calculated that ... it would be necessary to confront each unit ... with communist forces three times as strong ... which would have required ... 750,000 well-armed Communist fighters. There was a force of 100,000 Reichswehr and 150,000 police/ Finally, the plan left out of account the para-military Right-wing organizations Total membership of the KPD amounted to ... 296,230, including women 68

As the first step towards the revolution the KPD became a coalition partner of the SPD in the Thuringian and Saxony state governments. In Saxony, Brandler, Heckert, and Böttcher accepted cabinet positions under Zeigner, a left-wing Social Democrat, on October 10, 1923. The communists tried to use their positions to arm the proletariat and thus challenge and provoke the Reich government and the military. It was hoped that repressive actions by the government would arouse the working class in all of Germany.

The first part of the plan worked. The Reich government reacted in the expected manner. The military, under General Müller, marched into Saxony and deposed the Zeigner government. The communists, however, called off the revolution. There were some strikes and a few riots in Saxony and street fighting in Hamburg. Hermann Remmele justified the KPD leadership's actions.

~~Every thing~~ was prepared for the beginning of November 1923. But in the last minute it was decided not to participate in the struggle, as the balance of strength was unfavourable for the KPD. Participation in the government of Saxony was not in order to legislate communist programs, or to embarrass the SPD, but to attract the anti bourgeoisie resentments and revolutionary potential of all Germany to defend the workers of Saxony and thus start a revolution. In other words, to challenge the Reichs government to move against Saxony and thus get all German workers "up in arms" so to speak. 69

Thus, the revolutionary attempt failed completely. The KPD's leaders were either imprisoned or in flight.

Brandler and Thalheimer, who escaped to Russia, were expendable and served as scapegoats for the failure. A new, left-wing, leadership emerged and took control of the KPD.

THE SECOND WAVE OF LEFT-WING COMMUNISM

The failure of the uprising of 1923 led to Brandler's downfall. The new leadership was a leftist one, but included former supporters of Brandler.

At that time three groups emerged in the KPD. There were those who were responsible /or blamed/ for the October happenings, a minority in the Zentrale /the Brandler-Thalheimer group/. In the middle there was a strong new group who broke with the right because of the October happenings. This group realized the mistakes, realized that it was wrong in its predictions, and practised now a strong criticism of the Zentrale and of its functionaries. There was also the old Berlin opposition, in coalition with the opposition in Hamburg and in the Ruhr district. This group maintained that the defeat was a result of the United Front policy. 70

By the end of 1923 the right wing Brandler group had lost all its influence in the KPD. The centre group took on the leadership, but the power lay with the left. Moscow supported the centre, but seeing that the left could not be stopped, switched its support to the left. At the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern, in July 1924, all communist parties were ordered to restructure themselves. This process became known as the Bolshevization of the communist parties. Bolshevization was to prepare the party to meet more successfully the revolutionary situations that were believed to exist in Germany.

This new left-wing leadership of the KPD was an alliance of young petty bourgeois intellectuals of the Ruth Fischer, Maslow, and Scholem variety in Berlin and the

Schwielige Faust (calloused fist), consisting of unskilled workers led by Ernst Thälmann in Hamburg. The beginning of this left-wing group within the KPD goes back to 1921. In Alfred Rosenberg's home members of the German left met secretly with spokesmen of the Russian Workers' Opposition. The object of their discussions was to organize the German revolution and to oppose the United Front policies practised by the right-wing KPD leadership.⁷¹

After the left had taken over the party apparatus, the Comintern line made a sudden turn to the right. This was too much for some of the left communists. Some leaders and intellectuals expressed their disagreements with this new line. Before long, several groups of left dissenters were expelled. The first to go were Schumacher, Weyer, and Kayser, who were expelled on September 15, 1924, for forming independent trade unions, an action, which was suddenly in contradiction to the current policy of the Comintern. They published a paper, the Korrespondenzblatt der selbständigen Linken⁷². The group Arbeiterlinken, led by Ketty Gutmann, was also expelled in 1924⁷³.

In 1925 there were several left and ultra left groups in the KPD. The farthest to the left was the Katz group. Slightly to the right of it was the Korsch-Schwarz group. More to the right were Rosenberg, Scholem, and their supporters. Next to them was the Fischer-Maslow group. In addition there was the Weddinger Opposition, which was strong in Berlin-Wedding, the Palatinate, and a few other centres. Finally, there was the Thälmann group.

The question of Thälmann's candidacy for President of Germany led to a split among these left groups. The Fischer-Maslow group proposed that the KPD should support a left-wing bourgeois candidate. Scholem, Rosenberg, and others, the new ultra left, wanted a communist candidate.⁷⁴

After the election of Hindenburg in May 1925, an election, in which the communists lost more than half of their 1924 vote, the Fischer-Thälmann Zentrale pursued a less radical line. ~~This~~ heightened the discontent of the ultra lefts.

Fischer and Maslow became embroiled in the struggle between Zinoviev and Stalin. At the Tenth KPD Convention, in July 1925, the Comintern representative Manuilski attacked Fischer, the protegee of Zinoviev. By making peace with the ultra left, represented by Scholem, the Fischer group could maintain its position of leadership. However, on September 1, 1925, the Comintern published an "Open Letter". This letter accused the Fischer-Maslow leadership of unbolshevistik attitudes, of hostilities towards Moscow, of having anti-Leninist tendencies, of sabotage and incompetence in trade union work, of political opportunism, and of establishing a clique dictatorship.⁷⁵ With this coup from above, the German leaders were deposed two ~~months~~ after they had been elected. The Thälmann era had begun.

During 1926 most of the left and ultra left groups were pushed out of the KPD. In January 1926 in Hannover supporters of the ultra left Katz fought with Comintern supporters over the possession of the local party organ. With the help of the police the Comintern supporters won

this battle. In May the KPD expelled the Korsch-Schwarz group; the ECCI upheld this decision in July. This group broke later into two. Karl Korsch and his supporters published Kommunistische Politik and the Schwarz section issued the paper Entschiedene Linke.⁷⁶

The rest of the left and ultra lefts closed ranks. Fischer and Maslow were expelled by the Comintern in August 1926. The KPD expelled Urbahn, Schwan, and Scholem on November 5, 1926. They formed a Reichstagsfraktion Linker Kommunisten, in which they were later joined by Fischer, Schlagewerth, Korsch, Katz, Schütz, and Tiedt.⁷⁷

On April 8 and 9, 1928, at the initiative of the expelled left and ultra left activists 153 delegates and 100 guests met at Berlin and founded the Lenin Bund (LB). This league was not meant to be a new communist party, but a common front of anti Stalinist communists. Its membership ranged between 5,000 and 6,000. The LB applied for membership in the Comintern with predictable results. On May 9, the KPD announced its willingness to readmit expelled members after six months if they broke with the LB. Fischer, Maslow, and a few others did so at the same day; Scholem did a short time later. The strongest faction in the LB, the group from Suhl, under Heym, joined the SPD, taking along its organ Volkswille. At the Reichstag election the LB, which entered slates under the names of Linke Kommunisten (LK) and Alte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (AKPD), received only 80,000 votes and failed to reelect any of its sitting Reichstag members.

In 1930 Urbahn wrote the article "The Soviet Union is not a worker state." This led to a split in the LB, the Trotskyistes, who were led by Grylewicz, and the Palatinate locals formed the Vereinigte Linke Opposition (LO).⁷⁸ Soon after this the ultra left and left communist groups disintegrated. Their leaders lost most of their supporters who drifted back into the KPD. However, some of them were still active at the time of the Nazis' rise to power. According to Bahne, the defeat of the left communists "is due to the skillful, but unscrupulous, tactics of the Stalinists, their own, typically sectarian, splintering"⁷⁹

THE KPO

In July 1928 the Comintern launched a campaign against the right wing in world communism. This sudden left turn coincided with the power struggle between Stalin and Bucharin, the leader of the right wing in the bolshevik party. At the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern Ulbricht attacked Ewert, Brandler, and Thalheimer. The German right wing communists were classified into two groups, the Rechte, with Brandler and Thalheimer, and the Versöhnler⁸⁰, with Hausen, Ewert, Meyer, and others. At a KPD Reichskonferenz on November 3 and 4, 1928, there were 19 Versöhnler and 14 Rechte out of a total of 225 delegates⁸¹.

In contrast to the Rechte, the Versöhnler were not an organized group. Most of them did not even know that they were Versöhnler until they were denounced as such by their party rivals. Unlike the Rechte, the Versöhnler never dis-

puted Stalin's claim to the leadership of the Comintern. It was relatively easier for them to bow to party discipline than it was for the Rechte. They were mostly intellectuals, professional revolutionaries, and party employees (Bonzen). Versöhnler were mainly discovered in the district of Halle-Merseburg, in Western Saxony, and in Hamburg. After a few were driven out of the party, the majority of them remained in the KPD.

Towards the end of 1928 the struggle between the Brandlerites and the Thälmann majority led to a new split. In December 1928 the Right entered the municipal election in Stuttgart with its own slate under the name of Kommunistische Partei. In Offenbach the rightists, by issuing their own membership fee stamps, collected their own membership fees which they did not forward to the party headquarters.⁸² Both these actions indicate that at least some of the rightists considered themselves a separate party.

On December 21, 1928, the KPD expelled Walcher, Frölich, Schreiner, Enderle, Tittel, Schmidt, and Rehbein. Brandler and Thalheimer were expelled by the ECCI on January 19, 1929. The Right held a Reichskonferenz der Opposition on December 29, 1928, in Berlin, which was attended by 74 delegates, of which 17 were ex-members of the KPD. At that convention the Kommunistische Partei Deutschland (Opposition) (KPO) was founded. The aim of the KPO was to reform the KPD. It did not consider itself a new communist party, but only a different communist trend (Richtung). It refused to take sides in any of the factional power struggles inside the Soviet

Union. The KPO did not consider the SPD as Social Fascists, but as fellow Marxists who had taken the wrong road and must be shown the way.⁸³

By the end of 1929 it became obvious that the KPO's activities would not lead to an overthrow of the Thälmann Zentrale in the KPD. The KPO leadership concentrated on building its organization into a mass party. However, by that time stagnation had already started.

The appearance in October 1931 of a new splinter party, the Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei (SAP), on the political scene caused a major split in the KPO. The majority under Brandler and Thalheimer urged the destruction of the SAP, hoping that its members would either join the KPO or the KPD. They maintained that in view of the pending fascist take-over the KPO must be preserved as an underground communist cadre organization. It was clear to them that, in case of a Hitler victory, the KPD would be destroyed. The KPD, they believed, did not have the revolutionary potential to survive as an efficient underground organization. It would be the role of the KPO to provide effective leadership for all revolutionary proletarians. Thus, after Hitler's final overthrow, the KPO would rise like a phoenix out of the ashes and become the new KPD. Frölich, the spokesman for the minority in the KPO, argued that it was essential to build the SAP into a strong working class party that rejected both, the opportunism of the SPD and the dependency on Moscow of the KPD.⁸⁴

The question whether to remain as the KPO or whether to join the SAP dominated the KPO Reichskonferenz in March 1932. Thirty-seven delegates, representing 880 members, decided to join the SAP⁸⁵. On April 13, 1932, the Ortsgruppe (local organization) Offenbach, with 300 members, 10 city councilors, and one Hessian Landtag deputy (Heinrich Galm) defected to the SAP. In all, the KPO lost more than 1,000 members to the SAP, or one third of its total membership.⁸⁶

RECONCILIATION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

As stated before, in 1920 the USPD lost the larger part of its left wing to the KPD. Soon after this the ultra right leadership of the SPD, especially the leaders who were the least popular in USPD circles, lost their influence in the SPD. Ebert, being President of Germany, was removed from party politics. Scheidemann, Landsberg, and Noske held posts of minor importance in the SPD. Moreover, the end of the war removed the biggest obstacle which held the two sister parties apart. In 1920 the SPD left the government and became an opposition party. This brought the two parties even closer. Germany now had two social democratic parties who had the same goals, who voiced the same criticism of the bourgeois government, and who covered the same political scale in terms of right and left. Furthermore, the socialist-led free trade unions had for a long time urged the two parties to reunite. Twice in 1921 the SPD had approached the USPD to participate in a workers' government consisting of a SPD-USPD coalition. In Brunswick, before October 1920, the USPD was

the senior partner in a USPD-SPD government. After October 1920 the USPD participated in SPD-led minority governments in Saxony and Thuringia.⁸⁷

After the assassination of Rathenau, the USPD Reichstag caucus, which included the Levites, who had given up their separate existence, met on June 24, 1922, to discuss participation in the Wirth (Centre) government. Three different opinions were presented. Hilferding, Breitscheid, Brandes, Ludwig, Mehrhoff, and Düwell, (who came from the KAG, favoured the idea to join the Wirth cabinet immediately. This would show the masses the USPD's willingness to cooperate in constructive policies and its concern for the safety of the republic. Another group took a diametrically opposite view. Dissmann, Rosenfeld, Sender, Brass, Levi, and Ledebour belonged to this group. In entering the Wirth government the USPD would be hanging on the coat tails of the SPD. This would lead to the elimination of their own party. The third group took a stand in the middle. Dittmann, Löwenstein, Soldmann, and others wanted to make participation in the cabinet subject to the fulfillment of certain conditions. They wanted a socialist majority in the cabinet which was in direct proportion to the strength of the participating parties in the Reichstag, energetic action for the protection of the republic, and economic-political changes.⁸⁸

The bourgeois parties in the Wirth government, on the other hand, feared the resulting shift in power if the USPD were to join the coalition. In order to balance the possible increased strength of the socialist parties, the

Centre wanted to involve the Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP) in the government. This met with the combined opposition of both social democratic parties. As a result, no changes were made in the Wirth cabinet. The SPD and the USPD Reichstag members formed on July 14, 1922, an Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialistischer Parteien.⁸⁹ In response to this, the two liberal parties and the Centre party formed an alliance of the middle.

The Arbeitsgemeinschaft was a big step towards reunification. Both social democratic parties took it under serious consideration. In Gera, from September 20 to 23, 1922, at a USPD Reich convention, a great majority of the delegates voted for reunification. The SPD held a convention at the same time in Augsburg. The delegates discussed the same topic as the USPD did in Gera and they reached the same decision. Consequently reunification took place at a joint convention at Nuremberg in September 1922. But only fifty-seven of the USPD Reichstag deputies joined the SPD. About one dozen went to the KPD.⁹⁰ Georg Ledebour, Theodor Lieb- knecht (the brother of Karl), and a few others decided to keep the USPD alive. This rump party still had many diver- gent tendencies. A new split occurred at their convention from March 30, to April 2, 1923. Ledebour supported the passive resistance policy in the Ruhr. Lieb- knecht called the Ruhrkampf "Ein Ablenkungsmanöver des deutschen Kapital- ismus". (An attempt by the German capitalists to divert the attention of the proletariat away from the real issues.)⁹¹ Ledebour's section called itself the Sozialistischer Bund (SB).

THE ASPS-ASPD

After the occupation of the Ruhr and the end of the inflation no major crisis occurred in Germany for several years. The SPD experienced only a few minor splits during these years. The Nelson Bund, or Internationaler Jugend Bund (IJB), which had joined the SPD in 1923, was expelled in 1925 for breaches of party discipline. Among other instances, the IJB had openly supported Thälmann rather than Marx for President. The IJB then founded its own political party, the Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund (ISK). This split did not affect the SPD too much, as the IJB had an active, but small membership.

A more serious split occurred in Saxony. After the SPD-KPD Zeigner government was deposed by the federal government, another Social Democrat, Heldt, formed a coalition government with the Democrats and the DVP on January 4, 1924. The SPD state convention of Saxony in January mainly objected to the inclusion of the far right DVP in the government. The convention decided that the Landtag should be dissolved. Twenty-three SPD deputies, among them the SPD cabinet ministers, defied this order⁹². Already before the convention the SPD Landtag deputies had divided into two groups which held their caucus meetings separately⁹³.

... the twenty-three defied, ridiculed, and ignored the 150,000 members of Saxony. At a second convention, on October 26, 1924, they again defied the orders of their membership. During January and February of 1925 their respective districts expelled them but the executive of Saxony readmitted them with the explicit order to dissolve⁹⁴ the coalition.

~~This order was also defied.~~

During the first year of this right-wing SPD-led government several popular pieces of legislation which had been introduced by the previous left-wing SPD-led governments were repealed, with 23 or 24 SPD deputies voting with the bourgeois parties and 16 SPD deputies voting against them⁹⁵. Finally, in July 1926, the federal SPD executive expelled the defiant right-wing deputies. Led by Wilhelm Buck and Karl Bethke they formed the Alte Sozialdemokratische Partei Sachsens (ASPS). They could only reelect four deputies at the next election. But they held the balance of power in the House and were thus able to retain their leading position in a right-wing coalition government. In 1928 they unsuccessfully contested the federal election under the name of Alte Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (ASPD).

LEFT GROUPS WITHIN THE SPD DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

In 1928, at the Reichstag election, the SPD increased its strength from 131 to 153 seats. It was impossible to form a government without SPD participation. The SPD members Hermann Müller led a coalition government which involved five parties and included the right-wing DVP. The SPD Left accused the government of giving too many concessions to the DVP, an accusation, which seemed well justified. On August 11, 1928 the Müller government announced its decision to start construction of Panzerkreuzer A against which the SPD had campaigned during the preceding election. The government tried to justify this breach of party discipline

by claiming that the government had to fulfill the policies of its predecessor. However, the Left managed to force the SPD government members to vote against the government's recommendation, that is, against the Panzerkreuzer. Nevertheless, the Bill did pass.

In October 1929 the world experienced an economic crisis par excellence. Foreign nations cancelled their loans; foreign capitalists withdrew their investments, and German export declined drastically. This led to closures of industries, reduction of working hours, increase of unemployment, and an all over distrust in financial institutions. "The German capitalists attempted to make the working class carry the entire burden of this crisis."⁹⁶ Big Business attacked all so-called "socialist roadblocks" such as union wage agreements, collective bargaining, arbitration, unemployment insurance, etc. The cabinet was divided over these issues, the DVP fought for the demands of the employers, the SPD defended the rights of the employees. But at the same time the SPD tried to support a Bill which proposed to increase the dues on unemployment insurance. This provoked the left opposition within the SPD as well as the trade union wing of the party. Twenty-eight deputies absented themselves during a confidence vote for the government's financial program. On March 27, 1930, the whole SPD caucus, under pressure by the Left and the trade union wing of the party, voted against an increase in unemployment insurance rates. This action brought down the last pre-Hitler SPD government.⁹⁷

It can be seen from this, that the Left was still a considerable force in the SPD. However, this Left was not unified, but consisted of several groups. The Levites, who had come with the USPD into the SPD were the most influential section. Then there was the former USPD left wing led by Dissmann, Ströbel, Lore Agnes, Siegfried Aufhäuser, Hermann Fleissner, Bernhard Kuhnt, Dr. Kurt Löwenstein, Tony Sender, and Mathilde Wurm. The majority socialist left wing was centered around Seydewitz. Besides these three relatively strong groups, there were several smaller groups.

The only thing which united these Luxemburgists, Kautskyites, Revisionists, and Social Pacifists, was their negation of the do-nothing, lingering politics of the SPD during the Inflation and towards the Cabinet of Cuno, while the counter revolutionary conservative-populist powers in Bavaria threatened to liquidate the last 98 remnants of the Weimar Democracy.

This new Left had its main support in Saxony, the "...cradle of the socialist workers' movement ..." ⁹⁹ The Reichsaktion against Saxony in October 1923 was initiated by the Stresemann government which contained three SPD ministers. The cabinet order authorizing this action was signed by President Ebert, a Social Democrat. The fact that it took the federal SPD more than two years to expell the twenty-three right-wing Landtag deputies for their blatant breach of party discipline aroused the suspicion in Saxony that the Reich leadership of the SPD sympathized with Saxony's right wing. All these events created much ill feeling in Saxony and moved the bulk of the membership further to the left.

In 1923 Paul Levi, Arthur Goldstein, and others issued the journal Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft. They also

initiated night school courses for young socialists. Out of this grew the Sozialwissenschaftliche Vereinigung (SWV). By 1928 the SWV had about 800 members in Berlin. Membership was open to all who were interested in socialism and were recommended by a member. There were communists, social democrats, and members of splinter groups participating in the SWV. Schröder, who had left the KAPD, Schwab, Levi, and Goldstein were the leaders of the SWV. Speakers included Laufenberg, Friesland (Reuter), Däumig, Rühle, Pfemfert, Urbahn, and others.¹⁰⁰

In 1929 some of the leaders of the SWV around Schröder and Schwab recognized the fact that a fascist dictatorship would soon be installed in Germany and would force them into illegality. They thus used the SWV as a framework to build up small cadre organizations which were to become the core of a nation wide resistance movement. As organizer for this undertaking they picked Franz Peter Utzelmann, who came from the KAPD. He had been deeply involved in the March Action for which he was sentenced to life imprisonment. The general amnesty for political prisoners after the Rathenau assassination freed him.¹⁰¹

The cadre organizations which were sponsored by the SWV were called the Rote Kämpfer. Although these groups appeared in the early 1930s, their roots go back to many different left-wing trends both within and without the SPD throughout the past twelve years.

In November 1930 Der Rote Kämpfer, a small journal, appeared suddenly in the Ruhr district. It was also called a Zeitung bei Sozialdemokraten für Sozialdemokraten. In it

the SPD came under attack for underestimating the fascist danger and thereby helping fascism to gain power. It criticized the KPD for calling the SPD Sozialfaschisten.¹⁰² The leadership of the SPD insisted that the communists were behind Der Rote Kämpfer and proposed sharpest actions against its anonymous editors. The historian Ihlau suspects that behind Der Rote Kämpfer was the intellectual influence of the by-weekly Der Klassenkampf - Marxistische Blätter.¹⁰³

At Bochum, in the Ruhr area, Karl Garbe and Heinz Hose became the ~~spokesman~~ for the Left in the Sozialistische Arbeiter Jugend (SAJ), the SPD's youth organization. It is assumed that their group was responsible for some of the first issues of Der Rote Kämpfer, since they distributed it. They were subjected to the strongest attacks by the party bureaucracy.¹⁰⁴

Another group came from Cologne. Students and workers in 1929 initiated discussion groups. The party leadership came under severe criticism. The Cologne group was led by Hans Mayer and Albert Jogishoff. Regular speakers at their meetings were at first Reichenbach and later Dr. Fritz Sternberg. The alarming electoral success of the Nazis in September 1930 motivated them to more concrete steps in their attempts to change the political direction of the SPD. In order to hide their activities from the local party leaders, the group split into two smaller units. Some of them, through the help of Reichenbach, contacted the Bochum group and soon ~~acquired~~ control of Der Rote Kämpfer. They then reunited with the other Cologne group.¹⁰⁵

Bernhard Reichenbach, a founding member of the KAPD, came to the SPD in 1925. He had moved from Berlin to Krefeld. At the end of 1929 he participated in the forming of secret left opposition groups in the Ruhr district. As a speaker, he travelled to many towns, where he recruited many former KAPD supporters and members for the SPD. Most of them were not social democrats, but communists who rejected the KPD and were willing to work inside the SPD.¹⁰⁶

After the September election of 1930 the Left in the SPD increased in strength. The SPD suffered considerable losses in votes, while the Nazis and the communists made gains. The Left in the SPD became quite active and managed through forums and open meetings to win many of the SPD youth, mainly from the SAJ, to its side. Indirectly the party leadership itself promoted this leftward trend, as any youth member who became overly critical was severely attacked by them. The economic world crisis quite naturally contributed to the leftward move inside the party.

The Left inside the SPD opposed the grudging support that the SPD Reichstag delegates gave to Brüning. In order to uphold Brüning and prevent Hitler or any other reactionary leader from gaining power, the SPD caucus decided not to oppose government bills if the defeat of these bills would bring down the government. In March 1931 the proposed budget contained the fourth installment for Panzerkreuzer A and the first one for Panzerkreuzer B. Chancellor Brüning and Minister of Defence Groener, who were well aware of the SPD's opposition to these items, but who also correctly assumed that the SPD

would not dare to force the government out of office, made the approval of the budget a matter of confidence in the government. The SPD caucus decided 60 to 40 to withhold its vote, since voting ~~voting~~ against it would have defeated it and thus would have toppled the government. But nine SPD deputies broke discipline and voted against it. "In retrospect, this seems the first, although involuntary, step towards the new splitting of the party."¹⁰⁷

Der Rote Kämpfer supported the stand taken by the nine SPD Reichstag deputies, the Seydewitz group, who broke ranks. However, when the total budget was passed and also an Ermächtigungsgesetz for Brüning, the nine only refused to vote. Der Rote Kämpfer declared this a retreat of the Seydewitz group.¹⁰⁸

The SPD Parteitag at Leipzig from May 31 to June 5, 1931, took a strong stand against the Left. Der Rote Kämpfer was severely attacked. Publishers, writers, and distributors were threatened with expulsion. But all over Germany the political supporters of the paper advocated the formation of their own organization. The SWV underwrote a major part of the paper's expenses and gained thereby some control over it, which was exercised by Schröder. Thanks to Schröder Reichenbach's influence grew and Dr. Sternberg's influence waned. This resulted in a difference of opinions between the Rote Kämpfer group and the Seydewitz-Rosenfeld group. It also divided the Cologne group. Hans Mayer and his friends withdrew from Der Rote Kämpfer and joined the Seydewitz group.

Starting in September 1932 the paper was issued in Berlin under the direction of Utzelmann.¹⁰⁹ Soon the cadre organizations sponsored by the SWV were called Rote Kämpfer (RK).

THE SAP

Traditionally Saxony deserves a special place in the history of left-wing socialism. The confidence of the proletariat of Saxony in the federal leadership of the SPD was badly undermined. Dresden possessed an especially large organized left-wing SPD opposition. The leaders of these groups in 1929 were Walter Fabian, Helmut Wagner, Kurt Liebermann, and Franz Blazek, who were mostly Young Socialists¹¹⁰. In response to the pressure from the party leadership the Left considered the formation of a new party. Wagner and Blazek, influenced by Schröder, proposed democratic centralism as a structural base for the new party. Fabian and Liebermann opposed this.

The Dresden group, under the name of Gruppe revolutionäre Sozialisten, issued a flyer with a draft program for a new party. One of these leaflets fell into the hands of the East Saxony district executive, from where it was reported to Berlin. During 1931 the frictions within the SPD increased. Rosenfeld, Seydewitz, Fabian, Helmut Wagner, and Blazek were expelled in September. Seydewitz and Rosenfeld called a Reichskonferenz of the Left for October 4, 1931. At that convention the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei (SAP) was founded. It was supposed to be a democratic socialist party, taking the middle place between the SPD and the KPD. Thus, it was

hoped, it would draw all those who disagreed with the reformist, "support-of-the-lesser-evil" policy of the SPD leadership as well as the communists who rebelled against the stern discipline of the Moscow dominated Zentrale and all the tiny socialist splinter groups which drifted in the political back waters. The first two expectations were not fulfilled; but in their third wish, they were only too successful.

The SAP attracted to its ranks several of the left-wing ~~splinter~~ groups which existed in the political twilight zone between the SPD and the KPD. Old man Ledebour and his Sozialisten Bund were among the first. Theodor Liebknecht brought the still surviving rump-USPD into the new Party. In March 1932 the minority fraction of the KPO under Frölich and Walcher joined the SAP. The Arbeitsgemeinschaft für linkssozialistische Politik (AG)¹¹¹ came also into the SAP¹¹². On the other hand, the Nelson Bund, the Lenin Bund, and other ultra left and left communists, the Trotskyists, most of the Rote Kämpfer cells, the majority of the KPO, the various remnants of the KAPD stayed away.

Most of the Rote Kämpfer groups were very critical of the SAP, even though their objective was to work in as many working class organizations as possible in order to win them to their version of the class struggle. Only one group, the one led by Reichenbach, consisting mainly of expelled former SPD members, joined the SAP. The Dresden group refused to join. Being staunch anti-parliamentarians, the Reichenbach faction soon found itself in opposition to

the SAP leadership. They not only declined to take part in the second Reichstag election of 1932, but also issued a pamphlet against the SAP's participation in that election¹¹³. The SAP expelled the author of this leaflet, Kurt Stechert, on June 20. Reichenbach left the SAP. This ended the open participation of a Rote Kämpfer group in any working class organization other than their own.

As can be seen, the composition of the SAP consisted of a conglomeration of left social democrats, revolutionaries, communists, pacifists, and syndicalists. Only blind optimism or sheer despair could hope to shape this assortment into an effective political party.

Lacking electoral success, the party soon fell apart. Many groups left on their own or were expelled during the last year of the Weimar Republic. The SAP members came directly or indirectly either from the SPD or the KPD. They remained Sozialdemokraten, although left ones, or Kommunisten, but not Stalinists. The same chasm that divided the German workers' movement on a large scale made its appearance in miniature in the SAP.

The exponents of each direction originated - with a few exceptions - from those two ideological and organizational streams of the international workers' movement which are represented in Germany by the SPD and the KPD. They were never able to break totally with their past. ¹¹⁴

CONCLUSION

This bewildering variety of coalitions and splits, due to internal as well as external crises, leadership struggles, extreme dogmatism, blatant opportunism, and political immaturity

reflects aptly the politics of Weimar Germany. For the first time in their history the German people were without an autocratic form of government. This new political freedom coincided with some of the severest economic crises. At the same time the state was exposed to economic and political pressures from abroad. As the different political parties tried in succession their own particular solutions to Germany's problems, people lost their confidence in them. As fast as some ideas lost their credibility, other ideas vaulted to the foreground. The German people of the twenties and early thirties seemed unable to formulate their political ideas in such a way that three or four parties could represent most of them. As it is illustrated here in the case of the left-wing parties, the differences were often minute, but nevertheless, there were differences. And as long as the Germans had the right to choose, they did choose, until the right to choose became a calamity. Only the strong arm of a dictator could put an end to these chaotic conditions. Thus, the one-party autocracy was the logical, but tragic, conclusion of the multi party confusion.

CHAPTER THREE

PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

INTRODUCTION

The avowed goal of all these splinter groups which were to the left of the SPD was to convert Germany into a Räte Republic. They differed, however, on the questions of what power, function, or shape the Räte system should have. In addition to this, they could not agree on how to establish such a Räte republic.

The communist groups wanted to abolish parliaments completely. The strongest stand on this was taken by the ~~anarcho-~~communist KAPD organizations, the AAU and the AAUE, who refused to participate in any parliamentary activities and electioneering. The left and ultra left communist groups of Korsch, Scholem-Urbahn, Fischer-Maslow, etc. participated in parliamentary activities in the same way as the KPD did, in order to sabotage and destroy the system from within. ~~Election~~ campaigns were welcome opportunities to agitate among the electorate. The Brandlerites, however, were willing to work constructively within the legislatures in order to help to implement some progressive legislation. They were of the opinion that the revolution and the subsequent installation of a Räte republic lay far in the future and that one must make the best use of existing institutions to achieve practical gains for the working class.

The social democratic splinter groups as a rule advocated a dual system of parliaments and Räte, operating side by side, with each having the power of veto over the other. However, as had been the case with the USPD, the first social democratic break-away party, there were many different opinions and policies in the SAP, which, in the early thirties, encompassed all the social democratic splinter groups as well as some communist, anarchist, and pacifist groups. Thus, there were in the SAP as well as in the USPD elements which completely rejected the parliamentary system.

The attitudes of the left-wing splinter groups towards the socialist-led trade unions, most of which belonged to the Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (ADGB), reflected their attitudes towards parliaments. Some were in favour of working within the existing trade union structure, others, as we shall see later, were not.

Each of the splinter groups differed in its attitude towards Moscow and the Comintern. Most of them agreed that, in case of an imperialist war against Russia, it was their duty to defend the "only workers' state" in the world. However, there were those, mainly former KPD leaders, who spoke of "red imperialism", Kulaken dictatorship, and of the need of a second revolution in the Soviet Union.

To illustrate the differences as well as the similarities of the various groups' aims, the main points of several party programs are here discussed. The selected parts represent a cross section of the left-wing splinter groups. The KAPD and its related organizations represent the border-

line between anarchism and communism, while the Levites were trying to continue the idealism of the Luxemburg tradition. Petty bourgeois radicalism can be discerned in the aims of the ultra left and left communists of the mid twenties, while the Brandlerites tried to preserve an independent, western European, communism. The left-wing social democratic viewpoints are represented by the USPD and the SAP, separated from each other by ten years of turbulent history. Revolutionary and conspiratorial socialism was found in the dogmas of the Rote Kämpfer.

The different parties appear here in chronological order, according to their appearance on the political scene in Germany. Overlaps in time can not be avoided, as the USPD, the KAG, and the KAPD existed at the same time in the early twenties, the LO and the KPO in the late twenties, and the KPO, the RK, and the SAP overlapped in the early thirties.

THE USPD

In 1917 the newly formed USPD presented a manifesto to the Stockholm Conference. The Independents proposed immediate peace, general disarmament and demilitarization, removal of all international barriers to trade and communication. In the economic field there should be friendly cooperation rather than vicious competition between the nations. Economic peace would reduce the danger of war. The USPD called for international treaties for the protection of workers, women, and children. The Independents opposed secret treaties between nations and wanted all treaties to be approved by the involved nations'

representative assemblies.¹ In 1919 the USPD demanded that the dictatorship of the proletariat be established in the form of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The provision for the Räte system was to be included in the new postwar constitution. The party also wanted to dissolve the regular army and establish a Volkswehr (people's army) with elected officers. It demanded the immediate socialization of the capitalist enterprises and of all large privately owned land and forest holdings. Municipal governments in cities were to seize all land and houses and assume the responsibility for sufficient housing. Civil servants and judges were to be elected. War profits were to be taxed away and war debentures cancelled.²

At its extraordinary convention of March 2 to March 6, 1919 in Berlin, the USPD issued a program which reiterated some of the earlier points, but also contained the following new demands:

1. Decisive participation of the Räte in the law making procedure at the state and the municipal levels of governments and in the shops.
2. Immediate abolishment of the voluntary mercenary army. Disarmament of the bourgeoisie. Establishment of a proletarian army.
3. Socialization of ... mines, power plants, iron and steel production, banks and insurance companies, large land and forest holdings.
-
7. Separation of Church and School Each child has the right to an education according to its abilities.
-
9. Restoration of friendly relations with all other nations

of the world Restoration of the Workers' International .. in the spirit of Zimmerwald and Kienthal. ³

At another Parteitag, from November 30, to December 6, 1920, in Leipzig, the USPD demanded the disbandment of all counterrevolutionary forces, the disarming of the bourgeoisie and of the Junkers, progressive taxation and full equality for women⁴.

THE KAPD AND ITS AFFILIATES

The program of the KAPD was mainly composed by its federalist wing. This wing, which included Gorter, Rühle, Pfemfert, and, to some extent, Laufenberg and Wolffheim, had anarchist and syndicalist leanings, as opposed to the centralist wing, which promoted state communism. The federalists were the first ones to be expelled, but not before they had left their stamp on the policies of the KAPD.

Gorter proposed that the proletariat take over the entire machinery of the state. A guaranteed minimum income for all workers was high on his list of priorities. The workers were to control production, trade, and transportation. Everyone would be obligated to work. State or public debts were to be cancelled, war profits confiscated, and banks, large businesses, and all land expropriated. An armed proletariat should replace the regular army. All tariffs and custom duties would be removed and only capital income was to be taxed. Taxes on capital would rise progressively until private capital had completely disappeared.⁵

Gorter disagreed with the Bolshevik policy of apply-

ing the revolutionary experiences in Russia to the rest of the world. In pre revolutionary Russia the proletariat was outnumbered by a poor and uneducated peasantry. Peasants suffered the same oppression under the Czarist regime as did the proletarians. Thus, the peasantry became a willing and needed partner of the proletariat during the revolution. On the other hand, western European farmers were petty bourgeois and often hostile towards the working class. In Germany the proletariat stood alone against all other classes.⁶

In April 1920 the KAPD issued a call to the left opposition within the KPD, announcing the birth of their party. This call stated that the

KAPD is not a party in the traditional sense. It is not a leadership oriented party. Its main goal is to assist the German proletariat in freeing itself from any leadership cult. Freedom from the treacherous, counter-revolutionary leadership politics is the most effective way to unite the proletariat. This union must be conducted in the spirit of the Räte system; this is the only⁷ goal of the revolution.

In a sixteen point program, the KAPD promised to free the economy from all political fetters. It proposed to remove all political institutions and abolish class distinctions. The proletarian revolution was to include political and economic changes. It would achieve a "world commune" under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The organizational form of proletarian control would be workers' soviets. A party must drive the masses forward. It should never lose sight of its main goals. If partial demands (Teilforderungen, Bread-and-butter issues) were supported it should not be for opportunistic reasons. Complete workers' control of factories could be achieved through industrial unions. The party must

never be more than an instrument or a vehicle of the working class. As fast as the proletarian dictatorship becomes established just as fast must the party lose its influence in favour of the soviets. As the communist society appears, the party disappears.⁸

The KAPD was against the policy of supporting the lesser evil, which it considered to be the whip that the bourgeoisie uses to drive the proletariat into slavery⁹. The bourgeoisie, in order to accomplish its anti-labour objectives, usually presents a choice of two repressive objectives. Working class parties would thus be duped into supporting the lesser evil. The winner in those cases is always the bourgeoisie.¹⁰

In May 1920 the KAPD published another program which centered around the following points:

The highest principle of a proletarian party is the autonomy of its members The World War gave birth to an economic crisis which, in effect, is the Götterdämmerung of the bourgeois-capitalist world order. It is not one of the many crises which were caused by the faulty method of production, but it is the final crisis of capitalism. The effect of this is the shattering of the total social organism, the clashing of classes in an unprecedented intensity, which results in the mass pauperization of the population. Capitalism has reached its total fiasco. We are faced now with the alternative: return to barbarism or the building of the socialist world order The fate of the Russian Revolution depends upon a proletarian revolution in Germany. A revolutionary victory in Germany will create a self sufficient socialist economic block which can exchange industrial products for agricultural products within itself. It needs to make no concession to the western powers. Germany is the key to the world revolution In a socialist Germany there will be no political rights for the bourgeoisie Participation in parliamentary elections creates dangerous illusions within the proletariat, it is sabotage of the Räte idea. 11

About a year later the KAPD issued a better formulated and more comprehensive program. This called for the immediate political and economic union of all proletarian-ruled countries for the joint defences against the aggressive tendencies of world capitalism. It argued that the class struggle was international. At that time, however, Russia was the only country that could qualify. The document proposed the arming of the political organized workers and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, police, army officers, and home militias. All parliaments, legislatures, and town councils were to be dissolved and the soviets were to be the only lawgiving and executing authorities. The Congress of Soviets, made up of representatives from the workers' soviets would be the highest body. Its first job would be the drafting of a constitution. The press was to be under the authority of the local soviets. Revolutionary courts were to replace the bourgeois judicial apparatus.¹²

It called for the cancellation of all public debts, for the socialization of all mines, banks, and other large concerns and for the confiscation of private property above a certain limit. Land was to be publicly owned. Public transit should be nationalized. Production was to be planned and should only serve the careful calculated needs of society. It would be everyone's duty to work, a point which was to be stringently enforced. Everyone was to have full security of an existence free from want in regards to food, shelter, clothing, old age, illness, disability, etc. Titles would be abolished. An unrelenting war would be waged against the

capitalist economy and the bourgeois ideology. The party was to be the vanguard of a proletarian-revolutionary ideology. Any revolutionary tendencies in the arts and sciences would be fully supported.¹³

The KAPD considered involvement in parliamentary activities opportunistic and reformist. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the class, not the party, let alone of the party leadership.¹⁴ Rühle and Pfemfert went one step further, they were against any party concept, as this would lead to opportunism, bureaucracy, and a leadership cult. They considered the traditional organizational divisions of the working class into party and trade unions harmful.¹⁵ After they had left the KAPD and its affiliate, the AAU, they formed the Allgemeine Arbeiter Union, Einheitsorgan (AAUE), a combination of a trade union and political party.

According to the AAU, the capitalist state is the representative of the ruling class, the protector of private property, and the hangman of the exploited¹⁶. An integral part of this state is parliament and its political parties. The traditional political parties consist of leaders and masses. They have their parallels in the capitalist economic structure. The leader of a party compares to the boss in a company, the members to the employees, and the party to the company itself. Just as companies compete with each other for domination in the economic field, so do political parties compete for domination in the political field.¹⁷

The KAPD committed itself to the destruction of the old trade unions and their unproletarian ideology¹⁸. In the same way as the political parties, so are the trade unions vital parts of the capitalist system. The role of the trade unions in the capitalist state is to slow down the pauperization of the working class. They act as safety valves and thus inhibit revolutionary attempts. Their bureaucracies, which once were the servants of the membership, became the masters. Imitating the capitalist habit of competition, trade unions are more a divisive factor than a unifying force. They created and furthered the spirit of competition between the different trades. Trade unions separate the employed from the unemployed, the skilled from the unskilled, men from women, and the old from the young.¹⁹

THE LEVITES

The second group that broke away from the KPD was the group around Levi, known as the Leviten (Levites) or as the Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (KAG). After the March action in 1921 Paul Levi started publishing a periodical, Unser Weg. In Wider den Putschismus, a critical review of the March Action, the KPD, and the Comintern, which was published in Unser Weg, Levi stated that it was a fact that, in spite of the progressing economic decay, the German bourgeoisie had managed to consolidate itself. In spite of the devastating defeat, the bourgeoisie was the first power that recuperated; it was [in 1921] master of Germany. But this victory of the bourgeoisie was only relative. The proletariat could defeat

the bourgeoisie, which was decaying and had lost all hope. The physical and the moral factors favoured a proletarian victory.²⁰

Levi maintained that the Communists were wrong in disregarding the other lower classes as potential allies and in classifying them as one reactionary Mass²¹. The agricultural workers, the small independent tradesmen, the civil servants, the impoverished intelligentsia, they all experience the revolution, they are all anti-bourgeois. As long as the bourgeoisie uses them, they will be the hands that defeat the working class. If they are neutral, they are at least an obstacle to a communist victory, but if they are allied with the proletariat, they may well ensure its victory. One must not wait until they are communists. It is the duty of communists to influence these classes. But the German Communists had not found the way to them yet.²²

The revolution is not just a communist affair. The communists do not hold a monopoly on being revolutionaries. According to Marx all workers are exploited and are in opposition to the exploiters. It was the duty of the communists to gather ~~all~~ these forces for the one and only goal, the overthrow of the exploiters. The communists must be the best leaders and at the same time the best servants of the revolution. Rosa Luxemburg stated that communism is not at the beginning, but at the end (an Ende) of the revolution. A communist does not reverse this order, but carries the beginning to its victorious conclusion. Only then can communism be established.²³

During its brief existence the KAG was approached by the KPD for the purpose of reunification. The Levites replied to this invitation as follows:

The KAG does not aspire to the formation of its own party. A communist mass movement cannot be achieved by splitting, but by gathering together. If the KPD is to become the great mass party of the German proletariat, then there will be no room for the USPD; even the honest members of the SPD will join it. But first the KPD must fulfill the following preconditions in order to regain the confidence of the working class:

1. Achieve complete financial independence from the Comintern.
2. Share in the control of all literature distributed in Germany by other Comintern organizations such as the Rote Gewerkschaftsinternationale etc.
3. Gain immunity from all open or hidden organizational interference by the ECCI in the affairs of the German party.
4. Establish a political program which can be supported by all revolutionary workers in Germany, with a definite abandonment of all putschist activities.
5. Establish a trade union policy which will uphold undamaged the aims and the unity of the German unions. 24

In spring of 1922 the KAG joined the USPD. Levi, in Unser Weg, explained that this

... is one of the many steps which have to be taken to reorganize the proletariat. Organizationally, the proletariat is at a low point. It will take decades to bring the movement back to the height it once had reached. Soon the USPD and the SPD will have to reunite. This can not just be an organizational step, it must be a political step also. Only one realization can heal the split; the realization that all workers, the ones from the countries that were "victorious" in the war, as well as the ones who were "defeated" in the war, the in the revolution "victorious" Social Democrats as well as the "defeated" Communist workers in reality had been defeated and face a greedy, exploitative capitalism which exploits them all now more 25 than it did before the war.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION

Most of the information on the various left and ultra left groups discussed here was taken from publications issued by their opponents, the KPD and the Comintern. Thus, it is nearly impossible to get a true, unbiased picture of their programs. In general, their ideas differed not much from KPD programs during a left course of the Comintern. Although there were many individual left groups, they can be dealt with here as one group, as their programs were often identical.

Perhaps the most contentious issue between the KPD and its opposition groups was the approach towards a United Front with the KPD. There were two ways to the United Front. When the leaders of the parties which were considering a United Front met and ~~and~~ discussed common strategy, the resulting United Front was considered a United Front from above. In the approach for a United Front from below the leadership of one party called on the membership of another party for united action, disregarding or attacking the leaders of the other party in the process. This approach was often used in order to raid the membership of the other party. During the life of the Weimar Republic both types of United Fronts were used several times with varying success. It was usually the Right in the KPD which favoured the approach from above, while the Left opted for the approach from below or rejected a United Front entirely.

Ruth Fischer was quoted to have favoured a United Front in 1922. She suggested that the KPD exert pressure

in the trade unions and in the press to force the SPD towards a United Front.

But if this pressure is insufficient then it is the duty of the KPD to lead the workers by itself into the struggle²⁶. This move (for a United Front, I. S.) is still too weak and underdeveloped. We must consolidate it and strengthen it, but 'from below', not through negotiations with the officials. This is at the present the main objective of the KPD. The surmounting of the party walls, the disregard towards their official bodies, the replacement of counterrevolutionary organizations by workers' organizations which grew in the struggle and assumed the leadership of the United Front must be the reason and goal of this tactic²⁷

In 1925 she was quoted as saying "... we must succeed to unmask the whole Social Democratic Party, not just a few individual leaders, as counterrevolutionaries."²⁸ The Fischer-Maslow group showed the same tendencies regarding the United Front from below which the Thälmann leadership displayed, yet they were condemned for it. At a meeting in Düsseldorf Fischer said "I am against any form of United Front, be it from the front, from the back, from above or below"²⁹.

At the EECI session of March 19, 1926, Urbahn, speaking for Maslowski, Gramkows, Ruth Fischer, and himself, stated:

It is possible to carry through advantageously a United Front. The effects of the Dawes Plan intensified the class struggle because it is conducive to the growth of class consciousness, especially amongst the SPD workers. There is a wave of sympathy for the Soviet Union, anti-monarchical movements are conducive for the winning of the broad masses for communism. In the centre of activities must be the fight for the bread-and-butter issues while at the same it is emphasized that only the proletarian revolution can solve the German crisis. Make use of the left drift among the social democratic workers against their opportunistic leaders without repeating the Brandlerite mistakes. Connect the parliamentary activities with the work among the masses, educate the masses to the fact that the coalition politics must be stopped, use United Front tactics to win workers away from Zentrum,

also use United Front tactics towards the middle classes, build a broad left wing in unions, use the development of the Fürstenabfindungskampagne for a general mass movement....³⁰

Scholem, at the same session, repeated in essence what Urbahn had said³¹.

After the leftists were expelled and formed their own party, they issued a booklet Der Kampf um die Kommunistische Partei. Plattform der Linken Opposition in der KPD. In the Kommunistische Internationale an author, identified by the initials T. I., quoted selected excerpts from this document.

Since 1922 it has been proven that the KPD suffered damages whenever it participated in a United Front. The reformers, on the other hand, always came out of it strengthened. It was the communists who were exploited, who were the tail of the actions, and who received a kick in the rear....³² It has been the theory that we could decrease the influence of the reformists on the workers by imitating them during a United Front action.... This is a capitulation and liquidation ideology.³³

In domestic affairs the program of the left communists often differed from the official KPD line. The Left Opposition was against cooperation with the leadership of the ADGB. In 1924 Ruth Fischer said

Considering the mass unemployment and the starvation wages, one can not expect that the German revolutionary workers remain in these corrupted trade unions unless one allows them to take over the apparatus by force, if necessary.³⁴

After a successful revolution, one of the first steps of a communist government, according to Korsch, must be to insure that

The trade unions, the factory councils, and the newly elected proletarian workers' soviets must stop any attempts of sabotage by the employers, any shortening of the working hours, any closing of factories, any wilful destruction

of raw materials, and any attempt at missing work opportunities. This must be done by exercising revolutionary control and by sharing in the decision making process. The saboteurs must be dispossessed and their business must be continued by the workers.³⁵

Korsch differed in this with the official KPD line, which considered these tasks, which were ordinary "house keeping" tasks, to be below the dignity of the workers' soviets. In particular the phrase "sharing in the decision making process" was found objectionable, as this implied that the employers would still have a say in the operation of their businesses.

Korsch, Schwarz, and Katz rejected the concept of a worker and peasant government. They considered the peasants counterrevolutionary. All of the left groups rejected the NEP in Russia and felt that Soviet Russia was leaving the paths of socialism. Korsch claimed that the Soviet Union was not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship against the proletariat, a "Kulakendiktatur". The Russian revolution was, according to him, a radical-bourgeois revolution.³⁶ Katz described the Soviet Union as "the last stand of the bourgeoisie", ruled by the "peasant king" or "peasant Napoleon" Stalin, in which the workers were still exploited³⁷. "The theory of the 'national limitation', that is, the theory of socialism in Russia only, is in effect the cancellation of the proletarian revolution in the advanced industrial countries, which will lead to the liquidation of communism as an ideal and of the organization."³⁸

The KPO

The KPD's right opposition's disagreement with the centrist and left leadership of the KPD was mainly on tactics.

Even when they were expelled and had formed the KPO, they still insisted that they were not a separate party, but only the proponents of a different tendency in the communist movement. They maintained that the KPD had abandoned Rosa Luxemburg's theories, which were more appropriate for Germany than the Bolshevik's. The Right claimed that the German proletariat was more advanced than the Russian. Socialism, once the revolution had succeeded, could be built much faster than in Russia. The KPO rejected the mechanical transfer of ideas and actions from Russia to Germany since conditions were different. Communism, according to the KPO, would bring about a stateless society in which the proletariat would be in charge of administration. In Russia, since the proletariat was not ready to enter this stage, the party acted as a trustee and governed for the people. By declaring the proletariat "not ready", the CP of the SU can justify its perpetual right to rule. The German proletariat would be ready to govern itself once the revolution had succeeded. The Comintern and the KPD wanted to apply the same measures everywhere, assuming that experiences gathered in Russia would be of value in Germany. Since, according to Brandler, the German proletariat was ~~not~~ further advanced, it would be harder to convince that there was a need for a revolution.³⁹

The KPO accused the KPD of having exchanged democratic centralism with bureaucratic centralism⁴⁰. It seemed clear that the KPD, by persisting in its wrong course, would soon abandon its communist ideals. Therefore, the KPO saw as its function the creation of a revolutionary mass party.

This party would have to be a recreation of the KPD of the years 1921 to 1923. This could either be done by reforming the KPD or by starting a new party. The KPO leaders first decided to create a new organization with the goal of working from without for the reformation of the KPD. They had hoped that they would find people who could work from within the KPD for the same goal and who would cooperate with them. If this plan would not succeed, they would proceed one step further. This is why they took great pains to declare that the KPO was not a new party. Its goals were mainly to win the KPD and the Comintern to the correct communist tactics. As long as the KPD and the Comintern persisted with the wrong tactics, the KPO would assume the independent leadership of the working class struggle. It would also take the lead in winning the working class to communist principles. At the moment the KPD had only abandoned the correct communist tactics. If it also abandoned communist principles, then it would destroy its connection with the working class and become a hindrance to the class struggle. Then the KPO would become the Communist Party of Germany. The KPO realized well, that there could only be one Communist Party of Germany. The officials and the institutions of the KPD and of the Comintern were held responsible for splitting the communist movement. The KPO's goal was to strengthen the KPD.⁴¹

One of the most contentious disagreements between the KPD and the KPO was over the attitude towards the SPD, especially its left wing. Walcher, a spokesman of the KPO, recognized the political differences within the SPD. He

disagreed with the Central Committee of the KPD's formula that the Left of the SPD was more dangerous to the KPD than the Right. He maintained that the KPD should strengthen the SPD Left, even if this fortified the SPD, because it would help the United Front and thus be of advantage to the KPD.⁴² The KPO detested the KPD's habit of calling the SPD members "socialist fascists". According to Thalheimer, neither the SPD nor the bourgeois parties were fascist. But they unconsciously advanced fascism by discrediting the parliamentary process and thereby creating conditions which were conducive to the growth of fascism.⁴³

The KPO argued that the time of "relative stability" of capitalism was in 1927, 1928, and in the beginning of 1929. This presented for the proletariat a pre-revolutionary situation. The KPO wanted to use this period to fight for the day-to-day demands of the working class only. By doing this, the party would gain the loyalty of the working class. When the period of the "armed struggle" came, the workers would follow those leaders who had acquired their loyalty. After that would come the period of "consolidating and defending the revolution", followed by the period of "socialist rebuilding". The majority of the masses must learn to identify with communist aims and principles. This was in the spirit of Rosa Luxemburg, who had said: "The Spartacus League ... will never assume power of government, unless it is through the clear and unambiguous will of the large majority of the proletarian masses of Germany".⁴⁴

By fighting for the immediate demands of the workers the communists had an opportunity to educate the masses. They could show the connection between the day-to-day issues faced by the people and the long range political aims of the communists. In short, the Right opposition proposed a political action program that related directly to the people. Its political aim was the establishment of a "worker and peasant government", its economic aim, higher wages, lower prices, better working conditions, and workers' control of production.⁴⁵

The Brandlerites believed that economic crises are caused by the disproportional ratio between production and market capacity. Under capitalism there would always be overproduction and underconsumption. The stabilization of the economy in 1927/28 was artificial and depended on preparations for an imperialistic war. In the absence of such a war, a revolutionary situation would arise at the moment when the inevitable slump would follow the current boom. The duty of a revolutionary party in this pre-revolutionary era was to prepare the working class and the petty bourgeoisie for the revolutionary aims and goals. The KPD had no plan ready and had failed to win the confidence of the working class.⁴⁶ Thus, it was the duty of the KPO to succeed where the KPD had failed.

In 1930 the KPO issued an amended draft policy Was will die Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands - Opposition?? This reiterated in the form of questions and answers the policies and ideologies of the KPO. The main points were as follows:

The KPO does not differ from the KPD in ideology and aims, but in tactics. Only the use of the right methods is the true test of loyalties to principles. The goals of communism are:

1. To overthrow the bourgeois state and the capitalist economy and the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
2. The only form of government by the dictatorship of the proletariat is the Räte republic. The government must remove the anarchist-capitalist economy, private property, and the class structure. ⁴⁷

The Rote Kämpfer

The Rote Kämpfer considered parliamentary democracy a tool of the ruling class to legalize its power. To them, the bourgeois state was the product and expression of the irreconcilability of the class differences. In the Weimar Republic the ruling class held all the top positions, while the other positions were held by their petty bourgeois hangers-on. They gave a piece of democracy to the lower classes in order to dupe them into believing that it represented a piece of power. The effect of this was that it set the workers against each other so that they could be ruled more easily. In cases of workers' unrest, the piece of democracy would be taken away. The same would happen during economic crises. In order to find a way out of the economic crises, the capitalists transformed the parliamentarian state into an economic state (Wirtschaftsstaat), whose powers were mainly used to reduce the ~~rate~~ living standard of the working class by upholding the rate of profit, thereby robbing the workers of their share of the products. ⁴⁸

They saw in the cabinets of Brüning and Papen the fascist dictatorship. The historian of the Rote Kämpfer, Ihlau, considered this a misconception, which he blamed for their anti-parliamentarism. This antiparliamentarism caused them in 1931 to advise their members to boycott the elections.⁴⁹

THE SAP

The SAP was a motley of divergent groups whose main denominator was their distrust of the KPD and the SPD. Each group contributed its own ideas to the SAP's program which then reflected the heterogeneous character of the party. In the economic sphere Sternberg became the unchallenged expert of the party. He argued that capitalism was decaying and could only survive by going towards fascism and war. Since 1900, especially since the First World War, capitalism found it harder to acquire and exploit non capitalist territory. Capitalism can only delay its final collapse and maintain its predominance by creating crisis after crisis. But the size of the crisis increased in geometrical proportions. By now they had reached a stage where they became self perpetuating. The factors which had helped capitalism in its ascent - to find short term solutions for crises - were now ineffective. This was especially true of German capitalism. Even a war, which involved the destruction of huge amounts of goods, means of production, and human lives, could only bring temporary relief. It would set the conditions for a repeat of the crises, only in larger proportions. Only socialism could solve the problem. Humanity faced now the

choice between accepting socialism or returning to barbarism.⁵⁰

Sternberg's interpretation of capitalism influenced also the foreign policy program of the SAP. There were two sources of war danger: the enormous intensification of the imperialistic competition and the discrepancy between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. Capitalism and imperialism go hand in hand as much as imperialism and war. Thus, bourgeois institutions, such as the League of Nations or international treaties, can not prevent wars in a capitalist world. They only served to mutually safeguard the respective spheres of exploitation.⁵¹

In 1932 the SAP issued a summary of its revised program. This document, more than any other, expressed clearly and unambiguously the Weltanschauung of dissident social democrats and communists.

The SAP aspires to a classless society in which the means of production are not privately owned, in which there will be no more exploitation of people by people, and in which the state as an organization in the hand of the ruling class is removed.

Socialism can only be achieved by dispossessing the capitalists and through the conquest of political power by the working class. Short term goals are secondary to this aim. The revolutionary struggle is only possible if there exists a revolutionary situation, which can be recognized by a deepgoing disintegration of the bourgeois society and the readiness of the proletariat to use all methods of organized struggle, from mass strike to open war fare against the bourgeoisie. The state is always a tool of one class to rule over another.

.... The victorious working class can not take over the gigantic military and bureaucratic organizations of the bourgeois state. The proletariat must therefore destroy the bourgeois democratic state and replace it with a Räte republic of the working masses, led by the revolutionary party.

The SPD is a tool of the bourgeoisie; its return to class struggle is impossible. The SAP is unbridgeably opposed to the SPD and the Second International. One of the most urgent duties of the SAP is to win the social democratic workers for revolutionary politics. The KPD and the Comintern have failed in this task. They were unable to provide leadership for the proletarian masses during past revolutionary situations. In spite of their principles and in contradiction to the teachings of Lenin they conducted politics which confused the working class, which slowed it down, and which furthered splitting. Their biggest mistakes were the abandonment of the United Front, the "Social Fascist" theory, the RGO course, and the practicing of petty bourgeois nationalism.

The SAP, by the correct use of revolutionary politics, wants to show the communist workers the mistakes and the achieved damage by the KPD and the Comintern. In spite of the Comintern's mistakes, and in spite of the criticism directed at the Comintern by the SAP, the SAP will defend the Soviet Union as the only workers' state against any attack by the capitalist counter revolution.

The SAP is against any imperialist war, be it a defensive war or be it disguised as a war to defend one's neutrality. It will use all energy and means to prevent such a war. It will use the opportunity such a war provides to destroy the capitalist system.

The SAP supports the revolution of the colonial sub-
~~ject~~ people.

The emancipation of the working class can only be
~~achieved by the working class. This struggle needs a~~
 party to prepare and organize it. The party must give
 it direction and aim, it must work out the tactics, it
 must be the leading vanguard. The party must practise
 democratic centralism and the leaders must be influenced
 by the members. 52

This SAP program was offered when the Nazi menace was very obvious. No political organization, let alone a left-wing splinter party, could ignore the fascist phenomenon in Germany and abroad.

STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

In the nineteen twenties nationalistic movements appeared in a number of European countries. Although they possessed no common ideology, they shared certain traits.

These movements were authoritarian and anti-democratic in concept and stressed as their main point the advancement and superiority of their own nation or race. They opposed international socialism as well as international capitalism, yet they were supported by a large number of local capitalists. They usually had a militant left wing which professed to be socialist. The assumption of power in Italy by Mussolini's Fascist Party provided a collective name for these movements; their enemies called them "fascist".

Socialists soon recognized the danger which the spread of fascism represented for them. A conservative government would still allow a socialist party to exist. But an authoritarian fascist state would outlaw socialist parties, terrorize their members, and persecute their leaders. Thus, the different socialist parties tried to study this new phenomenon and they all drew certain conclusions.

All German socialists agreed that fascism was the petty bourgeoisie's reaction to its own pauperization. The small business men, the farmers, and the independent artisans - in short, the small employers - were caught in a three sided squeeze, consisting of high prices and interest rates, high taxes, and high wages. Thus, the petty bourgeoisie considered big business and banks, the government, and organized labour as their natural enemies. As Big Business was too intangible and too powerful to come to grips with, the petty bourgeois small business men lashed out in desperation against the parliamentary republic which they held responsible for the high taxes and the economic crises. They also attacked

the socialist parties because the latter advocated high wages and social benefits for the working class.

According to German Marxists the upper bourgeoisie used the fascist movement to prevent or delay its ultimate collapse. Bourgeois liberal democracy was acceptable to the ruling classes during normal times. By extending political equality to the working class, the latter is led to believe that it could find redress for the social ills through the political process. However, the ruling classes were all too willing to abandon democracy when the lower classes tried to alleviate their suffering by using their political power to get an equal share of the nation's wealth.

The process used by the upper bourgeoisie to suspend democracy is either Bonapartism or fascism. In both cases the upper bourgeoisie manages to manipulate the classes which suffer the most: the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers, the Lumpenproletariat, the labour aristocracy, and the declassés of all classes. They fight the battles of the upper bourgeoisie. Bonapartism occurred under capitalism in its ascendancy, when the working class, that had fought shoulder to shoulder with the bourgeoisie to overthrow the aristocracy, demanded an equal share of power. Fascism, on the other hand, happens during the decaying stage of capitalism, when the working class is in the process of overthrowing the capitalist state. Thus, in effect, fascism is more dangerous than Bonapartism since it represents the last stand of capitalism.

Thalheimer, the theoretician of the KPO, considered the cult of the great leader as one of the characteristics of

fascism. Ideally this leader comes from the lower classes; he is a man who had suffered, but worked himself up, a social climber or a self-made man. This makes him "Fleisch von ihrem Fleisch".⁵³

German fascism is the attempt of the petty bourgeoisie and its allied parts from the intelligentsia to find in their own particular way a deliverance after the tried democratic-socialist way had led into a desert. It is clear that this is as hopeless and full of contradictions as is the situation of the petty bourgeoisie. As Louis Bonaparte tried in France so does the petty bourgeoisie attempt in Germany to become the middle man between the classes. Bonaparte used the Dezemberbande, the petty bourgeoisie uses the declassés from the war and from the economic decay The heads of this are German Napoleons, who have lost the battle on the Marne, but won the battle in the streets of Berlin against the German workers.⁵⁴

Sternberg, whose writings influenced the KAPD, the Rote Kämpfer groups, and the SAP, also blamed the economic conditions for the rise of fascism.

Due to their position in the process of production as small producers the middle classes are unable to conduct their own politics. They never interfered independently in history, they have always been pulled along, in the capitalist society, by the decisive classes, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The stronger the crisis, the more dangerous the situation for the bourgeoisie became, the more important was it for the bourgeoisie to divide the exploited classes There is little economic difference between the workers and the middle class. If they the middle classes would ally themselves with the proletariat, they could abolish capitalism.⁵⁵

Where Thalheimer saw the middle classes as the prime movers of the fascist phenomenon, Sternberg saw them as objects manipulated by the larger and more powerful classes, in the case of fascism, by the upper bourgeoisie. After being lured into the fascist camp, the middle classes turned against the working class, ()

they fought against the growing burden of taxation, wage rates, and social security dues on behalf of their employees. In this they saw only the symptoms of their distress, not the causes It is the small entrepreneurs who have to pay the largest part of the social burdens as they considered it since they needed more manpower per capital than the large companies.⁵⁶

The SAP saw in fascism the product of the progressing decay of capitalism. The bourgeoisie recognized that the ongoing pauperization of the working class presented a revolutionary danger to its rule. Divided into different competing interest groups, the bourgeoisie needed the state to represent its common interests. If the democratic state is unable to do this, a more autocratic form of government is needed. A fascist state would force the different economic power groups to put aside their individual interests and work together against the working class for their common interests. The terrorist dictatorship is the only form of government possible when the bourgeois democracy is unable to do the job and the working class is not ready to wrest control from the bourgeoisie. Seydewitz saw in fascism the arm of the ruling class. The capitalists, on the other hand, were the head and the body.⁵⁷ Thus, the SAP also considered the fascist forces to be nothing but tools of the upper class.

The Rote Kämpfer considered fascism, or, to be more specific, the NSDAP, to be one of the three pillars which upheld monopoly capitalism. the other two being the SPD and the Centre party. The SPD had as its mass basis the reformist labour unions, the Centre party had the Christian trade unions, and the NSDAP had the pauperized petty bourgeoisie. By constantly playing these three parties against each other,

the capitalists managed to remain in control of Germany.⁵⁸ The RK groups recognized the fact that the Nazis, although serving to some extent the interests of capitalism, were not part of the ruling capitalist class in Germany.

Although none of the splinter groups went as far as the KPD did in calling the SPD the left wing of fascism, some did claim to see ~~some fascist tendencies in the~~ SPD and nearly all agreed that the SPD prepared the way for a fascist victory. According to the SAP the fascist front reached from Hitler via Groener to Brüning. The SAP considered the "cold" fascism of Brüning no less dangerous than the open fascism of Hitler. The Rote Kämpfer also spoke of an indirect or "cold" fascism under Brüning and a direct fascism as practiced by the NSDAP.⁵⁹ This analysis of fascism must have had some undesirable effects, as it led to an underestimation of Hitler and of the distinctive features of the Nazi doctrine.

Having recognized Hitler and his party as the leading fascist movement in Germany, the splinter parties tried to evaluate Hitler's effectiveness on the political scene. To the Rote Kämpfer Hitler was nothing but the running dog (Kettenhund) of nationalism whose chain is held firmly by monopoly capitalism. Hitler would not be another Mussolini, as German capitalism was ten times as strong as the Italian; Hitler would always play second fiddle to the capitalists. ~~The cold fascists Groener~~ and Brüning had succeeded in making Hitler and the Nazi movement for the time being a prisoner of the parliamentary system. They predicted that Hitler would soon come

to power legally and that he would outlaw labour organizations. His defeat in the presidential elections in 1932 was symbolic of the subjugation of the Nazi movement and its acceptance of the legal fascisation of Germany by monopoly capitalism. The capitalists would have no trouble in controlling the largest part of the NSDAP apparatus, while the putschist wing of the party, the SA, would be harder to control.⁶⁰

In order to prevent a fascist victory several of the splinter parties advocated United Fronts of all labour organizations, including the SPD and the KPD. The SAP even went so far as to propose that in the event of an attack by the Right upon the democratic foundations of the Weimar Republic, the proletariat seize power and establish a temporary dictatorship.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the SAP realized that Hitler's victory was imminent. As a capitalist solution for the world crisis was considered to be impossible, the SAP was certain that Hitler would fail also. Thus, the Third Reich would only be a "phantasy" which would last as long as it had the necessary number of bayonets available to hold the working class down.⁶²

The KPO seemed to have the most realistic theory if not about fascism then about its German variant, Nazism. Thalheimer predicted in 1928 that Hitler, or German fascism, once in power, would be worse than Italian fascism. He maintained that, if it is not seriously opposed by the workers, it would not destroy itself as others had hoped.⁶³

None of the splinter groups foresaw the bestiality of Nazism, its strength and mass appeal; although all these

groups devoted more attention per capita to the struggle against fascism than the SPD and the KPD did. They repeatedly called for United Fronts of all working class organizations. They managed to organize joint public meetings which were usually ignored by the two senior parties. They were partly successful in organizing proletarian defence organizations whose members attended meetings of left-wing parties to protect the speakers. But most of their efforts were thwarted by the two big proletarian parties. Even after the assumption of power by the Nazis the splinter parties continued their struggle against fascism as the entries in the Gestapo records prove⁶⁴.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURES AND ORGANIZATIONS

BASIC STRUCTURES

The basic structure of the splinter parties reflected to some extent the structures of the parties from which they originated. The socialdemocratic parties patterned themselves after the SPD; the communist parties after the KPD.

In the SPD the Bezirksverein (district association) was the basic unit. This gave considerable power to the party bureaucrats, executive members, and the elected public figures. When the USPD broke away from the SPD, it took with it parts of the party apparatus. There seemed to be no need to restructure the already existing units. Thus, as in the SPD, the professional politicians and the bureaucrats held the power in the USPD. The SAP, however, wanted to change this and give control of the party to the grass root membership. Its basic organizational structure was the Ortsverein (local association). Ortsvereine were entitled to send delegates to the conventions. But only those persons who were elected as delegates could vote at conventions. Members of the district or national executive, deputies of the Reichstag or a Landtag, unless they were duly elected convention delegates, could speak at conventions, but could not vote.¹

The basic structure of the KAPD was the Betriebsorganisation (shop organization). The Betriebsorganisation

had two main goals, the destruction of the socialist-led traditional Free Trade Unions, their bases, and their "non-proletarian" ideology, the "bourgeois" SPD and USPD and, secondly, the building of a communist society. Every worker who accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat could become a member of the Betriebsorganisation. Members did not necessarily have to accept the program of the KAPD. As long as they accepted the KAPD's method of the class struggle, they were welcome.² As the KAPD disintegrated during the middle 1920s many of their organizations and individuals found their way into the ranks of the Rote Kämpfer (RK) groups. In June 1931, due to the initiative of the SWV, the different RK groups throughout Germany joined together.³

At the beginning of 1931 the leaders of the SWV realized that it was impossible to stop Hitler from coming into power. The political working class organizations were too disunited. New tactics were needed for the future. The overall objective had to be to build a proletarian mass organization composed of class conscious elements. In order to achieve this, small and secret cadre organizations were needed, Peter Utzelmann, commissioned by the SWV, succeeded in building a network of RK groups around Berlin and other important German centres⁴. These groups operated in a highly centralized manner. Their leaders were not elected, but appointed. The RK movement did not propose to become a new socialist party, but a group of cells for the purpose of propaganda, discussions, and the establishment of a revolutionary core at the place of work and in the local neighbour-

hoods. On the local level, the formation of "revolutionary unemployment action groups" was advocated. Representatives of the local groups made up the district groups. More important, however, was the attempt to form groups of employed workers in factories. To the RK the employed workers were potentially more effective in bringing about the revolution as they were able to hurt capitalism at its most vital point.⁵ The main objective of the RK was to preserve the socialist ideology through the period of suppression and to become the start of future socialist organizations.⁶

Although each RK group was relatively independent, they all recognized the overall leadership of the SWV. In the summer of 1932 Schröder, Schwab, Utzelmann, Goldstein, Stechert, Lindner, and Riell constituted themselves as the Reichsleitung of the RK⁷. They divided the groups into several geographical regions. At its one and only Reichskonferenz, on December 25 and 26, 1932, in Berlin, the RK reorganized itself into five-member zellen in preparation for their future illegal operations.⁸

No information is available on the structural bases of the Theodor Liebknecht-led rump-USPD, the SB, the KAG, and the various ultra left and left-wing communist break-away groups. It can be assumed that they had local organizations in some of the larger cities and individual supporters in smaller communities.

The KPO was, organizationally, constructed the same way as the KPD. The smallest unit was the local group; however, in some places there were street and shop cells.

There were about 60 to 70 local groups in 1929. During 1930 and 1931 between 20 and 30 new locals were founded. Local groups were joined together in district organizations. The strongest of them were in 1929 Halle-Merseburg, Hesse-Frankfurt, Middle Rhine, Lower Rhine, Thuringia, Württemberg, and the three Saxon electoral districts.⁹

MEMBERSHIP

Information about the membership in the splinter groups is not easily available. There was quite a mobile membership, with many members drifting from group to group or returning to the mass party they originally came from. Some, after a few disappointments, abandoned politics completely. Thus, any statistic that is available about actual membership counts would only be correct for a limited period of time.

Two of the parties, the USPD and the KAPD, for a short time only, could qualify as mass parties. The USPD, at the time of its convention in Halle, in 1921, had 892,923 members, 55 daily newspapers, 84 Reichstag deputies and a considerable number of Landtag deputies and elected municipal officials. Even after the Halle Convention the USPD retained, until 1922, all of the characteristics of a mass party. Although 237 delegates voted for unification with the KPD and only 156 voted against it, at the most 300,000 members transferred their membership to the KPD. Most of the deputies, the most important party organs, and the largest part of the party apparatus stayed with the USPD.¹⁰

Like the USPD, the KAPD had a promising beginning. The revolutionary Left within the KPD of 1920 comprised the biggest part of the membership. When the Left broke from the KPD and became the KAPD, it took along 38,000 of the KPD's 68,000 members. The KAPD's affiliate, the AAU, had 70,000 members.¹¹ Thus, it had all the basic requirements to become a mass party. However, after the March Action, the fortunes of the KAPD declined. It broke into several small groups, the biggest of which were the Berlin group with 2,000 members and the Essen (Ruhr) group with 700 members at the end of 1924.¹²

Membership counts of the KAG, the rump-USPD, and the SB are not available, but could not have been high. Although the actual numbers of individuals involved in the splinter groups shrunk, the number of independent groups or grouplets grew during the mid twenties, mainly due to the process of rapid disintegration which divided and subdivided the KAPD. The numbers of splinter groups increased during 1926 and 1927, as the expelled ultra left and left communists tried to avoid political oblivion by maintaining their independence. By 1927 the 13,000 KPD expellees had created countless splinter groups.¹³ A report by the police of the province Westfalia in 1926, which is perhaps exaggerated, claims that there were 30,000 to 35,000 members in the groups left of the KPD and classified them as follows:

KAPD/AAU	2,000
Schwarz-Gruppe.....	4,000
Spartakusbund <u>/new/</u>	6,000
Korsch-Gruppe	3,000
Fischer-Maslow Gruppe.....	6-7,000
Urbahn Gruppe	5,000
Wedding-Opposition	3,000
all others	3-4,000

A new purge, this time against the right communists, took place in 1927 and 1928. About 6,000 members were affected by this witch hunt in the KPD. But not all of them joined the KPO. The Brandlerites managed to attract at the most half of the expelled right opposition. The KPO's membership grew in 1928, but levelled out in 1930. The highest membership claimed by some of the KPO leaders was 6,000. Brandler, however, estimated 3,500 as the highest. The true number lies somewhere in the middle. The KPO had between 700 and 1,500 members in Thuringia, about 500 in Hesse-Frankfurt, 2-300 in Württemberg, 2-300 in Leipzig, 4-500 in Erzgebirge-Vogtland, a few hundred in Silesia, about 1,000 in Lower Saxony, and between 100 and 150 in Hamburg¹⁴.

29%	of the members lived in	.....	Thuringia
19%	" " " " " "	West and East Saxony, <u>Erzgebirge-Vogtland</u>	
14%	" " " " " "	.....	Hesse-Frankfurt
6%	" " " " " "	.....	Berlin-Brandenburg
6%	" " " " " "	.....	<u>Württemberg</u>
6%	" " " " " "	Middle-Rhine, Lower Rhine, Ruhr	
5%	" " " " " "	Halle-Merseburg, Magdeburg-Anhalt, Lower Saxony	
5%	" " " " " "	.....	<u>Wasserkante</u> , <u>Northwest</u>
4%	" " " " " "	.....	Silesia
3%	" " " " " "	Saar, Hesse-Waldeck
2%	" " " " " "	Northern and Southern Bavaria	
1%	" " " " " "	East Prussia, Danzig, Pommerania	

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The SAP was the strongest left-wing splinter group during the last stages of the Weimar Republic, having more members than all its contemporaries together. Thus, it became a polarization point for those groups who could see no future in their own separate existence. Many felt that there was a need for another left-wing mass party which would replace both the SPD and the KPD. The SAP could fill this need. It could become the party which would attract all those

social democrats who were dissatisfied with the SPD's toleration of the bourgeois government and all those communists who felt that the KPD had degenerated. If it failed to become a mass party, the SAP would only aggravate a bad situation; it would divide the already divided working class even more. Thus, the SAP leaders knew, that it was not good enough to gather a few socialist and communist sects into their fold, but that they must build a strong membership base.

In order to gain more members, many SAP members, during the first weeks of the party's existence, chaired and attended meetings every day. They managed to draw members of the Reichsbanner to their own para-military protective organization, the Sozialistische Schutzbund (SSB), and they won several SAJ members to their own youth organization, the Sozialistische Jugendverband (SJV). But in spite of all this, the SAP did not succeed in becoming a mass party. Although the party press, the Fackel, reported on October 23, 1931, that the SAP had, without counting the SJV, 50,000 members, and although the party executive claimed in February 1932 57,000 members, Drechsler maintains, that the SAP had at its peak, including the SJV, never more than 27,000 members, which was $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the SPD membership and 8% of the KPD's.¹⁶

The Rote Kämpfer organizations tried to operate in secrecy. It is unreasonable to assume that they would have kept accurate membership records. The estimated membership of the RK was about 4-5,000 during 1931 and 1932, but only about 400 at the time of the Nazi take-over¹⁷. According to a study in the Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte,

there were twelve RK groups in Berlin with about fifteen members each in addition to groups in Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Stettin, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Zeitz, and in some south German cities, with a total membership of between 4,000 and 55,000 members. However, each group had a large periphery of supporters so that their influence ranged far beyond the small RK membership.¹⁸

There is no information available on the male-female ratio of the membership of the left-wing splinter parties. As in the case of the KPD and SPD, the members of splinter groups resided mostly in cities. The urban working class in Germany supported left-wing parties while the farmers were drawn to the Völkische parties.

The original USPD was strong in the highly industrialized areas of central Germany, Berlin, and the Ruhr. Its members were mostly low paid, semi skilled and unskilled workers. The membership of the KAPD was composed of the same socio-economic layers as that of the USPD, it was part of the proletariat in Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover, Dresden, and the Ruhr.¹⁹ Not much data is available about the members of the rump-USPD and the SB. But judging by the slates they presented, it can be assumed, that both parties had a strong percentage of proletarians.

Sociologically, the slates of the rump-USPD and the SB were mostly proletarian. In May 1924 of the ninety-five candidates entered by the USPD forty were artisans and twenty-two were unskilled workers, for a total of sixty-two working class candidates. There were only seven professionals, such

as lawyers, physicians, and social workers, and seven trade union officials on the slate. Only six candidates were women. In ~~December 1924~~ there was a slight shift. Of the forty-nine candidates twelve were unskilled workers and thirty were artisans, for a total of 85% working class candidates. The rest included one lawyer (Theodor Liebknecht), and one social worker (Elsa Wiegmann). There were no trade union officials. Three candidates were women. In 1928 the USPD entered only twenty-two candidates, two of which were women. The list included six unskilled workers, ten artisans, and two professionals, Liebknecht and Wiegmann. In all three elections the USPD entered 166 candidates (counting those who ran more than once each time separately). Forty, or 24%, were unskilled workers, eighty were artisans, seven were trade union officials, and eleven were professionals (However, Liebknecht and Wiegmann were each counted three times, thus there were actually only seven professionals). At least one of these candidates, Liebknecht, was also a candidate in 1930. Most of these candidates entered on several lists. The twenty SB candidates in May 1924 had a similar background. They contained five unskilled workers, nine tradesmen, one trade union official, and five others. Only one candidate was a woman.²⁰

The slates of both, the USPD and the SB, contained a high proportion of metal workers. In May 1924 the USPD ran one Dreher (turner, skilled metal worker) from Berlin and two from other places, four metal workers and thirteen other candidates who were connected with metal work. The SB ran one Dreher and two metal workers from Berlin, one Dreher and

two Schlosser (also skilled metal workers) from other places.²¹ Considering that both Liebknecht and Ledebour were closely connected with the former Revolutionary Shop Steward movement, and that this movement was started by the metal worker trade union, especially by the Berlin locals of the Dreher section, one can assume that both parties had a high composition of remnants from the former Revolutionary Shop Stewards.

In comparison with this, the SPD nominated and ran in the 1928 Reichstag election more than 350 candidates. Of these, 162, or 48% were working class and 52, or 15% were women. The KPD entered over 450 candidates, 407, or 85% of which were working class and 8½% were women. To conclude from this that the SPD politicians were as proletarian oriented as the USPD and the SB and that the KPD was even more so, is a fallacy. Both the SPD and the KPD ran highly inflated slates. It can be assumed that many names were put on the slates for tokenism or in order to reward some old party faithful. As only a fraction of the candidates could reasonably hope to get elected, it would be more valid to examine the actual positions proletarian and women candidates had on the slates, or how many of them were actually elected. By the allotment of seats, the parties appointed the top names on their slates to become deputies. In the SPD 133 of the 162 working class candidates did not get elected. Thus, of the elected candidates, approximately 20% were working class. Nearly all of the lawyers, physicians, social workers, professional politicians, party and trade union officials (Bonzen) were elected. Thirteen of the successful candidates were women.

Over 50% of the elected KPD candidates were working class. However, many of them, like Thälmann for example, were by that time professional politicians, so that the actual percentage of working class deputies was much lower.²²

Most of the followers of the ultra left and left ex-KPD members were factory workers in the large cities. Katz, who had a relatively strong group in Hannover, claimed to have fifteen local organizations around that city, while the Korsch-Schwarz group found its support in the Ruhr district, in Niederrhein, in Halle-Merseburg, in the Palatinate, in Hesse-Frankfurt, and in Berlin.²³ In the Reichstag election of 1928 the slate of the left communists received most of its votes in Berlin, some Saxon cities, and in Ludwigs-hafen, in the Palatinate²⁴.

Approximately two thirds of the left communist candidates entered into the 1928 Reichstag election could be called proletarian. The other third were intellectuals and former KPD bureaucrats. However, the intellectuals were the ones who appeared on the top of the lists.²⁵

Whereas communists with Spartacist background as a rule leaned to the right, the ones who came from the USPD swerved to the left. The table below shows the connection between political leaning and political background within the KPD. It is to be understood that among the functionaries the Left and the Ultra Left were the ones who later became the groups referred to as the left and the ultra left communists, the Right became the KPO, while the Versöhnler, with the exception of a few of their leaders, stayed in the

KPD. Most of the general membership stayed in the KPD. The table refers to the time shortly before the oppositional functionaries were purged.

Background of oppositional functionaries	Background of oppositional functionaries			General membership	
	USPD	Spartacist	new	USPD	Spartacist
Left	49	13	3	20%	4%
Ultra Left	23	9	3	9%	7%
Right	20	46	-	8%	27%
<u>Versöhner</u>	10	22	6	4%	13%
Party line				41%	36%

Of 74 delegates who attended the first KPO convention on December 29, 1928, in Berlin, 43 were from the pre 1919 Spartacus, 17 from the pre 1920 left USPD, and 53 from the pre 1918 SPD²⁷.

The leaders of the KPO were mostly trade unionists and intellectuals. The rightists favoured the United Front with the SPD. They were active in the trade unions and were less obstructive in the parliaments than the leftists. Many, before their separation from the KPD, were involved in the Rote Hilfe. They took no part in the internal squabbles of the Russian Communist Party, but accepted Stalin's claim to leadership of the CPSU; on the other hand, they denied his right to claim world leadership of the Comintern.²⁸

The proletarian elements dominated in the KPO. In southern Germany it was mainly skilled and semi skilled workers who were members of the KPO. In Offenbach and Stuttgart there were many leather workers who belonged to the KPO. In Leipzig the KPO membership was mainly composed of the

printing and the furrier trades. However, in the rest of Saxony it was mainly unskilled workers. In the mountains of Thuringia the members of the KPO were employed in the cottage industries, such as basket weaving and glass blowing.²⁴

Whereas the Thuringian cottage industrial workers had a tendency to support the KPO, their colleagues in the neighbouring state of Saxony supported the SAP. The district of Vogtland in Saxony, one of the poorest, if not the poorest, areas in Germany, contained the best organized SAP groups. It was the only area where complete SPD local associations joined the SAP.³⁰ Both, the SAP and the KPO, were protest parties politically to the right of the KPD and to the left of the SPD. Thus, they would attract those elements of the proletariat who had no economic security, whose income was affected by the fluctuations of the world market, and who were either too downtrodden or too isolated from each other to contemplate revolution. The cottage industry in Thuringia and Saxony, depending mainly on export, was susceptible to all international crises. The weavers (of cloth), the basket weavers, and the glass blowers of central Germany have traditionally been the poorest people in Germany. They live¹ in villages and small towns, separated by mountains, and they lack the strong organizations the workers in the larger cities have.

The strength of the SAP was concentrated in the five geographical areas, corresponding mainly to the home bases of the more prominent founders of the party. Max Seydewitz, a member of the Reichstag, had been president of the SPD in

the electoral district of Chemnitz-Zwickau, or southwest Saxony. He was also the editor of the Sächsisches Volksblatt. Heinrich Ströbel, also a member of the Reichstag, came from the same district. A second SAP stronghold was Breslau, where the local SPD president, Ernest Eckstein, the secretary Max Rausch, one member of the Reichstag, Hans Ziegler, and sixteen of the thirty-four city councillors joined the SAP. In East Saxony, around Dresden, a strong SAP group was led by Fabian and Liebermann. The SAP was fairly strong in Offenbach, where Andreas Portune was its member of the Reichstag. This group was strengthened in March 1932, when Galm, a member of the Landtag, led three hundred members and ten city councillors from the KPO into the SAP, which gave the SAP a second member in the Hessian Landtag. The fifth SAP stronghold was Thuringia, where it had two Reichstag members, Rosenfeld and Siemon.³¹

Strangely, Saxony was not only a stronghold of the left socialdemocratic SAP, but also of the right-wing Alte Sozialdemokratische Partei (ASP); it was indeed its only stronghold. Its attempt to become a national party failed dismally. In 1928 it entered slates in 21 electoral districts for the Reichstag election and participated in the Prussian Landtag election. The leading candidates on these slates were professional politicians (such as Saxon cabinet ministers), senior civil servants, and a few skilled and unskilled workers. Nationally, the ASP received .2% of the vote, with more than half of the total coming from the three electoral districts 28, 29, and 30, which comprised the state of Saxony.³²

The leaders of the KAPD were mostly intellectuals. Most of the followers were factory workers, with little formal education, from the industrial centres of Berlin, Central Germany, and the Ruhr. After the failure of many of their actions and a considerable loss of members, the intellectuals were purged. The first to be purged were the National Bolsheviks Laufenberg and Wolffheim. They were followed by Otto Rühle, also known (later in Mexico) as the painter Carlos Timero, Pfemfert, an author with a petty bourgeois background, and Broh, a lawyer. They became the founders of the AAUE. The ousting of Rühle, Pfemfert, and Broh was executed by the Schröder, Goldstein, Reichenbach, Gorter section, a group of intellectuals and journalists. This group, in turn, was expelled in 1922, when the Berlin section quarrelled with the Ruhr section, which supported this group. The last intellectual leaders, Schwab and Jung, left soon after this purge. Among other leaders were the terrorist Max Hölz, a modern-day Robin Hood; the sailor and carpenter Utzelmann, a terrorist; the dockworker Appel, a professional revolutionary and one time pirate. But none of these three remained long with the KAPD. Appel went to Holland, Hölz to the Soviet Union, and Utzelmann to a maximum security prison.³³

The Schröder section, after being pushed out of the KAPD, joined the SPD. There they worked in conjunction with Levi, after whose death they took over the SWV. Thus, they became the leaders of the RK. Their followers were mostly young workers. Ihlau did a study on 115 RK members, leaders and followers. As the table will show, 96 of these were

strictly working class.

Occupation of 115 RK members		Age of 103 out of these	
Workers	49	Below 25	28
Artisans	30	Between 26 and 30	36
Other employees	17	Between 31 and 40	30
Civil Servants	9	Between 41 and 50	8
Intellectuals	10	Over 50	1

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The percentage of unskilled workers and unemployed seemed minimal. Metal workers were the strongest represented, type setters were second.³⁵ The RK members

... were all communist by conviction, but most of them were members in the SPD as the SPD did give them more of a chance to express themselves, had a larger scope, and a more steady membership /than the KPD, which/ had too large a turnover (in some years 50%) to build consistent organizations. 36

ELECTION RESULTS, NATIONAL AND REGIONAL

The election results the left-wing splinter groups received reflected their membership. In regions where a party had a large membership, it received a large vote. The socio-economic pattern of the members was also reflected, although in a greater scale, by the voters. There is no data available in regards to how many male and how many female voters voted for the splinter groups.

The original USPD participated in two national and in several regional elections. On January 19, 1919, it received 2,317,300 votes as compared to the SPD's 11,509,100 of the 39,400,300 votes cast. The USPD sent 22 deputies to the National Assembly, the SPD 165. In the June 6, 1920 Reichstag election the USPD received 5,046,800 votes out of 28,196,300

cast and came second only to the SPD, which netted 6,104,800 votes. The two socialdemocratic parties had respectively 84 and 102 elected deputies. This election was the first attempt of the KPD, which, with 589,500 votes, elected four deputies.³⁷

The USPD came first in the electoral districts of Berlin, Potsdam II, Potsdam I, Merseburg (the Prussian province of Saxony), Leipzig (part of the Free State of Saxony), Thuringia, and Düsseldorf East (part of the Ruhr area)³⁸. In a few other districts the USPD, although not coming first, did better than the SPD.

In districts which contained many medium sized cities, with independent tradesmen and skilled workers, employed in light industry, the USPD received fewer votes than the SPD³⁹. In the catholic farming areas of southern and eastern Germany none of the socialist parties had much success⁴⁰. In the protestant farming areas the SPD and the KPD did fair, while the USPD and the left-wing splinter parties received only a few votes (see Appendices 4 and 5)⁴¹.

In Prussia the USPD participated in two Landes elections, on January 26, 1919 for the State Assembly (Verfassunggebende Landesversammlung) and on February 20, 1921 (after the left wing of the USPD had joined the KPD and before the right wing had joined the SPD) for the Landtag, the state legislature. The table in Appendix 6 gives the total results of the three left-wing parties as well as the results in districts where the USPD did exceptionally well and extremely poor.

In 1924 the two remnants of the USPD, the rump-USPD and the SB, entered the contest for the Reichstag election

in May. Of the two, only the USPD participated in the December Reichstag election. Both parties took part in some of the elections for the state legislative assemblies. Neither party was able to elect any deputies. The table in Appendix 7 gives the comparative results.

In seven months the USPD lost two thirds of its electoral support. At the same time, the SPD increased its vote from 20.5% to 26%, while the KPD fell from 12.6% to 9%.⁴²

The fact that three USPD candidates in May 1924 were listed as aldermen, indicates that the rump-USPD participated with some success in municipal elections. Haase, Stadtverordneter, Zwickau, was on the slate for the electoral district 28 (Dresden-Bautzen); Renneisen, Konrad, Beigeordneter, Hildesheim, was on the slate for the electoral district 22 (Düsseldorf-East); and Schneider, Konrad, Stadtrat, Pirmasenz, was on the slate for the electoral district 27 (Palatinate)⁴³.

The ASP appeared for the first time as an independent party at the Landtag election in Saxony on October 31, 1926. It received 4.2% of the vote and reelected, with 91,885 votes, four of its deputies. The SPD, with 31 deputies, remained the largest fraction⁴⁴. The four ASP deputies succeeded, with the help of bourgeois coalition partners, to remain in power. In 1928 the ASP received in the state of Saxony 34,569 votes during the Reichstag election, a loss of over 57,000 votes in 19 months. A year later, on May 12, 1929, the ASP lost two of its four Landtag seats in Saxony, when it received, with 39,568 votes, 1½% of the popular vote.⁴⁵ The party was completely eliminated on June 22, 1930, when it failed to elect

anyone to the Saxon Diet, as its support at the polls shrank with 19,226 votes to 0.7%. The KPO in the same election, received with 14,688 votes, 0.6% popular support.⁴⁶

On January 30, 1927, a ultra left Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft entered a slate into the Landtag election of Thuringia. This group should not be mistaken for Levi's KAG, which had been out of existence for nearly ~~twenty years~~. It captured 3,732 votes, which was $\frac{1}{2}\%$, as compared to the 31.6% of the SPD and the 14.1% of the KPD.⁴⁷

Five working class parties contested the Reichstag election of May 1928. As usual, the SPD and the KPD entered slates in every electoral district. The Left Opposition under Urbahn and Scholem entered slates in twenty-three districts under the name of Linke Kommunisten (LK). They had a working arrangement (Listenverbindung) with the Palatinate group, which called itself Alte Kommunistische Partei (AKP). The ASP competed in twenty districts and Theodor Liebknecht's USPD in sixteen. Again, none of the left-wing splinter parties elected any deputies. The table in Appendix 8 shows the election results of all five parties.

In 1928 there were several elections for the various state legislatures. Some of them, for example the Prussian and the Bavarian, took place at the same time as the Reichstag election. The tables below give the results for the left-wing parties in the Landtag elections and compares it to the Reichstag election results.⁴⁸

Prussia	Reichstag	Mand.	Landtag	Mand.	%tage
SPD	6,600,000	80	5,156,418	136	29.0
KPD	2,200,000	25	2,236,207	56	11.9
USPD	13,000	-	12,118	-	0.1
LK	52,000	-	55,408	-	0.3
ASPD	15,000	-	18,824	-	0.1
Bavaria (total) (Palatinate)					
SPD	826,359 (119,548)	11 (1)	802,727	34	24.2
KPD	129,948 (29,208)	(-) (-)	125,738	5	3.8
USPD	1,424 (402)	- (-)	359	-	-
LK (in # 26)	1,781	-	-	-	-
AKP (in # 27)	(3,772)	-	(3,132)	-	ap.0.9
Total LO	5,553	-	3,132	-	0.1
Anhalt					
SPD			84,507	15	42.4
KPD			15,057	3	7.6
LK			781	-	0.4
Hamburg, SPD	255,133	4	246,685*	60*	35.9*
KPD	116,128	1	114,257*	27*	16.6*
LK	2,415	-	-	-	-
USPD	-	-	706*	-	0.1*
Internationale Kommunisten (Arbeiter Opposition) (Group Korsch)			738*	-	0.1*

On September 14, 1930, the last Reichstag election the USPD contested, it received only 11,690 votes. There is no evidence that the ASP or the LK participated in this election.⁴⁹

Although the splinter groups failed to elect any deputies to the Reichstag and to some state legislatures, they did have some representation in these parliaments. Those who had been elected through one of the major parties as a rule kept their mandates after they broke with that party until they were defeated in the following election. The left communist Reichstag deputies formed an informal "Reichstagfraktion linker Kommunisten", consisting of Fischer, Katz, Korsch, Scholem, Schwarz, Schlagewerth, Schwan, Urbahn, Schütz, and Tiedt. They

* Bürgerschaft election, February 19, 1928.

held several Landtag seats, five in Saxony, three in Thuringia, two in Bavaria, two in Brunswick, two in Prussia, and one in Baden.⁵⁰

The forerunners of the KPO, the right opposition in the KPD, entered a slate in the Municipal election of 1927 in Stuttgart. To capitalize on the voting habit of the KPD voters they called their slate Kommunistische Partei.⁵¹ As the KPD's full name was Kommunistische Partei Deutschland, careless KPD voters could easily have voted for them. Data on how well their deception worked is not available.

The KPO did not participate in Reichstag elections. The one mandate this group held in the Reichstag (Paul Frölich) expired after the election of 1930. It did, however, contest Landtag elections. The only seat the party held came to it through defections of former KPD deputies. Seats gained in this fashion were, with one exception, invariably lost in the next election. One of their deputies, Galm, in the state assembly of Hesse, was reelected in 1931 and in 1932; however, prior to the 1932 election he had defected to the SAP. In Prussia the KPO held one seat until April 1932, in Saxony five until March 1929, in Thuringia six until December 1929, in Württemberg two until April 1932, in Hesse two until March 1932 and one until January 1932.⁵²

At the Landtag election of the state of Saxony on May 12, 1929, the KPO received 22,594 votes, or .8% of the total vote. In the municipal election shortly after, the KPO doubled its vote in 37 communities throughout Saxony, winning 25 seats.

In the Prussian municipal elections the KPO won five seats in the province of Saxony, seven in the Rhineland, and fourteen in the Saar district. Altogether the KPO won 70 mandates in 64 Prussian communities. In Offenbach, in the state of Hesse, the KPO won eleven seats on city council, receiving four times as many votes as the KPD did. On December 8, 1929, the KPO received 12,222 votes in Thuringia. This was $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the votes cast, but still a few hundred short of winning a seat. There too, it did better in the municipal elections of 1930. In some areas it received four times as many votes as the KPD did; in Ruhla the KPO gained 43% of the vote. In December 1929 the KPO received 0.4% of the vote in the Bürgerschaft election in Bremen. On June 22, 1930, the Brandlerites' vote in Saxony shrank to 14,719, or 0.4%. In Hesse, the KPO reelected Galm with 14,938 votes, or 1.9% of the vote, on November 15, 1931.⁵³

The KPO held seats in village, town, and city councils in and around Stuttgart, Jena, Leipzig, Zwickau, Offenbach, Erfurt, Augsburg, and in the Saar territory. Some small communities even elected KPO mayors.⁵⁴ In Thuringia, however, the KPO mayors were relieved of their positions by the Nazi Minister of the Interior Frick. In other places the KPO needed the support of the SPD and the KPD in order to make full use of its mandates. In rare cases it did receive SPD support, but never KPD support.⁵⁵

In between the elections the KPO gained seats from the KPD by more defections. By April 1930 the KPD had lost

three deputies in Prussia, at least one of them to the KPO, two in Bavaria presumably to the KPO, three in Hamburg of which two went to the KPO and one to the SPD, two in Württemberg to the KPO, and two in Bruhswick presumably to the KPO. In May 1931 the KPD again lost four deputies in Prussia, one to the LK, two to the KPO, and one sat as an Independent. In Bavaria the KPD lost all five of its deputies, one to the SPD and four presumably to the KPO.⁵⁶

The SAP fared no better in elections than the other left-wing splinter parties. It managed only in Hesse to elect one deputy in 1931. Right after this a strong section of the ~~KPO~~ in Offenbach joined the SAP, bringing with it one Landtag deputy, Galm, which gave the SAP two deputies there. In 1932 only one of them was reelected. In 1931 the SAP and the KPO together won 23,108 votes, or 2.9% of the votes. The best results for both, the KPO and the SAP, were achieved in the city of Offenbach. In 1931 the SAP there received 1.9% and the KPO 1.0%, for a total of 2.9%. In 1932 the SAP, having inherited the KPO apparatus, still received 9.4% of the Offenbach vote.⁵⁷

Other Landtag and Bürgerschaft election results which affected the SAP are given below.⁵⁸ (d=deputies elected)

State or city and date	S	P	D	KPD		S	AA	P
	votes	%	%	%d	%	votes	%	d
Prussia, Ap. 24/32	4,675,173	21	94	12	57	80,392	.4	-
Bav., Ap. 24/32	603,693	16	20	7	8	13,437	.3	-
Thur., July 31/32	225,791	24	15	16	10	2,067	.2	-
Hesse, June 19/32	172,552	23	17	12	7	11,689	1½	1
Hamburg, Ap. 24/32	226,242	30	49	16	26	2,305	.3	-
Meckl.-Schw., June 5/32	2108,361	30	18	7½	4	957	.2	-
Anhalt, Ap. 24/32	75,137	35	12	9½	3	806	.4	-
Oldenb., May 29/32	50,994	19	9	5½	2	1,469	.5	-

In the Reichstag election of July 31, 1932, the SAP entered slates in thirty-one of the thirty-five districts. The Statistik des deutschen Reichs, of 1933, published under Hitler, gives only names and professions of those elected and those listed on the top of the slates who failed to elect anyone. Seventeen of these slates were led by Seydewitz, eight by Ledebour, two by Portune, and one each by Rosenfeld, Zweiling, Fabian, and Hurm. The party received 72,630 votes, or 0.2% of the votes cast and failed to elect any deputies to the Reichstag. In accordance with the stated wishes of the SAP executive, the SAP votes were credited to the KPD⁵⁹ giving the KPD one extra seat⁶⁰. In this election the SAP came fourteenth out of sixty-three parties. Thirteen parties received mandates⁶¹. On November 6, 1932, the SAP entered slates in thirty-two districts. Sixteen slates were headed by Seydewitz, eight by Ledebour, two each by Rosenfeld, Walcher, and Portune, one each by Zweiling, and Fabian. If the results of the July election were disappointing, the November results were outright disastrous. The SAP received 45,201 votes. This time the SAP did not decree its votes to the KPD⁶². The SAP did not participate in the 1933 Reichstag election.

One week after the Reichstag election the SAP entered into the municipal elections in the state of Saxony. Where in the parliamentary elections the working class supported mostly the two big parties, in the municipal elections the SAP managed to get a substantial amount of votes, at least in the medium sized and small working class communities. In one village,

Morgenröthe-Rautenkranz, the SAP achieved a full majority, winning eight out of thirteen seats. The other five seats were won by a united slate of NSDAP and bourgeois parties. A comparative study of thirteen medium sized towns in the Vogtland subdistrict shows the results of the July and November Reichstag elections for the SAP as approximately 1,800 and 1,230 votes and the municipal election result for the SAP as approximately 3,000 votes. The SAP made the largest gains in places where the Nazi influence was strong. It was there, where the class conscious workers saw clearly that neither the SPD nor the KPD could avert the Nazi danger. Thus they turned to that party which campaigned under the theme of stopping the Nazis. Two examples will demonstrate this voting pattern. ^{63(a)}

MorgMorgenthal

Parties	July 31, 1932	Nov. 6, 1932	Nov. 13, (municipal) 1932,	mandates
SAP	393	245	939	5
SPD	415	467	222	1
KPDAP	536	594	367	2
NSDAP, bourgeois	2,444	2,176	1,899	9
Others, bourgeois	292	360	380	2
Total	4,081	3,842	3,807	19
Brundöbra				
SAP	393	203	787	6
SPD	202	282	-	-
KPD	452	463	262	1
NSDAP	1,194	1,119	897	6
Others, bourgeois	129	189	335	2
Total	2,307	2,256	2,281	15

In large cities, however, the SAP had to compete against the efficient election machines of the SPD and the KPD. It failed to win any mandates in Leipzig, Plauen, and Zwickau, it lost votes in Zwickau and it entered no slate in Dresden. In eastern Saxony the SAP and the SPD ran joint slates in some

communities. The KPD turned down all SPD and SAP offers of joint slates.^{63(b)}

From the election statistics we can see that the support for left-wing parties stretched through central Germany from north-east to south-west. With the exception of Saxony, one of the Silesian districts (Breslau, which is an industrial region), to some extent Schleswig-Holstein and the Rhineland, the border regions voted sparsely socialist. Appendix 9, map 4, shows the regions of socialist support of the mid twenties. With some minor variations, this pattern was true for the duration of the Weimar Republic. It shows that the southern mountainous areas of Germany, especially Bavaria, rejected the socialists. In Baden, Württemberg, Frankonia, and in the Palatinate there was a fair, but not substantial, socialist layer. It can be assumed that the socialist vote in these regions came from the area between and including Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Hesse, and the mountain range cutting through the Palatinate. This is a predominantly protestant farming area, interspersed with industrial regions. The area south of this is a predominantly catholic farming area, so is also the western half of the Palatinate, the Saar, and the southern part of the Rhineland.

The same map shows that the SB found its support only in and around Berlin. The rump-USPD's support was in a V-shape, starting in Berlin, with its vertex in Baden, and ending at the Dutch border, with high spots in Berlin, the two Saxonies, the Palatinate, and the Ruhr area. There was also a sprinkling of support in Schleswig-Holstein. The ultra left and left communists' support was sprinkled out in little

patches throughout central and northwestern Germany, coinciding perfectly with most of the industrial centres. The ASP made little impact outside Saxony. It had hardly any support in Berlin, a fair amount in East Prussia, Potsdam I (west of Berlin), the Ruhr, and in Southwest Germany.

Map 5, in Appendix 10, shows the regional support of the KPO and of the SAP and the main centres of the RK. Both, the KPO and the SAP, had a fair amount of support in Stuttgart, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse. The SAP made some inroads in the coal mining regions of central Silesia and the KPO in the coal mining regions of the Saar and around Düsseldorf. Both parties seemed to attract the same socio-economic subclasses.

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES

It was not only in the electoral sphere that the left-wing splinter groups tried to leave their imprint on Germany's political scenery. Most of the grouplets rejected the thought that they should be only electoral machines. Their sole reason of existence was based on their belief that they were very different from all the other parties. Thus it was of utmost importance to them to spread their messages as often as possible. Election campaigns were only one of the methods and, in many cases, not the most important one.

The extra-parliamentary impact of the rump-USPD and of the SB was not any larger than their parliamentary impact. During 1925 and 1926, in the Fürstenabfindungskampagne, Labour's SB had a working agreement with the Gruppe Revolutionärer Pazifisten and the Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund

(ISK)⁶⁴. In 1928 the SB agitated together with the Communists for a plebiscite against the Panzerkreuzerbau⁶⁵.

The KAPD did not participate in elections. It saw as its main function the task to prepare the proletariat for an armed revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, before the revolution could take place, the KAPD emphasized the economic aspect of the class struggle. For this purpose it affiliated with and organized the AAU. For the preparation and waging of the revolutionary struggle, the KAPD instituted the secret Kampforganisation (KO). The statutes of the KO stated:

1. Knowing that only the armed rebellion can emancipate the working class, and that in any case the reactionaries will force the proletariat to fight ... a fighting force is needed ... to be ready at the right moment....
2. The KO elects its leaders
3. There will be absolute secrecy about its operations. Unnecessary talk among themselves about the illegal activities is prohibited ...; the KO has its own tribunal which can mete out punishment; no member can quit the KO

Under guidelines for the KO it stated that

1. Each group must know the military position of the enemy /the army and the police/ nearby. The group must have maps which show barracks, military installations, schools, etc. It must know the strength and the movement of troops⁶⁶

In August 1920, in connection with the struggle against the delivery of German arms to Poland, the KAPD occupied the city of Velbert in the Ruhr district and the city of Köthen in central Germany and proclaimed Räterepubliks⁶⁷. On March 16, 1921, the president of the Prussian province of Saxony, Hörsig, requested from Berlin the assistance of the Security Police Force to quell a workers' rebellion. Subsequently, in

the night of March 19 to March 20, the KPD called for the General Strike. Fighting started on March 23. Near the city of Merseburg the buildings of the Leuna company were occupied by striking workers. Ebert, on March 24, "erklärte den nicht-militärischen Ausnahmezustand" (Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, vaguely comparable to the War Measures Act in Canada) for the province of Saxony. Both, the KPD and the KAPD, were deeply involved in the disturbances. Spokesmen for the KAPD claimed that the AAU had 10,000 members in the Leuna Werke. Between 200,000 and 300,000 people were involved in the strike. Forty thousand workers fought with weapons against 17,000 police men.⁶⁸

As the KPO did not have much opportunity to engage in parliamentary work, much of its activity took place outside parliaments. Attempts were made with and without success to form United Fronts, to build anti fascist coalitions, and to hold public meetings in conjunction with other working class organizations. Anti fascist coalitions sprang up in Liebau (Silesia), Ruhlau (Thuringia), Erfurt, Offenbach, and Berlin. There was no cooperation from the KPD and very little from the SPD. In order to protect working class meetings and speakers from Nazi terror, the KPO and other groups formed "Proletarische Klassenwehren gegen Faschismus" and "Arbeiterwehren". But without the support of the SPD and the KPD these attempts were bound to fail.⁶⁹ The KPO founded the Internationale Hilfs-Vereinigung (IHV). The IHV's organs Solidarität, published by Arbeiterpolitik and Mitteilungsbätter

der Internationalen Hilfsvereinigung. The IHV's main purpose was to give legal aid and limited financial support to political persecuted and injured workers, especially to victims of the Nazi terror.

The influence the KPO had on the working class was much greater than one should assume judging by the small size of the organization and its meagre election results. This is mainly due to the political calibre of its leaders. Although none of them could be compared to a Rosa Luxemburg or a Karl Liebknecht, they were of a higher quality than the Partei-bonzen who were in control of the SPD and the KPD. They had acquired their political training in the same school as Luxemburg and Liebknecht did, namely Wilhelminian Germany and they had been oppositional members in the World War I SPD. The double hazard of conspiring against the government and against the hierarchy in their own party gave them the experience necessary to do their work. They were the "old guard of the KPD".

They aroused a fair amount of interest. Often their meetings were attended by three times as many people as they had members in the particular area. In order to hold those supporters and to attract more, the KPO had a large and varied educational program. The contact between the Reichsleitung (RL) and the members and supporters was extremely close, as speakers of the RL spoke at many of the "Information Evenings" conducted by the local organizations all over Germany. In the large cities the KPO held series of educational meetings during the winter month. For example,

in the winter of 1929/30 the KPO of Berlin conducted a series of 24 regular meetings on such topics as "Class structure in Germany", "Problems of the Trade union Movement", etc. The year after a similarly structured series was offered, this time the theme was "Fascism". But not all the locals went to these lengths; some offered weekend courses, others conducted individual educational evenings, discussing topics such as the history of the KPD, tactics and platform of left-wing parties, including their own.⁷¹ For those of the younger generation who wanted to learn, the KPO had more to offer than its rivals.

Whereas the KAPD was prepared for an immediate revolution, the RK groups, operating ten years later, were preparing themselves for long term underground work under a fascist dictatorship. They considered the political situation of the Weimar Republic in the middle of 1932 pre revolutionary. Thus, they were mainly concerned, as the only remaining revolutionary nucleus, to lay the foundation for the reunification and restructuring of the class conscious proletariat. The feuds and the opportunism displayed by the two major working class parties made both of them unfit to assume the leadership of a reorganized working class movement.⁷²

The SAP was instrumental in organizing United Front committees which were mostly boycotted by the SPD and the KPD, but in which many of the other splinter groups participated. But in December 1931 the SAP decided to change these tactics. It gave up building unity committees with other organizations as too time consuming; however, it still participated in spon-

soring joint public meetings.⁷³ During the presidential election campaigns of 1932 the SAP, after initially toying with the idea of running Ledebour, came out in support of Thälmann from the KPD as the only working class candidate.

INVOLVEMENT IN TRADE UNIONS

The USPD, when it was a mass party, was deeply involved in the ADGB. Just as it was the case in the SPD and, for that matter, still is the case in all socialdemocratic and labour based parties throughout the world, the leaders of the USPD were often also leading trade unionists. A strong component of the USPD's left wing was the Revolutionary Shop Steward movement. Remnants of this movement were still in evidence in the two successor parties of the USPD. The story of the leader of one of these parties, Georg Ledebour, is as much part of the German trade union movement as it is part of socialism.

The KAPD and its affiliated and related groups rejected the socialist-led free trade unions as counterrevolutionary organizations. Social improvements achieved by the ADGB would only smother the flames of discontent and thus benefit and perpetuate the capitalist system. This made them tools of the reactionary forces. The KAPD members rejected the divisiveness of the craft unions and favoured the all-embracing concept of industrial unionism. A strike by a specialized union would only affect one particular part of the economy, while a strike by a syndicalist union could, if this union was big enough,

paralyze the whole economy of a geographical region. They thus organized the Allgemeine Arbeiter Union (AAU), which, however, did not attract many workers.

Similarly, the left and ultra left groups, which came out of the KPD in the mid-twenties, and which was led mainly by intellectuals, also rejected constructive participation in the free trade unions. They considered the work in the ADGB unions as a waste of effort and the leaders of these unions traitors to the working class. While they were still members of the KPD, they were proponents of the Rote Gewerkschafts Opposition (RGO), the Comintern's contribution to the trade union movement. Many of their disagreements with Moscow stemmed from the fact, that whenever the Comintern line swerved to the right, the KPD was supposed to take a favourable attitude towards the ADGB.

On the other hand, the KPO remained at all times active in the ADGB affiliated unions, Brandler being a traditional Gewerkschaftsbonze. This was in accordance with KPD policies established in 1920. Although most of the unions were led by reformists, involvement in them provided an opportunity to indoctrinate fellow workers. It was the duty of local KPO leaders to see to it that all the members engaged in trade union work. The KPO's main reason for working in the unions was not to conquer key positions, but to win the confidence of the workers. Their goal was to prepare the unions for the day when the fascists would make their bid for power, so that the rank-and-file union members would follow

the KPO in resisting the fascists rather than following the reformist leaders into passive acceptance of the fascist rule.

The KPO held leading positions in the Gewerkschaftskartell (similar to a local Trades and Labour Council) and in the Schuhmacherverband in and around Stuttgart and in some unions in the Thuringian cities of Weimar, Erfurt, and Suhl. It was strong in the Holzarbeiterverband, the Buchdruckerverband, and the Schuhmacherverband in Berlin, Breslau, Offenbach, Leipzig and Hamburg. It was represented in shop committees in Stuttgart (electricians and in the shoe industry), Nuremberg, Chemnitz, Leipzig (traffic), Hamburg, Erfurt, and Wittenberg (chemical industry). Some locals were completely controlled by the KPO, especially in the Deutscher Metallarbeiterverband (DMV) around Stuttgart. At the Annual Convention of the Stuttgart DMV in 1930 ~~73 of the 109 delegates were~~ ^{73 of the 109 delegates were} KPO members. Similarly, the Feuerbach (a city near Stuttgart) DMV, when choosing delegates to the local Gewerkschaftskartell, voted as follows: KPO 364, SPD 283, KPD 114. The same pattern of strength by the KPO in certain unions is noticeable in Thuringia.⁷⁴

No evidence is available that the SAP in its brief existence had any influence on the German trade unions. In general, its members, being left-wing socialdemocrats, were in favour of trade union activities, but were opposed to the bureaucratic leadership of the traditional unions.

YOUTH

Both, the KPO and the SAP, had strong and active youth organizations. The SAP's youth group, the Sozialistischer Jugendverband (SJV), with 8-10,000 members, was about one sixth sixth of the size of the SPD's SAJ, and one fifth of the size of the KPD's KJV; however, it was at least as active, in some areas even more active, than its socialdemocratic and communist rivals. The leaders of SJV were ~~once the~~ most active members of the SAJ. One of the members was a certain Herbert Frahm, who is known today as Willy Brandt.⁷⁵

The KPO's youth organization, the Kommunistischer Jugendverband (Opposition) (KJV/O/), had a membership of approximately 1,000. It was relatively strong in Saxony and in Thüringia; it had some strength in Württemberg, Berlin-Brandenburg, Wasserkante, Silesia, and in the two Hesse. It maintained a Reichsschule which could accomodate 35 persons at a time. Courses were usually of two weeks duration with seven hours per day and were on the history of the working class movements, trade union problems, and on questions affecting young people. The KJV(O) worked with other organizations as members and allies. These included the Naturfreunde-Jugend, the Freie Sozialistische Jugend, the Freien Vereinigten Sozialistischen Studenten, the Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund (ISK), and the Anarchistische Jugend. Together they aimed to form a Proletarisches Jugendkartell.⁷⁷

PUBLICATIONS⁷²

Nearly all of the left-wing splinter parties published extensively. However, as they had a continuous turnover of members and supporters, any figures given in regards to circulation of certain periodicals would only be true for limited periods of time. Furthermore, the periodic appearance of many of these serials was highly irregular. Most of their publications reached only a small segment of the population and are thus little known^{??}.

As stated before, the USPD, at its convention in Halle, could report that it had 55 daily newspapers. The best known of them is Die Freiheit, which appeared from 1917 on until 1931, when the Liebknecht-led rump-USPD entered the SAP.

The KAPD's most popular organ was the Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung. This was published in several cities, including Berlin. The local group of the KAPD and the AAU of Hamburg's editor Karl Kopp continued to publish it under that title even after his group had broken with the KAPD and had become national communists. In the same way, the Essen group too kept the title for its Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung, organ der Arbeiter Internationale after its break with the Berlin group.

The Berlin KAPD between 1921 and 1928 published Proletarier, a monthly. Its subtitle in 1921 and 1922 was Kommunistische Arbeiter Internationale and after 1924 Zeitschrift

für revolutionären Klassenkampf. The Revolutionäre Betriebsorganisation of the AAU Berlin issued between 1920 and 1932 Der Kampf. After 1932 it was published by the Kommunistische Arbeiter Union. Der Klassenkampf, # 1-13, known as Der Kampf from # 14 on (in 1924), appeared in Düsseldorf under the auspices of the Revolutionäre Betriebsorganisation Rheinland-Westfalen.

Franz Pfemfert was the editor and publisher of Die Aktion, a periodical which started in Berlin around 1910 and was still in evidence in 1932. It was mostly devoted to proletarian art, but did have, with the exception of the war years, a considerable amount of political content. From 1926 on the organ of the AAU was Die Proletarische Revolution, published in Frankfurt am Main. The independent Leipzig section of the KAPD, known as the Kommunistischer Rätebund, issued Die Epoche and Die Perspektive.

The best known publication of Levites is Unser Weg, 1919 to 1922, formerly known as Sowjet, edited by Paul Levi. Däumig and Hoffmann issued in Berlin in 1922 a Mitteilungsblatt der KAG. After the KAG became integrated into the SPD, Levi and others published in Berlin from 1923 on Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft, which, in 1928, merged with Der Klassenkampf of the left SPD and later the SAP (not to be mistaken with Der Klassenkampf mentioned earlier).

The Korrespondenzblatt der selbständigen Linken appeared in 1924, responsible for it was a group of expelled former KPD members led by Schumacher, Weyer, and Kayser. The group

around Schwarz issued Entschiedene Linke, while Korsch in Berlin and Schlagewerth in München-Gladbach, Ruhr, published Kommunistische Politik. The Reichsorgan of the (Urbahn-led) Lenin-Bund was Volkswille, which appeared from Berlin between 1927 and 1933. In 1927 Urbahn issued for his group a mimeographed Mitteilungsblatt, which, after 1927, was continued in regular print as Fahne des Kommunismus. Der Pionier, organ of the Communist Opposition in Berlin-Wedding and in Ludwigs-hafen, Palatinate, and Der Kommunist, periodical of the united Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist), appeared in 1930. Both can be considered to be forerunners of German Trotskyist publications. Permanente Revolution, Zeitschrift der L. O. (Bolshevist-Leninist), Berlin 1931-1933, after 1932 also known as Wochenblatt der Linken Opposition (Sektion der Internationalen Linken Opposition), was the central organ of the German Trotskyists. They also issued a Mitteilungsblatt der linken Opposition which was for members only.

Starting in 1925, the Kommunistische Stadtverordnetenfraktion of Offenbach published Das Volksrecht. When the majority of the Offenbach KPD sided with Brandler in 1928, Das Volksrecht became the official organ for KPO in Hesse-Darmstadt. Then, in 1931, when this group defected to the SAP, the paper went with it. The ideological organ of the KPO was Gegen den Strom, Berlin, which was edited by Thalheimer, Brandler, Walcher, and Hauser. Before the split with the KPD it was only a Mitteilungsblatt, published in Breslau. Gegen den Strom was kept alive in exile until 1935. The Arbeiter Tribüne was the organ of the KPO Stuttgart between

1929 and 1933. Rote Einheit appeared from 1929 on as a Mitteilungsblatt for the KPO and the Revolutionäre Gewerkschafts Opposition of the district of Württemberg. Arbeiterpolitik, Leipzig, and Berlin, 1929-1933, was the main organ of the KPO. Its subtitles were Kommunistische Tageszeitung (1930-1932) and after 1932 Wochenzeitung der kommunistischen Landtagsfraktion Sachsens. The KPO youth organization, the KJVD(O), published from 1929 on Junge Kämpfer. N. Roy and A. A. Thalheimer were the editors of the Internationale Nachrichten der Kommunistischen Opposition (INKOPP), which, from 1930 on, was published by the Internationale Vereinigung der Kommunistischen Opposition (IVKOP).

In 1930 the SWV issued Grundlinien für Gruppenarbeit, a publication of guidelines for its work. Der Rote Kämpfer, Marxistische Arbeiterzeitung appeared first in 1930 in Bochum. Between February 1931 and July 1931 it was published in Cologne. When the SWV took over Der Rote Kämpfer it was published in Cologne and Berlin until the end of 1931, after which it was published in Berlin and Dresden. As an aid to political speakers and agitators the SWV and the RK jointly published in 1931 and 1932 Referenten Material. A weekly circular of the RK, produced in Berlin in 1932, was Politische Information. Also weekly appeared RK-Korrespondenz, published in 1932 and 1933 in Freital, Gittersee. The RK issued in 1932 Thesen über den Bolschewismus and Kann der Trotzkyismus wirklich siegen?

In 1928 the group around Levi joined forces with Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, and Ströbel who, in 1927, had started in

Berlin with the publication of Der Klassenkampf. The title of Levi's publication, Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft, became in 1928 the subtitle of Der Klassenkampf. After 1921 it became the theoretical organ of the SAP. The main organ of the SAP was the Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung (SAZ), published daily in Breslau and Berlin between 1931 and 1933. A series of regional weeklies in 1931 and 1932 was known as SWZ - Die Fackel, Sozialistische Wochenzeitung gegen Nationalismus und Kulturreaktion. Of this series, the Weser-Ems Fackel was published in Bremen and served Bremen, Osnabrück, Oldenburg, and other places in the Northwest. Die Saar Fackel, published in Saarbrücken, served the Saar district. The Rhein-Ruhr Fackel was published in Essen. The Kampfsignal was the continuation of the SWZ - Die Fackel series in 1932 and 1933. Another weekly, Sozialist, was issued in 1932 in Köslin. The organ for the SAP in Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Nassau was the Südwestdeutsche Arbeiter Tribüne, which appeared in Frankfurt on the Main. Another regional SAP paper was the Kurier für Vogtland, Erzgebirge, und Plauen. Finally, there was also a mimeographed Mitteilungsblatt der SAP, which appeared in Geeshacht.

Among other groups, the Nelson Bund published isk, Mitteilungsblatt des Sozialistischen Kampf-Bundes in Berlin between 1926 and 1933. In 1930, also in Berlin, appeared the Mitteilungsblatt der Gruppe Unabhängiger Kommunisten, (60 Ausgeschlossene).

CONCLUSION

The history of the left-wing splinter parties in the Weimar Republic is a history of failure. It reveals the failure of the major socialist parties to avoid internal splits. Secondly, it shows the failure of the splinter parties to become mass parties or at least to influence the mass parties to any visible extent. Thirdly, it discloses the splinter parties' failure to influence the German public opinion and prevent, or at least help to prevent, Hitler's coming into power.

Splinter parties would not have emerged but for the failure of German socialdemocracy to cope with a series of problems that followed one another in quick succession, problems that required immediate action, problems that attracted the attention of millions, and problems to which Marx and Bebel had provided no guidelines and no solutions. Each of these problems and the failure to solve it caused more splits in the party of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.

The Great War was one of the issues which caused discontent in the socialist ranks. It led to the formation of the USPD. But once the war had ended the main issue which had divided the two socialdemocratic parties and which was the bond that united the different factions encompassed in the USPD was removed. It was only a matter of time before new divisions and realignments took place.

The German Revolution caused another series of disasters for the socialists. The downfall of the Second Reich brought the socialists into power with a suddenness that caught them unprepared. The leaders, after generations in opposition, had developed an opposition mentality. They needed time to readjust, time which they did not have, as events moved too fast. The idea that political parties could be in control of the government was new in Germany. In the past political parties, and not just the SPD, had been in opposition to the government. The government was composed of appointees by, nominally the Kaiser, in reality by the strongest group around the Kaiser. The Reichstag functioned only as a public forum.

The German defeat in the First World War was a direct defeat of the ruling caste in Germany. It left the socialists in control of the state apparatus as they were the only political power strong enough to assume leadership and at the same time relatively unblemished enough to hold the confidence of the masses.

The dissolution of the middle-class parties of the right and the temporary impotence of the middle-class Centre left the Social Democrats as masters of the political field, supported by the temporary "Red" soldiers and workmen, their task was to be the creation and organization of the German Republic - a task, which took them completely unprepared 1

The SPD leaders were overwhelmed by the multitude of problems for whose solution they lacked both, experience and theory.

A nation which, after four years of war, was experiencing the collapse of not only all its hopes but also of its entire political structure, could hardly find a new equilibrium within a few days. This condition of uncertainty was increased² by the ... soldiers, returning in millions from the war.

In vain did the socialist leaders look into their textbooks to find the formula to solve the many problems with which they suddenly were confronted. Many looked to Marx for the solution. But Marx's writing lends itself to different interpretations; Marx supplied a great amount of ideas and it remained for his successors to coordinate them. As he was writing over a period of many years during which many of his ideas evolved to a certain extent, some of his writings contradict each other. At times he had advocated democratic evolution towards socialism and at times he had preached the inevitability of the class struggle and the arrival of the dictatorship of the proletariat via the revolution. Out of this inconsistency stemmed the largest division, the division between democratic socialism and communism. By the end of World War One Marx's writing had been interpreted by many of his disciples in many different ways and had become intermixed with the philosophies put forward by other socialist and some anarchist prophets. Thus, Marxism became the philosophical base for many competing left-wing parties.

The October Revolution in Russia aroused the more radical among the socialists in Germany, who hoped to carry out a similar revolution in Germany. Many of them saw in Ebert a German Kerenski, whose overthrow would be the final step of a successful revolution. Thus, while the SPD leaders' and the right-wing USPD leaders' idea of an ideal revolution was a bloodless transfer of power, the left-wing USPD leaders and some Spartacists urged proletarians to take to the streets.

The government, in desperation, believed that it had to rely on the army to restore order. This step was the death-knell for the revolution. Until then, the army as well as the bourgeoisie, had considered themselves defeated and were prepared to accept the working class as the new rulers of Germany. With the working class hopelessly divided, the counter revolution made rapid gains.

The new SPD government's reliance on its traditional enemies to protect it from what should have been its friends can be attributed to three factors. After losing the Great War on such a scale, the country needed all its strength to recuperate. A civil war would only have thrown Germany deeper into the abyss. The Allied Powers, unable to prevent the success of the bolshevik revolution in Russia, would not have tolerated a repetition of it in Germany. The government did not want to give them an excuse to send occupation troops into Germany. In addition, a successful Liebknecht-Ledebour-led revolution would not have dealt leniently with the SPD leaders.

The abortive Kapp-Putsch gave the socialist government the last chance to emasculate, with the help of the workers, the military. In the words of Ernest Niekisch, "After the Kapp-Putsch, as the bourgeoisie, whipped by the workers, extended its hand to the SPD, the SPD sold out the workers, broke their unity, and let the soldiers loose at them."³ Although this statement was somewhat exaggerated, it does describe the feeling of many disillusioned SPD supporters.

Foremost of all divisive issues in the socialist camp was the controversy over Weimar or Räte Republic. Other

factors contributing to the divisions were Comintern directives, the inflation of 1923, the Depression, and the rise of Nazism. The economic crisis of 1929 led to an increase in extreme right-wing elements. The SPD, in order to prevent a right-wing power-grab, failed in the eyes of the radicals to take a principled stand on ~~important~~ decisions by the Reichstag, such as armament spending and changes in social legislation. Thus, throughout the duration of the Weimar Republic, the SPD found itself many times in positions where, if it acted strictly ~~according to~~ dogmas, or "principles", it would have endangered the democratic system and cleared the way for, at first left-wing, later right-wing autocracies.

Exposed to the criticism of followers who expected too much too fast, the SPD leaders had to contend with the opposition of the Junkers, the financiers, the industrialists, the militarists, and became often the victims of right-wing terrorists. In trying to cooperate with the Allied Powers, they made enemies out of many patriots without gaining any visible encouragement from abroad. Although it was reasonable to assume that right after the War the Allies would have tolerated neither a right-wing nor a left-wing extremist regime to replace the monarchy in Germany, the victorious powers displayed little support for the moderate policies of the SPD and its middle-of-the-road coalition partners.

It was only natural that the ~~official stand of the~~ SPD as well as of any other party during that period would produce tensions within these parties. However, the strong bureaucracy of the SPD and the rigid organizational structure

of the KPD allowed little or no internal dissent. Thus, dissenters were either forced to retract or to leave the party. It can be considered a major failure of both parties that they could not cope in a constructive way with their internal critics.

The SPD and the KPD could not prevent splits, but they could ensure that the splinter groups remained splinter parties. This was due partly to tradition and partly to their organizational setup. It lay also in the lack of attractive alternatives offered by the splinter groups. The fact remains that in Germany the SPD voter is the most faithful voter. There had been occasions when German workers had their doubt about the SPD, when they agreed with communist and other left-wing agitators that the SPD leaders were unworthy of their support. There were even instances when the German proletariat was disgusted over the SPD's shameless wooing of the middle-class vote and its blatant support and toleration of bourgeois governments. There were elections when the SPD voters turned away from the SPD. The most outstanding example of this was the Reichstag election in 1920, when the SPD, in less than 18 months, lost over five million votes, three million of these to the USPD. It is also true, that the KPD, over the years, gradually but surely, overtook the SPD in Berlin and a few other highly industrialized places⁴. But most of the SPD voters, who gave their vote once or twice to other parties, returned to the SPD. The German working class, in spite of the SPD's imperfections, voted SPD.

The German worker phrased the word Parteibonzen for the professional politicians, party and union bureaucrats who led and still lead his party. This term is both, derogatory and affectionate. It implies a bureaucrat, a rogue, and a benevolent autocrat. It implies that the person so called is an experienced fighter for the workers' demands. The worker knows that the Bonze has a cushioned job, that he is at times arrogant, but that he, out of self interest if for no other reason, will look after the workers' welfare. Only the USPD and the KPD, and, to some extent, the Nazis, succeeded in putting a noticeable dent in this mass following and, strangely, the word Bonzen was applied also to the leaders of these parties, but of no other.

This faith in the SPD is not a blind faith. It often was based on tradition. However, it was also based on achievements. It was the SPD that had fought for the workers and had grown, in spite of Bismarck's repressive Sozialisten Gesetze, in spite of the imperial government's persecutions, to become the biggest party in Germany. The SPD had organized the trade unions which managed to shorten the working hours and increase the workers' wages. In the parliaments the SPD sponsored legislations the unions were interested in. It was also the SPD that restored law and order in Germany after the collapse of the Second Reich. Now, when the party experienced difficulties and had to accept set-backs in social legislation, the workers were unwilling to abandon it. They listened to a Seydewitz; they agreed with a Seydewitz; but they would not follow a Seydewitz into a new, unproven, party.

Perhaps if this faith in the SPD had been blind faith it would have been easier to shake. If a person follows a party without seeing its faults, this person, once his eyes are opened, can be swayed to follow another party. But a person who follows a party, conscious of the faults and shortcomings of the party, cannot as easily be swayed. He knows all the arguments against his party. The only way he can be made to change parties is by motivating him. The argument "you should join us because your party is wrong" must be replaced with the proof that he should join the new party because the new party is better. The splinter parties failed to supply this kind of proof and motivation.

Already in 1919 Paul Lensch, in Die Neue Rundschau, claimed "... that in the Spartakus Bund and among the Independents [the USPD] basically nothing different is expressed as in the old ideology of the Socialdemocracy from the Vor-august [before the First World War]."⁵ He saw no economic and social difference among the members of the three parties; they were all workers⁶.

One of the most prominent peculiarities we can observe in the recent social revolutionary movements is the extreme poverty on new ideas and points of view. One should think, that such tremendous upheavals ... would bring a multitude of new social ideas and reform plans In this respect nothing new came to the foreground The newer socialist movements are all based on the old er systems The leaders of the individual groups are most eager to prove that precisely their program is the only true fulfilment of the ideas of K a r l M a r x. [Emphasized in the original]⁷

None of the parties had a useful overall program. They clamoured for a Räte system, yet none could give a clear and unambiguous definition of the type, function, and role of

these Räte. Some of them, like the USPD, even called for a dual system of Räte and parliaments. Yet at that time there had been more than one clear indication that the German people did not want a Räte republic. They all called for the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the military, the arming of the proletariat, cancellation of war bonds held by individuals, expropriation of large land holdings, big businesses, and banks. Most of their program was highly theoretical, often dull and full of me-tooism and jargon. Although it had some useful points, such as their proposals for United Fronts and their demands for the involvement of employees in the decision-making process, their programs were not very inspiring.

Basically, there was not much difference between the splinter parties. They disagreed on some objectives, mainly because of their different interpretations of the political and economic situation. What appeared to one group as a period of relative stabilization of capitalism and thus unfavourable to revolution, another group might describe as a revolutionary period. While some, mostly those to the right of the KPD, wanted to work under the present system in order to alleviate the worst ills, others felt it was better to aggravate the ills in order to hasten the arrival of the revolution which all felt would happen some day. Again, the ones to the right of the KPD wanted to draw what they considered to be other potential revolutionary classes, such as the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the professionals, the farmers, etc. into the socialist movement. The ones to the far left, on the other hand, rejected all those classes as reactionary. However small

their differences were, each group claimed to have an independent program which was basically different from that of all others. Yet, the smaller their differences were, the more were they emphasized by the members of the respective groups in order to justify their separate existence.

The splinter groups failed to attract a mass following. Two of them, the USPD and the KAPD, had promising starts. They could both, at their beginning, be classified as mass parties. The USPD managed to keep its mass following for four to five years. The KAPD lost it soon after its inception. This party, ignoring parliamentary elections and opposing the socialist free trade unions, could only hope to flourish during periods of crisis. Once the Weimar Republic moved into the first stabilization period and people felt secure, revolutionary parties had no appeal to the masses. The employed workers had too much to lose to get involved in mass strikes and revolutions. They were not looking for radical changes, but only for day-to-day improvements. Improvements could be found by electing a sympathetic government and by strengthening the trade unions. The ballot box was the means for political changes, the bargaining table for economic changes. The barricades could only lead to disaster.

Some of the splinter parties (e. a. the Levites) never intended to become a mass party. The Levites were looking for a political realignment.

We refused, from the first day of our existence, to form our own party; we believed that there are too many proletarian parties. We stated from the first day on that our

duty can only be the task to do our share in accomplishing the reunification of all the fighting proletarians of Germany.⁸

The left and ultra left communist groups of the mid twenties could never hope to develop into mass parties. Their programs and tactics were not much different from the KPD's, offering the voters no valid reason to switch from the KPD to them. Once they had parted from the KPD their supporters left them. The same held true for the KPO. Most proletarians saw no future in attempting to create yet another working class party.

Some of the splinter groups, the RK for example, were deliberately designed to be cadre organizations. A mass following was not desired. Not even the SAP, which united many of the splinter parties under its banner, could attain the status of a mass party.

One of the strongest motives of socialist parties is to change society. This can best be accomplished by becoming the government or by being able to influence the government. It can also be effected by educating the masses. In this aim the splinter parties also failed. Their effect on the Weimar Republic was small. At the best it can be argued that they influenced the Weimar Republic through the SPD. By leaving the SPD and existing separately they weakened the relative strength of the left wing within the SPD, thus allowing that party's course to sway towards the right. But it is debatable whether their presence in the SPD would have altered that party's course considerably, since most of those who abandoned the SPD did so when they realized that all their efforts to

steer the party were frustrated. The same holds true for those who came from other parties. Before leaving a party, the founders of splinter parties tried to move the mother party towards their way of thinking. Breaking away from a party signified the failure of these individuals to convince others of the value of their ideas.

Leaving the party did not always end their efforts to reform it. The ultra lefts of the mid twenties, the Trotskyists, and the KPO did not cease after their expulsion to consider the KPD their party. Their objectives were not to create new parties, although this is what in effect they did, but to steer the KPD from without into what they considered the correct course. None of them succeeded.

One of the biggest reasons for the failure of the splinter parties was their lack of resources. While other parties received financial support from industry, churches, trade unions, and the Comintern, left-wing splinter parties had to rely solely on donations by individuals. It was easier to book a few modest successes in small localities where their candidates were known personally. In the impersonal atmosphere of the larger cities they had to compete against the efficient, well financed apparatus of the bigger parties. Splinter parties had not only to fight the Establishment, but also the left-wing mass parties. Boxed in by the bigger parties, with not enough money to use the mass media, they remained isolated from the masses and were doomed to impotence. Their activities took place outside the mainstream of German politics.

The uneven distribution of members and supporters also contributed to the failure of the splinter parties. Most of the splinter groups had a few cluster-like centres of support and a thin sprinkling of members in the rest of Germany. Although all of them claimed to be national parties or organizations, only a few deserve to be called this. There are many regions in Germany where voters never have heard of most of the splinter parties.

Moreover, splinter parties were the result and the victims of the Weimar Constitution. The electoral system both, encouraged and frustrated splinter parties. Under this system a party was allotted one seat for each 60,000 votes. Thus, it was ~~theoretically~~ possible for splinter parties to elect some deputies in spite of the fact that the big parties received more votes in each district. However, a party could not receive more seats on its Reichsliste than it received in the districts. Thus, in order to elect anyone, a party would have to receive a minimum of 60,000 votes in one group-of-districts, of which at least 30,000 had to come from one district. As this system encouraged voters to vote for parties rather than individuals, incumbents were usually defeated if they switched to a smaller party.⁹

The lack of success of the splinter parties led to in-fighting. After each failure a scapegoat had to be found. As their organization shrank, their ideological basis narrowed and their toleration level of divergent views declined. This, as a rule, led to the formation of new splinter groups.

There is, however, evidence that some splinter parties were moderately successful in various municipal elections. In small municipalities the voters are more familiar with the candidates, candidates require fewer votes to be elected than in other elections. The major parties' organizational structure in small towns was as small, in cases even smaller, than that of the splinter parties. Moreover, the voter considered it a small risk to test the candidates of minor parties at the municipal level, something he hesitated to do on the federal or state level, as he did not want to waste his vote. Thus, the same voter who had shown his confidence in the SAP or the KPO, for example, would vote differently in the state or the federal elections.

The existence of splinter parties has often been blamed for the break-down of democracy and the victory of the Nazis. There is no doubt that the disunity of the Left was a strong factor in helping Hitler to gain power. This disunity not only prevented any socialist party from gaining an absolute majority through the ballot box, it also discredited the socialists in the eyes of many Germans who, subsequently, set their hopes on Hitler. It can also be argued that the presence of splinter parties affected the votes the two major left-wing parties received to an much greater extent than the statistics indicate. Many active and vocal exleaders of the SPD were members of splinter parties. Had they remained in the SPD, they would have strengthened that party's left wing. Without an active Left, the difference between the

SPD and the middle-of-the-road parties, such as the Centre and the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP) seemed at times very slim. This fact might well be responsible for the growth of the KPD (although the communists claimed that the splinter parties were an obstacle to their growth, as they offered the dissatisfied SPD voters an imaginary socialdemocratic alternative).

On the other hand, to overemphasize the effect splinter parties had on the failure of Weimar is to exaggerate their influence on the political scene in Germany. The splinter parties' share of the vote did not seriously hamper the SPD's chance to gain an absolute majority. The feud between the SPD and the KPD was more damaging to the unity of the Left than the emergence of countless tiny splinter parties. Being small and isolated, the splinter parties' outlook became quite narrow. This enabled them to concentrate more intensively on individual problems, especially on the Nazi phenomenon. Splinter parties, as a rule, fought the Nazis harder than their brothers in the SPD and the KPD did. As a consequence, they suffered more under Nazism too.

Thus it is wrong to blame the left-wing splinter parties for the difficulties of Weimar and the victory of the extreme Right. Splinter parties were not factors, but symptoms of the social and political conditions of the Weimar Republic. The victory of Fascism was the result of a series of events which had also produced splinter parties. Both are the products of the same causes. The same historical

developments, the same social conditions, the same economic difficulties which led to fascism, caused left-wing splinter parties. It produced disunity on the left as well as on the right. The failure of both, right-wing and left-wing politicians to cope with the problems led to the formation of splinter parties. The NSAP was once just another one of the countless fascist and semi fascist small parties. The difference was that the NSDAP had, besides its efficient organization, outstanding leaders who could arouse the masses, polarize the right, and win the confidence of those who could supply the resources needed in order to change it into a mass party. The left lacked the dynamic leadership to do the same. Thus, the pauperized petty bourgeoisie, the impoverished intelligentsia, the over mortgaged farmers, and the poverty-stricken "Lumpenproletariat" rallied around the swastika.

Splinter parties reflected the social and political nature of Weimar Germany. After the authoritarian Bismarckian type of government the Germans found themselves suddenly in possession of political freedom, while many of them had lost their economic base through the Great War and its after effects. Whereas in England the Constitutional Monarchy encouraged participatory democracy, the German Monarchy discouraged it. Thus, the Germans were not prepared for democracy. Also, unlike in Russia, there was no revolutionary autocratic group which succeeded in replacing the monarchy as the political ruling body. Thus, for fourteen years Germany experienced with the newly won political freedoms. During these years Germany experienced severe economic changes. The social mo-

bility, the break-down of the old Spießbürger morality, at least in the large cities, the unceasing economic warfare between employers and employees, the political rowdiness, the recurring internal and external economic crises created an atmosphere which displayed the symptoms of "Capitalism in its stage of decay" as predicted and described by Karl Marx. "But this political splintering reveals the profound social decay of the German society".¹⁰ Thus, splinter parties were also symptoms of the social and moral decay of Weimar.

In the same way as splinter parties in general were symptoms of the ~~crisis ridden~~ Weimar Republic, so, in particular, were left-wing splinter groups symptoms of the crisis in German socialism and communism and in the Comintern. German socialism was in a transitional period; the SPD was changing from a class party to a people's party. The First World War had destroyed the myth that the SPD was a revolutionary party. The Revolution, which brought the SPD into power, showed the SPD as a law-and-order party. When this became clear to the rank-and-file membership, many had to reevaluate their position in regards to the SPD. In particular towards the end of the Weimar Republic the appearance of splinter parties can be seen as the attempt ~~stowards the reshaping~~ of the socialist movement, the search for THE ONE socialist party. Thus, the time between the end of the Great War and the assumption of power by Hitler had been a time of political Darwinism in Germany.

During that period World Communism still suffered from its childhood ailments. The policy of the Comintern, especially from the mid twenties on, could be compared to

a journey taken by a group of people while sitting on a flatcar, pulled by an engine at an excessive speed over a curvy road. At every turn a few of the passengers fell off, mostly those sitting on the outside, on the fringes. The ones in the middle, also the ones who could see ahead and thus anticipate the next curve and adjust their position remained. As very few who fell off succeeded in climbing back on again, and as most of them wanted to continue their journey, there appeared at every turn little groups of travellers. The KPD, as well as the communist parties in other countries, going through the process of bolshevization and Stalinization, gradually succumbed to the domination of the Comintern. Those individuals who wanted an independent German communist policy found themselves isolated and removed from responsible positions.

The failure of the left-wing splinter parties does not necessarily mean that their policies and efforts were worthless. The study of their history is not only a study of failure, but also a study of courage and integrity. There were socialists who were prepared to forsake the relative security, the prestige, and the political influence that mass parties in a democratic society offer to their leaders. They went out into the political wilderness to probe and to search for new ways of establishing a better society.

Their ideas were not all of a world saving nature. As shown, many were of little value. Nevertheless, they had ideas. It was a tragedy that the two large working class

parties were too deeply engaged in their fratricidal struggle to pay attention to proposals coming from some obscure little group. Given a larger audience and the cooperation of all socialists, there is an outside chance that one of the proposals put forward by a splinter group might have stopped Hitler. As G. K. Chesterton said in "What's wrong with the world",

... modern idealists ... always thought that if a thing has been defeated it has been disproved. Logically, the case is quite clearly the other way. The lost causes are exactly those which might have saved the world.¹¹

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

¹Werner T. Angress, Stillborn Revolution (Princeton: University Press, 1963), p. 11.

²Edwyn Bevan, German Social Democracy During the War (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1918), p. 16.

³Ibid., pp. 42-72.

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

⁵Ibid., pp. 83-86, citing Volksstimme (Chemnitz: March 1916), which enumerates six sections of the left as follows: 1. Spartacus, with Liebknecht and Rühle; 2. The International Socialists, with Radek and Borchard; 3. Ledebour and Adolf Hoffmann; 4. Kautsky; 5. Bernstein; 6. the bulk of the minority, Volkswahl (Breslau: June 1915) names two divisions of the majority, the mainbody and the Annexists, Leipziger Volkszeitung (April 1916) lists nine groups of the right, which were 1. Kolb, Feuerstein, and Heymann; 2. the Nationalists, with Cohen, Heilmann, Landsberg, David, ... Noske, Haenisch, ...; 3. the Imperialist-Nationalists, with Lensch, Cunow, Schulz, Quessel; 4. the Trade Unionists, with Legien, Bauer, Schmidt; 5. the plain practical; 6. the Right Centre, with Molkenbuhr, Wels, Ebert, ...; 7. the Karakterköpfe around Scheidemann; 8. the Centre; and 9. the Individualists.

⁶Ibid., p. 142.

⁷Hermann Weber (ed.), Der Gründungsparteitag der KPD - Protokoll und Materialien (Frankfurt a. M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 24.

⁸Hans J. L. Adolph, Otto Wels und die Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie - 1894-1939 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1971), p. 24.

⁹Eugen Prager, Geschichte der USPD (Berlin: Verlagsgenossenschaft "Freiheit" eGmbH., 1921), p. 96. The founders of the KAG were Bernstein, Bock, Büchner, Dr. Otto Cohn, Dittmann, Geyer, Haase, Henke, Dr. Herzfeld, Horn, Kunert, Ledebour, Schwarz (Lübeck), Stadthagen, Stolle, Vogtherr, Wurm, and Zubeil.

¹⁰Weber, Der Gründungsparteitag der KPD, op. cit., p. 26.

¹¹Siegfried Bahne, "Zwischen 'Luxemburgismus' und Stalinismus'. Die 'Ultralinken' in der KPD", pp. 359-383, Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, IV, 9. year (October 1961, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt), p. 360 and "Die Roten Kämpfer: Zur Geschichte einer linken Widerstandsgruppe", pp. 438-460, Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, IV, 7. year (October 1959), p. 451.

¹²Ruth Fischer, Stalin and German Communism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 503-505. "Another democratic birthright was the election of paid and unpaid party functionaries From now on, paid functionaries were nominated by the Central Committee, with the prior approval by the Moscow control men."

There were hundreds of German party members who became paid employees of the various Soviet agencies in Germany. A job with one of these was a haven, eagerly sought by many German Communists. Salaries were considerably higher than in comparable German institutions, working hours were shorter, and there were other privileges. Employees of the Soviet Trade Legation in Berlin ... could buy motorcycles, fur jackets, and similar luxuries at a large discount, and with their families could enjoy cheap holidays in Russia or sojourns to Russian sanatoriums Many revolutionaries, with careers in the Weimar Republic closed to them by their Communist activity ... found compensation in the service of the Russian state

During these years the German party numbered between 125,000 and 135,000 members

The apparatus consisted of the following

The Central Committee, its secretaries, editors, and technical employees	8500
Newspaper and printing plants, including advertising staff	800
Book shops, with associated agit-prop groups	200
Trade-union employees	200
Sick-benefit societies	150
International Workers' Aid with affiliated newspapers	50
Red Aid, including Children's Home in Thuringia	50
German employees of Soviet institutions (Soviet Embassy, trade legations in Berlin, Leipzig, and Hamburg, the Ostbank, various German-Russian corporations	1000
Total	<u>3300</u>

In addition, the invisible undercover agents must be estimated at least the same figure. Hence, almost one twelfth of the party membership was in direct Russian pay; and this was the most active element of the party, those who could be ordered to do any kind of party work, who could not refuse to participate in even the most insignificant factory meeting."

CHAPTER TWO

¹Weber, Der Gründungsparteitag der KPD op. cit., pp. 310-312, it contains an extensive, though incomplete, list of delegates.

²Ibid., p. 311.

³Ibid., p. 301.

⁴Ossip K. Flechtheim, Die KPD in der Weimar Republik (Frankfurt a. M.: Europäische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1969) pp. 144-145.

⁵Olaf Ihlau, Die Roten Kämpfer, Marburger Abhandlung zur politischen Wissenschaft, XIV (Weisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1969), p. 3.

⁶Ibid., p. 5.

⁷Ibid., p. 6.

⁸Ibid., pp. 77.

⁹Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 11.

¹¹Lenin, "'Left-Wing Communism': an infantile disorder", Collected Works, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966, London, Lawrence & Wishart), XXXI, p. 43.

¹²Lenin, "'Left-Wing Communism': an infantile disorder", Collected Works, Marxist Library, Works of Marxism-Leninism, XVI, 5 (New York: International Publishers, 1934, revised translation April 1970), p. 370.

¹³Ihlau, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁴The KAPD did expell Laufenberg and Wolffheim, but for disciplinary reasons, NOT because Moscow demanded it. Among other charges, the ECCI attacked the KAPD for National Bolshevism, knowing very well that the KAPD had rejected it.

¹⁵Hermann Gorter, "Offener Brief an Genossen Lenin", Frits Kool (ed.), Die Linke gegen die Parteiherrschaft (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1970), Dokumente der Weltrévolution, III, p. 481.

¹⁶Ihlau, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 18.

²⁰Ibid., p. 19.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 22.

²³Ibid., p. 24.

²⁴Protokoll des III. Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale (Verlag der Kommunistischen Internationale, Auslieferung: Hamburg: Verlag Carl Hoym, 1921), p. 186.

²⁵Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

²⁶Ibid., p. 27.

²⁷Ibid., p. 28.

²⁸Ibid., p. 29, n. 121, citing Die Aktion, #IV, XIV, year, June 30, 1924, pp. 344-347.

²⁹Ihlau, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁰Ibid, p. 29, n. 123, Franz Pfemfert, "Vom Werden des 'Spartakusbundes linkskommunistischer Organisationen'", Die Aktion, # 7, XVI year, July 1926, pp. 144-148, also, "Program des Spartakusbundes linkskommunistischer Organisationen", same issue, p. 139f; see also Bahne, op. cit., p. 367.

³¹Ihlau, op. cit., p. 31

³²Ibid., p. 32.

³³Ibid., p. 33-34.

³⁴Wilhelm Pieck, "Der Novemberumsturz in Deutschland", Die Kommunistische Internationale, XIX (II. year, n.d.g.), pp.71-82, (Petrograd: Smolny, Sinoviev, et. al., 1921), pp. 73-74.

³⁵E. Waldmann, The Spartacist Uprising of 1919 (Milwaukee: The Marquette Press), 1958, pp. 47-48.

³⁶Ursula Ratz, Georg Ledebour - 1850-1947, Veröffentlichung der Historischen Kommission Berlin, XXXI, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), p. 176.

³⁷Pieck, loc. cit.,

³⁸Weber, Der Gründungsparteitag der KPD, op. cit., pp. 270-271.

³⁹Ibid, p. 273.

⁴⁰Arthur Rosenberg, A History of the German Republic (New York: Russel & Russel Inc., 1965), p. 90.

⁴¹Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1933 /et al/) p. 539.

⁴²Lenin, "The Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International", Selected Works, X, pp. 200-206, 'The Communist International' (Moscow: Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, 1938), p. 200 "Under certain circumstances, the Communist International may be faced with the danger of becoming diluted with wavering and halfhearted groups

which have not yet abandoned the ideology of the Second International". pp. 201-202 "2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate to the Communist International must in a planned and systematic manner remove from all positions ... reformists and adherents of the 'Centre'" pp. 203 "7. Parties desiring to affiliate to the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with ... policies of the 'Centre' ... The Communist International imperatively, and as an ultimatum, demands that this rupture be brought about at the earliest date...." p. 204 "11. The parties which desire to affiliate to the Third International must overhaul the personnel of their parliamentary fractions, remove the unreliable elements from them" p. 204 "14. The Communist Parties ... must periodically purge (re-register) the membership" The above is also quoted in Hermann Weber, Die Kommunistische Internationale, pp. 55-62, "Die '21 Bedingungen' für die Aufnahme in die Komintern (1920)" (Hannover: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH., 1966). Günther Nollau, International Communism and World Revolution (London: Hollies & Carter, 1961), p. 52 "Zinoviev expounded the Conditions to the Congress ~~the~~ Second World Congress of the CI. It was necessary, he said, to lay down certain conditions for entry into the International in order to prevent undesirable parties and groups getting into it These rules were directed against the groups represented by ... Kautsky, Hilferding,", which were both members and leaders of the USPD.

⁴³ Angress, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

⁴⁴ Fischer, op. cit., pp. 146-147.

⁴⁵ Angress, op. cit., pp. 90-99.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 100

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 71.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 111

⁴⁹ Fischer, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Angress, op. cit., pp. 149-150. "Hölz achieved fame as a peasant leader first during the Kapp-Putsch. After the March Action he was jailed and thus became a hero for the communists. After his release, he proved to be too hard to control; revolutionaries were not needed anymore by the KPD. He was transferred to Russia, where he drowned under mysterious circumstances in the early 1930s."

⁵¹ Ihlau, op. cit., p. 19.

⁵² Angress, op. cit., p. 168.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 171.

⁵⁴ Ibid..

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 174.

⁵⁶ "Monatsschau der Kommunistischen Internationale, März - May 1921", Die Kommunistische Internationale, pp. 369-391, XVII (April 22, 1921), op. cit., p. 385.

57F. H. [/Fritz Heckert?], "Der Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands", pp. 91-95, Die Kommunistische Internationale, XVII (II. year, 1921), op. cit., p. 92.

58~~18~~ ~~Angress, op. cit., p. 209~~ 209.

59Ibid., pp. 211-219, among the expelled was Reuter-Friesland, who later, between 1945 and 1953, was the social-democratic mayor of West Berlin.

60Flechtheim, op. cit., p. 163.

61Ibid., p. 212.

62Some sources claim that the KAG had 13 seats in the Reichstag.

63Fischer, op. cit., p. 199.

64Angress, op. cit., p. 288.

65Fischer, op. cit., pp. 254-257.

66Angress, op. cit., p. 329.

67Margaret Buber-Neumann, Kriegsschauplätze der Weltrevolution (Stuttgart: Seewald Verlag, 1967), pp. 303-304, n. Carr, p. 159; see also Fischer, op. cit., pp. 281-282.

68Angress, op. cit., p. 421.

69Hermann Remmele, "Um den politischen Machtkampf in Deutschland", pp. 143-185, Die Kommunistische Internationale, XXXI-XXXII (V. year,) op. cit., p. 151.

70Ibid., pp. 178-179.

71Helmut Schachenmayer, Arthur Rosenberg als Vertreter des historischen Materialismus (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1924), p. 24.

72Hermann Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, I, (Frankfurt a. M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 99.

73Ibid., p. 1000 74Schachenmayer, op. cit., p. 25.

75Flechtheim, op. cit., p. 229.

76Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, I, op. cit., pp. 140-155.

77Ibid., p. 164. This was only a formality or a tactical arrangement. The various groups still maintained their differences.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 183-184. There is little information on the organization and activities of the German Trotskyists in the early 1930s. For Trotsky's views on developments in Germany see Leon Trotsky, Germany 1931-1932 (London: New Park Publications, 1970) and The Struggle against Fascism in Germany (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1971).

⁷⁹Bahne, op. cit., p. 382.

⁸⁰After 1923 the largest part of Brandler's supporters broke with Brandler and supported the new, left leadership. They "confessed" their "opportunistic right-wing deviations" (e. g. Brandlerism). Later, after the expulsion of the ultra lefts, some of this group, including Ernst Meyer and Ewert, felt that the time was right to reinstate Brandler and Thälheimer in the party's hierarchy. Stalin, however, did not want this and he used their efforts on behalf of the former leaders to discredit them. He called them derogatorily "Ver-söhnler", meaning "reconcilers".

⁸¹Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, I, op. cit., p. 211.

⁸²Internationale Presse Korrespondenz (Inprekor), CCXLI, (Berlin-December 18, 1928), p. 2808.

⁸³K. H. Tjaden, Struktur und Funktion der "KPD-Opposition" (KPO), Marburger Abhandlung zur politischen Wissenschaft, (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1965), I, p. 200.

⁸⁴Ibid, I, pp. 254-293.

⁸⁵Hanno Drechsler, Die Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, Marburger Abhandlung zur politischen Wissenschaft (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1965), p. 201.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 202.

⁸⁷Alfred Kastning, Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie zwischen Koalition und Opposition, 1919-1923 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1970), p. 89.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 96-98.

⁸⁹Ratz, op. cit., p. 214.

⁹⁰Heinrich Bennecke, Wirtschaftliche Depression und politischer Radikalismus - 1918-1930 (München: Günter Olzog Verlag, 1970). p. 570.

⁹¹Ratz, op. cit., p. 216.

⁹²Drechsler, op. cit., p. 9.

⁹³Alfred Fellich, "Die politischen Vorgänge in Sachsen", Die Glocke, XLIV, pp. 1099-1105 (Berlin-Neukölln: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, January 30, 1924, IX year, II), p. 1099, "... a caucus meeting of the Saxon SPD Landtagsfraktion interrupted, the Right moved into one room, the Left into another".

⁹⁴Fritz Bieligk, "Dem Ende zu?", Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft, XXVII (III year, July 9, 1925) no place of publication given, no page number given, also Oskar Edel, "Nach dem Sieg der Reaktion in Sachsen", Ibid., (III year, June 11, 1925), According to Edel even right-wing SPD papers demanded disciplinary action against the discipline breakers in Saxony, as discipline is not a matter of right or left.

⁹⁵"Ein politisches Trauerspiel in Sachsen", Ibid., (III year, June 14, 1925). ~~N. The~~ The SPD had introduced in 1924 certain legislations regarding municipalities which were considered to be quite progressive by left-wing politicians. At a vote, in which 24 SPD deputies voted with the bourgeois parties against 16 SPD deputies and the Communists, this legislation was repealed and replaced with new, supposedly repressive, legislation.

⁹⁶Drechsler, op. cit., p. 52.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 51-53.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰⁰Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁰³Ihlau, p. 41, states that Der Klassenkampf was published by Adler, Rosenfeld, Ströbel and Seydewitz. Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 21-24, reports that Der Klassenkampf united with and took the place of Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft. A reproduction of a frontpage of Der Klassenkampf in Drechsler, p. 31, lists among the authors Levi and Adler, but neither Rosenfeld nor Seydewitz. It also shows the subtitle, which reads Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft.

¹⁰⁴Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 44-45.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 42-43.

¹⁰⁷Drechsler, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁰⁸Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 46-48.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 56.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 56-57.

¹¹¹Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 137-138, n. 93, The Gruppe Revolutionäre Pazifisten, with Hiller, Mehring, Toller and its organ WeltBühne did not join the SAPD. Hiller, who had always wanted a strong peaceful organization between the SPD and the

KPD, blamed a rival pacifist organization for this. He claimed that Seydewitz had promised him that if a new party would be formed, he would let him participate. Küster, the leader of the Foersterpazifisten, who did help in the founding of the SAP, must have persuaded Seydewitz to leave Hiller's group out. (From a letter by Dr. Kurt Hiller to Hanno Drechsler). The Foersterpazifisten, to which Hiller referred, called themselves "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für linkssozialistische Politik" (AG), Drechsler, p. 138 (text).

¹¹²Ibid., pp. 137-139.

¹¹³Ibid, pp. 292-293, also Ihlau, op. cit., p. 73.

NO ELECTION PARTICIPATION, because today it does not develop /class/ consciousness, but supports the fraud perpetrated by monopoly capitalism, it is counter revolutionary. The election is a provocation of the working class

NO ELECTION PARTICIPATION, because it is today and here a political crime. One can not prove the impotence of parliamentarism by taking part in it

NO ELECTION PARTICIPATION, for the reason "to get known", because ... a proletarian party is not a new shop in menacing proximity of the older competition, with which one has to compete by using noisy advertising, handbill distribution, and staircase barking to bargain for mass attendance

Therefore our slogan is:

NOT: ELECTION STRUGGLE...
BUT: CLASS STRUGGLE!!!!

¹¹⁴Drechsler, op. cit., p. 306.

CHAPTER THREE

- ¹Prager, op. cit. pp. 157-158.
- ²Ibid., pp. 193-158.
- ³"Programmatische Kundgebung des ausserordentlichen Parteitages der USPD vom 2. bis zum 6. März 1919 in Berlin", Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Reihe II, Volume III, Institute für Marxismus-Leninismus, Zentralkomitee, SED (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1958) pp. 278-279.
- ⁴Prager, op. cit., pp. 207-210.
- ⁵Hans Martin Bock, Syndicalismus und Linksradikalismus von 1919 - 1923, Marburger Abhandlung zur politischen Wissenschaft (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1969), p. 267.
- ⁶Ibid., pp. 207-210,
- ⁷Hermann Weber (ed.), Der deutsche Kommunismus, Dokumente (Köln: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 1963), p. 273.
- ⁸Günther Hillmann (ed.) Selbstkritik des Kommunismus (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH., 1967), pp. 51-54.
- ¹⁰Kool, op. cit., p. 158.
- ¹¹Bock, op. cit., pp. 407-410.
- ¹²Ibid., pp. 414-416. ¹³Ibid.
- ¹⁴Ibid., p. 225. ¹⁵Ibid., pp. 281-284.
- ¹⁶Ibid., p. 382. ¹⁷Ibid p. 383.
- ¹⁸Kool, op. cit., p. 323. ¹⁹Bock, op. cit., pp. 385-386.
- ²⁰Paul Levi, Zwischen Spartakus und Sozialdemokratie, Schriften und Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe, Charlotte Beradt (ed.) (Frankfurt a. M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), pp. 46-47.
- ²¹The concept that the other lower classes, e. g. the lower middle class, the peasantry, the pauperized intelligentsia, etc. are unable to become revolutionaries, but are "one reactionary mass" was a Lasallean concept.
- ²²Levi, op. cit., pp. 48-51. ²³Ibid., pp. 53-54.

²⁴Weber, Der deutsche Kommunismus, op. cit., pp. 277-278, cited from Unser Weg, XV, (December 1921), also reprinted in Levi, op. cit., pp. 161-163, "Forderungen der KAG".

²⁵Paul Levi, "Die Not der Stunde", Unser Weg, XVII (IV. year, 1922), cited in Levi, Zwischen Spartakus und Sozialdemokratie, op. cit., pp. 163-169.

²⁶I. Sorge, "Die Stellung der KPD zur Einheitsfronttaktik", Die Kommunistische Internationale, I, pp. 54-78 (Hamburg: Karl Hoym, Nachf., VII, year, January 1, 1926), p. 68.

²⁷Ibid., p. 71.

²⁸Ibid., p. 75.

²⁹**/author/, "Die Liquidierung der Ultralinken in der KPD", Ibid., III. pp. 237-245 (VII. year, 1926), p. 241.

³⁰~~Die~~ Tagung des Erweiterten EKKI, Neunzehnte Sitzung", "Report of the German Committee", Unprekor, op. cit., XLV, pp. 628-632 (VII. year, March 19, 1926), p. 629.

³¹Ibid., (April 9, 1926), pp. 744-755.

³²Maslow, Der Kampf um die Kommunistische Partei. Plattform der Linken Opposition in der KPD., p. 34, cited in T. I., "Das neueste Machwerk Maslows", Die Kommunistische Internationale, V, pp. 225-232, op. cit., (February 1, 1927), p. 230.

³³Ibid, p. 45, cited in T. I., Ibid, pp. 230.

³⁴Sorge, op. cit., p. 72.

³⁵Karl Schmidt: "Kommunisten, Sozialdemokraten, Syndikalisten - und wildgewordene Spiessbürger", Die Internationale, IX, pp. 2264-276 (Berlin: Herausgegeben von dem Zentralkomitee der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands, Zentrale für Zeitungsverlage GmbH., February 1, 1927), pp. 265-266, citing Karl Korsch, Resolutionen zur Taktik der KPD.

³⁶Bahne, op. cit., p. 375. ³⁷Ibid., p. 369.

³⁸Weber, Der deutsche Kommunismus, op. cit., p. 287, from "Plattform der linken Opposition", pp. 285-288.

³⁹Jaden, op. cit., I, pp. 150-151.

⁴⁰Ibid., I, p. 369.

⁴¹Ibid., I, pp. 191-194, from the platform of the KPO and from Jaden's conversation with Brandler.

⁴²Ibid., I, pp. 68-69.

⁴³Ibid., I, p. 174.

⁴⁴Ibid., I, p. 155.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 72-73.

- ⁴⁶Ibid., I, pp. 70-72.
- ⁴⁷Weber, Der deutsche Kommunismus, op. cit., p. 297.
- ⁴⁸Ihlau, op. cit., p. 85. ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 84.
- ⁵⁰Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 205-207.
- ⁵¹Ibid., p. 208.
- ⁵²Weber, Der deutsche Kommunismus, op. cit., pp. 307-311.
- ⁵³Tjaden, op. cit., II, p. 56, as quoted from Gegen den Strom, 1930.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., I, p. 274.
- ⁵⁵Fritz Sternberg, Der Faschismus an der Macht (Amsterdam: Verlag Contact, 1935), p. 28.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., p. 33. ⁵⁷Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 229-230.
- ⁵⁸Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 118-119.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., p. 116. ⁶⁰Ibid., 116-119.
- ⁶¹Richard N. Hunt, German Social Democracy - 1918 - 1933 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 234.
- ⁶²Drechsler, op. cit., p. 176.
- ⁶³Thalheimer, "Faschistische Diktatur über Deutschland" Gegen den Strom, V, (1933), cited in Tjaden, op. cit., II, p. 281.
- ⁶⁴Records of the Reichs Leader of the SS and Chief of the German Police (Reichsführer SS und Chef der deutschen Polizei), The American Historical Association and General Services Administration (Washington: National Archives, 1958), Microcopy T-175, Roll 422, Frame 2,949,817-2,949,848. See also Appendix One.

CHAPTER FOUR

- ¹Drechsler, op. cit., p. 116.
- ²Bock, op. cit., pp. 413-414.
- ³Ihlau, op. cit., p. 56. ⁴Ibid., p. 75.
- ⁵Ibid., pp. 87-88. ⁶Ibid., pp. 76.
- ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid., p. 80.
- ⁹Tjaden, op. cit., I, pp. 113-115.
- ¹⁰Flechtheim, op. cit., pp. 156-157.
- ¹¹"Offenes Schreiben an die Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Arbeiterpartei", Die Kommunistische Internationale, XI, pp. 192-213 (Petrograd: ~~May~~ year, 1920), p. 192 and p. 196, in comparison, the ADGB had, at that time, approximately 8 million members, Ibid, p. 195; see also Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, ~~Op~~ op. cit., p. 39.
- ¹²Ihlau, op. cit., p. 29.
- ¹³Schachenmayer, op. cit., p. 26.
- ¹⁴Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 32-33.
- ¹⁵Tjaden, op. cit., I, pp. 119-120.
- ¹⁶Ibid., I, p. 121. ¹⁶Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 158-160.
- ¹⁷Ihlau., op.cit., pp. 78-80.
- ¹⁸"Die Roten Kämpfer. Zur Geschichte einer Widerstandsgruppe", Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, op. cit., p. 440.
- ¹⁹Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, ~~Op~~ op. cit., p. 39.
- ²⁰Statistik des deutschen Reichs, CCCXV, i-iv, "Die Wahlen zum Reichstag am 4. Mai und am 7. Dezember, 1924", i, pp. 23-88, vi, pp. 26-120, "Die Wahlen zum Reichstag am 20. Mai, 1928", CCCLXXII, i-iii, i, pp. 150-163, Statistisches Reichsamt (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing Verlag).
- ²¹~~Ibid., CCCXV, i, pp. 23-88~~ ²²Ibid., CCCLII, i, pp.150-163.
- ²³Bahne, op. cit., p. 366, pp. 370-371.

²⁴The supporters of the ~~AKP~~ ~~slate~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ Palatinate were mostly from Ludwigshafen, employed in all probability in the Badische Anilin Werke, as the workers in this factory have always had a strong and independent left communist tradition.

²⁵Statistik des deutschen Reichs, op. cit., CCCLXXII, 1, pp. 150-163.

²⁶Compiled from two tables in Weber, Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, I, op. cit., p. 33 and p. 34.

²⁷Tjaden, op. cit., I, p. 112.

²⁸Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, I, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁹Tjaden, op. cit., I, p. 122.

³⁰Drechsler, op. cit., p. 162.

³¹Ibid., pp. 159-162.

³²Statistik des deutschen Reichs, op. cit., 1928, CCCLXXII, 1, pp. 10-25.

³³Bock, op. cit., 427-444, also Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 168-183.

³⁴Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 81-82. ³⁵Ibid.

³⁶"Die Roten Kämpfer. Zur Geschichte einer linken Widerstandsgruppe", op. cit., p. 440.

³⁷Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1933), p. 539.

³⁸Ibid., 1920, pp. 178-179. The socialist vote in these seven districts was as follows:

Berlin	USPD	456,667	42.7%	SPD	187,473	17.5%	KPD	13,942	1.3%
Potsdam II	"	251,748	28.7%	"	146,846	17.4%	"	10,872	1.3%
Potsdam I	"	258,029	30.2%	"	176,029	20.6%	"	10,623	1.3%
Merseburg	"	310,953	45.2%	"	60,864	8.8%	"	10,681	1.6%
Thuringia	"	324,527	30.6%	"	162,567	15.4%	"	220,289	1.9%
Düsseldorf-East	"	319,911	32.8%	"	97,177	10.0%	"	12,229	1.2%
Leipzig	"	267,520	42.1%	"	57,749	9.1%	"	12,859	2.0%

³⁹Ibid.,

Mecklenburg	USPD	9.7%	SPD	37.0%	KPD	1.0%
Breslau	"	6.6%	"	36.1%	"	-
Westfalia-North	"	8.0%	"	21.9%	"	1.5% (Centre ap. 38%)
Cologne-Aix la Chapelle	"	8.3%	"	22.0%	"	- (Centre ap. 52%)

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 178-179,
 Coblenz-Trier.....USPD 5.6%, SPD 12.0%, KPD 7.2%
 Lower Bavaria-Upper Frankonia .. " 9.9%, " 10.2%, " 2.1%

⁴¹ Ibid., East Prussia, USPD 5.5%, SPD 22.3%, KPD, 2.2%,
 Schleswig-Holstein USPD 3%, SPD 37.3%, KPD 2.1%, the respec-
 tive percentage vote for the three socialist parties in 1920
 was 18.8%, 21.6%, and 1.7%, see also Appendix 5, „Socialistia-
 vötesvinöprotestantsfanningrarsärend.map.3, Appendix 4.

⁴² Ibid., 1924/5, pp. 391-392 and 1927, pp. 498-499.

⁴³ Statistik des deutschen Reichs, op. cit., CCCLXXII, 1,
 pp. 23-88.

⁴⁴ Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1927, pp. 500-501.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 1929, pp. 486-487. ⁴⁶ Ibid., 1928, pp. 582-583.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 1927, pp. 500-501.

⁴⁸ For Reichstag results Statistik des deutschen Reichs,
 op. cit., CCCLXXII, 1, pp. 10-25, for Landtag and Bürgerschaft
 results, Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit., 1928, pp. 582-583.
 The Reichstag election results for Prussia can only be given
 approximately, as several of the smaller states, such as Anhalt,
 Lippe, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Schaumburg-Lippe, were, for Reichs-
 tag elections purposes, combined with parts of Prussia in certain
 electoral districts.

⁴⁹ Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit., 1931, pp. 546-547.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1929, pp. 548-549, also Weber, Die Wandlung des
 deutschen Kommunismus, I, op. cit., p. 146. According to B
 Bahne, op. cit., p. 371, the Left had 13 Reichstag seats (out
 of a total of 45 elected for the KPD) and six Prussian Landtag
 seats.

⁵¹ Impreskor, op. cit., December 18, 1928, p. 2808.

⁵² Tjaden, I, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

⁵³ Ibid., I, pp. 231-233 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, op.
 cit., 1929, pp. 486-487, 1930, pp. 564-566, and 1931, pp. 548-
 549.

⁵³ Tjaden, I, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 235-237.

⁵⁵ Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit., 1929, pp. 486-487,
 1930, pp. 564-566, and 1931, 548-549. The Yearbooks state on
 certain dates, between elections, the respective strength of

the parties represented in the individual state legislatures. Often the number given for the KPD (or any other party) was less (or more) than the actual seats that party had won in the preceding election. In some cases the missing KPD seats showed up as either KPO or as "fraktionslos".

⁵⁷Drechsler, op. cit., p. 268.

⁵⁸Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit., 1932, pp. 544-545.

⁵⁹Parties, which did not have a Reichsliste, or ~~or~~ which failed to elect any deputies, could request that their unused votes be given to another party. See also [unclear]

⁶⁰Statistik des deutschen Reichs, "Die Wahlen zum Reichstag am 31. Juli und am 6. November, 1932", op. cit., CDXXXIV, pp. 11-42.

⁶¹Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 283-287.

⁶²Statistik des deutschen Reichs, op. cit., CDXXXIV, pp. 72-108.

^{63(a)}Drechsler, loc. cit.

^{63(b)}Ibid.

⁶⁴Ratz, op. cit., p. 218.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 219.

⁶⁶Bock, op. cit., pp. 419-420, citing "Rote Armee", Politische Akten der Regierung, I, 15785, Blatt 7, Düsseldorf.

⁶⁷Bock, op. cit., p. 296.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 298-303.

⁶⁹Tjaden, I, op. cit., pp. 235-237.

⁷⁰Ibid., I, p. 148.

⁷¹Ibid., I, pp. 123-128.

⁷²Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

⁷³Drechsler, op. cit., p. 178.

⁷⁴Tjaden, I, op. cit., pp. 224-227.

⁷⁵Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 164-169.

⁷⁶Tjaden, I, op. cit., pp. 145-147.

⁷⁷The material on left-wing splinter groups publications is based on data in Drechsler, op. cit., pp. 374-377, Ihlau, op. cit., pp. 192-197, Tjaden, II, op. cit., pp. 222-225, and Weber, Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus, II, (pp. 364-365.

CONCLUSION

¹Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 11.

²Erich Eyck, A History of the Weimar Republic, I, "From the Collapse of the Empire to Hindenburg's Election" (Cambridge, Masschusetz: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 50.

³Ernst Niekisch, Die Legende von der Weimarer Republik Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1968), p. 75.

⁴The KPD overtook the SPD occasionally or constantly in at least six districts. Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit.

Berlin	SPD, %	KPD, %	Westfalia-South	SPD, %	KPD, %
May 4, 1924	21.8	20.6	May 4, 1924	16.1	21.9
Dec. 7, 1924	32.1	19.1	Dec. 7, 1924	24.7	12.1
May 20, 1928	34	29.4	May 20, 1928	29.6	11.8
Sep. 14, 1930	28	33	Sep. 14, 1930	21.3	17
July 31, 1932	27.9	33.4	July 31, 1932	18.7	20.6
March 5, 1933	22.5	30.1	March 5, 1933	16.6	16.8
Cologne-A. la Ch.	SPD, %	KPD, %	Düsseld.-West	SPD, %	KPD, %
May 4, 1924	10.1	14.2	May 4, 1924	9.7	18.9
Dec. 7, 1924	15.1	8.8	May 20, 1928	17.2	14.7
Sep. 14, 1930	14.5	14.5	March 5, 1933	9.1	15.5
Oppeln	SPD, %	KPD, %	Düsseld.-East	SPD, %	KPD, %
May 4, 1924	4.2	16.7	May 4, 1924	11.4	24.9

(The same pattern held true in all elections).

⁵Paul Lensch, "Am Ausgang der deutschen Sozialdemokratie", Die Neue Rundschau, pp. 385-404, XXX. Jahrgang Der Freien Bühne (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1919), p. 401.

⁶Ibid., p. 402.

⁷Karl Diehl, Die Diktatur des Proletariats und das Rätesystem (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1924), Second Edition, pp. 2-3.

⁸Brass, Däumig, Friesland, Geyer, Hoffmann, Levi, "An die revolutionären Arbeiter Deutschlands", Die Freiheit, CXLI (March 24, 1922, V. year), p. 1, on the occasion of their joining the USPD.

⁹For the purpose of federal elections in the Weimar Republic Germany was divided into 35 electoral districts. These districts were joined together in groups of two or three Groups-of-Districts. In each electoral districts political parties could nominate a list of candidates. It was quite

common that the same list was used in several districts or that some candidates appeared on several lists of the same party but in different districts. The voters then voted for the whole list, in practice, for the party. For each 60,000 votes a party received within a district the party was allotted one deputy of its choice. Unused portions of the votes could be transferred and added to another district within the same Group-of-Districts, provided that in the other district the party received at least 30,000 votes, that is, half of what is required to elect one deputy. If there were still unused votes available they then were transferred to the Reichsliste. The party could then use the accumulated unused votes to appoint a deputy for each 60,000 votes. However, a party could not receive more deputies from its Reichsliste than it elected in districts. Thus, it was possible for splinter parties to receive more than 60,000 votes throughout Germany without electing a single deputy. Parties, which did not have a Reichsliste, could request that their unused votes be given to another party.

¹⁰ Paul Frölich, "Die deutschen Reichstagswahlen", Die Kommunistische Internationale, XXXIV-XXXV (May 1924) (pp. op. cit., p. 79.

¹¹ G. K. Chesterton, "The unfinished Temple", Whats wrong with the World (London: Cassel & Co., LTD., 1912), p. 36.

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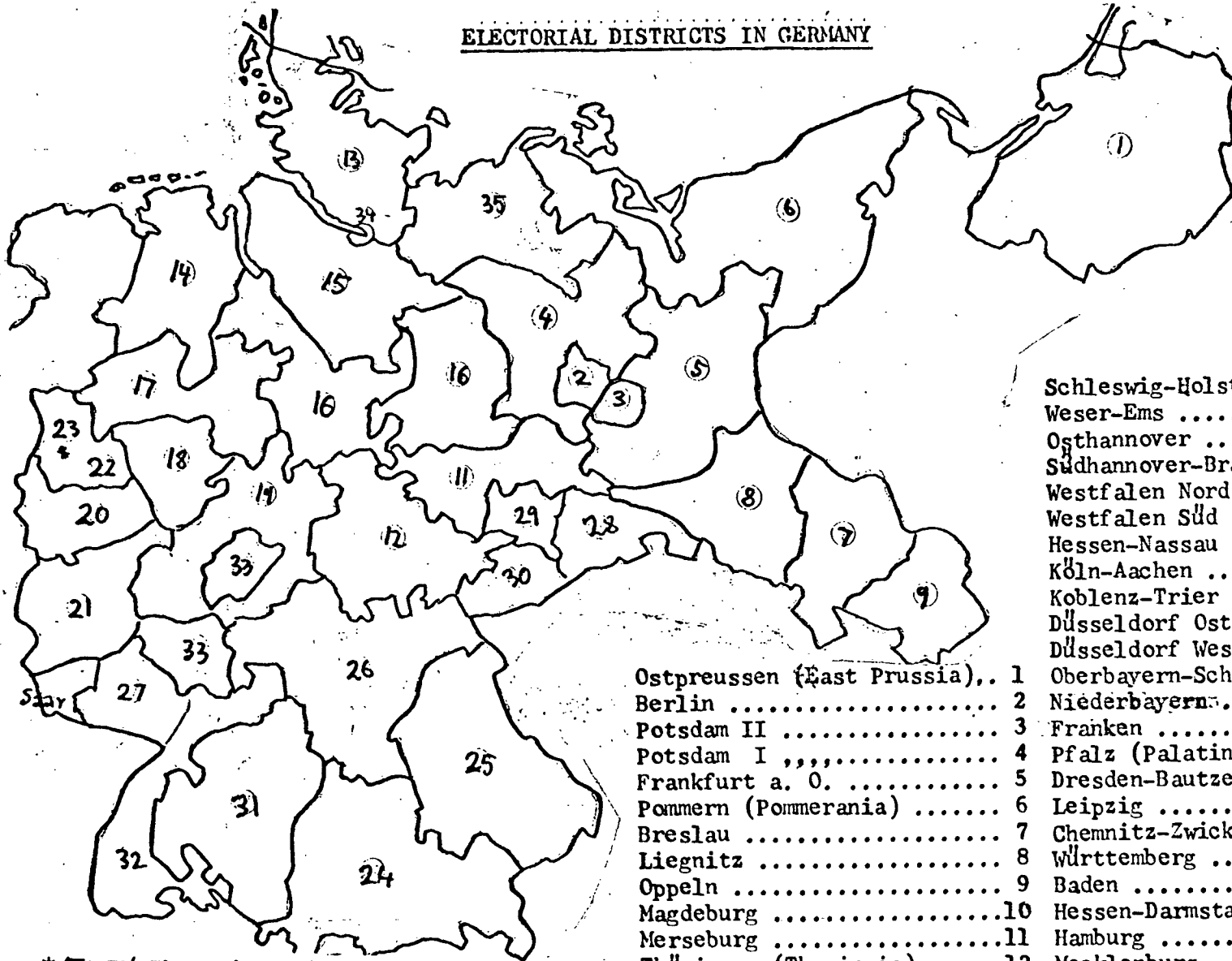
APPENDIX 1

AGE AND OCCUPATION OF 42 SAP MEMBERS ARRESTED BY THE NAZIS

Age of 42 SAP members arrested in Berlin between 1933 and 1937:	Occupation of 42 SAP membe bers arrested in Berlin between 1933 and 1937:		
Born before 1880	1	Workers, white collar ..	8
Born between 1880 and 1890 ..	6	Workers, blue collar ..	2
Born between 1890 and 1900 ..	4	Artisans	3
Born between 1900 and 1910 ..	19	Professionals	4
Born after 1910	9	Civil servants	1
No age given	3	Merchants	2
		Students	4
		Not given	16

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ELECTORIAL DISTRICTS IN GERMANY



Schleswig-Holstein	13
Weser-Ems	14
Osthannover	15
Südhanover-Braunschweig..	16
Westfalen Nord	17
Westfalen Süd	18
Hessen-Nassau	19
Köln-Aachen	20
Koblenz-Trier , , , , ,	21
Düsseldorf Ost	22
Düsseldorf West	23
Oberbayern-Schwaben	24
Niederbayern	25
Franken	26
Pfalz (Palatinate)	27
Dresden-Bautzen	28
Leipzig	29
Chemnitz-Zwickau	30
Württemberg	31
Baden	32
Hessen-Darmstadt	33
Hamburg	34
Mecklenburg	35

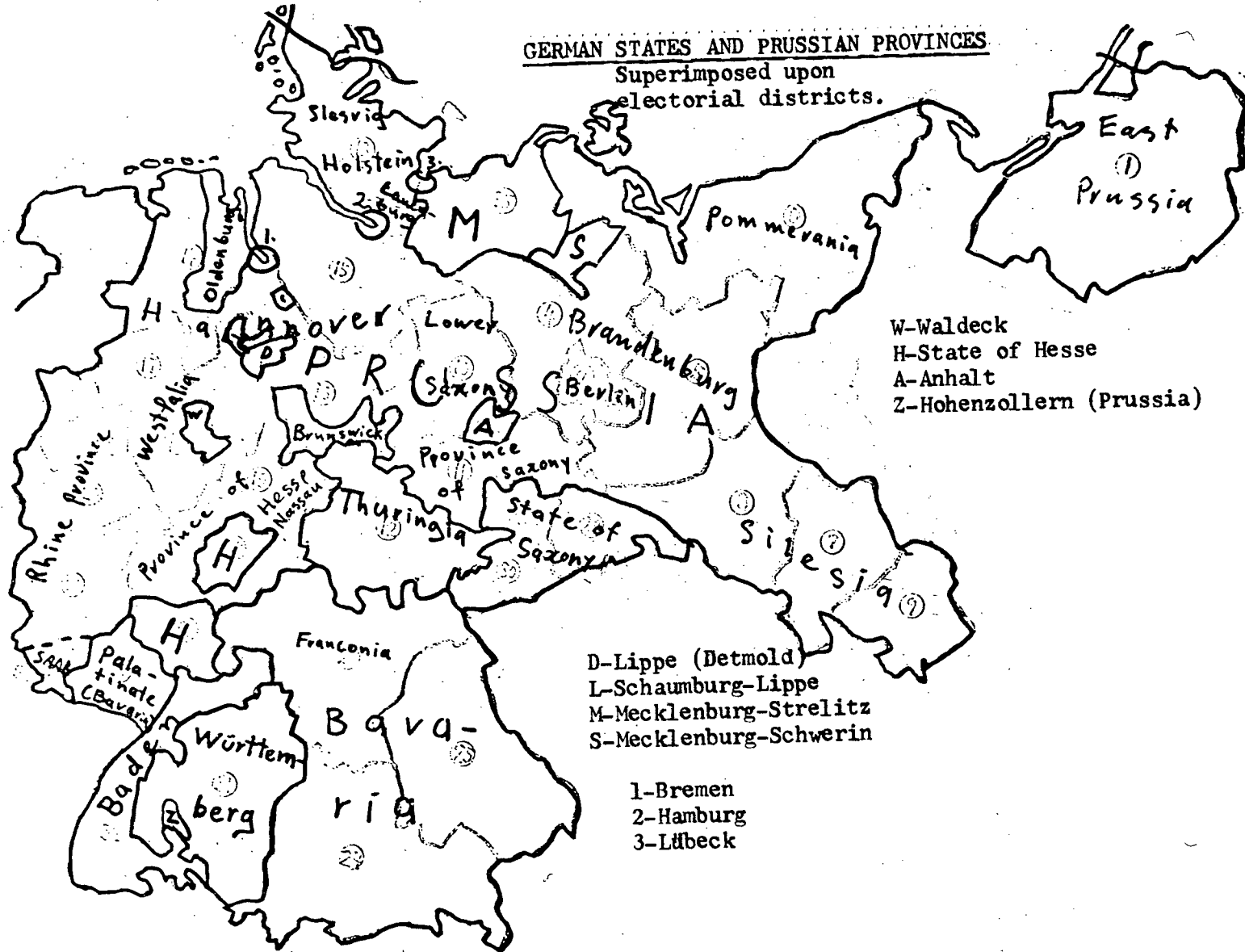
Ostpreussen (East Prussia),,	1
Berlin	2
Potsdam II	3
Potsdam I , , , , ,	4
Frankfurt a. O.	5
Pommern (Pommerania)	6
Breslau	7
Liegnitz	8
Oppeln	9
Magdeburg	10
Merseburg	11
Thüringen (Thuringia)	12

*/sic/ There is no line in the original to indicate the boundary between districts 22 and 23.

Wilhelm Dittmann, Das politische Deutschland vor Hitler (Zürich: Europaverlag, 1945).

GERMAN STATES AND PRUSSIAN PROVINCES

Superimposed upon
electoral districts.



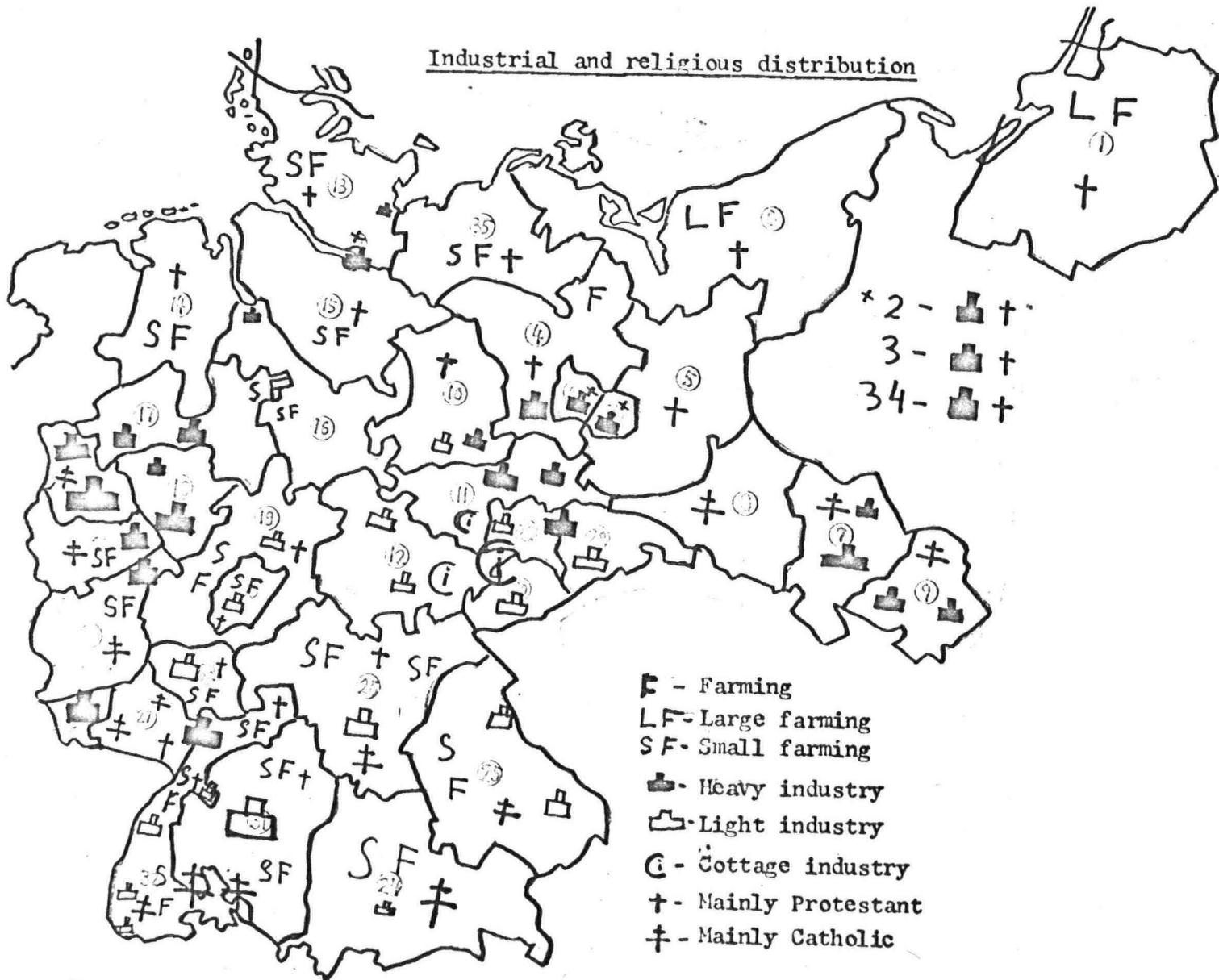
W-Waldeck
H-State of Hesse
A-Anhalt
Z-Hohenzollern (Prussia)

D-Lippe (Detmold)
L-Schaumburg-Lippe
M-Mecklenburg-Strelitz
S-Mecklenburg-Schwerin

1-Bremen
2-Hamburg
3-Lübeck

APPENDIX 3, MAP 2

Industrial and religious distribution



APPENDIX 5

SOCIALIST VOTES IN PROTESTANT FARMING AREAS

In the Reichstag election of June 6, 1920, the SPD exceeded its national average in Schleswig Holstein, heavily in Mecklenburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, East-Hannover, and South Hannover-Brunswick. The USPD exceeded its national average in South Hannover-Brunswick. The KPD exceeded its national average in Württemberg. Together the left-wing parties exceeded their national average in Mecklenburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and heavily in South Hannover-Brunswick. (SPD 21.6%, USPD 18.9%, and KPD 1.7%, for a total of 42.2%)

In the Reichstag election of May 1924 the SPD exceeded its national average of 20.5% in Schleswig-Holstein, Weser-Ems, East Hannover, South Hannover-Brunswick, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Mecklenburg. The KPD exceeded its 12.6% in none of the protestant farming areas. For the following Reichstag elections see the table below.

Electorial District		Dec. 1924	May 1928	Sep. 1930	July 1932	Nov. 1932	March 1933
Schleswig-Holstein	SPD	30.3%	35.3%	29.8%	26.7%	24.7%	22.2%
	KPD	6.7%	7.9%	10.6%	10.7%	13.3%	10.7%
	tog.	37.0%	43.2%	40.4%	37.4%	38.0%	32.9%
Pommern	SPD	24.6%	30.2%	24.7%	20.9%	19.8%	16.2%
	KPD	5.8%	6.1%	8.8%	10.7%	12.1%	7.6%
	tog.	30.4%	36.4%	33.3%	31.6%	31.9%	23.8%
Weser-Ems	SPD	25.4%	29.3%	24.3%	22.4%	21.3%	19.6%
	KPD	4.6%	5.1%	6.3%	7.9%	10.3%	7.9%
	tog.	30.0%	34.4%	30.6%	30.3%	31.6%	27.5%
East Hannover	SPD	28.1%	32.8%	28.1%	24.5%	23.3%	19.7%
	KPD	4.5%	5.8%	7.5%	8.2%	10.3%	7.5%
	tog.	32.6%	38.6%	35.6%	32.7%	33.6%	27.2%
South Hannover-Brunswick	SPD	35.7%	45.6%	39.4%	31.5%	31.0%	27.9%
	KPD	4.6%	3.5%	5.5%	8.2%	8.2%	7.5%
	tog.	40.3%	49.1%	44.9%	39.7%	39.2%	35.4%
Hesse-Darmstadt	SPD	35.6%	32.3%	28.9%	26.2%	23.3%	21.7%
	KPD	5.4%	8.7%	11.3%	10.2%	13.7%	10.9%
	tog.	41.0%	41.0%	40.2%	36.4%	37.0%	32.6%
Mecklenburg	SPD	34.2%	41.7%	35.2%	31.3%	30.5%	26.5%
	KPD	6.0%	5.6%	8.6%	9.4%	11.7%	7.4%
	tog.	40.2%	47.3%	43.8%	40.7%	42.2%	33.9%
National Average	SPD	26.0%	29.8%	24.5%	21.6%	20.4%	18.3%
	KPD	9.0%	10.6%	13.1%	14.3%	16.9%	12.3%
	tog.	35.0%	40.4%	37.6%	35.9%	37.3%	30.6%

In East Prussia, nearly entirely Protestant with large estates, in Württemberg (mostly Protestant, mostly farmer), and in Baden (half Protestant, half Catholic; half farming and half industrialized) the SPD remained on the average between 3 and 8 points below its national average, the KPD, between 1 and 4 points below. In elections to state assemblies in Protestant areas the left-wing parties received: in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on May 22, 1927, SPD 40.7%; in Hesse, on November 11, 1927, SPD 32.6%, KPD 8.5%; in Lippe, on January 18, 1925, SPD 34.6%; in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, on January 29, 1928, SPD 37.9%; and in Schaumburg-Lippe, on April 29, 1928, SPD 49.2% and KPD 3.7%.

-Statistik des deutschen Reichs, Statistisches Jahrbuch, and Dittmann, op.cit.

LEFT-WING ELECTION RESULTS IN SELECTED PRUSSIAN DISTRICTS IN 1919 AND IN 1921

Region	U S P D		S P D		K P D	Total vote	
	1919	1921	1919	1921	1921	1919	1921
Berlin, votes % elected deputies	275,255 28.15 6	197,277 20.30 4	343,475 35.13 8	220,855 22.73 5	112,299 11.56 2	982,481 21	974,048 20
Potsdam (1-9) & (10) in 1919 and I and II in 1921 % elected deputies	233,634 14.75 2/2 - 4	201,597 13.70 2/2 - 4	603,865 39.00 6/5 - 11	385,404 25.00 4/5 - 9	121,733 8 1/1 - 2	1,584,395 15/13 - 28	1,576,328 14/16 - 30
Merseburg and Erfurt (in 1919 together) votes % elected deputies	350,656 39.49 8	M 74,754 M 11.31% E 51,001 E 17.7% 1/1	144,552 16.28 3	M 70,340 M 10.64% E 31,608 E 11.003% 1(M),0	M 197,113 M 29.82% E 31,917 E 11.13% 4(M),0	890,662 19	M 667,109 E 289,244 12(M), 3
Frankfurt a.O. % elected deputies	13,869 0.7 0	47,548 5.88 0	287,088 51.84 6	242,973 31.85 6	21,270 2.79 0	557,518 12	772,306 17
Breslau, votes (Silesia) - % elected deputies	837 0.1 0	8,062 0.9 0	391,758 47.00 9	354,560 39.86 8	22,540 2.53 0	836,343 18	892,675 18
Cologne-Aix la Chapelle, votes % elected deputies	32 0.004 0	8,588 1.01 0	222,900 24.96 5	164,489 19.36 4	45,802 5.39 1	896,330 19	856,052 18
Coblenz-Treves % elected deputies	no slate entered	2,803 0.53 0	160,064 21.32 4	61,433 11.55 1	11,998 2.25 0	754,392 18	543,111 10
Total, Prussia % elected deputies allotted deputies	1,280,803 7.42 24	1,076,498 6.58 18 10	6,278,291 36.36 145	4,295,305 26.26 97 17	1,211,749 7.41 19 12	13,669,541 402	16,570,742 333 85

Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat (Berlin: Preussisches Statistisches Landamt), XVI, 1920, pp. 422-424, XVII, 1921, pp. 430-433.

APPENDIX 7

LEFT-WING VOTES IN THE REICHSTAG AND LANDTAG ELECTIONS OF 1924/25

Electoral District, Reichstag	May 4, 1924		U S P D				S B	
	SPD %	KPD %	May 4, 1924 votes	%	Dec. 7, 1924 votes	%	May 4, 1924 votes	%
East Prussia	15.3	11.7	6,194	0.6	1,991	0.2	--	--
Berlin	21.8	20.6	33,588	3.1	7,905	0.7	8,306	0.8
Potsdam II	18.8	13.1	15,694	1.8	4,366	0.5	3,947	0.4
Potsdam I	20.7	14.8	15,820	1.8	5,287	0.6	3,999	0.5
Frankfurt a. O.	20.1	6.8	6,441	0.8	2,404	0.3	--	--
Liegnitz	27.5	6.0	--	--	1,003	0.2	--	--
Merseburg	15.5	25.7	12,109	1.7	3,922	0.5	--	--
Magdeburg	32.0	10.1	--	--	--	--	3,606	0.4
Schlesw.-Holst.	24.9	10.2	7,959	1.1	3,499	0.5	--	--
East Hanover	21.3	7.9	--	--	1,369	0.3	--	--
S. Han.-Brunswic	30.0	8.2	10,036	1.0	2,915	0.3	--	--
Westfalia North	17.8	9.7	8,352	0.8	1,995	0.2	--	--
Westfalia South	16.1	21.9	21,075	1.6	10,710	0.8	--	--
Cologne-Aix la Ch.	10.1	14.2	6,238	0.7	3,141	0.4	--	--
Düsseldorf East	11.4	24.9	9,809	1.0	4,970	0.35	--	--
Düsseldorf West	9.7	18.9	6,283	0.8	3,387	0.4	--	--
Approximated total for Prussia			171,000	1.0	60,000	0.3	20,000	0.1
Prussian State el. Dec. 7, 1924	24.9	9.6			67,871	0.3		
Brunswik State el. Dec. 7, 1924	37.4	4.5			1,719	0.6		
Oldenb. State el. May 5, 1925	22.5	2.1					403	0.2
Thuringian State el. Feb. 2, 1924	23.1	13.4			6,709	0.8		
Electoral District, Reichstag	May 4, 1924		U S S P P D				S B	
	SPD %	KPD %	May 4, 1924 votes	%	Dec. 7, 1924 votes	%	May 4, 1924 votes	%
Thuringia	22.4	15.6	12,221	1.1	--	--	--	--
Upper Bavaria-Sw.	13.2	8.6	5,536	0.6	2,977	0.2	--	--
Lower Bavaria	9.2	7.1	1,883	0.4	1,398	0.3	--	--
Frankonia	23.3	6.1	6,094	0.6	6,211	0.5	--	--
Palatinate	23.3	13.5	1,282	0.4	3,206	0.8	--	--
Total Bavaria (4 Districts)			14,705		13,792			
Dresden-Bautzen	34.6	8.4	7,239	0.7	3,289	0.3	--	--
Leipzig	30.2	15.7	11,676	1.7	6,098	0.8	11,597	0.2
Chemnitz-Zwickau	27.2	19.8	--	--	2,049	0.2	4,963	0.4
Total Saxony (3 Districts)			18,915		11,436		6,560	
Baden	15.2	10.1	6,153	0.7	6,703	0.7	--	--
Hesse-Darmstadt*	22.5	9.3	4,038	0.6	932	0.2*	--	--
Hamburg	27.7	18.3	33,206	0.5	1,569	0.3	--	--
Mecklenburg	26.5	10.9	2,059	0.5	986	0.3*	--	--
Total Germany... (28 out of 35 districts)	20.5	12.6	235,141	0.8	99,183	0.3	26,418	0.1

*Sic, the respective percentages are upgraded from 0.145% and 0.215%.

Compiled from Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit., 1924/25, pp. 390-391, 1926, pp. 454-455, 1927, pp. 498-499.

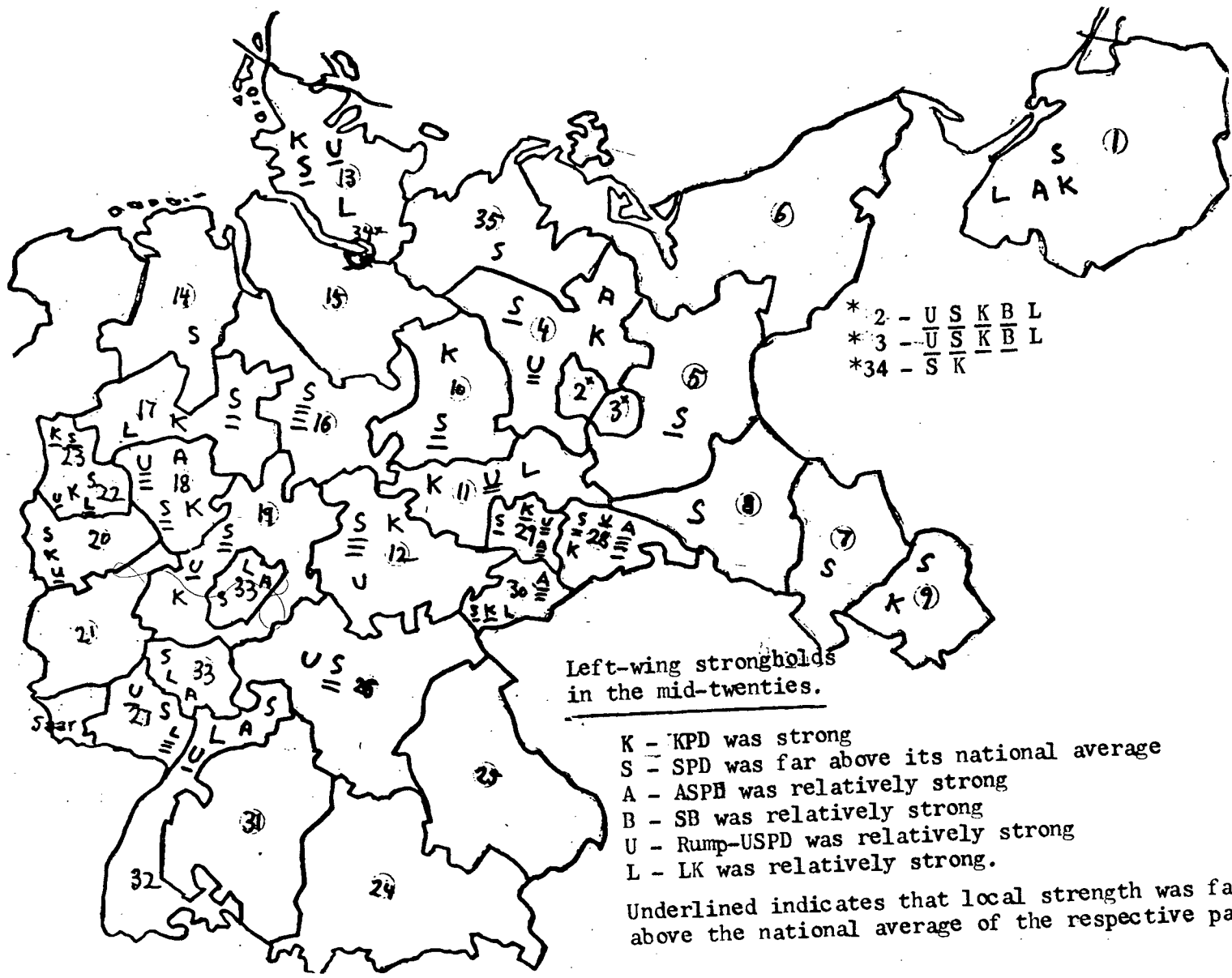
APPENDIX 8

LEFT-WING VOTES AT THE REICHSTAG ELECTION ON MAY 20, 1928

El. Dist.	S P D votes	dep.	K P D vote	dep.	USPD votes	L K votes	ASPD votes	Valid votes cast
1	268,007	4	94,949	1	-	2,919	2,863	998,807
2	404,786	6	352,086	5	1,951	3,975	1,021	1,189,807
3	301,766	5	172,316	2	1,071	3,373	1,180	986,512
4	342,664	5	169,034	2	1,617	4,087	2,102	989,177
5	271,145	4	49,148	-	1,228	2,264	762	819,177
6	271,577	4	54,795	-	-	2,063	1,591	898,542
7	367,232	6	43,771	-	-	-	-	972,305
8	229,518	3	25,587	-	-	3,165	1,191	606,891
9	70,960	1	71,626	1	-	-	-	563,952
10	391,014	6	65,850	1	-	2,392	-	909,377
11	171,967	2	176,113	2	1,563	3,409	-	720,535
12	367,904	6	137,169	2	-	4,386	-	1,107,246
13	278,801	4	62,106	1	-	3,777	-	788,654
14	206,112	3	35,637	-	-	1,738	-	701,760
15	168,620	2	29,847	-	-	-	-	514,377
16	477,346	7	36,216	-	669	-	-	1,046,762
17	293,541	4	107,002	1	-	3,391	-	1,202,161
18	363,379	6	145,700	2	1,366	5,555	2,056	1,228,803
19	377,205	6	93,093	1	3,037	4,590	-	1,171,262
20	172,930	2	97,391	1	1,154	3,986	-	934,496
21	68,875	1	27,483	-	-	-	-	557,368
22	202,503	3	238,725	3	-	3,080	2,144	1,067,829
23	143,347	2	122,108	2	-	-	-	832,539
24	265,114	4	50,602	-	566	-	-	1,168,395
25	86,398	1	12,496	-	-	-	1,709	564,174
26	355,308	5	37,645	-	456	1,781	1,889	1,246,251
27	119,548	1	27,645	-	402	3,122*	718	412,065
28	400,502	6	105,874	1	1,269	-	17,260	1,024,688
29	278,934	4	121,331	2	1,629	-	7,559	754,225
30	319,998	5	154,362	2	-	3,772	10,008	953,866
31	272,018	4	83,126	1	-	-	2,730	1,152,387
32	204,306	3	66,808	1	2,102	4,886	3,860	909,378
33	192,376	3	52,002	-	-	3,904	2,159	596,053
34	255,133	4	116,128	1	-	2,415	1,106	692,745
35	189,668	3	25,498	-	579	2,227	1,661	454,825

* AKPD

Compiled from Statistik des deutschen Reichs, op. cit., CCCLII, pp. 10-25 and (for the last column) Statistisches Jahrbuch, op. cit., 1928, p. 580.



* 2 - U S K B L
 * 3 - U S K B L
 * 34 - S K

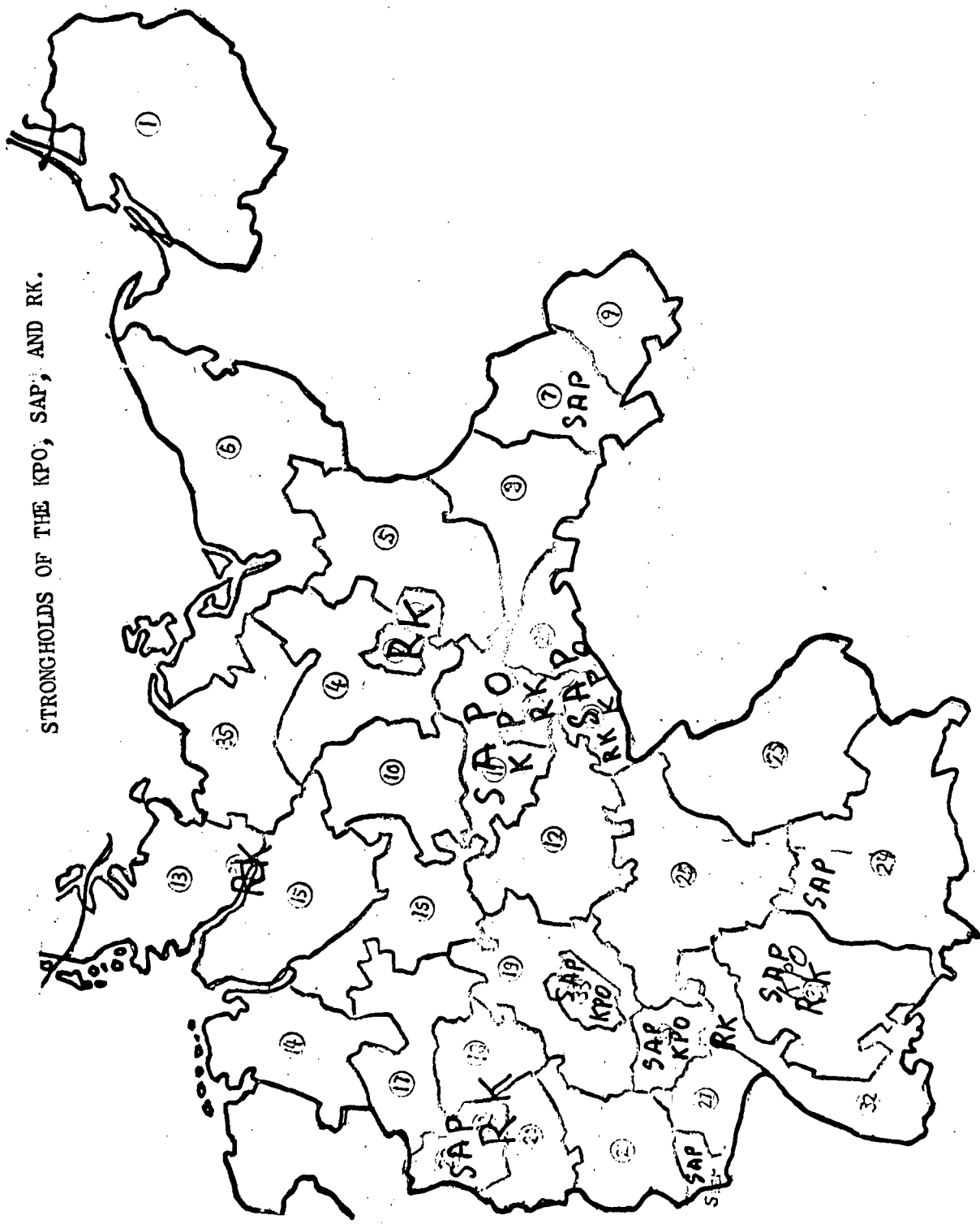
Left-wing strongholds in the mid-twenties.

- K - KPD was strong
- S - SPD was far above its national average
- A - ASPH was relatively strong
- B - SB was relatively strong
- U - Rump-USPD was relatively strong
- L - LK was relatively strong.

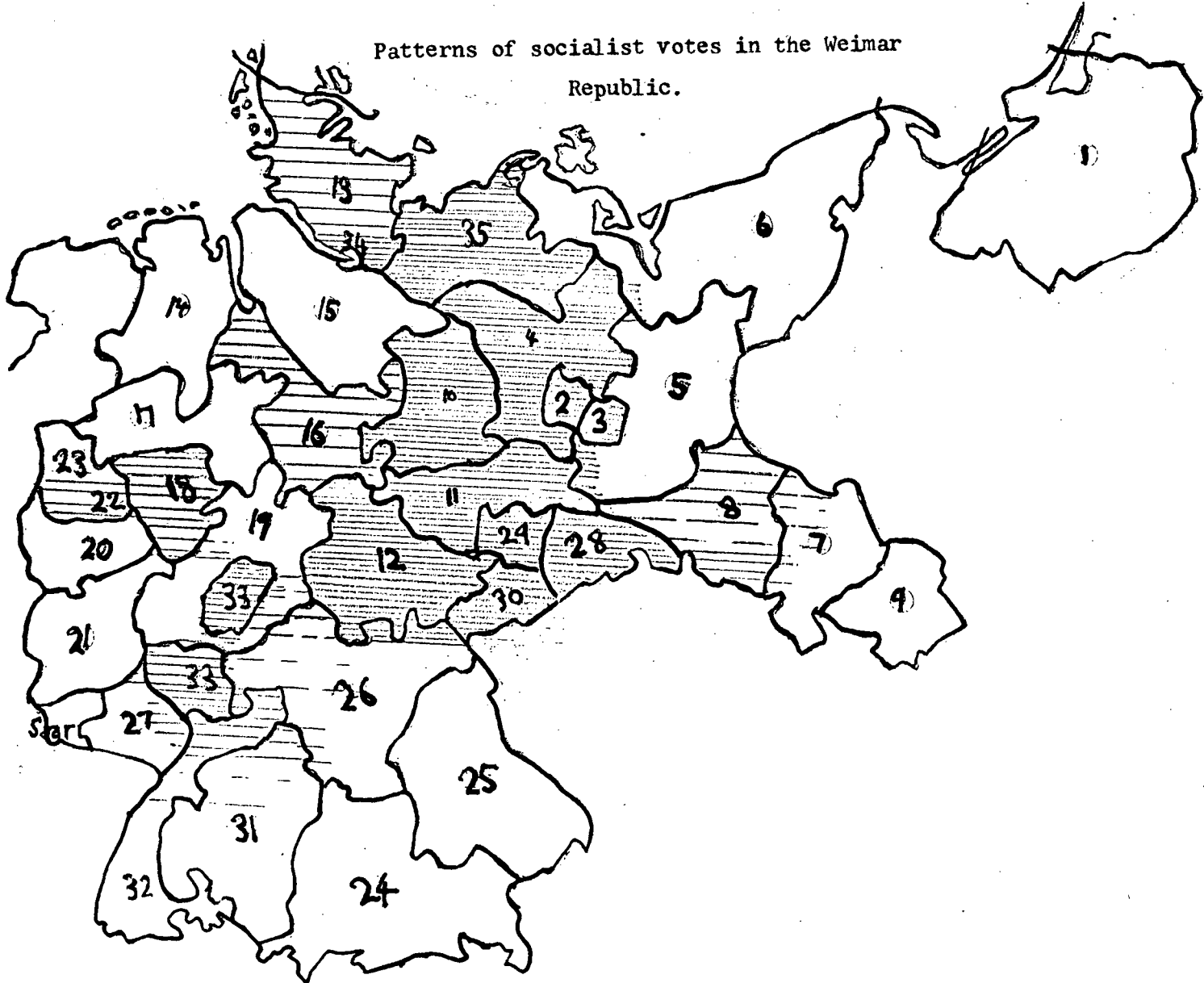
Underlined indicates that local strength was far above the national average of the respective party.

APPENDIX 10, MAP 5

STRONGHOLDS OF THE KPO, SAP, AND RK.



Patterns of socialist votes in the Weimar Republic.



APPENDIX 11, MAP 6

APPENDIX 12.

Number of elected deputies to the Reichstag by party affiliation.

Party	National Assembly 1919	July 1920	May 1924	Dec. 1924	May 1928	Sep. 1930	July 1932	Nov. 1932	March 1933
Deutschnatio- nationale Volkspartei	44	71	95	103	73	41	37	52	52
Deutsche Volkspartei	19	65	45	51	45	30	7	11	2
Zentrum (Centre)	91	69	65	69	61	68	75	70	74
DDP (Democrats)	75	40	28	32	25	-	-	-	-
Deutsche Staatspartei (Democrats)	-	-	-	-	-	20	4	2	5
Sozialdemokra- tische Partei (SPD)	163	108	100	131	153	143	133	121	120
Unabhängige (Independent) (USPD)	22	88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NSDAP (Nazis)	-	-	32	14	12	107	230	196	288
Wirtschafts- partei	-	-	-	17	23	23	2	1	-
Bavarian Volkspartei	-	21	16	19	16	19	22	20	18
KPD (Communists)	-	4	62	45	54	77	89	100	81
Others	8	7	29	12	29	49	9	11	7
Total	422	469	472	493	491	577	608	584	647

Compiled from Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich, op, cit., 1920-1933 and from Ferdinand Friedensburg, Die Weimarer Republik, (Hannover: Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt O. Goedel, 1957).

APPENDIX 13BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Given the limited role of splinter groups, few of the classical histories of the Weimar Republic mention them, let alone discuss them at length. What material there is on the splinter parties is widely scattered. Very often the only references to them are in histories of the two major left-wing parties, the SPD and the KPD.

The history of the USPD, however, provides an exception. Eugen Prager's Geschichte der USPD (1921) traces the USPD from its beginning to the Halle Convention. The author, a member of that party, tried to justify the split from the SPD. He bitterly denounced the Comintern, the KPD, and the left USPD members for destroying a flourishing party. Aside from this, nearly every book on left-wing splinter or mass parties mentions the USPD.

Books on the SPD give some information on splinter parties. Edwyn Bevan's German Socialdemocracy during the War (1918) is a thorough account of the splits within the pre revolutionary SPD and contains parliamentary debates and local newspaper sources. Richard Hunt's German Social Democracy 1918-1933 (1964) is very general, somewhat superficial, and contains some errors. Alfred Kastning relates the anguish of the Social Democratic Party in Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie zwischen Koalition und Opposition, 1919-1923 (1970).

Undoubtedly one of the best general works on German Communism in Weimar is Ossip Flechtheim's Die KPD in der Weimar Republik (1969). E. Waldmann, The Spartacus Uprising of 1919 (1958) deals with the planning, execution, and defeat of the, falsely named, Spartacus uprising. Werner Angress, in Still-Born Revolution (1963), gives a good account of the communists' involvement in the unrests and riots between 1919 and 1923 in Germany. Stalinization of the German Communist Party is described in Ruth Fischer's Stalin and German Communism (1948) (a tirade against Thälmann and Stalin), in Margaret Buber-Neumann's Kriegsschauplätze der Weltrevolution (1967), and in Hermann Weber's Die Wandlung des deutschen Kommunismus (1969). The latter, a two volume work, contains short biographies of communist leaders and documents on the communist movements in general.

Information on the KAPD can be found together with data on other parties. G. Hillmann, in Selbstkritik des Kommunismus (1967), gives, among other data, extracts of the KAPD program. F. Kool's Die Linke gegen die Parteiherrschaft (1970) contains many documents and writings by KAPD founders and theoreticians such as Pannekoek, Wolffheim, Gorter, Rühle, and Hölz. Versuchung oder Chance? (1965), by Karl Otto Paetel, relates the history of some national-communist organizations between 1918 and 1945.

Outstanding in the field of splinter parties are the contributions to the Marburger Abhandlungen zur politischen Wissenschaft by H. M. Bock, Hanno Drechsler, Olaf Ihlau, Werner Link, and K. H. Tjaden. In Syndikalismus und Linkskommunismus

(1969), H. M. Bock traced the anarchist and syndicalist roots in the German workers' movement. He deals extensively with the FAUD, the KAPD, the AAU, and the AAUE. In Die Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei (SAP) (1965) H. Drechsler wrote the history of the SAP. He traced that party's roots back to the USPD, the Levites, the KAPD, the Rote Kämpfer, and the KPO. Werner Link, in Geschichte des Internationalen Jugendbundes (IJB) und des Internationalen Sozialistischen Kampfbundes (ISK) (1964) relates the history and ideology of the Nelson Bund. Die Roten Kämpfer (1965), by Olaf Ihlau, deals with the KAPD, the SPD, and with the RK groups. The story of the KPO is told by K. H. Tjaden in Struktur und Funktion der "KPD-Opposition" (KPO) (1964). The latter work's second part is entirely comprised of primary materials. All these books contain short biographies of the principal persons involved in the various movements.

For a detailed account of Weimar Germany Erich Eyck's A History of the Weimar Republic (Volume I, 1962 and Volume II, 1963) is invaluable. Arthur Rosenberg's A History of the German Republic (1965) is a precise, chronological account of the Weimar Republic, written by a long time communist member of the Reichstag. Ferdinand Friedensburg, who was for a while chief of the police in Berlin during the Weimar Republic, kept his notes hidden during the Hitler period. His work, Die Weimarer Republik (1967) shows the problems of his period from a civil servant's point of view. Ernst Niekisch's Die Legende von der Weimarer Republik (1965) is a critical account by a former Marxist, later anti fascist revolutionary conser-

tive. Jon Jacobson's Locarno Diplomacy (1972) shows the international influence and Heinrich Bennecke's Wirtschaftliche Depression und politischer Radikalismus (1970) elaborates on the economic influence on Weimar Germany. Wilhelm Dittmann, in Das politische Deutschland vor Hitler (1945) provided statistics, graphs on election results, and maps of each of the thirty-five electoral districts, for each federal election. René Brunet's The new German Constitution (1922) and Heinrich Oppenheimer's The Constitution of the German Republic (1923) give not only the text of the Weimar Constitution, but also elaborate on it.

An excellent biography on Paul Levi was written, under the title Paul Levi (1969), by Charlotte Beradt. Ursula Ratz published Georg Ledebour (1969), a rather unpolitical biography of a highly political figure. Hans Adolph deals with a prominent social democrat in Otto Wels und die Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1894-1939 (1971).

Fritz Sternberg's Der Faschismus an der Macht (1935) is valuable. Sternberg was not only the chief theoretician of the SAP but also influenced earlier on the program of the KAPD and the ideology of the Rote Kämpfer. Die Diktatur des Proletariats und das Rätesystem (1924) by Karl Diehl attempts to explain the different concepts of these two terms as held by the various radical organizations.

Election statistics are presented in Statistisches Jahrbuch and Statistik des deutschen Reichs. The latter gives a district for district account of the slates presented, the names, occupation, and hometown of each candidate, and the

votes received. The various Protocols, Progress Reports, and Resolutions of the Comintern meetings and sessions of the ECCI and EECI, published by the Comintern, provide an immense amount of material on various communist parties and contain some references to splinter groups. Paul Levi's Zwischen Spartakus und Sozialdemokratie (1969), edited by Charlotte Beradt, is a collection of letters, essays, and speeches by Levi from the time he became a communist member of the Reichstag until his death. Der Gründungsparteitag der KPD (1969), edited by H. Weber, provides material on the founding convention of the KPD.

Not much reference to splinter parties is contained in contemporary SPD journals such as Die Gesellschaft, Sozialistische Monatshefte, and Die Glocke. Levi's Sozialistische Politik und Wissenschaft is, in this respect, better. Die Kommunistische Internationale, Die Internationale, and the Internationale Presse Korrespondenz give more information on splinter groups, however, it is highly biased and venomous. Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, and Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, both commissioned by Walter Ulbricht and the SED, border on fiction. Die Neue Rundschau, an independent review, has some articles referring to the political affairs. Archiv für Sozialgeschichte and Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte have a number of articles on Marxist parties under Weimar.

APPENDIX 14CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1918 October 30 Mutiny of the German Navy.
 November 7 Revolution in Munich.
 8 Flight of the Kaiser.
 Ebert and the Volksbeauftragte assume the
 office of state.
 10 Meeting of the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers'
 Councils in the Circus Busch.
 11 Armistice.
 28 Formal Abdication of Wilhelm II.
 December 16 Congress of Workers' and Soldiers', Council
 meets.
 25 Government uses troops against Berlin
 insurgents.
 27 The USPD leaders withdraw from the provisional
 government.
- 1919 January 1 Founding of the KPD (Spartakusbund) in Berlin.
 5 Founding of the NSDAP in Munich.
 Insurrection in Berlin (Spartakus week).
 12 Troops defeat insurgents.
 15 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg murdered.
 19 Election for the National Assembly.
 February 6 The National Assembly meets at Weimar.
 11 Ebert elected President of Germany by the
 National Assembly.
 16 First post War government appointed under
 Scheidemann.
- March (beginning)
 (end) Unrest in Berlin, suppressed by troops.
 Unrest in the Ruhr area, suppressed by
Freikorps.
- June 20 20 Cabinet Scheidemann resigns, Bauer forms
 new cabinet.
 22 Acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles.
 August 17-18 Polish insurrection in Upper Silesia.
 October 8 Haase, leader of the USPD assassinated.
- 1920 March 13-17 Kapp-Putsch.
 April 5 Mass defection at the KPD convention at
 Heidelberg leads to formation of the KAPD.
 June 6 Reichstag election.
 25 Fehrenbach (Centre) chancellor.
 August 17-28 Polish insurrection in Upper Silesia.
 October 16 USPD splits.
 November 26 KAPD receives associate membership in the
 Comintern.
 December The Left-USPD joins the KPD.

- 1921 February 18 Levi resigns as chairman of the KPD.
Pfemfert, Rühle, and Broh leave the KAPD, form AAUE.
- March 16-29 March Action in central Germany, Hamburg, and in the Ruhr area.
- April 20 Plebiscite in Upper Silesia (60% for Germany).
- April Levi and others expelled from the KPD.
- May 2 Polish troops invade Upper Silesia.
- 5 London Ultimatum issued to German government.
- 10 Freikorps defeat Poles on the Annaberg.
- 27 British, French, and Italian troops restore order in Upper Silesia.
- June Bavarian USPD member Gareis assassinated.
- August 26 Erzberger assassinated.
- November 20 First KAG Reichskonferenz.
- 1922 March 7 KAPD splits into a Berlin and an Essen section.
Occupation of the right side of the Rhine by Allies.
- April 16 Treaty of Rappollo signed by Germany and the USSR.
- June 4 Attempted assassination of Scheidemann.
- 24 Rathenau assassinated.
- July 24 SPD and USPD Reichstag deputies form an Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialistischer Parteien.
- September 20-23 USPD convention at Gera and SPD convention at Augsburg leads to reunification at Nuremberg.
- 1923 January 11 Occupation of the Ruhr by French and Belgian forces.
- April 2 Rump-USPD splits over the Ruhr issue.
- May 26 Albert Leo Schlageter executed by the French.
- August 12 Curzon Note on France and Belgium.
- 13 Stresemann replaces Cuno as chancellor.
- September 30 Insurrection by Separatists in Düsseldorf.
- October 1 Buchrucker Putsch attempt in Kùstrin.
- 10 Socialist-Communist government in Saxony.
- 16 Socialist-Communist government in Thuringia.
- 22-24 Separatist uprising in the Rhineland.
Communist uprising in Hamburg.
Strikes and riots in Saxony (October Disturbances), Reichsaktion against Saxony.
- November 9 Hitler Putsch in Munich.
- 15 End of Inflation.
- 1924 May 4 Reichstag election.
- August 29 German acceptance of the Dawes Plan.
- December 7 Reichstag election.

- 1925 January 9 Barmat-scandal in Berlin.
 February 28 Death of Ebert.
 April 26 Hindenburg elected President of Germany.
 July ASPD founded
 21 Ruhr Occupation ended.
 September 1 Open Letter by the Comintern against the German left Communists (Fischer-Maslow e.g.).
 October 5-16 Locarno Treaties.
- 1926 January 8 KPD expelled Katz group.
 May 3 KPD expelled Korsch-Schwarz group.
 17-18 Conspiracy of a Putsch by Class discovered.
 August KPD expels Fischer-Maslow group.
 September 3 League of Nations admits Germany.
 28 ~~Korsch-Schwarz~~ group splits in two.
 November 5 KPD expels Urbahn, Scholem, and others.
- 1927 May 13 "Black Friday" at the Berlin Stock Market.
- 1928 March 15 Panzerkreuzer A budget approved.
 April 9 Lenin Bund founded.
 May 20 Reichstag election.
 June Kampfkartell Spartakusbund linkskommunistischer Organisationen founded.
 Summer Comintern makes left turn.
 August 27 Kellogg-Pact.
 December ~~Right~~ Right Communists present an independent slate for the municipal election in Stuttgart.
 21 KPD expels Walcher, Frölich, and others.
 29 Reichskonferenz of the (right) Opposition in the KPD at Berlin.
- 1929 January 18 Comintern expels Brandler and Thalheimer.
 September 24 New York Stock Market Crash.
 26 Sklarek scandal.
- 1930 March 13 Germany accepts Young Plan.
 April 1 Brüning becomes chancellor.
 September 14 Reichstag election. NSDAP wins 107 mandates.
 November Der Rote Kämpfer first published.
- 1931 July 7 Hoover Moratorium on War Debts.
 13 Closure of all banks, Credit Unions, and stock exchanges.
 October 4 Reichskonferenz of the left SPD at Leipzig, SAP formed.
 11 Formation of the Harzburger Front.
- 1932 April 10 Re-election of Hindenburg.
 June 1 Cabinet Papen takes office.
 July 20 Staatsstreich by Papen in Prussia.
 31 Reichstag election, NSDAP wins 230 mandates.
 September 6 Reichstag election.
 December 3 Cabinet Schleicher takes office.

1933	January	30	Hitler becomes chancellor.
	February	27	<u>Reichstag</u> fire.
	March	5	<u>Reichstag</u> election, NSDAP wins 2288 mandates.
		24	<u>Ermächtigungsgesetz</u> accepted.