EBERT AND THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

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INTRODUCTION.

This essay is an attempt to trace the growth of parties in Germany, especially the Social Democratic party, and tries to show how they came into power after the collapse of the Bismarckian Empire which was transformed into a Republic. To Ebert the first president is due much credit for the stability and wise procedure during the crisis, when the fate of the Republic was in Social Democratic hands. Ebert never outstanding, brilliant, or having great power, was a true son of the Fatherland and a tactful, safe and sane leader of the Republic.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

The original two Prussian parties were the Conservatives and the Fortschritt parties. The Conservatives were composed of clergy and landed gentry and dominated the government of Prussia from 1848 to 1866. After 1866, however, the power of the Conservatives declined.[1].

The Conservatives split, forming a new group called the Free Conservatives. The Fortschritt, or Progressive party, also split, forming the National Liberal party, the new Fortschritt became known as Radicals.

Bismarck had the support of the Free Conservatives and the National Liberals.[2].

Among the newer groups were the Clericals or Centre, and the Social Democrats.[3].

The Centre sprang into being as the result of the Kulturkampf, and was essentially Catholic, resisting radicalism, secularization of schools, and the encroachment of the central governmental power over the individual states.[4]. The party had its strength in the Rhenish and Polish provinces of Prussia and in Bavaria. The Centre was well organized and for a long time was the strongest party in numbers in the Reichstag.

The Social Democratic Party was founded in 1869 by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel.[5]. Ferdinand Lasalle had in

1. F. A. Ogg - Governments of Europe. p. 685.
2. Ibid. p. 686.
3. Ibid. p. 687.
4. Ibid. p. 687.
5. Ibid. p. 687.

1863 organized a Universal Workingmen's Association. The Workingmen's Association and the Social Democrats had been rivals, but in 1875 at Gotha they united, and at the same time a number of socialistic societies also merged with the two larger ones. This merger is henceforth known as the Social Democratic Party.(6).

The development of socialism between 1870 - 1880 in Germany was phenomenal. At the parliamentary elections of 1871 the Social Democratic vote was three per cent of the total, or 124,655, and two Social Democratic members obtained seats in the Reichstag. In 1874 nine members were returned to the Reichstag, and in 1877 twelve members.(7).

The Chamcellor, Kaiser, and well-to-do classes viewed the growth of this movement with apprehension. From 1878 - 1890 anti-socialist legislation was put on the books and strictly enforced.(8).

In order to take the wind out of the Socialist sails the Chancellor tried State Socialism introducing sickness insurance in 1883, accident insurance in 1884, and old age and invalidity insurance in 1889.(9).

Socialism like most other groups that are persecuted thrived. Propaganda was carried on secretly in every corner of the Empire.

In 1878 the party cast 437,158 votes showing a decrease, but in 1884 this was raised to 549,990 and 24 members

6. F. A. Ogg - Governments of Europe p. 688
7. G. M. Priest - Germany Since 1740 pp. 130-133.
8. F. A. Ogg - Governments of Europe p. 688.
9. F. A. Ogg - Economic Development of Modern Europe, Chap. 24.

were returned to the Reichstag. In 1890, thirty-five were returned to the Reichstag. Repression had proved to be a failure, and the anti-socialist legislation was withdrawn.(10).

However the party continued to develop rapidly; in 1893 Reichstag members numbering 44, in 1896 the members numbered 57, in 1903 members to the number of 79 were seated, which all shows the phenomenal growth of the party.

The Conservatives were composed of the landowning Junkers, military caste and agricultural wage earners.(12).

The major parties at the beginning of the war were Conservative, Centre, National, Liberal, Radical and Socialist.(11).

The Centre was the party of Catholicism, containing both aristocratic and popular elements, and was more representative of all classes of people in the Empire than any other party.(13). The leaders came from the Catholic nobility of Bavaria and Silesia.(14).

Social Democracy was the party of the industrial classes. The National Liberals were the party of the middle classes, and especially the industrial leaders and managers. The party stood for reform, abolition of the three class system of voting, restriction of clerical influence in education and government. It supported armaments, colonial expansion and an aggressive foreign policy.

The Radicals and Progressives were also a middle class group composed of industrial leaders and managers and very similar in aims to the National Liberal party. They strove

10. W. H. Dawson - Social Insurance in Germany p. 18.
11. F. A. Ogg - Governments of Europe p. 694.
12. Ibid.
13. Priest - Germany Since 1740 p. 134.
14. Ogg - Governments of Europe p. 696.

for parliamentary government and the subordination of the military to the civil government. The Radicals were not the tool of big industry, but neither were they the party of the masses like Social Democracy.

Social Democracy in Germany had the best organized party in Europe. The party received many votes from the middle classes because Social Democracy was the only organization through which they could effectively protest.(14).

The Social Democratic party was governed by a congress composed of six delegates from each electoral district of the Empire; the executive committee and Socialist members of the Reichstag. The congress met annually and attended to all matters pertaining to the party in very thorough fashion. Freedom of discussion was allowed, but decisions arrived at by the Congress were to be accepted without complaint or equivocation. Between the annual sessions an executive committee of seven members chosen by the Congress carried on the work. The committee was assisted by itinerant secretaries. The membership of the party was divided in branches, instructing the youth and women and in every possible was advancing the party's ideals and program.(15). The party press consisted of 75 newspapers, with a circulation of 1, 100, 000 copies; Vorwärts the central organ with a daily circulation of 139,000; the weekly Die Neue Zeit with a

14. Ogg - Governments of Europe p. 696.
15. Ibid.

circulation of 475,000; the Wahre Jacob, a humorous weekly, with a circulation of 250,000; the party had 200 central circulating libraries and 375 branches.(16).

The Erfurt program consisted of the two following general principles: It was Marxist in content and spirit, all traces of anarchism had been removed, and it was a revision of the platform adopted at Gotha in 1876.

The objects of Social Democracy are the conversion of the capitalistic private ownership of the means of production into Social ownership. Socialist production is to be carried on by, and for all society. The struggle of the workers against capitalism is a political struggle. The Social Democrats want abolition of class privileges, equality of rights and duties without distinction of sex or rank. Social Democracy is struggling against exploitation in all forms whether against sex, party, class, or race.(17).

The demands of the Program of Social Democracy were as follows:

1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage by ballot in all elections for all subjects of the Empire over 20 years of age, without distinction of sex; proportional representation; biennial elections to the Reichstag; and payment of representatives.

2. Direct legislation by the people through the use of the right of initiative and veto; self-government by the people in Empire, state, province, and commune; an annual vote of taxes.

3. Universal military training; substitution of a militia

16. Orht - Socialism and Democracy in Europe pp. 298-301.
17. Ogg - Governments of Europe p. 698.

for a standing army; decisions of questions of peace and war by the Reichstag; settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

4. Abolition of all laws restricting freedom of speech and freedom of public assembly.(18).

5. Abolition of all laws that put women in private or public capacity, at a disadvantage with men.

6. Declaration that religion is a private matter; discontinuance of all public funds for ecclesiastical purposes.

7. Secularization of education; compulsory attendance at public schools; free education; free supply of educational apparatus; free maintainance of children in schools and students in higher institutions that prove themselves fitted for higher education.

8. Free administration of law by judges elected by the people; compensations to persons unjustly accused; imprisoned or condemned; abolition of capital punishment.

9. Free madical treatment, including medicine, and free burial.(19).

10. Income, property, and inheritance taxes to meet all public expenses that are to be met by taxation; abolition of all indirect taxation, customs duties, and other measures which sacrifice the interests of the people at large to those of a small minority.(20).

18. Ogg - p. 698.
19. Ibid. - p. 699.
20. Ibid. - p. 699.

11. A national and international system of protection of labor on the basis of a working day of not more than eight hours, the prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age, and the prohibition of night work, except where absolutely necessary, supervision of all industrial establishments and regulations of the conditions of labor by government departments and bureaus; confirmation of the rights of working men to form organizations.(21).

The program was based on Marxist economics and on specific and practical objects to be attained.

Social Democracy stressed political action, and from 1891 onward Socialists tried to shape the party machinery and theories to practical and immediate ends.

An element appeared in the Socialist ranks headed by Edward Bernstein who came to be known as Revisionists. Bernstein and his group believed that "the movement is everything, the goal nothing."(22).

Karl Kautsky headed the Marxists in opposition to Bernstein, and Bebel used his efforts to prevent an open breach in Socialist ranks.(23).

After the election of 1907 in which the party lost one-half their seats, the tide turned in favor of the Revisionists. The Erfurt Program was not formally modified.(24).

By 1914 five sections were visible in the Social

21. Ogg - Goverments of Europe p. 699.
22. Ibid. pp. 699 - 700.
23. Ibid. pp. 700.
24. Ibid. pp. 701-702.

Democratic party, the Extremists headed Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and they advocated class war refusing co-operation with non-socialist parties; The Left Center represented in the Reichstag by Hugo Haase and George Ledebour, and among writers by Karl Kautsky and Heinrich Cunow who beleived in parliamentary action but not co-operation with non-socialists; (25). the Right Center headed by Philip Scheidemann which in theory believed in the Erfurt Program but inclined toward Revisionism; the Imperial Socialists headed by Heine and Fischer who believed in a large army, strong navy and an aggressive colonial and commercial policy. (26).

The party became more tolerant in the years after 1891. The party was both reforming and revolutionary. Reforming because most of the party's members repudiated violence, revolutionary because some believed in a radical transformation of society.

By 1914, Social Democracy was mainly political. Lasalle's dictum, "Democracy, the universal ballot, is the laboring man's hope", became the objective of the party. The Social Democrats became constructive legislators instead of obstructionists. (27).

Socialists advanced further to meet the government, than the government came to meet them, for the belief was prevalent that Socialists meant to overturn the monarchy. Pastorates, teaching positions, professorhsips, ministerial and governmental offices were denied them. However, it was the Socialists who held Germany together when they succeeded the Kaiser.

25. Ogg - Governments of Europe pp. 701 -703.
26. Ibid. pp. 704-706.
27. Lichtenberger. - The Evolution of Modern Germany p. 172.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Social Democrats who came into actual power under President Ebert, were during the old regime known as the "Umsturtz partie" or party of Subversion. Kaiser Wm. 11. said of the Social Democrats at the Sedan Banquet Sept. 2, 1895; "The Social Democrats are a brand of fellows not worthy to bear the name of German, they are enemies to the divine order of things, and men without a fatherland."[1].

A full history of the Social Democratic party of Germany would be as bulky as a history of the Liberal Party of England. The writers and builders of the Social Democratic party were Karl Marx,[2]. Friederich Engelg, Ferdinand Lasalle and many other writers and workers for reform political, economic, and social. Most of Lasalle's followers became Social Democrats or the party of Labor in Germany.

Some prominent leaders of the Social Democrats have been August Bebel a turner, Grillenberger a locksmith, Auer a saddler, Molkenbuhr and Meister cigar makers, Bernstein a former postal official.[3].

The Social Democrats as the name implies are democratic in every sense of the word. The leaders are always under strict control of the party. The party remained democratic even

1. J. E. Barker - Modern Germany pp. 291-292.
2. Mehring - Franz-Geschichte der Socialisms pp. 464 -478
3. Barker - Modern Germany pp. 293 - 294.

after having grown to its present magnitude. They had no noblemen, professors or wealthy business men to whom they had to defer in return for financial assistance. The Social Democrats were and remain a party of Labour, they are truly democratic and almost proletarian in character. It has quietly dropped one by one the Utopian views and doctrines that hindered it and its originators.

The Imperial German Constitution supposedly gave universal suffrage to the people, and accordingly Social Democracy gained many votes. In 1871 the Social Democratic vote was 124,700, while in 1874 it rosd to 342,000 and to 493,300 in 1877.(4).

Bismarck viewed with apprehension the growth of the Social Democrats and sought pretexts for striking at their organization with telling effect.

Hödel a former Social Democrat who made an attempt on the life of Kaiser Wm. 1. was a convenient pretext for the schemes Bismarck had in mind. Altho Hödel was not a Social Democrat at the time of his murderous attack on the Kaiser, and had not been for a long time, Bismarck seized the opportunity to lay the blame at the door of the Social Democrats. In fact Hödel was a member of the Christian Socialists' Workingmen's party which was headed by the court clergyman Dr. Stöcker.(5).

However a Bill was produced in the Reichstag for the suppression of the Social Democrats which was rejected by a vote of 251 -57.

4. J. E. Barker - Modern Germany pp. 294-295.
5. Ibid. pp. 296-297.

Three weeks after Hödel's attempt at assasination, another attempt was made by Nobiling seriously wounding the Kaiser, who eventually recovered; it seemed as tho the bleeding rejuvenated the Kaiser in body and mind.

These attempts on the Kaiser's life however infuriated the populace. Again Bismarck turned the feelings of the people against the Social Democrats, altho Nobiling was not a Social Democrat. The Reichstag was dissolved and Bismarck's powerful press organization was used to impress on the people that the crime was due to Social Democratic propaganda. A Reign of Terror was instituted by the police against the Social Democrats. Social Democratic newspapers and meetings were suppressed and forbidden. In less than one month law courts sentenced persons to imprisonment for lese-majeste to the aggregate of 500 years.(6). During all this excitement and unrest new elections were held and a majority was returned to the Reichstag against the Social Democrats and endorsing the legislation against Social Democracy.

Bismarck introduced the famous Socialist Bill which was passed without delay and published in the Reichs-an-zeiger. The Reign of Terror began afresh. Within eight months 223 workingmen's unions and associations were suppressed, 127 periodicals and 278 other publications also came under the ban as the result of the Socialist Law.(7).

Numerous Social Democrats were summarily expelled from Germany with only a few days notice. Many co-operative societies

6. Barker - Modern Germany pp. 300-301.
7. Ibid. - pp.301-303.

were compelled to close their doors without trial or opportunity for appeal. All Social Democrats were placed under police supervision and not allowed to change their domicile. Thousands of Social Democrats were reduced to beggary, many fled and many were thrown into prison.

The effect of the Socialist law on Social Democracy was staggering. The party organization, party press and right to free speech had been ruined by the government. The police now became obnoxious and tyrannous.

The election of 1878 reduced the Socialist votes from 493,300 to 437,100, and in 1881 the votes dropped to 312,000. The law was directed against the intellectual leaders of Social Democracy in the reichstag so it might be extirpated.(8).

Bebel, Liebknecht and other leaders were summoned time and again before prosecutors for inoffensive utterances in order to manufacture evidence and sentiment against them. They were condemned to lengthy terms for lese-majeste, treason, high treason, and intended high treason.

Bismarck however soon learned that the policy of force and violence was unsuccessful, so he tried to win the workers away from their leaders by State Insurance against disablement and old age. The Insurance Laws failed to accomplish the task set for them.

Social Democracy began to revive. Meetings were held secretly. Party literature published in England and Switzerland, was smuggled into Germany. Bismarck by persecuting the

8. Barker, J. E. Modern Germany pp. 305-308.

Social Democrats created a more determined party spirit, as he had also done during the "Kulturkampf" to the Centre party. From 1881 a marvelous increase in Social Democratic votes was noticeable.(9). The following table of votes will show how the Social Democrats prospered in spite of Bismarck and Socialist legislation.

Election	S.D. votes polled.	Total votes polled	Percentage of S.D. votes.
1881	312,000	5,097,800	6.12
1884	550,000	5,663,000	9.68
1887	763,100	7,540,900	10.11
1890	1,427,300	7,228,500	19.74
1893	1,786,700	7,674,000	23.30
1898	2,107,076	7,752,700	27.18
1903	3,010,771	9,495,586	31.71.
1907	3,259,000	11,262,800	28.94
1912	4,250,329	12,206,808	34.82

Bismarckian methods failed all along the line. In December 1902 Professor Naumsen writing inthe Nation said, "There must be an end of the superstition, as false as it is perfidious, that the nation is divided into parties of law and order on the one hand, and a party of revolution on the other, and that it is the prime political duty of citizens belonging to the former categories, to shun the Labor Party as if it were in quarantine for the plague, and to combat it as an enemy of the State."(10).

In 1890 Bismarck was dismissed by Kaiser Wm. 11

9. Barker, J. E. Modern Germany pp. 305-310.
10. Ibid. pp. 310-311.

and the Socialist law was withdrawn. The net result of the law had been that 1500 Social Democrats had been condemned to 1000 years imprisonment, and that the Social Democratic vote had risen from 437,158 to 1, 427,298. The effect of the law was the reverse of what Bismarck had expected. The contempt and contumely of the government solidified and made the Social Democrats great.(11).

William 11. had no altruistic motives in mind when he withdrew the Socialist law. He meant to kill the Social Democrats with kindness. Some of the pronouncements of the young Kaiser made to the army, navy, and public gatherings show anything but democratic feelings and desires. Some pronouncements as follow are typical of his attitude; "We Hohenzollerns take Our crown from God alone, and to God alone are We responsible in the fulfillment of Our duties." "The soldier and the army, not Parliamentary majorities and resolutions have welded to-gether the German Empire." "Suprema lex regis voluntas." "Only One is master in the country. That am I. Who opposes Me I shall crush to pieces." "Sic volo, Sic jubeo." "All of you shall have only one will, and that is My will, there is only one law and that is My law." "Parliamentary opposition of the Prussian nobility to their King is a monstrosity." "For me every Social Democrat is synonymous with an enemy of the Fatherland." "On to the battle for Religion, Morality and Order,

11. Barker, Modern Germany pp. 310-318.

and against the party of subversion. Forward with God. Dishonorable is he who forsakes his King."(12). It can be readily seen that such utterances are not compatible with Social Democracy or its aims.

However, in 1894 an "Umsturtz Vorlage" or Subversion Bill was submitted but was rejected by the Reichstag as were several other Draconian measures proposed by the Government. The Conservatives proposed various measures for dealing with Social Democracy. Count Mirbach in 1895 advocated the abolition of the secret ballot, and called universal suffrage a derision of all authority. March 8, 1897 Freiherr Stumm said, "The right to vote should be taken away from the Social Democrats and no Social Democrat should be permitted to sit in the Diet." All the Conservatives and many so-called Liberal papers condoned and applauded these views.(13).

The aims of the Social Democrats in Germany were the same as in other countries. They wished to better themselves politically, economically and socially. Politically German Democracy was not free. Universal suffrage existed for the Reichstag, but the German Reichstag had less power than the English Parliament under Charles 1. The Emperor could dissolve the Reichstag at will according to Article 12 of the Constitution. He could nominate and dismiss officials according to Article 18. The Government was responsible only to the Emperor. The Reichstag had no control over administration, and

12. Barker, Modern Germany pp. 318-323.
13. Ibid. pp. 318-320.

could only vote laws and funds.[14].

Socially, German Democracy had much to complain of. The position of the German workingman was very humble. Militarism pervaded everything, officials and their perogatives were unassailable, and immorality was widespread. The position of woman had been debased and undermined by immorality previous to the war.

German officialdom considered and called Social Democrats enemies of Country, Society, Monarchy, Family, and Church, but a resume of their important demands show that their position, aims and demands were misrepresentated.

The Social Democratic Program briefly stated is:-

1. One vote for every adult man and woman.
   Holiday to be election day.
   Payment of elected officials.
2. The Government to be responsible to Parliament. Local self-government. Referendum.
3. Introduction of the militia system.
4. Freedom of speech and of the press.
5. Equality of man and woman before the law.
6. Disestablishment of the Churches.
7. Undenominational schools, compulsory attendance, and gratuitous tuition.[15].
8. Gratuitous legal proceeding.

14. Barker, Modern Germany pp. 318-323.
15. Ibid., pp. 320-323.

9. Gratuitous medical attendance and burial.

10. Progressive income and Inheritance taxes.

The Social Democratic leaders could never have won and held the confidence of the millions of workers had they been as black hearted scoundrels and traitors as portrayed by the government. The Kölnische Zeitung said of the Social Democrats, "It would be unjust to deny Social Democracy the recognition of the high personal integrity of its leaders." German Social Democracy stood immaculate up to the war.(16).

That Social Democracy was also misunderstood in academic circles is evidenced by the following quotation of Professor Hans Delbrück who in the Preussische Jahrbücher for December 1895 says, "The duty of the government is not to educate Social Democracy to decent behavior, but to suppress it, or if that should be impossible, at least to hinder its further growth. What is necessary is that the sentiment should be awakened among all classes of the population that Social Democracy is a poison which can be resisted only by the strongest and united moral opposition."

German Social Democracy however could lay claim to moral force, integrity, numerical strength, discipline and also the consummate political ability of its leaders and the spirited support they received.(17). The qualities of Social Democracy are best expressed by Prof. Mommsen as follows; "It is unfortunately

16. Barker, Modern Germany pp.320-323.
17. Ibid., pp. 320-323.

true that at the present time Social Democracy is the only great party which has any claim to political respect. It is not necessary to refer to talent. Everybody in Germany knows that with brains like those of Bebel, it would be possible to furnish forth a dozen noblemen from east of the Elbe in a fashion that would make them shine among their peers."

The devotion, the self-sacrificing spirit of Social Democracy and the masses, impress even those who are far from sharing their views and aims. The American political parties might well take a lesson from the party organization and discipline of the German Social Democrats.(18).

18. Barker, Modern Germany pp. 322-323.

EARLY LIFE OF EBERT.

The thunder of the Franco-Prussian war cannon had practically ceased on the battle fields of France, when Friederich Ebert was born, Feb. 4, 1871 into the home of a tailor of Heidelberg.[1] His arrival was heralded with joy, yet in families of the type into which he was born every added arrival created a new problem of existence. Ebert's father was a master tailor and conducted a tailor shop with his associates and apprentices in his home. Ebert's mother came from a village in the Odenwold and was baptized and reared in the Protestant faith. Master Ebert who had been reared a Catholic took no offense at the faith of his wife. Thus the little home was spared the controversy and sorrows of religious strife.[2]

The narrow"Pfaffengasse" on which the Ebert home was located was near the River Neckar, and the surrounding green hills made the place more livable. In the garden of the house of Ebert's birth, the sun, trees and the other natural beauties made the place romantic and a fitting abode for children. However, Fritz spent little time here, being lured by the sight of river and hills, his boyish energy needed an outlet which found its fulfillment in the neighboring orchards and vineyards. As

1. Dr. Franz Diederich, "Führer des Volks" p. 6.
2. Paul Kampsffmeyer, Fritz Ebert pp. 6-12.

Ebert was assisted by his comrades in his sallies on the surrounding gardens and orchards so was he also accompanied on his swimming and boating excursions in and on the Neckar river.(3).

In the near vicinity of his father's home, was located the saddlery and livery owned by the Von Seppich's. Ebert used to assist the coachmen in their work, and did the many little tasks about the place, all the while learning the trade. To this day Mrs. Von Seppich speaks of Ebert as "Friederle" who always had to be doing something and keeping busy.

Fritz attended the town school, and such things as he did not learn in school he learned outside in real life. The romantic ruins surrounding his home were of great interest to him and made a deep impression on him.(4).

Even tho the fight for existence was very actual in Ebert's family it was lightened by the environment of happy go lucky students, who lived a life of freedom.

Ebert's youthful impressions were lasting, and well they might be with a colorful student life, water pageants, historical celebrations in profusion and the natural beauty of Heidelberg. He was possessed of a joyful and happy disposition, and lived life for all there was in it. He tried to forget the daily struggles and miseries by partaking of and enjoying the beauties of nature. Ebert very early showed mechanical ability and a certain Dr. Lender urged him to study for engineering, but the means to continue his education were lacking.(5).

3. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert pp. 8
4. Ibid. p. 7.
5. Ibid. p. 8.

Ebert was reared in the Catholic faith, but he was not of a religious nature, having had too much training which had awakened his critical faculties.

The historian W. H. Riehl says of the people in the vicinity of Heidelberg regarding their religiousness; "The people are trained religiously from early youth, but one can hardly call them a church bound people. They show their religion in the life as lived every day, in helping their fellowmen rather than thru religious processions and church attendances. They believe education to primary, churches a secondary consideration and they have little faith in Dogmas. The people of this vicinity are tolerant toward other faiths and rather look askance at too much Faith and clerical interference."(6)

Ebert acquired early in life that which many never learn, namely; to look at the facts of life as they are, and proceed accordingly, and not to accept ideas blindly but with understanding.

Fritz Ebert was born with a practical mind naturally fitted for organization, work, and reform. Altho he was not possessed of a formal University training he was nevertheless a farseeing and sound judge of people and political events, as shown later in his dealings with the various elements which threatened to overthrow the Republic newly founded.(7)

The modern Labor leader lives and works in a fast changing time. Evolutionary changes are rapid, and the cry for

6. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert pp. 6 -12.
7. Diederich, Führer des Volks pp. 8-10.

equality of opportunity and of learning is heard on all sides, especially from the economically hard pressed classes.(8).

Ebert took heed of the times adapting himself to the changing conditions, but always holding fast to the ideal of alleviating the hardships of his countrymen by legal and political means.

In order to build a character of strength it is necessary to be possessed of foresight, spiritual insight and ideals or a goal toward which to work, and such was the character of Fritz Ebert. Ebert aimed at the "Land of boundless possibilities". It was with similar ideals and hopes that Abraham Lincoln rose from his lowly position to that of the Presidency.(9).

Ebert had learned more in his contacts with actual life than the students in the ancient University of Heidelberg He was an impulsive man, being able to sympathize with the average man and his problems.(10). He was independent in spirit and thought and during his last apprenticed year, he received many blows for his outspoken independence, whereon he left the shop and his work.

Ebert was sensitive to the lack of opportunity and the general lack of consideration shown his class of people.(11). He took the slurs thrown at his class and his political faith to heart seriously, and was early freed from what the great Lasalle called, "verfluchte Bedürfnis lösigkeit", or lack of ambition and initiative, which during the 1860's was characteristic of

8. London Times Jan. 15, 1916 6,E. "Ebert elected President of Social Democrats"
9. Kampffmeyer, Führer des Volks pp. 12-14.
10. Diederich, Fritz Ebert pp. 12-14.
11. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

the working classes. They seemed content says Lasalle with a piece of moldy sausage and a can of beer, instead of stirring for improvement. Ebert soon realized that under such conditions equality of economic opportunity and education were not possible. So, it was his experiences in life that made him a Socialist, and his innate ability to see the defects and shortcomings of the old regime.[12].

12. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert pp. 4-8.

EBERT'S ENTRY INTO POLITICS.

After a very strict apprenticeship, Ebert tried the life of a journeyman visiting Munich, Karlsruhe, and Mannheim. From the poetic and romantic atmosphere of Heidelberg, he suddenly was thrust into a prosaic, industrial center like Mannheim. Mannheim is very unlike Heidelberg.(1). It is laid out in straight streets and all corners and angles utilized, so unlike the crooked and narrow streets of Heidelberg. There seems to be no historical tradition connected with Mannheim, as it is the home of the counting house and business man, instead of poetic traditions, and thus was new to Ebert.(2).

While in Mannheim Ebert made his first acquaintance with the Industrial life as it really exists to-day. In Mannheim there had been and still were differences and wrangles between capital and labor. The workers were organized to better their conditions. It was in Mannheim that Dreesbach founded the first Labor paper. By 1878 the workers had been represented in the town council, which shows their influence.(3).

When Ebert arrived at Mannheim he was made acquainted with the Labor movement thru a step-brother of his father by the name of Strötz, a tailor by trade. Strötz was a quiet Social

1. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert p. 13.
2. Diederich, Führer des Volks p.10.
3. Ibid.,

Democrat, who kept his Socialistic views secret. The Socialism of Mannheim was of the Lasallian type.(4). Dreesbach was a Lasallian, and since this type of Socialism depends very much on what the State will do for the worker, Lasalle agitated for political action and suffrage.

Lasalle predicted a new epoch of glory to convince them that his movement was a world mission in which they should all take part. Lasalle set up an objective toward which the workers could and did strive, which they formerly lacked.(5). Marxism however does not teach that the State creates industry, but that the State is the creation of economic and social factors. Lasalle sought salvation thru the ballot for the economic and social ills. He believed that the State could remedy the situation. Marx had a contempt for the Lasallian teaching. He believed that only by changing the economic and social system as well as the political system could the evils of society be removed.(6).

In 1889 there were few Social Democrats in Mannheim who were Marxian. Therefore while Ebert was at Mannheim he came into contact with practical Socialism or Lasalle's views, and later with the more ideal and theoretical Marxian principles.

During 1889 and 1890 while the anti-Socialistic laws were still in force, the workers were organized in trade unions. Ebert joined the union of his trade being a saddler.(7).

Ebert had never been very religious. Religions and

4. F. Ebert Gedenkblatt
5. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert p. 14.
6. K. Marx Communist Manifesto 1888.
7. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert p. 15.

Catholic dogmas made very little impression on his critical faculties, so it was quite easy for him to become a Socialist, which was against strict church rules.(8).

While in Mannheim Ebert came under the influence to a certain extent of a Dr. Rüdt a very convincing orator, but whose main interest was freedom of religion rather then Social Democracy. However Dr. Rüdt had no lasting influence on Ebert. Ebert realized that what the classes needed more then religion was Bread and Freedom. Ebert was interested in political action, social improvement and the raising of standards of living to a civilized degree.(9).

Ebert built on a solid foundations of facts, and was not ensnared by any theoretical explanations, no matter whether they emanated from the church or state officials.

Ebert was a natural agitator and organizer, because at his age (18) he was chosen secretary of the Saddlers union.(10).

From this time onward he became a worker and organizer and lecturer for Social Democracy. The Socialist publications had been forbidden, but were printed in London and Zürich and smuggled into Germany. The publications were known as the "Social Democrat", and the workers jested about the fact of smuggling in the papers calling it the "Spiced Swiss Cheese", because of the attacks on the government.

Ebert seemed not to fear the Draconian anti-Socialist

8. Diederich, Fuhrer des Volks p. 20
9. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert p. 16.
10. Diederich, Führer des Volks p. 17.

Law, and persevered in talking, organizing and distributing pamphlets, all secretly of course.[11]. By this time he had become Marxian in economics and social thought. During this period Ebert was a stormy petrel not having definitely decided what course to pursue. He was compelled to leave Hanover at this time to serve in other fields and capacities for the sake of Social Democracy.[12].

11. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert p. 18.
12. Diederich, Führer des Volks p. 25.

GOVERNMENTAL CONNECTIONS AND CAREER.

After Ebert had followed the usual journeyman's course of travel, he finally located at Bremen. It was at this place that he became associate editor for the Bremen Volks-Zeitung a Socialist newspaper.(1).

In 1890 he was elected to a secretary-ship for trade-unions, and in 1905 he was elected to the presiding board of the Social Democratic party. In 1912 he was sent to the Reichstag after having been defeated in a former election, and the great honor of heading the Social Democratic Party of Germany was conferred on him when he succeeded August Bebel who died in 1913.(2).

Ebert like Drs. David and Scheidemann was always a patriotic German. He never advocated the impractical schemes which might endanger the Fatherland. In July 1917 he accepted the invitation to confer with the Kaiser which brought censure and rebuke from his party as well as from other sources. His acceptance of the invitation showed his willingness to compromise to avert unnecessary hardships and suffering for the country.(3). He was patriotic but not of the blind patriotic type. He severely blamed the old regime for the plight in which the country found itself, and for the arrogant militarism whose influence was felt in every walk of life.(4).

1. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert pp. 39-40.
2. Ibid., pp. 36-38.
3. Walter Rathenau Kritik der dreifachen Rev. pp. 6-8.
4. Ibid., pp. 8-10.

In his party relationships he believed and practised discipline in true Prussian fashion. Conscientous objection to Ebert was anathema for he stood for loyalty and discipline to the party as being the paramount duty of the Social Democrat. His idea of Social Democracy is expressed as follows; "Socialism means order, organization and solidarity not high-handedness, perversity and destruction." He believed in a government of, for and by the people, and he emphasized for.(5).

Until the Great War Ebert was practically unknown; in his party he was over-shadowed by men like Bebel, Singer and Liebknecht, the powerful three whose influence guided German Social Democracy.(6).

He was a constitutionalist believing in evolutionary not revolutionary changes of social, economic and political order. So when he came to power he was not swayed very readily by Monarchists or Communists.(7). He was well aware of the fact that modes of social habit, activity and service cannot be changed over night by revolution, altho forms of government may be so changed. Constitutionalism to him meant progressive transformation not homage to political tradition.(8).

During the war he endeavored thru Dutch and Swedish Social Democrats to prepare a way for united action of Socialists in all belligerent countries for a speedy settlement of the war

5. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert pp. 31-35.
6. Current History, New York Times vol. 9,pt.2., pp. 250-260. Jan. 1919.
7. Ibid., pp. 215-218. Feb. 1919.
8. Ibid., vol. 10, pt.1, pp. 227-235. April 1919

as quickly as possible. In facing the daily problems of the Republic Ebert's moderation was tested to the extreme, but he showed remarkable tact and sagacity throughout.(9).

When Prince Max of Baden resigned the Chancellorship, naming Ebert his successor, Ebert assumed a position which in reality did not exist due to the fall of the old regime. He was called to the helm of a government that had fallen to pieces. He accepted the responsibility, but there seemed little chance of being successful because of the fact that he was not a brilliant politician, statesman, or orator, and comparatively unknown outside his party.(10). The Social Democrats were until the war came pronounced pacifists. The war however split the party into two important factions, the Majority and Minority or Independent Socialists.(11). Ebert and Scheidemann headed the Majority Socialists, and Haase, Ledebour and Kautsky headed the Independent Socialists who would not co-operate with bourgeois parties in prosecuting the war. The Majority Socialists however did co-operate in prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion as they believed.(12).

No statesman of our time worked out so difficult a task with so little personal prestige and lack of political resources. Ebert maintained continuity of government by constant shifting of cabinets and changing foreign policy, all of which

9. Zur Naturgeschichtedes Rheinisches Separatismus in Deutsche Rundschau vol. 198 pp. 84-86 Jan. 1924.
10. Ibid.
11. First President of Germany in Nation vol. 120 p. 256 Mar. 11, 1925.
12. London Times Oct. 28, 1816 T. E. Maj. Socialists vote War Credits.

required the highest kind of political courage. When the supreme issue of the stability of the State arose there was no doubt as to where Ebert stood.(13). He barely had come into office when he had to begin his work with a "whiff of grape-shot" as a political method, and he had to apply the iron fist to some of his former party comrades, the "Spartacists". The faith of the populace remained unshaken which was shown when they responded to a general strike in order to quell the Kapp-putch. Military expedience was necessary in order to crush the Communist risings in Saxony and Berlin and the Monarchist risings under Kapp in Berlin, and Ludendorff in Bavaria.(14). These expedients have since been proved to have been wise, if the young Republic was to be saved.(15).

Ebert like many Socialists in other, when they came to power left doctrinaire methods behind for the more practical way of doing things. Socialists of other lands, who like Ebert became more moderate when coming to power are Briand Millerand of France, Branting of Sweden, Mussolini in Italy and Mac Donald of England.(16).

Ebert was averse to Revolution and accepted the position of First People's Commissary with reluctance. However events have since proved that it was fortunate that ment like Ebert were in control in Germany, and kept Germany as well as

13. Germany's Rival Revolutions in Literary Digest vol. 59, pp. 19 -20 Dec., 28, 1918.
14. London Times Mar. 30, 1917 Independent and Spataciet separate from Majority.
15. Kurt Ahnert Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Rev. pp. 10-16.
16. London Times Dec. 24, 1915 5 D., Dissensions Among Socialists.

Europe free from the excesses of the Russian Revolution.

Im some respects Ebert may have been too conservative in his constitutionalism. Had he and his group been possessed of the nimble and daring intelligence of the Independent Socialists much more could have been accomplished.(17).

The older leaders of German Social Democracy had died just previous to the war, so Ebert's work was doubly difficult, because he had to adapt himself to the party and also try toadapt the party to a new issue at odds with party teaching; namely the war.(18). His peculiar qualities fitted him for this kind of work and he came thru the crisis as well as could be expected under the circumstances.

The problems and difficulties of his term of office were enormous. Monarchist, Spartacist, Separatist conspiracies and risings had to be quelled. Reparations and Ruhr difficulties added to that of the Saar administration constituted some of the major problems. Death however intervened before he had solved all the problems.(19). During his term of office he held fast to the foundations of order, warding off attacks of reaction and destruction, keeping the fabric of German society from being broken. Ebert did not believe as did the extremists of his party, that before one can transform one must destroy. He worked for the new order by evolutionary methods, for international peace and co-operation, drawing his inspiration from

17. Barker, Modern Germany pp. 315-323.
18. London Times Dec. 1, 1915, 9 b. Herr Liebknecht's Questions.
19. German Rebellion New Statesman vol. 14, pp. 698-699 Mar. 20, 1920.

the thought and feelings of the working classes.

When he became President he was scorned by the ruling classes. In appearance he was short, plump, dark and Teutonic, and about the stature of LLoyd-George. His hair was thick, black and curly, his mustache black and his beard cut according to French Imperial style. He was a typical South German brunette. He was always well groomed and appeared more like a prosperous businessman than a manual laborer.(20). He possessed a pleasing frankness of manner that made one feel at ease immediately. He had a natural dignity and impressiveness and a reserve that created confidence. His personality had a certain mysteriousness about it. Honor and status did not make him turn his head or make him lose his sense of values and proportions. There seemed to be wisdom and strength in the upright carriage of the man, the straight-forward eye, precision of his hand-shake. He spoke definitely and precisely and expressed himself in short comely sentences of good German. "He was rectitude without imagination, friendship, principle without flare, strength without impetus." He representated the mass and bulk of the people and did his work well.(21).

Ebert's experience had brought him to embrace Socialism having come up from the working classes. When he became President he was ignored by German Society, and the former ruling classes because of his so-called uncouth social manners which were as much responsible for the scorn of the Junkers as his political ideas.

20. H. J. Kalscick <u>President Ebert</u> in <u>Fortnightly Review</u> vol. 123, pp. 603-612.

21 Ibid.,

German society had existed so long on systematized snobbery that it was painful to the Junkers to see a saddler sitting in the place of the Kaiser wearing lacdd boots, instead of low shoes. He was a straight Socialist putting down the Kapp putch as vigorously as the Spartacist uprisings and the risings in Bavaria and Saxony. (22).

He took men like Wirth, Streseman, Marx, Luther and Cuno into the Cabinet in order to prevent men of worse reactionary ideas coming into power. He was not an orator or an outstanding personality, but he was a safe party leader and made a moderate, well balanced executive. He broadened as he came forward and gained a deeper, fuller comprehension of affairs, but ended as he began a man of the people spiritually and in actual fact. Ebert's death was regretted by all political faiths throughout Europe. He was helped to power by the Centre party the traditional foe of the Social Democrats, but Ebert was above petty hates and rancor and sought to rebuild not to destroy. (23).

22. Rosa Luxemburg The Crisis in German Social Democracy pp. 126-141.

23. Ramsay Mac Donald Ebert and Branting in 19th Century vol. 97, pp. 468-475.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY DURING THE WAR.

Strange to say, the world was somewhat astonished at the action of Germany's greatest party in August 1914. There was real reason for that astonishment, for eight days before war broke out the German Socialists had denounced Austria as the aggressor, and her ultimatum to Serbia as the provocation of a world war. Yet, on August 4, 1914 the 110 Socialist members of the Reichstag voted unanimously in favor of war credits. They alleged that they were supporting a war of defense brutally forced upon Germany, but it is noteworthy that no word of condemnation or even critiesism, escaped from them when the Chancellor announced that Belgium had already been violated and invaded - a curious beginning for a war of defense.(1).(2).

Later disclosures have shown, that the party was not of one mind. On the day preceding the Reichstag sitting the party had held a secret conference, when fourteen members had voted against the resolution to support the war. One of the fourteen, Herr Haase was chosen to be party spokesman before Germany'ss assembled legislature. He has since confessed that he was not in agreement with the statement that party discipline compelled him to make - in a word party discipline forced him to

1. Karl Gisbert Von Marx bis Berlin p. 20
2. Max Weber Der Sozialismus p. 17.

betray his conscience.[3] In the first months of the war, symptoms of discord began to appear in the Socialist Press, and when the second war credit was voted Dec. 2, 1914, the number of Socialists opposed to it had risen to seventeen, on which occasion Dr. Liebknecht voted against it. In March 1915 there were thirty-two dissentists. But as yet no open breach had occured within the party, altho the leaven of disruption was at work. Karl Kautsky was busy in the "Neue Zeit" expounding the right of the minority to separate, independent action.[4] These teachings bore fruit in December 1915, when the following declaration was made by Herr Geyer in the Reichstag, Dec. 21, 1915:-

"For myself and on behalf of nineteen colleagues, I have to declare that the military dictatorship which with ruthlessness suppresses all endeavors for peace, and seeks to smother every free expression of opinion, makes it impossible for us to discuss our attitude to the war credit outside this house. Just as we oppose the conquest plans of other Governments, so we are determined to oppose the ominous scheme of our own annexation politicians, who are also a hindrance to the opening of peace negotiation.[5] The Imperial Chancellor was requested by the Social Democratic party to make a peace offer, as the Central Powers were in a most favorable military situation, and could have taken the first steps toward peace. The Chancellor, however, bluntly refused, and the horrible war continued. Every day brings new and unutterable sorrow.[6] A policy which does not exert all

3. Karl Kumpmann Die Neuere Entwicklung p. 46.
4. Friederich Naumann Der Demokratie p. 14.
5. Walter Goetz Deutsche Demokratie p. 43.
6. Kumpmann, Die Bedentung der Revolution p. 5.

its powers to end this nameless misery, a policy which in its entire activities is utterly opposed to the interests of the masses, cannot command our support any longer. Our desire to give the evident longing for peace in all countries a mighty impulse, our own will for peace, and our antagonism to all plans of conquest, do not permit us to vote for the war credit. We vote against it."(7).

On the same day the party condemned this separate action, and on Jan. 8, 1916, the party in full council passed a vote of censure on the dissenters. The breach was destined to widen, in spite of the fact that this small minority was exposed to every kind of attack against which they could not defend themselves because of the censorship and of the discipline pervailing in the party to which they still belonged.(8). The Socialist Press consisting of seventy-seven daily newspapers and of a number of fortnightly and monthly publications was divided into two camps, the one upholding the policy of "August 4, 1914", was supported by the Majority Socialists, and the other favoring the minority which demanded a return to the pre-war policy -"diesem System keimen Maun und keinen Groschen". (We will not vote a man or a farthing for this system) It is obvious that the majority whose aims and ideas practically coincided with the German government enjoyed considerable advantages in the polemic.(9). The minority or at any

7. Rathenau, "Kritik der dreifachen Revolution p. 33.
8. Erich Kuttner Von Kiel bis Berlin p. 15.
9. Ludwig Heyde Abriss der Sozialpolitik p. 52.

rate those in sympathy with them, resorted to anonymous tactics, and during the early months of 1916 large numbers of anonymous pamphlets were circulated throughout the German Empire bearing such titles as, "End of the Winter Campaign", "Europe's Proletarians", "The war and the Proletariat", "Annexation Madness", but some took on a regrettable attitude as witness this passage taken from one entitled "The Policy of Dogs";- (10).

"David, Landsberg, and Scheidemann have surpassed the public prosecutor, and put the police president to shame. (11). Woe unto the Socialists if these fellows had administered Bismarck's anti-Socialist law. They would have sent the Socialist members of the Reichstag and the editors of the newspapers to penal servitude. They would have hanged August Bebel, and Liebknecht the Elder on the public gallows. He is a dog who licks the boots of the rulers which have kicked him for several decades. He is a dog who wags his tail with the muzzle of military law over his face. He is a dog who abjures the entire past of his party and everything which has been sacred to them for a generation. (12). Therefore, David, Landsberg, and their set are dogs and when the day of reckoning comes, the German working classes will give them the kicks they deserve."

The crisis came on.Mar. 24, 1916, when a supplementary vote was asked for by the Chancellor to cover the expenditure of April, May and June. It was supported by the Majority Socialists and negatived by the Minority.

10. Paul Lensch Die Deutsche Sozial Demokratie und der Weltkrieg p. 55.
11. Philipp Scheidemann Es Erlebe der Frieden p. 26
12. Lentulus Wer war Spartakus p. 4.

Before the Reichstag debate, the party held a private meeting, in which Herr Haase endeavored to make his attitude clear. A majority of the party decided against him, but Herr Haase did not betray by a single word his intention to oppose the vote in the Reichstag.(13). Therefore his breach of party discipline was also a breach of faith. The dissenters had been censured in January, so nothing remained but to declare that Haase and the members who had supported him were excluded from further common action within the party.(14).

The vote of exclusion from the party was carried by a vote of 58 to 33; twelve members were absent and four did not vote. Under the leadership of Herr Haase, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft was at once founded. Its policy comprises:-

a. Not a man or a farthing to the existing system;

b. The immediate opening of peace negotiations to end the war. While the Majority led by Herr Scheidemann, support the Government policy with few exceptions their expressed attitude to the war is: "Continue it till the enemy begs for peace".(15). When the Chancellor declared in the Reichstag that Germany's sons were fighting for the Fatherland and not for foreign soil, Herr Scheidemann said in his speech - "Gentlemen the man must be a political fool who imagines that a whole continent can stand in flames and millions of men be killed, but that after all these terrible happenings not a

13. General Leutnant von Altrock Deutschlands Niederbruch p.46.
14. Fritz Wolffheim Knechtschaft oder Welt revolution p. 6.
15. Ludwig Erhart Der Weg zum Sozialismus p. 18 .

single frontier post may be moved. No frontier post which some mouldy old diplomat or other had placed there.(16).

A resolution introduced by Herr Bernstein against Germany's submarine war was rejected by Herr Scheidemann, who declared, amidst storms of applause: "We must defend ourselves with U-boats, so that our women and children do not fall victims to starvation.(17).

Dr. Liebnecht's exclusion from the party was a matter by itself. He and Herr Ruhle had acted as Independents since December 1914.

At last on April 8, 1916, Dr. Liebnecht succeeded in making himself heard in the Reichstag and this is what he said: "Gentlemen, the principal of the State Secretary, whose salary we are asked to vote, was his activity for the War Loan during the past year.(18). I intend to devote a little criticism to these activities. The new loan has brought 1400 million marks less than the preceding one, but still a grand total of 10.7 milliards. What methods were employed to attain this success? Gentlemen. last autumn the Imperial Exchequer issued some propaganda pamphlets, which placed the methods by which the English Government was financing the war in a very favorable light. Anyone who could read these pamphlets critically saw at once that the charges made against the English Government covered exactly the same methods employed by the German Government,(19). - a fact, which, of course was not allowed to be stated

16. Froehlich Der Weg zum Sozialismus p. 18
17. Kautsky Sozialdemokratische Bemerkungen p. 157
18. Theodor Heuss Deutschlands Zukunft p. 8.
19. Deutschen Geschichts Kalender Heft 11 Die Deutsches Revolution pp. 11-12.

in public or the Press. In regard to our loans, it has been said that it is a system of in-breeding, and in regard to the possibility of obtaining loans on a former loan in order to invest the capital thus obtained in another new loan, is a sort of a perpetuum mobile. In a certain sense the loans may be compared to a merry-go-round. To a large extent it means simply the centralization of public wealth in the Exchequer. I have the right to criticize. The truth must be spoken and you shall not hinder me. Gentlemen you represent Capital! I am a Social Democrat and represent international proletarians."

The remainder of the speech was punctuated by frequent outbursts of anger. Dr. Müller of Meinigen, went to the tribune, snatched Dr. Liebknecht's notes from his hands, and threw them on the floor. Dr. Liebknecht left the tribune to pick them up, but on returning the President stopped him because he had, according to German procedure, sacrificed his right to continue the speech by leaving the tribune.(20).

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the position of the party because of the strangling influence of martial law, and a large number of the members were with the colors.(21). The Minority found its greatest support in Berlin, on the lower Rhine, Thuringia, Saxony and northern Bavaria. The Majority held the ground in the rest of the Empire, with strongholds at Hanover, Westphalia and Hamburg. A final attempt to close the breach between the Majority and Minority Socialists was made in

20. Froehlich Der Weg Sozialismus p. 3.
21. London Times Jan. 15, 1916 7 c Herr Liebknecht Expelled.

September 1916, when a Reichsconferenz met at Berlin. There were 300 delegates, and the session, which lasted for several days was private.(22). The Minority attended. The first day their speaker Herr Lebedour, said they were taking part in the discussions so as not to miss an opportunity for open discussion. He criticized the composition of the conference, and announced that the Minority would not vote.(23). Herr Haase spoke of the Socialist volte-face on Aug. 4, 1914, as a betrayal of Socialist principles, otherwise their action would not have caused universal surprise. Dr. David introduced the following resolution:-

1. It is a duty to defend one's country - the present war is a war of defense.
2. The Socialists are determined to continue the struggle till the enemy is prepared to make a peace which guarantees Germany's political independence, territorial integrity, and free economic development.
3. We condemn unreservedly the actions of those who say the war is one of German aggression - such persons only strengthen the hands of the enemy.
4. The ideal of a permanent world peace is still the guiding star of our policy.
5. We shall work for revival of the International Socialist after the war.(24).

22. Rathenau, Nach der Flut p. 7.
23. London Times March 27, 1916 Herr Haase's Secession.
24. R. F. Hoffman Sozialismus oder Kapitalismus p. 14.

These resolutions were carried by a vote of 251 - to 5, the minority of course not voting. The Vorwärts, which at that time was still independent, said bluntly that the conference had been packed. Nothing happened to reconcile the two sections, and they will in all probability remain apart.(25). The visit of Ebert and Scheidemann to Dutch Socialist headquarters was hailed by the Minority as a scheme to secretly work with the Chancellor.(26).

The German peace proposal increased suspicion. The Deutsche Tageszeitung stated that Scheidemann, in a speech in Hamburg had pleaded for a peace based on the status quo ante, each nation paying its own costs.

The Minority criticized the peace proposal because no terms were stated, while the Brunswick party organ declared the offer to be a swindle. Four mass meetings organized by Leipsig Socialists to support peace, were prohibited by the police Dec. 22, 1916.(27).

The Auxiliary Service Law met with little or no Socialist opposition. The representatives of four million organized workers gave it their unqualified support Dec. 12, 1916.(28).

In an attempt to summarize Socialist opinion on the causes of the war, the war itself and the questions arising from the war.

Dr. David in his book Social-Democracy in the World-

25. London Times Aug.26, 1916 Independent Committee for Peace formed.
26. Ibid., Aug.31, 1916 Manifesto for Peace issued by Committee.
27. Froehlick, Weg zum Sozialismus pp. 20-22.
28. London Times Oct.12,1917, 7E More Majority Socialist Join Independents.

War says:-

"The German Reichstag has not the constitutional right to vote for or against war. The decision for peace or war is in the hands of the Kaiser. By refusing to vote the war credit, we could not have undone the declaration of war or hindered the progress of military events."(29).

The war was a struggle for the world's "feeding-places" and three of the main factors leading to the war have been, (a). the future of Constantinople and the Near East, (b). England's despotism in world markets, (c). the severance of Serbia from European markets by Austria.(30).

Dr. David condemns the diplomacy leading to the war, and he also condemns the ultimatum to Serbia which calls for the following:-

"If a prize had been offered for the man who could turn a just cause into an injustice in the eyes of the world by his own stupidity, then the author of this ultimatum deserves the prize, for the ultimatum was a declaration of war against Serbia, a fact which it is impossible to minimize." Dr. David thinks Germany erred by placing herself behind Austria unreservedly and on this point he says: "The German Government repeated the tactics of 1909, but this time they were wrong. Yet it cannot be disputed that the German Government afterwards brought pressure to bear at Vienna to make good their mistake."(31).

29. Karl Cohn Die Zukunft p. 9.
30. London Times April 17, 1917 Independents form Separate Party.
31. Heinrich Pesch Socialisierung pp. 1-6.

In defending his party for voting the war credit he said: "We knew what a Russian victory would mean for the German people, and the German workingman's movement. It was our sacred duty to prevent it by all the means in our power, and coming generations will appreciate these services to world history by the German nation.(32). If we could not prevent the war, then it was our duty to do everything to prevent defeat."

The opinion of Dr. Lensch is somewhat different. He says: "We have always said we would not leave the Fatherland in the lurch in the hour of danger."

However in following the development of Social Democracy for the last forty years preceeding the war, it is found that the Social Democrats consistently voted against every credit for military purposes, excepting the special taxes placed on the richer classes in 1913 for the increase of the German Army.(33).

These words in the mouth of a party which for a generation and one-half has voted against military credits, are, to say the least an amazing statement. When, then, has the party always said that it would refuse military credits in peace time, and grant them in war?(34). If that had ever been said, then the annual refusal of these votes would have been laughed at, and rightly so. With such a policy, Germany's Social Democracy would never had gained the position of authority and

32. London Times Sept. 8, 1917 Centre Considers Refusing to Vote War Credits.
33. Pesch, Neubau der Gesellschaft pp. 8-12.
34. London Times Sept. 10, 1917 Foundation of Fatherland Party at Koenigsberg.

respect among internationals which it enjoyed. We should not have been taken seriously, and should have met with distrust on all sides.(35).

The official statement of the German Party on this subject is :- "The Social Democrats recognize that, under present conditions, the nations cannot be left helpless, therefore they demand that everyone, every man, capable of bearing arms shall have the right to carry a weapon, and in case the Fatherland is attacked, it shall be his duty to defend it. The party demands that all males from the age of ten shall receive military training. No Social Democrat doubts that the German soldier, irrespective of rank, will do his full duty in war."

The Majority Socialists, in the defense of their attitude to the war and military service, claim that their opposition to militarism before the war was intended as a criticism of the existing economic, social and political system. They are in favor of every man being a soldier, but they oppose the German Army System, the ill-treatment of the common soldier, and the methods of taxation by which the Army expenditures are met. The Minority, on the other hand, consider the pre-war opposition to militarism, as a genuine whole-hearted rejection of war and everything connected with it.(36).

Until the war the German Socialist had a peculiar conception of militarism. The German military state was to him nothing but a state which oppressed its subjects from the cradle

35. Sozial Demokratie und nationale Verteidigung p. 10.
36. Naumann, Die Demokratie p. 14.

to the grave; our sons were sworn at and mal-treated in the "gay uniform", and on the slightest show of resentment condemned to imprisonment;(37). in a word slowly tortured to death. There is not a little that is not true in this description, In fact, we often saw our soldiers were unworthily treated, and that the iron discipline and the popinjay exteriors of the Army made the militarism unpopular. Yet all this lies in the nature of the thing, and cannot be rooted out; but many soldiers learned in the Army the discipline and orderliness which were missing from their home life.(38). The Spartan mode of life, the compulsion of exact service, exercised an influence, and later they returned to civilian life, and remembered - at least some of them - with pleasure their time spent in the army, and accustomed to an orderly mode of life. It is not my intention to sing a song of praise about all that which was customary in the German army - infact, the proper educating and training factor was very often neglected.(39).

On the question of National and International, there is again a fundamental split in German Socialistic thought, some proclaiming that the International is dead, others hoping for its ressurection. Dr. Lensch asks:- "What did the Internationalists in other lands do in 1914 to prevent their own countries from attacking Germany?" He is aggrieved with the French Socialists for believing the reports of German Atrocities in Belgium,

37. London Times July 26, 1917 Independents Vote Against War Credits.
38. A. G. Radloff Vaterland und Sozial Demokratie pp. 20-21
39. London Times April 6, 1916 Herr Scheidemann's Majority Socialist Attitudes.

especially with Jules Guesde, and Marcel Sembat, who, as French ministers have roused his ire by helping spread those reports in their official capacity.(40). Concerning the English Socialistic party, he is of the opinion that they are worse than the French, in that they identified themselves with the ruling classes, took over their catch phrases in order to hammer them into the heads of the masses, and carried on a regular agitation in favor of war, conducting it with the intensity of an election campaign. "Any slander, any stupidity was good enough for them where with to besmirch the enemy", says Dr. Lensch.

On the whole most of their writers favor nationalism, and each section of the human family developing its own national idea, altho Dr. David says:- "The existence of the nation cannot be regarded as an end in itself. There are aims beyond its limits which every nation must serve."(41).

Conrad Haenisch says regarding this situation, "We are returning by a new spiral of the great historical spirals back to the healthy national feeling of the old Democrats Ludwig Uhland, to the national spirit of George Herwegh and Ferdinand Freiligrath. "In this war we have become conscious of the fact that the German State idea has justified itself, from both the military and organizing point of view, in spite of its political infirmities and beauty spots.(42). We have renounced our dislike for the German State - a dislike which has dominated us, consciously or unconsciously for several decades - because we cannot

40. Rudolf Eucken Deutsche Freiheit p. 33.
41. Lensch, Die Sozial Demokraties im Weltkrieg pp. 36-38.
42. London Times Aug. 31, 1916 Socialist Meetings Prohibited.

honestly defend that dislike any longer. We have become aware of the enormous forces embodied in the State. Because its activities often displeased us, we had become accustomed to look upon the State, together with the whole of its social institutions, as being inwardly decayed and rotten. The war has thoroly cured us of that error too."(43).

On no point has the change in German Socialists' thought been so complete as in their attitude to England and all which this country stands for.(44). German Socialists had led us to believe that they considered English forms of liberty to be the highest ideal which they could wish for their country, and their literature was permeated with what seemed to be sincere respect for what is popularly called "British Freedom". The war has changed all this, or perhaps, better expressed, it has brought to light the fact that the supposed respect was not based upon very solid foundations.

England stands for individualism, Germany for collectivism, and with one accord German Socialists stand for the latter. Dr. Lensch who is one of the most ardent apostles for German-Collectivism says:- "The outstanding feature of this war is the absence of great political personalities, a lack evident in both the camp of friend and foe alike. While great leaders of armies have come to the fore, no towering political leader has as yet appeared.(45). It is as if the spirit of world

43. Geyer, Sozialismus und Raete system p. 7.
44. London Times April 6, 1916 Herr LedeboufsProtest.
45. Scheidemann, Der Zusammenbruch pp. 218-223.

history wished to make evident that this is the end of individualism in the world's history.(46). When armies are counted by millions, and whole nations wage war, when the battle is fought not only by the man in uniform, but by the wives and children at home, the importance of the individual diminishes before the totality and its organization.

It is along these lines that the German Revolution developed during the last war, which distinguishes it from the French Revolution and the English Great Rebellion. The fundamental idea of both those movements was Individualism, and it was no mere chance that striking individualities stood in their forefront, - Napoleon in one, Cromwell in the other. At the head of the German Revolution stood Ebert, and it is only necessary to name these three names in a breath to realize the changed conditions!(47).

Modern Germany represents a higher and more progressive social principle, that of the individual diminishes in proportion as that o f social organization increases. The individual principle attained its highest ideal in England and France, where, in fact it broke up the community into so many atoms. Now,it is the historical task of the working classes to change the trend of history into the opposite direction,(48). for the atomized system threatens them with economic misery and helplessness; It is fitting that this change should become most apparent in Germany, the misery of whose economic past had crippled the

46. London Times Aug. 17, 1916 Peace Petition.
47. Lensch, Die Sozial demokratie, ihr Ende und ihr Glück.p 100-104.
48 Runkel Die Deutsche Revolution p, 167.

country, prohibiting the complete victory of Individualism, as in England. The German state was compelled by toil and trouble to make good the blessings which England and France enjoyed through the force of circumstances. It was exactly that economic poverty which developed in Germany the principle which supplied it with vitalizing powers capable of waging a world war against the greatest land and sea powers which our planet has ever seen - i.e. the principle of organization. What was once looked upon as a curse has become our greatest blessing. A new epoch, and with it a new social ideal, has dawned. Germany is the herald of a new day.

The forces unfolded thru Social Democracy and the war are the organization of national forces on the foundations of three great democratic institutions; compulsory school attendance, conscription, and universal suffrage.(49). All three serve the purpose of bringing out the inherent powers of the nation and by organizing them to multiply them. The effect of these three democratic factors in the unfolding of the forces in the nation, has been gigantic, in the political, cultural, and economic sense.

German Social Democracy believed during the war that an Entente victory would mean the following:-

1. The proletarian war of liberation against Capialism would cease for some decades.

2. The dismemberment of Germany.

49. Scheidemann, Der Zusammenbruch pp. 230-231.

3. Continuance of hatred between France and Germany.

4. Endless development of national armaments with increased danger of war, and the consequent reactionary effect on the internal development of the nations.

5. The establishment of class rule. (50).

A German victory was thought by German Socialists would result in:-

1. Rapid development of Social Democracy in Anglo-Saxon countries followed by a general improvement in the material conditions of the working classes.

2. Just as the German Empire grew out of the 1870 war, so greater Germany would result from this war with the settlement of the Central European Question. (51).

3. Reconciliation between France and Germany.

4. Army reforms in the direction of general universal service.

5. The overthrow of England's world domination, the destruction of Czarism, and the victory of Marxism, which would mean the awakening of true Socialism in the hearts of the English workmen and the opening of their minds to the intellectual training of the Socialist idea. (52).

By England the German Socialists mean the Entente and say:- "No party would suffer more by an English victory

50. Runkel, Die Deutsche Revolution pp. 185-190.
51. Max Bamberger, Demokratie p. 14.
52. Goetz, Deutsche Demokratie pp. 10-45.

than International Social Democracy. The downfall of England's world supremacy lies completely in the line of historical progress and economic development. If the war had brought about England's downfall, the sacrifices in blood and treasure would not have been in vain. A huge stone of obstruction will have been hurled from the path of human progress and proletarian liberty."(53).

Such were the conflicting views of the Entente and the German Socialists, which account for their action during the war. The differing ideals, and the interpretations put on certain socialist dogmas and doctrines resulted in splitting the party and creating two Socialist parties of strength, the Majority and Minority.(54).

53. Kurt Ahnert Die Entwicklung der Deutschen Revolution pp. 15-16.
54. M. Erzberger Erbebnisse im Weltkrieg p. 323.

EBERT AND THE REVOLUTION

The calm judgment, sure political instinct, enormous strength of will and character, and the skill of reconciling the jarring factions and contradictory opinions made Ebert a leader of Social Democracy.(1).

During the war the Majority Socialists not only voted war credits but co-operated with the bourgeois parties. The Independent Socialists voted war credits but refused co-operation with other parties. The Independents wanted peace at any price and instigated munitions strikes and other disorders to break the military control and weaken the German resistance. Ebert opposed all activities of this kind, and well he may for two of his sons were killed in battle and a third seriously wounded.(2). This undoubtedly had some influence on his attitude toward prosecution of the war. For his conciliatory attitude toward the war he was bitterly attacked by the Independents and Spartacists. He was made the butt of sarcasm, enmity and persecution. He had no false conceptions of the horrors of war or the fact that Germany was threatened with defeat. The destructive tactics being used by the Independents did not appeal to the constructive mind of Ebert and he therefore opposed all movements that might be classed defeatist.(3).

1. Ramsay Mac Donald Ebert and Branting in 19th Century vol.97, pp. 465-475.
2. Ibid.
3. Chancellor Ebert's Cabinet New York Times vol. 9, pt.2, pp. 250-256.

As mentioned before Ebert in his attitude of co-operation in time of his countries need was not alone in such attitude. Noted Socialists in other countries did likewise. In France Marcel Sembat fellow worker of the great Jaures and a champion of Franco-German understanding became Minister of National Defense.(4). Jules Guesde the anti-militarist and Marxian also entered the Ministry of Defense. In Italy, Bissolati, Bonomi and Mussolini took similar courses of action. Albert Thomas in France known as a Marxian became Minister of Munitions.(5).

After the war in the moment of chaos Germany threatened to succumb, and Ebert assumed control of what remained of the old regime and kept Germany from plunging into Bolshevism, and also from becoming Monarchist again. He fully realised that when Labor comes into power it is necessary to hold the bridle the tightest. The old aristocracy had deserted the country in its greatest misfortune, while Ebert in conjunction with Haase formed a council of commissioners whose first business was to create a Republican(6). army of defense under the direction of Noske.

So intent was Ebert in keeping Germany united that he crushed his former comrades the Spartacists as readily as he did Monarchists. The death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht is a blot on the Ebert regime. Since these two Spartacists were prisoners of the government, their safety was the governments foremost responsibility.(7).

4. Ibid.
5. Independent Chancellor Ebert vol. 144, pp. 286-288.
6. London Times dec. 27, 1918 Independent Socialists Blamed for Naval Mutiny.
7. H. J. Kalscik Fortnightly Review President Ebert vol. 123, pp. 603-612.

In all trials and troubles of Germany Ebert succeeded in suppressing or restraining the turbulent elements. Within forty-eight hours after ordering a general strike in order to crush the Kapp putsch order had been restored and the Monarchist attempt at restoration had failed.(8). The Nationalists and Monarchists were finally convinced that Ebert was not straw in their hands, and that he was a faithful defender of the Republic.

He was forced to face opposition from the Right and Left. At least this much can be said for the Spartacists they fought openly and above board, defied the new regime and did not use the methods of the Monarchists.

The Monarchists who should have been grateful to Ebert for the state of order and the preservation of their lives and property were despicable in their treatment of him. He was accused of high treason, bribery, fraud, reckless expenditures of State monies, incitation to murder and various other crimes. His simple manners, lack of University education and humble origin were flung at him as though they were crimes.(9).

The Junkers of course were not pleased to see a saddler sit in place of the Hohenzollerns. Ebert's honesty and simple manners were a crime in the eyes of men for whom seduction, drunkeness, and running into debt implied the idea of Herr.

It is perhaps well that Ebert was called when he was because he would undoubtedly have fallen victim to a campaign of

8. Ibid.
9. Kaiser's Successor in Outlook vol, 139, pp. 360-361.

slander and perhaps as assasin's bullet as did Erzberger and Rathenaw. Ebert guided Germany thru the shoals into the haven of Democracy, if factions destroy this work the blame must be theirs. Ebert's object was to destroy national hatred and promote friendliness and co-operation not only nationally but internationally. (10).

10. Ebert and Branting in Living Age vol. 325 pp. 487-95.

EBERT AND THE REPUBLIC.

When the Social Democrats entered and took charge of the Chancellery at Berlin, it was done by strictly parliamentary measures. That is violence and havoc did not accompany the establishment of the German Republic.(1). Ebert designated October 5, 1918 as the real birthday of the German Democracy. He in conjunction with his colleagues is responsible for the camparatively peaceful transition from the old to the new regime. His strength of charactér and self confidence made him insist on a government built on the confidence and consent of the people! He did not aim to use the critical period of his country's misery to further Socialistic or any other schemes.(2).

October 22, 1918 Ebert uttered the following prophetic words; "A new era must bring new faith in new justice. We can lose our possessions, - but the Spirit of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, no one can take from us."(3).

Ebert was named Chancellor by Prince Max of Baden, who in a last attempt to save the old regime thot a Council of Regency might be appointed until the Kaiser's eldest greadson could assume control. Prince Max thot he could conciliate the people by showing confidence in their leaders.

1. Kampffmeyer Fritz Ebert p. 68.
2. London Times May 10, 1921 First German President.
3. Kampffmeyer Fritz Ebert p. 68.

However this last attempt at saving the old regime was a failure.

November 3, 1918 the sailors revolted at Kiel, and this was the death knell of the existing government, in fact the sailors at Kiel can be said to have sunk William 11. Ship of State.(4). Here again Ebert shows the ability to keep a rational attitude in a crisis. He used his influence to have Noske dispatched to Kiel in order to keep the uprising under control, and not allowing it to become a tool in the hands of Spartacists.

Gustave Noske says of this situation, "Monday morning, about 11 o'clock on the 4th of November 1918 Scheidemann telephoned me from the Reichstag building saying that 'Ebert had suggested to him that I was to take charge in Kiel.' "(5).

Gustave Noske became governor of Kiel and prevented the revolt of sailors from degenerating into a Red or Bolshevik army. So Ebert thru his knowledge of human nature, had discovered the right man to take charge in Kiel and save the infant Republic from the excesses of Spartacists and extreme radicals.(6).

The revolt spread along the coast and inward, especially in industrial centres. November 9, 1918 the Berlin Regiments went over to the Revolutionary side. The erstwhile

4. Kampffmeyer Fritz Ebert p. 68.
5. Von Kiel bis Kapp G. Noske p. 8.
6. Kampffmeyer Fritz Ebert p. 68.

supporters of the throne vanished quietly, and the officers did not venture to risk their safety for the interests of the "All Highest" and all he represented.(7).

Ebert was called in conference by Prince Max, the Chancellor and consulted regarding the situation.

Ebert replied that the situation was serious and that something must be done immediately. Thereupon Prince Max handed over the Chancelloship to Ebert. He accepted the position at this crisis, and proclaimed, "The new government, will be a government by and for the people."(8).

Ebert held fast to the principles of Social Democracy when he insisted on convening a Constitutional National Assembly, which was opposed by the Minority Socialists. November 23, 1918, Ebert announced thru the Weser Zeitung the following; "I am duty bound to call a law giving National Assembly in which the people will assume and decide what the future government of Germany will be."(9).

Ebert again shows his Constitutionalism November 25, 1918 at a conference of ministers of the individual German states, when he says, "That he will use all his energy and power to call a National Assembly as soon as possible."(10). The Conference passed a resolution pledging to keep Germany united, and the calling at the earliest possible moment a Constitutional National Assembly. Until the assembly is called the Workmen's

7. Ibid., p. 70.
8. Ibid., p. 70.
9. Ibid., p. 70.
10. Ibid., p. 70.

and Soldiers Councils shall be the representatives of the German people.

Ebert stood by this program faithfully as shown December 6, 1918, when the Soldiers demanded that he become President he replied, "I cannot and will not assume the Presidency until I have consulted my colleagues in the government."(11).

Ebert did not wish to become a Dictator in the interests of any Social group. He desired to have the people decide their form of government.

The first few weeks after the Revolution Ebert was on duty day and night. He did not see his family from eight to fourteen days at a stretch. He was constantly in demand personally to give speeches and attempt to quell disturbances.(12).

Karl Liebknecht was doing all in his power to form a Red Guard in order that the Ebert-Scheidemann government might be overthrown, and that he might become Dictator of the Proletariat.

December 23, 1918 the Sailors and Marines locked the leaders of the Ebert-Scheidemann governemtn in the Chancellery. They captured the Superintendent of Police Otto Wels and threatened him with death if he interfered. December 24, 1918 Gen. Lequis was ordered to quell the revolt of Sailors and Marines. The government was at a crisis. Thereupon Ebert telephoned Noske to proceed to Berlin immediately. Again Ebert had discovered the right man to quell the revolt which was endangering the infant Republic.(13).

11. Ibid., p. 71.
12. Ibid., p. 71.
13. Ibid., p. 71.

January 6, 1919 Noske was made Governor of Berlin and finally succeeded in crushing the Spartacist Revolt after much bloody street fighting. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered during this upheavel, by, as it is rumored, cowardly reactionary officers of the old regime.(14). But the fact remains that since the Ebert government was responsible for their safe keeping after they had taken them prisoners, and to allow these people to be murdered in such a cowardly way bespeaks weakness or sheer neglect by the Ebert-Scheidemann government.

If, however, German Democracy triumphed over Communism, Ebert deserves the large part of the praise and credit. During the session of the German National Assembly of Feb. 11, 1919 which elected Ebert president; Dr. David graphically portrayed the great danger and crisis in which German Democracy found itself because of the Spartacists and Monarchists, and how only by the quick action of Ebert and Noske was a civil war averted.(15).

Dr. David said, "We can be thankful to Ebert that the German Revolution did not follow the Russian revolution in bloodiness, in the disturbance of all political and economic order. The man now President of the Republic is worthy of full confidence for he has demonstrated his political wisdom and insight, which qualifies him to hold the position he has attained. He is the man to defend our new won freedom from the attacks of Right of Left."(16).

14. Ibid., p. 71.
15. Ibid., p. 71.
16. Ibid., p. 72.

Ebert has prepared the ground in Germany at least for the ideal of a world wide Democratic Constitutionalism. In the Constitution of Weimar the Social Democratic spirit is present, that in the year 1870 rebelled against the annexation policies of Bismarck. It was possible for Ebert to whole heartedly subscribe and take oath of office in August 1919 with the Constitution as a foundation stone for the future Republic.

Seven months later, March 13, 1920 he had the opportunity to defend the Constitution by which he had assumed office.

March 10, 1920 Minister of Defense Noske became aware of the fact that General Lüttwitz was fomenting a revolt. Noske immediately informed President Ebert, and advised Ebert to confer with Gen. Lüttwitz. Noske was present at the conference between Ebert and Luttwitz at which Lüttwitz laid down his demands, for calling off the revolt. His demands were a new election, election of President by the people, not by the National Assembly, and the appointment as Minister of Interior for himself. (17).

Ebert maintained his usual cool headed attitude. He would not allow himself to be upset by a sword rattling General.

Ebert explained at great length the political situation, and gave the prospective trouble makers to understand, that the appeal to force found no echo in his heart. Noske demanded

17. Ibid., p.73.

that General Lüttwitz forthwith hand over the control of the brigade now under his control. Gen. Lüttwitz was greatly astonished at the demands of Noske and humbled himself and tried the expedient of faining no ill will against the government, but this was of no avail. However, he refused to comply with Noske's request.(18).

By March 13, 1920 Noske had reliable information that a plot against the government was afoot and that it assumed the proportions of high treason. Noske had decided to send Republican troops against those of the Lüttwitz and Ehrhardt rebels.

Some of the officers of the Republican army were of the opinion that Reichs wehr troops would not fight other Reich wehr troops. Thereupon Noske notified Ebert, a Cabinet meeting was called, and the serious situation explained to them. Ebert was against bloodshed or force, and demanded the advice of the Cabinet. Action was necessary as the enemy was at the outskirts or Berlin.(19).

Noske in his book "Von Kiel bis Kapp" says the following of the situation; "The members of the Cabinet assembled and also some members of the Prussian ministry. Everyone seemed to be looking for information.(20). There was no formal session of the cabinet, and Ebert spoke to the group in a calm self confident manner explaining the situation. Ebert explained the uselessness of bloodshed and proceeded to explain the plan whereby

18. Ibid., p. 73.
19. Ibid., p. 73.
20. Noske, Von Kiel bis Kapp p. 20.

bloodshed could be avoided and the Kapp-Lüttwitz Revolt quashed. Thereupon Gen. Rheinhardt who had been willing to lead the Republican troops was ordered to dismiss his men.(21).

In the early morning hours of March 13, 1920, Ebert took leave of his wife, but he did not inform her of the details of the trip he was about to take. Ebert did this so that his wife might truthfully say that she knew not his whereabouts. Soon after his departure the first soldiers of Kapp-Lüttwitz entered Berlin. They were much astonished to find the pictures of the Kaiser still in their places, and were more astonished at the lack of resistance.(22).

Ebert first went to Dresden, but that place was not safe so he finally went to Stuttgart with the cabinet members, and from here the General Strike was proclaimed which ruined and wrecked the "Kapp Putsch."

It was the foresight of the Ebert-Scheidemann regime, that made possible the co-operation of workers and government officials in crushing this Monarchist plot. Active resistance by troops would probably have caused suffering, hardship and gained no results except discrediting the new government in the eyes of the people and also in the eyes of the world.(23).

21. Noske, Von Kiel bis Kapp p. 10.
22. Kampffmeyer, Fritz Ebert p.74[illegible].
23. Noske, Von Kiel bis Kapp p. 17.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIZATION

At the moment of triumph over the autocratic and capitalistic empire, German Socialism was unable to put into effect a Socialistic regime, on account of the fact that the Social Democrats had been divided into hostile groups ever since the beginning of the war.(1).

Majority Socialists, Independent Socialists and Spartacists all considered themselves the true heirs of Marx and Engels. Marxism was capable of different interpretations, and as an eonomic theory it is evolutionary, but as a political and historical interpretation of human progress it is revolutionary.(2).

The Social Democrats wasted efforts and energy quarreling among themselves, rather than put forth united opposition to those elements favoring the old regime.

The German Revolution was not due primarily to economic causes. There was no miserable proletariat which rose against capitalism. The revolution was not the fulfillment of economic development prophesied by Marx.(3).

The hatred of the masses was not directed against factory owners and capitalists as against the army officers and

1. Karl Gisbert Von Marx bis Berlin in Preussische Jahrbücher Sept. 1919.
2. Ibid., p. 391-400.
3. Rathenau, Kritik der dreifachen Revolution p. 40.

bureaucrats of the old regime.

However Socialism was the great ideal of the advancing German proletariat, and the socialistic movement the predominating factor of the revolution.(4).

The decline of Marxism as a diagnosis of history, and as a prophetic view of social and economic development has not destroyed the value of Socialism.(5).

The German masses took faith in the teaching of Philipp Scheidemann who said, "Developed from scientific principles, socialism is the highest organization of mental and manual labor." Ebert, the first president of the German Republic said, "Work is the religion of Socialism."(6).

Socialism aims not at dividing but holding together, substituing for individualistic production the systematic planned production of the entirety. Kuttner states; "To work toward that conception in which misery and suffering are past and forgotten ideas, in which the people are not only in possession of political rights, but also in complete possession of the cultural achievements, which have come down to us in ever increasing manner from our ancestors; to work toward the condition in which order, well-being, good manners, and contentment, spiritual striving and robust activity form the normality of of human life, that is the most beautiful and finest task of the German Republic."(7).

4. Goetz, Deutsche Demokratie p. 45.
5. Kumpmann, Die Bedeutung der Revolution p. 10.
6. Vorwaerts Dec. 25, 1918.
7. Kuttner Von Kiel bis Berlin, p.25.

The Social Democratic party fearlessly advocated the doctrines of Socialism in Germany. They were assaulted by the governments, the conservatives, and even the democratic parties.

The party in the first decade of the century had not produced men of caliber as great as Marx, Lasalle, Engels, and Bebel, but it had developed an efficient organization, leaders and organizers. The party had survived the shock of Revisionism and aided by Prussian discipline it had achieved great victories in the Reichstag previous to the world war.

However, the Social Democrats were unable to prevent the world conflict, and accepted the imperial amnesty voting for war credits Aug. 4, 1914 and entering national politics.(8).

The reasons for this co-operation between the bourgeois parties of the Left and the Social Democrats were; the achievements of Imperial Social Legislation, the development of revisionism, the influence of South Germany and the supremacy of labor unions over the party! The original attitude of the German proletariat was nationalistic and the foundation stone of German unity.(9).

The goal of the Social Democrats during the war was control of the Reichstag to be obtained by participation in parliamentary life. By this method they hoped to establish an evolutionary democracy. In 1917 the Socialists formed one of the three majority parties in the Reichstag.(10).

8. Wilhelm Jannson Arbeiterinterresen und Kriegsergebnis pp.31-6.
9. Delbruck Preussische Jahrbucher Jan 1919 pp. 142-143.
10. Scheidemann Es Erlebe der Frieden p. 44.

The success of the parliamentary policy meant the sacrifice of the union sacrée of all German Socialists which had existed since the heroic age of Marx and Lasalle. Party unity was destroyed by the world war and Bolshevism.(11).

The right wing of the Social Democrats was nationalistic, the center believed in a war of self-defence, and the left wing was distrustful of imperialists and all their promises.

Wolfgang Heine, a prominent Socialist said in Feb. 1915, "That the defeat of the enemy was the only war aim of the Social Democrats, and that they did not favor annexations. Edward David at the same time wrote a pamphlet denying annexationist policies.(12).

Deputy Spahn a Centrist of some note and influence spoke for annexations as did Chancellor,at the time von Bethman-Hollweg.

The policy of annexation as issued by the Imperial government caused a split in the Social Democratic ranks. In April 1917 the secessionists from the party who became the Independent Socialists formed an organization under the leadership of Hugo Haase.(13). Haase's Socialists reaffirmed the fundamental principles of Marxian, dencunced all opportunism and compromises, and secretly adopted a revolutionary policy. From then on the Independents worked for the overthrow of the Empire.(14).

11. Delbrück Preussische Jahrbücher Jan. 1919 pp. 142-143.
12. David, Führen Wir Einen Eroberungs Krieg? p. 80.
13. London Times Nov. 28, 1923 Socialization in Germany.
14. Ibid., April 11, 1924 Liebknecht.

The Independents believed that by means of dictatorship of the proletariat of a quick transformation of the capitalistic state into the state of the future, they prepared plans for immediate socialization of the means of production and distribution in Germany.

Scarcely had the Independents become organized, when the Spartacist Alliance appeared. This group was avowedly communistic and under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht. Liebknecht was the first German to recognize the moral guilt of the German and Austrian leaders. During the first year of the war he refused to support the nationalistic policy of his party. For his opposition he was expelled from the Social Democratic party. For summoning the masses to overthrow the government he was promptly arrested and imprisoned.(15). Rosa Luxemburg came forward with the same ideas advocated by Liebknecht and they heading the Spartacist Alliance began advocating Russian revolutionary methods of 1905, the immediate socialization of industry and a world revolution of the proletariat.(16). All literature was signed Spartacus.

Spartacist literature denouncing the war and advocating communism was smuggled to all parts of Germany and the trenches.(17) Spartacus declared, "Our goal is communism, freedom's golden land of anarchy." Spartacus was a Roman rebel slave leader.

The German knew nothing of the origin of the name Spartacus, but is was pointed out that as early as 1849 the poet and revolutionist Gottfried Kinkel had chosen the name of Spartacus

15. Wolffheim Knechtschaft oder Welt revolution p. 16.
16. Lentulus Wer war Spartakus? pp. 48-56.
17. Von Altrock Deutschlands Neiderbruch p. 74.

for his weekly paper. Also in 1877 Johann Most the publisher of "Freiheit" declared to Berlin working men that Spartacus was the only great man in Roman history.

The origins of Spartacism can be traced to the communistic movement within the German Social Democracy, but the formulation of its program is the result of the success of Bolshevism.

Lenin's interpretation of Marx was accepted by the Spartacans. Liebknecht and Luxemburg wished for a united rising against all bourgeois parties and peoples. (18).

The Spartacists denounced the Majority Socialists as practical politicians, and the Independent Socialists as opportunists. Spartacus declared, "The workeman has no Fatherland to defend." (19).

"All reason is on the side of communism", wrote a Spartacist "for the decision of the Communist to emerge from the world of this war gives to him such moral superiority than nothing on earth can stand beside him." (20).

The German Socialists differed in their interpretation of Marx.

The Majority Socialists on coming into power were confronted with the very serious problem of socialization. Their main tasks being to establish a strong democratic government, maintain national economic life, to conclude peace, and preserve order, these were the aims of the Social Democrats.

18. London Times June 8, 1924 Spartacans.
19. Von Altrock Deutschlands Niederbruch pp. 34.
20. Erhart Dieser Friede wird Rein Brest-Litovsk. p. 65.

The Independent Socialists believed in the Socialization of the means of production and distribution gradually.(21). The Independents feared that a national assembly would restore power to the bourgeois and therefore opposed it and aimed to weaken the bourgeois by gradual socialization.(22). The Independents believed supreme power should rest with Workmen's and Soldiers Councils so that Socialism might be safeguarded against reaction. The slogan of the Independents being, "The working classes alone can establish socialism.(22).

The two great tasks as they saw it being abolition of private ownership of industry and the establishment of the socialistic order in production and distribution. The system advocated by the Independents was similar to that of the Majority Socialists. The advocated necessity of controlling the banks and the system of credit, necessary raw materials, sources of food supply in order to make socialization possible.(24).

A non-socialistic theory of socialization was advocated by Walter Rathenau head of the General Electric Co.(25).

Rathenau suggested national control of industry and social legislation to correct the evils existing. His aims were: national economic unification, shortening hours of labor, abolition of proletarian conditions, education being the highest duty of the state, political and class differences to be abolished. Rathenau's plan was not carried out.

22. Frohlich Weg zum Socialismus. p. 61.
23. Preussische Jarhbücher Mar. 1919 p. 343.
24. Rathenau Nach der Flut pp. 26-27.
25. Rathenau Kritik der dreifachen Revolution pp. 15-19.

It can be readily seen that with all the divergent schemes, and general upheaval and disorganization that any comprehensive changes could not be carried out.

Opposition to socialization arose from all quarters. Socialists, labor unionists, economists, intellectuals, the middle class and the capitalists, all were opposed to socialization or any economic novelties.(27).

Bernstein one of the Socialist theorists stated that socialization could take place. Jesuit writers attacked socialization and all revolutionary doctrines, presenting a Catholic plan for reorganization.(28).

Kautsky believed that custom and discipline would keep the men at work after the social revolution and partial socialization.(29).

The November revolution failed to socialize industry which has always been the ideal of Socialists.

The German proletarian slogan had been, "Proletarians of all lands unite", but they themselves remained divided into fratracidal groups. This disunion caused the failure to establish a Socialist state. Socialization was the great ideal of the November revolution, and the German proletariat still hope for a rational socialization.

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27. Preussische Jarhbücher Mar. 1919 p. 343-345.
28. Pesch Socialisierung p. 40-45.
29. Preussische Jahrbücher Mar. 1919 -. 8-10.

CONCLUSION

From the material that I have read regarding the German Revolution and the German Republic, I have produced the foregoing thesis.

It appears as though Ebert and the Majority Socialists were the only persons capable of establishing and maintaining a government in 1919.

Germany owes much to this party which was called the "Party of Subversion", and was severely persecuted by the Law of Exceptions and other anti-Socialist legislation.

When the critical moment arrived it was the Party of Subversion which remained loyal to the Fatherland, while Monarchists, Hohenzollerns and autocrats in general either fled the country, or betook themselves to places far removed from danger. Their first and only consideration was the preservation of their useless titles, distinctions and as far as the Fatherland was concerned they had no thought for that.

Kaiser William II. had often said of the Social Democrats, "These people are not worthy of the name German, they are men without a country or Fatherland." Yet it was these despised classes from below, who were never considered worthy of full participation in government, that saved the country from the extremes of White of Monarchist terror, or the extremes of a Red or Spartacist orgy.

To Ebert and his colleagues credit is due, for remaining cool headed and sane thru the chaos and risings, and for

keeping Germany safe as a Republic.

What the consequences to Europe would have been had Germany gone over to Bolshevism no one can accurately foretell.

However, it seems highly probable that the entire European situation would have been infinitely the worse off for such a move on the part of Germany. Not only should Germany be grateful, but all Europe also.

Ebert and his colleagues believed in constitutionalism and evolution in governmental affairs, rather than revolution and dictatorship. In his desire for fair adjustment of the difficulties of the war he was acting for the general welfare of all Europe not only Germany.

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