

# Contents

Introduction: Models and methods	1
1 Industrialisation and the entry of the German working class into politics	14
Industrialisation and protest	14
The rise of working-class organisations	15
The belated industrial revolution	21
Towards a united working-class party	27
Early organisation and political representation	34
2 The role of the working-class party in the pseudo-democratic state	42
The class struggle and the people's state	43
The weapon of the franchise	48
The constitutional system of the empire and the emergent SPD	51
The state versus the SPD	57
Lawful action by the outlawed	61
Parliamentary tactics and popular control	66
Towards democratic Marxism: the Erfurt programme of 1891	71
3 The political mobilisation of the German working class and the SPD	78
Electoral trends and the socialist vote to 1912	78
Social structure and socialist voting	82
Class, region and vote	87
Social groups marginal to the working class and support for the SPD	100
The penumbra of socialist support before the war	108
The socialist voting trend to 1914	110
Political mobilisation and the divided working class under Weimar	113
On the road to a people's party?	122
4 Social milieu, political control and the grass roots of social democracy	130
The struggle against the socialist hydra	133
A semi-fettered party	138
The socialist milieu	141
The Social Democratic Party organisation	149
The party membership	152
The <i>embourgeoisement</i> of the workers' party	159
5 The elective fatherland: Socialist subculture from ghetto to republic	167
Agitation for persuasion and solidarity	169

viii	<i>The German Social Democratic Party, 1875–1933</i>	
	Labour's high days and holidays	174
	The problem of political education and its solution before 1914	177
	The emergence of a centralised system of party education	182
	The Social Democratic movement and education and culture under Weimar	188
	Socialist <i>Kultur</i> and its organisation	194
	The Social Democratic subculture and socialist commitment	200
	Sub-culture, high culture and counter-culture	207
6	The structure of a democratic party in action: Mass membership, leadership and bureaucracy	219
	The evolution of the organisational structure and the democratic process	222
	The structure of the SPD under Weimar	227
	Local party democracy	230
	Power and participation	234
	Functionaries, officers and leaders	240
	Leadership and bureaucracy	245
	Career patterns and <i>embourgeoisement</i>	251
	Leaders and followers	259
7	A revolutionary but not a revolution-making party?	
	Theory and tactics from Erfurt to Weimar	271
	The 'old, proven and victorious' tactics after 1890	272
	German trade unionism and the road to pragmatic politics	279
	The mass-strike debate of 1905	285
	Goal versus movement: strategical theories and practice before 1914	287
	The socialist party in the democratic state: 1918–32	306
8	Conclusions	328
	Abbreviations	337
	Sources	338
	Index	357