# THEY MUST; OR GOD AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: A FRANK WORD TO CHRISTIAN MEN AND WOMEN

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They must; or God and the social democracy: a frank word to christian men and women by Hermann Kutter

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A FRANK WORD TO CHRISTIAN MEN AND WOMEN

BY

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#### PREFACE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

The economic life of man, the political life of man, the religious life of man—these three are the main lines which make up the unceasing march of the human race called history; and it is the form and character of these three activities, primarily of the economic, secondarily of the political and religious, which determine the varying degrees of welfare or misery that are the lot of the human race, generation by generation.

As, from the vantage ground of our own generation, we look back and then with ardent desire peer forward, everyone who has a mind hopeful and unshackled, feels sure of so much as this: that the human race will in time find the law of harmony for its economic life, the law of harmony for its political life, the law of harmony for its religious life, and will subject itself fully to these laws. This means that instead of the discord and cross purposes which now rule industry and business and which have always ruled them, will finally come the fullness of co-operation; when there shall be no more tug of war, but all shall be pulling to one end. It means also a like stable reconciliation of elements now struggling in the field of statecraft, and it means a similar peace in the domain of religion.

It will then be as if the human race, after weary and woeful centuries of climbing, with times, alas, of retrogression, had at last emerged upon the level desired so long-a plateau where the march will go forward through many happy centuries. When the edge of that plateau has been really overpast, and when, as Monod has well said, the true human life begins, all the thoughtful of that generation will pause and they will look back and down the way the race has climbed. They will study the various movements and parties of the latest centuries; and they may find that the sole movement which in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had clearly avowed and passionately sought that universal co-operation which actually became the state attained by the race, was itself a compelling factor in the process of attainment. They may find, that is, that the Socialism of our day was the sharpest and most effective agency in bringing in the solution, the final commonwealth.

And when they consider the religious phase, and if it shall be that the all-embracing religion is identical with a purified socially-ethical Christianity, they may find that the most pronounced form of such a Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was an ally needed by Socialism, and vitally serving Socialism. These are surely both likely guesses; and if they are true guesses, then it follows with certainty that the thoughtful of that soberly happy generation will recognize as a most weighty event of these years now passing, the discovery now passionately hailed, and with widening acceptance, that the Kingdom of God proclaimed by Jesus and the Co-operative Commonwealth foreseen and willed by the Socialists, are one and the same. The pioneers of this Great Identification will then stand out as the true leaders of men, however little the mass may now perceive them to be their leaders.

The early discoverers of the identification, whether in France or England or this country, went no further than to identify two abstractions, two pictures of the future; they expressly disowned the actual Socialists of the Continent, rebuked their atheism and bitterness, and proposed to the Christian world a rival program, named "Christian Socialism," and to their mind altogether lovely and of good report. Such an identification was courageous, but not thorough; and it could not be ultimately satisfactory to the German mind, whose very stamp is "thorough"; the German mind was sure sooner or later to see deeper, to see through the contradictions of the Social Democracy to Christianity. It has done so and has proclaimed the essential oneness of the actual Socialist movement of the nineteenth century with that movement which Jesus meant to found. Not that so wonderful an act of insight was shared by any considerable number of observers among German Christians; it required a heroic quality both of mind and of heart such as there are few instances of in any generation. The first open and widely published proclamation of this identification was the book, "They Must, a Frank Word to Christian Men and Women," now offered to American readers. Its author, Hermann Kutter, is of the German race, a Swiss pastor, 45 years of age, an orthodox member of the Protestant Church. Until the year 1898 he was pastor of a small church near Berne; in that year he was elected by the people of one of the districts of Zurich to be minister of their church. Zurich is a