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THE PROLETARIAT FIGHTS!

CONVENTION DOES THINGS

(Special Dispatch to "The Socialist.")

Many Rumors in Daily Papers Made Up by Cub Reporters. Pay No Attention to Them. Haywood Withdraws. Debs and Hanford May Be Ticket Again. Platform Committee Mixed. Great Victory for Washington State Party. Hutchison-Mills-Faction Turned Down by 164 to 27 at Special Session of Convention. Opportunism and Fusion Outwoted 6 to 1.

The third National Convention of the Socialist Party gathered in Brand's Hall last Sunday. Our correspondents will give full details next week. "The Socialist" is delayed this week in order to include the earliest days' details. Little can be done by the Convention before Wednesday or Thursday except to perfect organization and elect committees. Then time must be given for those committees to act.

Monday night the National Executive Committee met by special direction of the Convention upon recommendation of the Credentials Committee for the express purpose of investigating and reporting on the protest of the Mills-Hutchison-Wolfe faction from the State of Washington against the seating of the Washington delegation. On Tuesday afternoon the Convention received their Executive's report and settled the whole controversy then and there after full discussion.

The Capitalist papers call it "wrangling." They cannot understand that a vital question of organization is at stake. The Capitalist parties have no democratic organization depending upon the class unity and free cooperation as the Socialist Party must have in order to survive.

Haywood's withdrawal means he recognized his nomination would be followed by a campaign which would thrust over again the Bolso trial and center about the Western Federation of Miners instead of being a campaign about Socialism.

Capitalist dispatches report Carl D. Thompson's name received by the Convention "with cheers." It has been known to "The Socialist" for some weeks that the Opportunists and Christian Socialists were working for the nomination of this Reverend to the office of President. But it is simply impossible a wage-workers' party should so stand itself on its head for a race. His nomination, on the heels of his pamphlet, "Constructive Program of Socialism," which Bryan could swallow whole without gagging, would be the outside of the Socialist Party. It savors of infinite egotism on his part to dream of it.

Equally unlikely is the reported caucus of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio delegates for Ben Hanford and Max Hayes. This would be too obviously an A. F. of L. ticket exclusively and a kick at Industrial Unionism. A. M. Simons' name also has been mentioned as a good center of the delegates will probably prevail, if the following message from the Washington comrades is to be trusted:

Chicago, April 12th, 1908.
Tuesday, 11:30 p. m.
To Washington Socialists:
The greatest victory in the history of the party for Revolutionary Socialism was won this afternoon.

The National Executive Committee met last night (Monday) and specially considered the Washington controversy by instructions from the Convention through Credentials Committee. Phelps-Stokes, of New York, acted as chairman of Executive Committee. A. Hutchison, of Seattle, was present as Organizer of the "National Organization," which has appealed to the National Party for a Referendum to be conducted by the National Secretary to elect a new State Committee.

The debate was closed by four five-minute speeches, two on each side. Vandervort, of New York, spoke first for us, making strong speech against all fusion and in support of revolutionary methods. He handed Walter Thomas Mills a very sour note.

Next Goebl spoke for Hutchison. He was very weak. He told how we made him obey the state organization when he was in Washington. He had selected Hillquit to close for our side, but Simons, of Chicago, got the floor ahead of Hillquit. He was strong for us, praised our organization and machine, but said we were ourselves too part in the State Convention last year, helped make the present laws and elect the present officers. Therefore they should abide by results.

Hillquit made motion to reject protest and deny Referendum in Washington on the grounds that national constitutional amendment was not yet in force and that controversy has arisen since the present organization was duly and regularly constituted; that national office offer its services for unity.

State Organizer Wagenknecht, State Secretary Krueger and National Committeeman Herman defended the State organization and brought out all the facts clearly. Work was silent. Victor Berger and Rev. Carl Thompson, of Wisconsin, members of the Executive Committee, started to support Hutchison, but in the end Hutchison was laughed at. Berger told him he was "easy." We were praised for good organization and shrewdness. Berger said: "The revolution is not a party or Thompson. Hutchison's words are laughable."

The Hillquit motion was abandoned by unanimous vote of Executive Committee. Today (Tuesday) the Executive Committee reported to Convention. Goebl, of New Jersey, National Organizer, spoke against us with much feeling. Also Miller, of Nevada, re-

ceiving much applause. The main point they made against us was that our organization was autocratic, but when it was demanded that they prove it by our laws, they failed.

The rule was adopted that each party to the controversy be given 20 minutes to state their case. Hutchison occupied his full time, talking about what happened years ago and telling how sick we were. Brown, Wagenknecht, Herman and Boomer occupied our 20 minutes, speaking five minutes each. The center of the arguments on the Revolutionary Socialism the party in Washington stood for and the resulting anti-fusion tactics. They exposed the reform principles and compromising tactics of the Hutchison crowd.

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GETTING THERE

On the Way to the 1908 National Convention -- By A. Wagenknecht

Sleeping on the cushions is no fun. But most of us knew this before we started. Nor would we make beds of our seats if we could buy a bed. Most of us can't spare the five it costs. So here we are, in the middle of an alkali desert in Utah, feeling a little irregular, but already two dollars in pocket.

The Oregon delegation joined us. Varner, Ramp and Ryan in Portland, Barzee in Pendleton. They have their wives with them. One each, I must explain, being in Utah they also are traveling in usual working class fashion, though not of that class. Lunches in baskets and grip, sleeping in the day coach. We have all noticed one thing. That part of the working class that must travel make their home while traveling in the day coach. No tourist or Pullman beds, no meals in the dining car. The railroad companies, in their efforts for large profits, don't furnish enough accommodations for day coach travelers, and as a consequence the periodical rush for seats is interesting.

E. E. Martin drew first blood. A few neighbors of his were against Socialism. Just against it, that's all. No reason for it. The argument was a good one from a Socialist viewpoint -- our side was winning it, you see. The opposition resorted to sarcasm. Martin is no second when it comes to this, and with an occasional jolt from the man sent him for \$125 per day, we soon had the whole car laughing at our friend. The climax was reached when Martin asked them to name the books on Socialism they had read. They had read none. And make no mistake, we decided that no person knows a thing about anything he knows nothing about. That settled the argument. By the way, one of the opponents says he will hire all the men sent him for \$125 per day. He failed to leave with his name and address, however.

We were received by the Utah comrades of Salt Lake City, Murray and Ogden, but not our Socialism, so far as we could tell. We met in special session in Lawyer Scott's office. He, in the course of his remarks, said that he favored the mem-

bership pledges being changed from "I, recognizing the class struggle, etc." to "I, knowing of the degradation and misery of human race, and realizing that something should be done, etc." State Secretary McLaughlin, who praises Work's work and whom Work praises, said he was an Evolutionary Socialist, an opportunist and in favor of harmony all ways. We found out after the meeting that all our Utah comrades need to establish harmony with us, was to become our kind of Socialists. A woman member, Comrade Johnson, wanted a broad movement, humanitarian in character, a movement of justice and right. She said she voted for a candidate for Attorney General on a capitalist party ticket last election and that there was some talk, as a result, of denying her membership. All the above was said after the Washington and Oregon delegates had made their short speeches on the fundamentals of Socialism and the no-compromise character our party should attain.

Comrade Johnson said we came very near calling the Utah comrades traitors. Comrade McLaughlin told me he had persuaded former State Secretary Burd, who was a factor in the American party fusion, to remain a member of our party. McLaughlin says he makes a very good chairman.

The American party is a late political aggregation, which has, as its economic foundation, an Anti-Mormon crusade. The delegates from Utah were present at the session. They left Salt Lake City twelve hours later than we, but we expect to meet in Denver. All the Utah comrades are very honest in what they believe Socialism is and should be.

A monster argument occurred to-day. Right in our own ranks, too. Brown on one side. All the rest of us on the other. Brown claimed a lawyer belonged to the working class. The rest claimed he belonged to most any class except the working class. The argument was loud and long. We won, for we were much and he was few. He got even with us later in the evening by opening up a barbershop in the day coach and giving

is a free shave while the train was going forty miles per hour.

More from us later. We are learning how to make Socialists in day coaches and we shall get further experience. Today was banner day. We had four arguments on the program at the same time. We make no special effort to talk loud, that coming natural, and so if we have the arguments equally distant from each other, the whole crowd hears.

Varner don't talk much. He is a sort of a thinking man. Barzee and Herman join hands as against Oriental exclusion. Ramp is a good joker and Ryan is also. Hendrickson wants the convention to treat the liquor problem more fully. Krueger has the voice that can be heard, sounds like a rattling gun, I think, though never heard one. Hale, M. A. L. from Puyallup, who is with us as a visitor, talks presidential possibilities. Downie acts hearty and converts.

After the colony of Natal, in South Africa, that of Congo will probably have a National Socialist Organization. "The Socialist" informed the ex-minister of colonies of ill fame at the time of the Dreyfus case that he would make the Congo a country twice as big as England, and would make the Congo the equalities of our African brothers and hasten their conversion. At least as the capitalists say, they do not feel the pain when they are oppressed of some limb for dismemberment. We hope we will make them class-conscious sooner than we expected.

The report of General Armade, the official butcher of the French Government in Morocco, relating the massacre of March 16th, which tries to give a horrible murder report of a hundred of peaceable tribesmen, is the most cold-blooded report in the history of the French conquest. It will stand as an example of French "bravery" and "courage."

Women and children slain, villages burned to the ground, with all the incidental cruelties of a passionate soldiery, such is the review of that report.

The Federation of the Building Trades in Paris has won the fight against their employers. The result is a working day of 9 hours and also the recognition by their employers of the proletariat to win its battles. The leaders have been most diplomatic in the so-called negotiations, and which the employers had called for, and by refusing their offer the workers have won.

For having voted a bill in favor of Premier Clemenceau's policy six of our comrades, belonging to the French Socialist Party, have been expelled. They have to answer the charge of disobedience before the National Committee of the French Socialist Party. This tactic of control of Socialist Votes by the Party has been most

beneficial for the past few years for it has stopped a great deal of Opportunism among the French Socialists.

The Municipal Elections in France will be held during the month of May. The United Socialist Party has been tireless in its efforts throughout the campaign and is now on the verge of having a Socialist candidate. The 10 biggest towns in France are almost certain to have a Socialist Municipal Council. Paris will sweep away good patriots and other Nationalists for the cause for Patriotism is dying young in France. Let us hope that this free land of ours will soon follow her example.

DEBS & HANFORD

Nominated on First Ballot -- Complete Victory for Revolutionists

Special Dispatch to "The Socialist"

The following dispatch dated Chicago, Ill., 2:13 a. m., Friday, May 15 will bring cheer and assurance, even reassurance, to the Revolutionary Socialists of the country.

The renomination of Debs and Hanford by massive majorities over the Reform candidates, Preacher Thompson and Lawyer Steadman, shows the Proletarians were in control of the Socialist National Convention. The tidings of Thompson's candidacy was revealed by his meagre 13 votes out of 150 odd. It was a magnificent victory for Common Sense Wage Class Politics.

The Platform, too, is Revolutionary. It is divided into two parts, a Preamble constituting a general statement of principles, which is the permanent platform, followed by a practical, present day appeal or application of the main platform to the political situation in 1908. This dispatch from the Washington delegates calls the Preamble "excellent" which proves its Revolutionary character.

From Capitalist dispatches we learn that the Labor Union Resolutions are also satisfactory. They refuse to recognize any distinctions in national union organizations, denote no preference for A. F. of L. or I. W. W., but make a clear appeal to all Unionists to support the Wage Workers' platform and ticket put forth by the Socialist Party. In a word, the Socialist Party confines itself to Political Action, declining to be embroiled in Trade Union disputes, or by implication even to endorse "Direct Action."

Azala it has been demonstrated that the rank and file of the Socialist Party has become both instinctively and deliberately Proletarian. The delegates of Chicago simply overwhelmed Opportunism, Reformism and all Middle Classism whenever the issue was definitely made. The result will brace up weak kneed editors and leaders of the country and will strike a real blow into the hearts of Intelligent Capital.

EUROPEAN NOTES.
By Edmond Peluso.
Sometimes, somewhere, Socialists get Justice.

The Tribunal of Lorent (France) has rendered judgment against "La Depeche," a daily progressive and revolutionary, for a printing labelled commrades Goide and Masson.

A very interesting fact is that the comrades who brought trial before the reactionary sheet, insisted on pleading their own case, without the help of any lawyer.

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Latest Special

CHICAGO, Ill., May 15, 1908, 2:18 a. m. -- Debs was nominated at night session by Phil Callery of Missouri. Nomination seconded by Spargo and others. A. M. Simons was nominated by Steadman of Chicago. Berger placed Rev. Carl D. Thompson in nomination. Carey of Massachusetts and Max Hayes of Ohio were also nominated, but their names were withdrawn. The ballot resulted as follows: "Total cast, 196; Debs, 150; Carey, 15; Thompson, 12; Simons, 9. Berger moved to make it unanimous. Carried with immense enthusiasm.

Ben Hanford of New York was placed in nomination for Vice President by Robt. Bandlow of Ohio. Lipscomb of Missouri, Carey of Massachusetts, Clayton of Pennsylvania, May Simons of Illinois, Woodby (colored delegate from California), were also nominated for Vice President. Rev. Carl Thompson nominated Steadman, Carey and Lipscomb declined.

Ballot resulted: Total, 184; Hanford, 106; Steadman, 42; May Simons, 20; Thompson, 16.

The Revolutionary element won, over two to one. They had not caused beforehand but Opportunists did.

The vote for Hanford shows Revolutionary strength, though a few were misled.

It was reported Debs would be disqualified on account of his physical condition but Hanford denied this on the strength of a letter from Debs himself.

The Preamble to the Platform is excellent.

WASHINGTON DELEGATION.
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THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION OF FRANCE

By Karl Kautsky

Translated from "The Socialist" by Ernest Untermann

(Begin in Number 373 of "The Socialist")

3. Marx and Engels

It was his revolutionary proletarian point of view which enabled a mental giant like Marx to lay the foundation for a unified science. But when we speak of Marx, we must never forget that the same great deed was not accomplished by a thinker who was his peer, Frederick Engels, and that without the intimate co-operation of both, the new materialist conception of history and the new historical or dialectic conception of the world could not have manifested itself at the first blow so perfectly and comprehensively.

Engels arrived at this conception on a different road than Marx. Marx was the son of a jurist, and had first been intended for a legal career, later for an academic one. He studied law, philosophy, history, and did not turn his attention to the study of economics until he keenly felt the lack of economic knowledge.

In Paris he studied economics, the history of revolutions, and socialism. Particularly the great thinker Saint-Simon seems to have exerted a strong influence on him. These studies led him to understand that society is not made by law, nor by the decree, but vice versa, that society arising from the economic process makes the law, the state, according to its requirements.

Engels, on the other hand, was born as the son of a manufacturer. Not the classic high school, but the ordinary high school gave him the foundation of his knowledge and taught him to think after the manner of natural scientists. Then he became a practical merchant, carried on economics practically and theoretically, in England, in Manchester, the center of English capitalism, where his father had a factory. Being familiar with Hegel's philosophy through his German training, he knew how to deepen his economic understanding, and his attention was directed mainly towards economic history. At the same time the proletarian class struggle, during the forties of the 19th century, was nowhere so well developed as in England, and in no other country did its connection with capitalist development show itself so plainly.

In this way Engels arrived simultaneously with Marx at the threshold of the same materialist conception of history, only by a different route. While the one came by way of the old mental sciences, law, ethics, history, the other came by way of the new mental sciences, economic history, ethnology and natural history. Both met in the revolution, in socialism. It was the agreement of their ideas, which at once drew them closer to one another when they came into personal touch in Paris, in 1844. This agreement of their ideas became a complete amalgamation into a higher unity, in which it is impossible to say, what and how much the one or the other has contributed to it. Marx was indeed the more powerful of the two, and no one has acknowledged this more unselfishly, even joyously, than Engels himself. After Marx, their mode of thought is also called the Marxian. But Marx could never have accomplished what he did without Engels, from whom he learned a great deal. Of course, the reverse is also true. Each one of them was lifted by the co-operation with the other, and by this means each acquired a far-sightedness and universality which he could not have secured by himself alone. Marx would have found the materialist conception of history without Engels, and Engels without Marx, but their development would no doubt have been slower and they would have passed through more mistakes and failures. Marx was the deeper thinker of the two, Engels the more daring. In Marx the power of abstraction was more strongly developed, the gift of discovering in the tangle of concrete phenomena the general; in Engels the power of combination was more pronounced, the gift of acknowledging this more unselfishly, the whole complex phenomenon in his mind. In Marx the critical power was more vigorous, even the self-critique, which put a brake on the daring of his thought and constrained it to advance step by step, whereas in Engels the ground step by step, because the mind of Engels received light wings from his proud joy over the stupendous understanding gained by him and flew over the greatest difficulties.

Among the many suggestions received by Marx from Engels, one became especially significant. He had been tremendously uplifted by overcoming the one-sidedness of German thought and fertilizing it with French ideas. Engels acquainted him also with English thought. By this means alone did his mind rise to the greatest power which it could reach under the prevailing conditions. Nothing is farther from the truth than the assertion that Marxism is a purely German product. It has been international from its very inception.

The Unification of German, French and English Thought

Three nations were the bearers of modern civilization in the 19th century. Only he, who had become imbued with the spirit of all three, was armed with all achievements of his century, only he could accomplish the best that was possible with the means of his century.

The unification of the thought of these three nations into a higher form, in which the one-sidedness of each should be overcome, forms the starting point of the historical achievement of Marx and Engels.

England, as we have already mentioned, had capitalism farther developed in the first-half of the 19th century than any other country, owing particularly to its geographical location, which enabled it in the 18th century to draw considerable benefits out of its colonial policy of conquest and spoliation, which led to the death of the European continent bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. Thanks to its insular situation it did not have to maintain a large standing army, was enabled to devote its entire strength to the navy and to conquer the supremacy of the sea without exhausting itself. Its wealth in coal and iron, enabled it to employ the wealth gained by its colonial policy for the development of a great capitalist industry, which in its turn, through its supremacy of the sea, conquered the world market, that could be opened for the consumption

of large masses of goods only by water ways, so long as the railroad systems had not been developed for this purpose.

Capitalism and its tendencies could therefore be studied in England earlier than elsewhere, and so could the proletarian class struggle, called forth by these tendencies, as we have already indicated. So the insight into the laws of the capitalist mode of production, that is, political economy, was nowhere farther advanced than in England. The same was true of its history and ethnology, thanks to world commerce. Better than in other countries was it possible in England to recognize, what the future carried in its womb, and, thanks to the new mental sciences, to perceive the laws governing the social development of all times and thereby to accomplish the unification of natural and social science.

But England offered only the best material, not the best methods of research, for this purpose.

Just because capitalism developed earlier in England than anywhere else, the capitalist class there conquered the rule of society before feudalism had completely run its race in politics, economics, and in the human mind, and before the capitalist class had come to full self-realization in every respect. The colonial policy itself, which promoted Capitalism so much, gave new strength also to the feudalism.

In addition to this, the standing army did not reach a powerful development in England, for reasons which we have already mentioned. This prevented in its turn the rise of a strong centralized government. The bureaucracy remained weak, the self-management of the ruling classes retained its great power in a subordinate position. This signified that class struggles were but little centralized and frequently split up.

The new to penetrate the entire life and thought. The thinkers and champions of the rising classes did not oppose Christianity, aristocracy, monarchy on principle, they tried not to make any great program. They did not strive to think their thoughts out, they preferred to champion only individual measures dictated by the practical exigencies of the moment instead of comprehensive programs. Narrow-mindedness and conservatism, overcautiousness in politics and in science, indifference to all striving for the development of a wide horizon, penetrated all classes.

This situation was quite different in France. This country was economically far more backward than the capitalist industries were mainly purveyors of luxuries, the small bourgeoisie predominated. The small burghers of a great city like Paris showed the keynote. There were but a few big cities with half a million inhabitants before the introduction of railroads, and they played a far different role than today. Armies could be only small before the introduction of railroads, which made the rapid transport of masses possible. They were scattered throughout the country, could not be rapidly concentrated, and the mass of the people were not so helpless against the equipment of the military forces as they are today. It was also the peasants, who had distinguished themselves more than others by opposition to the forced expropriation of the government by several armed revolts long before the great revolution.

Before the introduction of compulsory education, the improvement of the political system by railroads and telegraphs, the spread of daily papers throughout the country, it was the population of the large cities which was mentally superior to the rest of the country and thus exerted most influence upon mental life. Social intercourse at that time offered the only opportunity for the mass of the uneducated to inform themselves, particularly about politics, but also on matters of art and even of science. How much greater was this possibility in a large city than in the country towns and villages! Whoever had spent in France, crowded into Paris to express and develop it. Whoever expressed himself in Paris, was filled with a higher spirit.

And now this critical, overbearing, audacious population witnessed an unprecedented collapse of the government and of the ruling class.

The same causes, which retarded economic development in France, promoted the decline of feudalism and of the state. Especially the colonial policy entailed infinite sacrifice upon the state, broke its military and financial strength, and accelerated the economic ruin of the peasants no less than of the aristocracy. State, nobility and church were politically and morally bankrupt, and with the exception of the church also financially. Yet they managed to maintain their oppressive rule to the utmost, thanks to the power centralized by the government through the army and a widespread bureaucracy, and thanks to the complete abolition of all independent action and organization among the people.

This led finally to that colossal catastrophe, which we know as the great French revolution, and by which the small bourgeoisie and proletariat of Paris managed to rule the country and defy all Europe. But even before that the increasing sharpness of the antagonisms, between the needs of the popular masses led by the liberal bourgeoisie and those of the aristocracy and clergy protected by the state power, led to the most radical degree of all existing things in thought. War was declared against all traditional authority. Materialism and atheism, which had been in England merely a luxurious hobby of a degenerate nobility and vanished quickly with the victory of the bourgeoisie, became in France the mode of thought of the most daring reformers among the rising classes. While in England more than anywhere else the economic root of class antagonisms and class struggles sprang into view, the France of the revolution showed most clearly, that every class struggle is a struggle for political power, that the task of any great political party is not exhausted in some reform, but rather must keep in view the conquest of political power, and the mode of conquest, if accomplished by a hitherto suppressed class, always carries with it a change of the entire social fabric. While during the first half of the nineteenth century economic thought was most highly developed in England, political thought was most highly developed in France. While England was dominated by the spirit of compromise, France was ruled by that of radicalism. And while the detail work of gradual organization and upbuilding had its place, through its supremacy of the sea, in England, France that swept everything away.

Radical and daring action was proceeded by radical and daring thought which considered nothing sacred, which fearlessly and heedlessly followed up every understanding to its last conclusions, and thought out every thought to the end.

But though the results of this thought and action were brilliant and captivating, it also developed the faults of its virtues. Impatiently pushing toward the last and extreme aims, it took no time to prepare the way for them. Full of eagerness to storm the fort of the state by revolutionary impetuosity, it neglected the work of preparing and organizing its steps. And the longing to push on toward the last and highest truths led easily to the most hasty conclusions based upon wholly inadequate material, preferred brilliant and surprising flashes to patient research. It gave rise to the habit of trying to master the infinite wealth of life by a few simple formulae and catchwords. British sober thought was met by Gallic love of phrases.

In Germany, the situation was still different. Capitalism was even far less developed there than in France, for Germany was almost completely cut off from the great thoroughfare of European world commerce, the Atlantic ocean, and therefore recovered but slowly from the gruesome devastations of the Thirty Years' War. Germany was still more a small bourgeois country than France, and lacked at the same time a strong central power. Split up into innumerable small states, it had no great cities to show. Petty provincialism and petty village nature made its bourgeoisie narrow, weak and cowardly. The final breakdown of feudalism was not accomplished by an uprising from within, but by an invasion from the outside. Not German burghers, but French soldiers swept it out of the most important parts of Germany. It is true that the great successes of the rising bourgeoisie in England and France excited also the German bourgeoisie. But every one of the fields conquered by the bourgeoisie of Western Europe remained closed to the enterprise of its most energetic and intelligent elements. They could not find any great commercial and industrial enterprises nor conduct them, could not take a hand in molding the destinies of states through a parliament or a powerful press, could not command navies and armies, reality was dismal for them, nothing remained for them but to turn their backs upon reality and devote themselves to pure thought and idealistic reality by art. They threw themselves with full force upon these fields, and accomplished great things upon them. Here the German people excelled France and England. While these produced a Pitt, a Fox, a Burke, a Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, a Richelieu and a Napoleon, Germany produced a Schiller, a Goethe, a Kant, a Fichte, a Hegel.

Thinking because the foremost occupation of the great Germans, the idea for them constituted itself the ruler of the world, the revolution of thought became for them a means of revolutionizing the world. The more miserable and circumscribed reality was, the more they thought tried to rise above it, to overcome its limitations, to embrace all infinity.

While the English thought out the best methods for the victorious advance of their navies and industries, the French the best methods for the victorious advance of their armies and insurrections, the Germans thought out the best methods for the victorious march of thought and reality.

However, this victorious advance, like the French and English, carried in its train disadvantages in theory and practice. The withdrawal from reality generated unfavorably upon the world an overcautiousness of ideas. These assumed life and strength by active idealism, the unity of the heads of men that produced and would have to realize them. People were satisfied to be right in theory and neglected to reach for power by which the theory might be applied. Thought and philosophy were deep, and German science profound, though German idealism was imaginative, though they created magnificent things, under their surface was hidden an indescribable and unproductive complete renunciation of all striving for power. The German ideas were far more sublime than the French and decidedly more than the English. But the Germans did not take one step to get nearer to them. It was proclaimed at the outset that an ideal was something unattainable.

As conservatism sticks to the English, the radical phrase to the French, so inactive idealism still clings in some measure to the German to this day. It is true that the great industrial development of the last decades has strongly restricted it. But even before that it found a counterbalance in the invasion of the French spirit after the revolution. To the mixture of French revolutionary thought with the German philosophical method, Germany owes some of its most valuable ideas. It is enough to remember Heinrich Heine and Ferdinand Lassalle.

But the result was still more stupendous, when this mixture was fertilized by English economic thought. To this we owe the achievement of Engels and Marx.

They recognized to what extent economics and politics, the details of organization and the method and stress of revolution, are mutual conditions; that the detail work remains fruitless without a great aim that is its constant guide and inspiration, and that such an aim floats in the air without the preparation of detail work, which provides the power required for its consummation. But they also recognized that such an aim must not be born out of a mere revolutionary mood, if it is to remain free from illusions and self-deception, that it may be gained by the most conscientious application of the method, which provides research, that it must always be reconciled with the total knowledge of humanity. They also recognized that economics forms the basis of social development, that in it the laws are found by which this development is necessarily brought about.

England offered to them the largest amount of actual economic material, the philosophy of Germany the best method by which to derive from this material the goal of the present social development; the revolution of France, finally, showed to them most clearly the way in which we may acquire power, particularly political power, for the attainment of this goal.

In this way they created modern scientific Socialism by the combination of all the great good elements in English, French and German thought in a higher unity.

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