

Socialist majority have been compelled to acquiesce in the brutal acts of their government. The government is dominant and the government directs things its own way when there is no independent and aggressive waging of the class struggle.

But the most tragic feature of Socialist participation in a Capitalist war is that Socialism gradually, subtly, accepts the most reactionary war aims of the government. I do not for a moment believe that German Socialism consciously entered the war for purposes of conquest, and yet it is to-day accepting these very purposes. Nor do I believe that the Social Democracy entered the war to perpetuate the monarchy, but that is exactly what it is doing to-day; and, moreover, through the Berlin *Vorwärts* it rebukes the Russian Revolution for its appeal to the proletariat of Germany to overthrow the monarchy and *defends* the monarchy! A Socialism that acts in this manner will either have no influence at all on the terms of peace, or its influence will be reactionary. All governments seek Imperialistic terms of peace and only an independent and aggressive Socialist movement can express the general desire for a just peace and a peace expressing the interests of the proletariat. Surely, the Russian Socialist movement, which has been relentlessly waging the class struggle, is going to influence the peace settlement much more actively and progressively than the enslaved majority of Albert Thomas or Scheide-mann.

Theoretically and practically, accordingly, the Socialist movement must maintain its independent character and integrity by refusing to participate in war. Its reconstruction must be based upon this refusal. The class struggle must be waged fearlessly and relentlessly under any and all conditions.

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Precisely as German Socialism is held responsible for the collapse of the International, La Monte ascribes the guilt of the war exclusively to Germany. Before discussing this aspect of the subject in controversy, certain minor points may be considered.

The concept that the German army *in itself* is necessarily more of a menace than the British navy *in itself* is certainly very peculiar. In the final analysis, the menace of one or the other depends upon the aggressive strength of the nation and its animating purposes.

But the issue is much deeper. The history of modern wars shows, and Admiral Mahan has stressed this fact, that naval power eventually triumphs over military power. It was naval power that beat Napoleon and naval power may beat Germany. Moreover, under the conditions of modern Imperialism, *the structure of world empire depends in the final analysis upon naval power*. No merely military nation can permanently conquer in the clash of Imperialism. The British world empire was created and is maintained by naval power; and in the clash of Imperialism Great Britain has the advantage and is more menacing than any other great nation because of its mighty navy. Is not the recognition of this fact behind the program of American Imperialism for "incomparably the largest navy in the world"?

The menace of the German army is emphasized by La Monte by reference to German Imperialism, and to "special circumstances" in ancient and modern characteristics of the people of Germany. The economic argument is buttressed by the racial. I shall consider the latter first.

In the early days of the war there was nothing more amusing than the constant regrets for the "kindly and philosophic" Germany of Schiller and Goethe, as if that proved anything for or against Germany. My ethnological opponent goes much further back—ten and thirteen thousand years! The argument based on racial characteristics is dangerous, and particularly the one of La Monte. "Such ideas as country, race or nation would have been incomprehensible to them [the Baltic people's ancestors of ten thousand years ago—naturally!] In fact they are very nearly so to many of their village-minded descendants to-day. And yet these are the very people we hoped to make into true internationalists by the necromancy of a few well-worded resolutions!" This is the new gospel according to La Monte. The characteristics of our ancestors