

## SOCIALISM--THE WORLD'S HOPE FOR PEACE

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unusually ruthless, and that a decisive victory of German arms would be harmful to human civilization and social progress. But Socialists refuse to accept the naive theory that the great world catastrophe is due solely or even primarily to the sheer love of mischief on the part of an unruly nation, and that the future of mankind would be made safe by punishment of the culprit. The solemn assertion that Germany is the "swashbuckler of Europe" and must be spanked may satisfy the simple minds of English statesmen and American newspaper editors. To Socialists accustomed to look to substantial motives back of great historical events the explanation is singularly inadequate, and the remedy ludicrously inefficient.

Modern penology has long discarded the crude notion that crime is caused by wilful individual perversity and that punishment is either a corrective for the criminal or a detriment for the would-be criminal. Enlightened penologists are unanimous in the conviction that crime is mostly the product of unjust and unhealthy social conditions and environment, and that a radical and permanent cure of crime can only be achieved in the improvement and correction of these conditions.

The Socialists hold that this obvious truth applies to nations in even a larger measure than to individuals. No nation is inherently vicious, but the irrational and inhuman conditions of modern "civilization" are bound to force them all into vicious and savage conduct from time to time.

The contemporaneous social order is based upon the principle of general, indiscriminate and unrelenting struggle for life, wealth and power. The struggle is waged within each nation and between the nations, and before the outbreak of war it had reached an acute and critical stage. The ruling classes of each leading country, the powers of money, industry and trade, were reaching out for the commercial control of the world, and their respective interests and ambitions were sharply clashing with each other. The governments of the nations were in all cases primarily the agencies of the capitalistic interests. The commercial quarrels of the latter reflected themselves in the diplomatic intrigues of the former.

The Policy of Imperialism necessitated secret treaties and alliances and active preparations for war. Hence the stupendous militarist regime of Germany, which, be it remembered, was pretty nearly equalled by that of Russia and France, and vastly exceeded by the "navalist" regime of England. The war was thus systematically prepared and organized by the governments of the great European nations in the course of many years. It was due about 1914. Somebody had to begin it. It happened to be the government of Germany that took the odium of the initiative. The Imperial German Government may be the immediate criminal in the world tragedy, but the governments of all other great European powers are accessories before the fact, and back of all of them and damning all of them lies the compelling motive for the crime—the greed of international capitalist competition.

Every great national or international iniquity has ever been clothed by its apologists in the iridescent garb of lofty idealism, and so this war is presented to us as a fight for democracy and justice. No doubt many of our ardent war apostles are entirely sincere in their professions. No doubt the bulk of the emotional masses unquestioningly accepts this idealistic theory.

But this cannot blind us to the fact that the war is essentially commercial in its origin, and that it is largely waged for material gain, at least in so far as the governments of some of the leading belligerent countries are concerned. It is this fundamental conception which largely determines the Socialist opposition to the war and the Socialist program of peace.

American Socialists have little patience with proposed peace terms based upon the desire to repair the wrongs of this war. The wrongs of this war are irreparable.

No power on earth can recall to life the millions of young men, mostly workers, who have been slain on the dread battlefields of Europe, or restore to health the millions of maimed, crippled and disfigured human beings.

No amount of territory or gold will atone for the bottomless havoc inflicted by this war, for the moral and spiritual ruin it has wrought. A peace built on the principle of "reparation" would leave all the active factors and causes of war in full and fatal operation. It would be nothing but a patched-up truce, a prologue to new wars.

The Socialists strive above everything for a peace that will offer guarantees of permanence, a peace convention that will eliminate the danger of future wars. They believe that such peace terms are quite possible, even to-day, before the competitive system of capitalism, the most direct cause of modern wars, is abolished.

To this end, the governments must, first of all, be divorced from the capitalistic interests, and become true mouthpieces of the people. "The world must be made safe for democracy"; not democracy in form and name alone, as so many modern capitalist republics are, but democracy in fact, such as prevails in Russia at this time. This one fundamental basis of peace can not be incorporated in a formal peace convention or brought about by victory on the battlefield. It can only be forced by the people of each country upon their own government, and the organization of the people of all countries for that step is the special task of the international Socialist movement. The other indispensable conditions, which may and should be incorporated in the peace compact, are these:

1. The nations must disarm immediately and completely. There can be no lasting peace so long as armies and navies are held in constant readiness for war. There can be no wars so long as there are no armies and navies to fight them.

2. The world and its highways must be made free for international intercourse and trade.

3. Each nation must be given the right of complete political self-government without interference by any other nation.

4. All nations, large and small, must form a union for peaceful co-operation in the work of advancing international progress and for the rational and peaceful adjustment of disputes.

When these basic and vital conditions have been achieved the question of adjusting the immediate differences between the nations at war assumes a secondary importance. The main object of the terms of immediate settlement must be to reconcile the hostile nations and to prepare them for friendly collaboration. That is presumably what the President, or the United States had in mind when less than half a year ago he announced to the unanimous acclaim of all forward-looking men and women of the country

"that it must be a peace without

victory. . . . Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."

This is also the true and deep meaning of the terse slogan of the Russian revolution: "No annexation, no indemnities."

Is such a peace program feasible and practical, or is it merely the utopia of the dreamer?

That depends. If peace is to come through the victory of arms, and its terms are to be dictated by the governments through the conventional methods of diplomacy, the formula of perpetual peace without humiliation or spoliation will remain a mere dream, but, if peace is to be brought about by the workers—those of Germany as well as the other belligerent countries—it will become a reality in fact, as it is already a reality in the official policy of the Russian republic.

As the fatal war progresses, it becomes daily more evident that the sinister forces of social strife and disorder which the rule of capitalism has conjured up are stronger than the conscious will of the ruling classes and the governments themselves. Just as the rulers of the nations have been unable to prevent the outbreak of the war, so are they now impotent to terminate the conflict. The hope of the world rests upon the people of the world, and in the first instance upon the Socialists of all countries.

The International Socialist movement, which in August, 1914, was overwhelmed by the suddenness and violence of the world catastrophe, is beginning to recover. In every country at war, including Germany and Austria, the Socialist opposition to the war is growing daily. If the Socialist International has proved too weak to prevent war, the indications are that it will eventually become a compelling power for the restoration of peace. Of all the forces that operated in modern society before the war, Socialism alone promises to emerge from the abyss chastened and strengthened, victorious and triumphant.

It will forever be to the credit of the Socialist party of America that during the period of the acutest crisis it has not failed or wavered, but has stood loyally and courageously by the working class and upheld the true ultimate interests of human civilization in the face of attacks, persecution and desertion.

## Class-Conscious Comments

(By Phillip Thompson, Oakville.)

"When I am dead," said Wendell Phillips, "inscribe upon my tombstone the words 'Infidel and Traitor'—infidel to a religion that sanctions human slavery, and traitor to the Government that maintains it." There is no worse form of slavery than compulsory military service. "Infidel and Traitor" is a good enough epitaph for me or any true Socialist."

One of the loudest-mouthed ballyhoos at the Toronto Windy War Convention was N. W. Rowell, hero by proxy, who has won a high reputation for his courage and patriotism by his persistence in urging other people to fight. But it didn't seem to occur to anyone to ask him why he wasn't in khaki.

The Kaiser—"I smell gas. This is terrible. We shall all be dead in a

minute. Orderly! My gas mask quick!" Hindy—"Calm yourself, Your Majesty. It's only a whiff from the Windy War Convention in Toronto. That kind of gas is quite harmless."

Senator Robertson, alleged labor representative, spoke and voted for conscription. Of course, no capitalist Government would appoint a labor man to such a position unless they were sure he would prove a pifant tool.

The politicians are finding out that they can't buy working class votes as they used to for a slap on the back and a couple of dollars. So now they talk of labor representation in the Government. But it's merely a more specious form of bribery and all the same.

I feel like taking off my hat when I meet a Russian or Chinaman. Both Russia and China have got rid of their autocrats and are at least making an effort to establish republican institutions, while Canadians are still groveling on their bellies before the Connaughts and the Devonshires.

I haven't any ambition to be a martyr, so I don't propose to advise anybody to defy the Conscription Act. But if I were a young man and physically fit, I should certainly prefer a term in jail to the chance of being killed or crippled at the bidding of the British war lords.

So we are to have an election. I am rather glad of it for the same reason that actuated a noted philanthropist, who expressed his pleasure on learning that a prize fight was shortly to come off. "Why, I'm surprised at you," said one of his friends, "you're the last man I should have suspected to be interested in pugilism." "I'm always glad to hear of a prize fight," was the reply, "because however it goes I know that one ruffianly brute will get a good thrashing." Whether Grits or Tories win, one bunch of grafters, tax-eaters and capitalist hirelings will get left out in the cold.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Brockville, Ont., Aug. 5.—Owing to action taken by two local clergymen and the Secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, the management of the steamer Thousand Islander decided to cancel the call at Brockville to-day.

And a considerable section of the Ontario press has the hypocrisy to denounce "priest-led Quebec." There isn't a community on earth, Protestant or Catholic as much priest-led as this Province of Ontario in general, and Toronto in particular.

Anyhow, if the masses cannot or will not do their own thinking, they might just as well be priest-led as take their opinions from the editors of the evening papers or the political heelers—they are all reactionaries.

It does not matter a particle how many financial exploiters, grafting politicians or intellectual prostitutes receive titles from Lloyd George. The thing that really does matter is the slavish and subservient spirit of the Canadian people, who regard these titles as entitling the holders to honor and respect and come crowding to lick their boots.

A high-salaried trade union official may possibly be class-conscious, but it is usually class consciousness of the wrong kind.

Recruiter—"Now then, young man, how about you? What will you say to your boy when he asks you 'Why weren't you in the great war?'"

Young Man—"Oh, that don't worry me any. I shall say, 'If I had been in the war, my boy, you would probably never have existed.'"