

peoples their place and stake out places in the sun, spheres of influence and other claims, became the political and spiritual leaders of the peoples, and transplanted to their native country the manners and ideas they had acquired in dealing with so-called inferior peoples. The psychology of Imperialism is very finely described by Hilferding in his remarkable book, "Das Finanzkapital," where he writes: "The place of the democratic ideal of equality has been usurped by an oligarchical ideal of domination. But if that ideal comprises seemingly the whole nation in foreign politics, in home politics it changes into an emphasizing of capitalist authority over the working class. The growing power of the workers strengthens at the same time the desire of capital to increase further the power of the State as a security against the proletarian demands. Thus the ideology of Imperialism arises and conquers the old liberal ideals. It scoffs at their ingenuousness. What an illusion to believe in a harmony of interests in a world of capitalist struggles where the superiority of the weapons alone decides! What an illusion to expect the kingdom of eternal peace and to preach international law when force alone decides the fate of nations! What foolishness to attempt to carry the regulation of legal relations within the state territory across the borders, what an unconscionable disturbance of business is this humanitarian simpleness which has made a question out of labor, has invented social reform at home, and wants to do away, in the colonies, with indentured labor, which forms the only possibility of a rational exploitation! Eternal justice is a beautiful dream, but even at home one can not build railroads with morality. How are we to conquer the world if we are to wait for the conversion of our competitors?" This was written some seven years ago, and depicts the mental condition of the ruling classes of Europe in general.

It might be objected that the reaction Imperialism had upon politics in European semi-autocratic and semi-democratic countries need not be feared in the United States whose people possess strong democratic traditions. But democratic traditions were strong in England, perhaps stronger there than here; at any rate, modern England has produced a greater number of bold and active defenders of democracy than the United States. Yet

the Imperialist ways of thinking made great headway in Great Britain, and its propagandists were the soldiers, financiers, and capitalists immediately interested in a policy of Imperialism. The father of British land militarism was Lord Roberts, who was born in India and who spent most of his life fighting the battles of British Imperialism. At the moment of writing an American naval captain is lording it over the inhabitants of Santo Domingo, apparently by right divine. Others will no doubt follow in his footsteps, and when the heroes come home again they will be overflowing with the new political wisdom and the political efficiency methods they have acquired abroad.

Taking into consideration the fundamental facts of recent economic developments the working class of the United States have every reason to be concerned about their future. It would be the height of folly were they to reconcile themselves to the war as a means by which their interests are furthered in some mysterious, scarcely explicable way. It should be one of the chief functions of the Socialist Party to illuminate the people about the forces at work in international politics and the many ways in which foreign policy reacts upon home policy. In Europe it was the crass ignorance of foreign policy on the part of the great mass of the people and their representatives that helped a great deal to make the cataclysm possible. The extent of that ignorance and indifference could be seen in England where, after all, interest in foreign affairs was most highly developed. When foreign affairs came up for discussion in the Commons the House emptied itself automatically; scarcely a quorum of the people's representatives remained to listen to or take part in the discussion. Yet questions concerning the life and death of the people might be involved. Thus it could happen that at the outbreak of war the mass of the people and their representatives everywhere readily repeated the catchwords disseminated by the ever active Imperialist propagandists. Truth was drowned by the appeals to defend democracy, Kultur, the little Slav brother, and what not. A vigorous anti-Imperialist propaganda, opposing the international ideals of Socialism to the meretricious sophistries of Imperialism, would be the best preparation for the hard struggles that are in store for American democracy.