

tempted by the bourgeoisie on the eve of the Revolution. Moreover, a distinguishing feature of Imperialism is the acquisition of territory for purposes of exploitation, *and we find the nations of the world to-day developing more and more in the direction of a modern territorial state.* The feudal characteristics of autocracy in Germany are incidental; essentially it is the new autocracy of Imperialism, compounded of military power, a brutal state Socialism and the hunger for territory. This new autocracy is developing rapidly in the other Imperialistic nations, and it is this new autocracy that is the great menace to peace and freedom throughout the world.

Imperialism determined the survival of autocracy in Germany. National unity and democracy was not achieved in France and England immediately. It was a long process, and there were periods of reaction, the most marked being the era of Napoleonic autocracy. France emerged out of that era. The era of Bismarck was a roughly similar period, following the crushing of the Bourgeois revolution of 1848; and Germany did not emerge out of that era because before the liberal forces had acquired the necessary power the new era of Imperialism had set in. The German bourgeoisie realized the tremendous utility of the autocratic state in the struggles of Imperialism; the liberal struggle against the autocracy ceased, the state becoming an *Imperialistic* autocracy—and *that* is the menace! There are peculiarly revolting features about the German menace, but fundamentally it is Imperialistic.

In his analysis of German Imperialism, La Monte is in a hopeless tangle. The characterization of Imperialism made by Boudin in *Socialism and War* and approvingly quoted by La Monte, is made by Boudin as characteristic of the Imperialism of *all* nations. Germany is cited and emphasized as the most marked and highly developed of all; the characteristics are international. The Declaration of Principles of *The Class Struggle* expresses it accurately: "Modern Imperialism is a world-wide phenomenon, although it may be more pronounced in one country than in another. Similarly, the reactionary trend which accompanies it is as broad as our 'civilization,' although in some countries it may assume particularly revolting forms while in

others its *forms* may be less objectionable." As a matter of fact, the first definitely aggressive expression of modern Imperialism was the British conquest of the Boers.

The economic factors making for Imperialism are present in every nation in which the modern technology of Capitalism is dominant. The production of iron as a factor in Imperialism is determined by the circumstance that great industry depends upon iron, and as an Imperialistic factor it is a corollary of the export of capital, which is the determinant feature of modern Imperialism. The export of capital on a large scale pre-supposes concentrated industry operating to produce a gigantic volume of products, and the complete development of the home market. Means of production become an important item of export, in order to absorb equally the masses of surplus capital and to create new markets for the absorption of a nation's surplus products. New markets can be created only in undeveloped countries, and thereby ensues the struggle for their control. The circumstance that Great Britain and France usually checkmated the schemes of German Imperialism was because of the larger masses of export-capital in their control and their years of financial penetration. Great Britain and France were virtually invulnerable economically and financially, and therefore Germany sought the arbitrament of the sword.

But the picture of an innocent France and Britain is preposterous. They acted, where Germany simply threatened. The division of Persia between Russia and Great Britain and British aspirations in Mesopotamia were expressions of an aggressive British Imperialism. The French acquisition of Morocco and the financial penetration of Syria are equally aggressive expressions of modern Imperialism. Is it Germany alone that whet its Imperialistic chops at the prospect of the partition of China? Meseems each of the Allies who are now fighting to make the world safe for Democracy have for years been fighting each other and Germany financially and diplomatically to make the world safe for its own particular Capitalism. The Great War is incomprehensible except as the outcome of a general clash of Imperialism.