

same as that over Morocco—the vast resources of mineral wealth, particularly iron: Alsace-Lorraine produces about 80 per cent. of the iron ore in the whole German Empire. Iron is the basis of the modern industrial technology, and its monopolistic possession is one of the objectives of Imperialism.) The Inter-Allied program proposes a plebiscite to decide the destiny of Alsace-Lorraine. An international fund is proposed as the means of restoring devastated areas, except Belgium, reparation to whom is to be made by Germany. All occupied territory is to be evacuated; Italy is to have the Italian provinces of Austria restored, but the program “condemns the aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism”; Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia are not to be returned to Turkey, but, if they cannot set up their own governments, are to be administered by “a commission acting under the Supernational Authority or League of Nations”; the Balkans are to become a federated state; colonies are not to be exploited by Imperialism, the natives to be given “effective protection against the excesses (!) of capitalist colonialism,” and the African colonies (not dependencies, such as Egypt) are to be given a system of control under the League of Nations, “which, while respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them.”

The Inter-Allied Program, accordingly, is a systematic consideration of problems involved in the war, and an attempt at their democratic solution. The only difficulty is that this solution is to be introduced by bourgeois governments; and this conception is possible only through a complete misunderstanding of the character of Imperialism.

This program strikes a blow at German Imperialism, but scarcely touches the Imperialism of Great Britain, France and Italy. Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, Egypt, are not considered at all. It means, in the final analysis, the weakening of German Imperialism in favor of its competing Imperialism, since Anglo-French Imperialism is already established, and Germany's is not. Anglo-French Imperialism can be victorious without new annexations; German Imperialism must have annexations in order to emerge

victorious out of the war. The acquisition of new territory, which may provide raw materials and absorb surplus capital, is an indispensable requirement of modern Capitalism; no territorial and other arrangements can dispose of this requirement and the antagonisms that it develops. The attempt to end the antagonisms of Imperialism on the basis of Imperialism itself is doomed to benefit one or another competing Imperialism: The struggle must be directed against Imperialism itself.

Imperialism is not an accidental or transitory phase of Capitalism; it is a new stage of Capitalism. It means that Capitalism must either conquer and renew itself through Imperialism, or stagnate; and stagnation means unavoidable death. The problems of Imperialism are fundamental to the perpetuation of Capitalism; they are not problems that can be mediated as between competing imperialistic nations, or that can be evaded or solved by means of a vague “democratic pressure” upon the governments, on the basis of the capitalist economy. All nations at the stage of modern capitalist production are imperialistic; capitalist technology is absolutely dependent upon the import of raw materials and the export of capital. New territory must be developed, raw materials secured; and as these are limited, implacable competition develops; and this competition cannot be either evaded or disposed of on the basis of Imperialism.

The Socialist attitude on war and peace, accordingly, relies upon a struggle against Imperialism itself. Our objective, the center of our activity, is not the struggle against annexations, preventing annexations or reducing them to a minimum, since annexations are not the cause of Imperialism, but simply its result. A nation at war, as this war proves, may fight relentlessly without any purpose to annex territory, and still victory will promote its Imperialism. The “democratic” disposition of problems of territory and markets will only provoke imperialistic antagonisms in a new form, not solve them. The struggle against annexations must be a Socialist, proletarian struggle against Imperialism itself. On this basis alone can Socialism conquer.

Many of the Inter-Allied proposals for the solution of terri-