

torial problems might be put into effect, temporarily; but its demand for no economic war after the war is utterly incompatible with the requirements of Imperialism. Economic war, waged to the point where it flares up into the military struggle, is of the essence of Imperialism. Raw materials, particularly iron and other metals, are limited, and they are the basis of modern technology; the monopolistic control of these raw materials is one of the objectives of the imperialistic nation. Investment markets for the absorption of surplus capital are equally limited, and each imperialistic nation strives for the monopolistic control of these investment markets. Each nation, by broadening its own economic opportunity through Imperialism, necessarily and inevitably narrows the opportunity of a competing nation. To expect each nation, on the basis of Imperialism, to yield this struggle is to expect that all nations, as capitalist systems, are willing to commit suicide—either by perishing, or by allowing Socialism, without a struggle, to establish its system of communist production. The great fact, the determining consideration, is that the modern productive problems of Capitalism must either mean Imperialism and war; industrial stagnation and a rotting death of Capitalism; or Socialism. Capitalism will not allow itself to rot away, neither will it yield to the coming of Socialism.

The crown of the structure reared by the Inter-Allied Conference is the League of Nations. The *petit bourgeois* character of the Conference is most clearly expressed in its acceptance of the proposal for a League of Nations—under the aegis of Imperialism. "Of all the conditions of peace," says the Inter-Allied program, "none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war." The means proposed consist of a "supernational authority," that "can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents but every other independent state should be pressed to join." The use of "independent state" implies that dependent states would be excluded from participation—being amply represented by their imperialistic masters! "The constitution of such a league of nations," proceeds the program, "implies the immediate establishment of an international high court, not

only for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of a justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between states in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such states." And should a nation or nations resist the mediation of "non-justiciable issues"?—"Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all other nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any state or states refusing to submit to the arbitration award or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace." This is the crux of the whole problem: the proposal is not for a League of Nations, but for a League to Enforce Peace, a League that will force peace by means of economic and military war. The ultimate arbitrament is to be the arbitrament of the sword. This is the way to peace!

Nationalism, the inevitable concomitant of the capitalist system of society, is fatedly incompatible with any effective international action to preserve the world's peace, since Capitalism and nationalism are necessarily and fundamentally predatory. The internationalism that is produced by Capitalism, particularly in the imperialistic epoch, and upon which liberals and many a moderate Socialist depend for the automatic, mechanical ending of war, is an internationalism that functions nationally, an internationalism used to maintain Capitalism and the supremacy of the imperialistic nation. It is an economic internationalism that cannot become political because its animating objectives and causes are national in scope and predatory in purpose. Ultimately, it is preparing the world-state only in the sense that its objective conditions may develop the subjective factor of proletarian action for the establishment of Socialism; immediately, it is reactionary. This internationalism, which culminates in Imperialism, instead of bringing peace measurably nearer, has multiplied the horrors and scope of war, has made war an inescapable necessity of Capitalism, is increasing the antagonism out of which wars arise. The fundamental disputes of Imperialism, masquerading as "issues of national honor," are not justiciable, because of the national purpose behind their international aspect; and because these dis-