

putes are vital to the existence of Capitalism. The nation is vital to Capitalism, and this acts against a "supernational authority" that could actually function.

The fundamental error of the Pacifist-Socialist, of the Socialist who imagines that war may be "modified" away, is that they completely misunderstand the relation of Imperialism to Capitalism. The underlying assumption is that Imperialism is not fundamental to Capitalism, that Imperialism and its antagonisms might be abolished while retaining Capitalism. But Capitalism and Imperialism are one and indivisible; the death of Imperialism means the death of Capitalism. Imperialism is the manifestation of a relentless capitalist necessity; it is the synthetic expression of the whole of Capitalism; it is the climax of Capitalism, Capitalism in its decadent and final stage, verging either on collapse or the introduction of Socialism.

The tendency expressed in the Inter-Allied Program is, fundamentally, the tendency of the pacifist-liberal, which is precisely the tendency of moderate Socialism. The pacifist-liberal of the *petite bourgeoisie* yearns to abolish war while preserving the causes of war; to abolish the "evils" of Capitalism while retaining Capitalism; to "modify," and ultimately destroy, the antagonisms of Imperialism while refraining to break the relations that produce these antagonisms; to "democratize" the nation and the world while Imperialism systematically suppresses democracy. The pacifist-liberal tendency, which is counter-revolutionary, is an expression of the *petite bourgeoisie*, its insecurity and weakness, and which, wholly dependent upon Imperialism, yet struggles—in words—against the "excesses" of Imperialism; and it is equally an expression of the aristocracy of skilled labor, which has been seduced by Imperialism, profits from Imperialism, willingly accepting the spoils of Imperialism while being unwilling to pay the price in the blood and agony of a world war. The pacifist-liberal tendency of moderate Socialism repudiates fundamental Socialism; it breaks down the Socialist struggle equally during war and peace; it is the great enemy of Socialism.

IV.

The theory of modifying national antagonism as the means to peace, and the theory of modifying class antagonism as the means to fundamental social reconstruction, are an inseparable expression of one tendency,—the *petit bourgeois* tendency of avoiding the dynamic struggle of class against class as the mechanics of progress. This tendency assumes an identity of interests that does not exist; it assumes the supremacy of reason and intelligence in the reconstruction of society, and forgets that reason and intelligence are determined by class alignments, are instruments in the struggle of class against class. Arthur Henderson, in *The Aims of Labor*, adequately pictures this tendency: "Reasoned, intelligent and scientific attempt to construct international machinery to administer justice between nations . . . non-justiciable disputes, *i. e.*, disputes which cannot be settled by international jurisprudence, but which can be settled by moral law, provided the nations concerned are disposed to accept moral law as being on at least as high a plane as law made by man." The moralist, and not the revolutionist, is to make the world anew! But moral law, statutory law, reason and intelligence all break down under the impact of the violent antagonisms of Imperialism, the implacable antagonisms of the class struggle.

International reconstruction must base itself upon national, upon social reconstruction; and this means the abolition through Socialism of the antagonisms of imperialistic Capitalism, of the class system of society. Proposals of procedure for a League of Nations are inevitably wrecked upon the rock of the social system that prevails in each nation. The Inter-Allied Program recognizes the necessity of social reconstruction, but it is a reconstruction on the basis of democracy, by means of the modification of antagonism; it says:

"But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the supernational authority implies the complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of Legislatures elected by and on behalf