

The Politico-Military Horizon

By Jay Lovestone

AMERICA is a land of phenomenal development—social, economic, political and military. It is only twenty-five years ago that the United States entered the imperialist arena as a "Weltmacht." Today we occupy a front row seat in the theatre of "big-stick" international political affairs. Twenty years ago we were still a peaceful nation, with an insignificant army and a second class navy. Today we have hundreds of thousands of men under arms. We are well on the road towards a navy second to none and supremacy in aerial and chemical warfare. In the drive for world trade and new spheres of influence we are not leaving even standing room for others.

Our Growing Colonial Empire.

After the Spanish-American war the United States became the undisputed master of the American Mediterranean—the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. A protectorate was established over Cuba. Porto Rico was annexed. Turning to the Pacific our imperialists gobbled up in quick order the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii, and thus secured control of the gateway to the prize market of the Far East where more than eight hundred million people live.

Then followed the complete domination by the United States of the Central American Isthmus through the successful engineering of the revolt of Panama against the Republic of Columbia. After securing "general supervision" of the new government and unrestricted control of the canal zone, the capitalists proceeded to establish their hegemony over Nicaragua and their mastery of the alternative canal route. Scarcely had the ink dried on Wilson's democratic notes, when American troops dissolved the Haitian parliament. Today the Navy Department with the full force of the Coolidge administration behind it, is mercilessly crushing the Republican nationalist spirit in Haiti.

Our colonial empire has grown by leaps and bounds. The United States is now the proud political master of more than one hundred and fifty thousand square miles and ten million people in Central America and in the region of the Caribbean Sea which has become the sixth American Great Lake. In the Pacific our capitalists have an island empire of an area of more than one hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles and a population of thirteen million. This whole imperial colonial domain represents a total area equivalent to the present size of England, France, and Belgium combined—a territory greater than that occupied by Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Holland, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania and Portugal.

This flourishing, youthful colonial empire of today resembles in many ways the Roman Empire of yesterday. The outstanding feature of resemblance between what was once the mighty imperial Republic of Rome and what is now the capitalist imperialist republic of the United States, lies in the management of their colonies and in their common interference with the domestic affairs of their governed territories and various spheres of influence.

The American military governor-generals who rule our colonial possessions are the exact prototypes of the pro-

curators and pro-consuls that governed the provinces of the old Roman Empire. In Rome men were given the office of pro-consul or procurator in order to enable them to exploit the province they governed as a source of income with which to redeem their own personal fortunes and those of their political friends and masters. On precisely the same principle our colonial military governor-generals are chosen today. General Leonard Wood was sent into the Philippines to force upon the Filipino people an economic policy which would make it possible for him to repay in valuable concessions the powerful bankers and manufacturers who financed his presidential primary campaign in 1920, to the extent of \$2,000,000.

Likewise, Major General Enoch H. Crowder, formerly chief of the American military staff, has been sent as ambassador to Cuba to serve as the watchdog for the American sugar and railway interests that dominate the island.

The Treasury of Nicaragua is under the direct supervision of an American who receives the taxes and customs receipts on behalf of two American banks. In Samoa the government is vested in an American naval officer, customarily one with the rank of captain. The same policy is pursued even in the wildest thickets of the jungle of African investments. In the recent Tangier controversy involving more than half a dozen European countries, the United States, (that is, the Stone and Webster Electric and Power interests,) was represented by Father Denning who was supposed to be bringing the Light of Christianity and the Power of the Saviour to the backward tribesmen.

The World's Banker and Tradesman.

The World War gave tremendous impetus to the expansion of American industry and commerce. America became the leading manufacturing, trading, and banking nation of the world. Theoretically one might still contend that we are a self-sufficient nation. But practically we are today dependent, if not for keeping our industries going, at least for keeping them going at full capacity, on the world market. Our wheat farmers of North Dakota look towards Liverpool for the price they are to receive for their produce. The cotton growers of Alabama and the steel workers of Pittsburgh are becoming ever more dependent on Manchester and the continental markets of Europe.

The World War has increased the dependence of the United States on the world market for the disposal of the surplus created by the American workers. From 1914 to 1919 the number of our industrial establishments rose from 275,791 to 290,105.

America has been turned from a debtor nation into a creditor nation. In 1915, the European capitalists held close to three billion dollars worth of United States railway stocks and securities. Two years later more than half of these holdings passed into American hands. Ten years ago one-fourth of the stock of the United States Steel Corporation was held in Europe. Today less than one-tenth is in European hands.

Our foreign trade has increased three-fold. Through the investment of capital abroad America has become a partner in the fate of the capitalist order the world over.

More than 72 percent of the petroleum produced throughout the world was in the financial grip of Wall Street in 1917. Nearly three-fourths of the world's supply is in the United States. Thus America has become, in the words of a noted French economist, "an economic centre in connection with which all the world must work and trade." American democracy now truly rests upon a monarchy of gold and an aristocracy of finance.

Militarizing America.

The rule of dollar democracy by our financiers and industrialists at home has been translated into a rule of dollar diplomacy in our spheres of influence and colonial possessions. In order to maintain control of our growing imperialist empire and in order to question any possible opposition at home to the capitalist ventures, the United States government has been steadily developing and strengthening its military and naval machines. In the past ten years the cost of our national defense has more than doubled. Our army has increased in the last decade from 212,000 to 371,770. In the same period the total number of citizens under military training has increased from 243,865 to 504,010.

The National Defense Act of June 4, 1920, provides for one huge army consisting of the Regular Army, the National Guard, the Organized Reserves, including the Officers Reserve Corps. The country has been divided into nine military territorial areas. According to General William Lassiter, Assistant Chief of Staff, this plan "will provide a force of about three million men" and give the country "for the first time, a comprehensive plan for developing the force required for national defense." Last year the government spent more than three million dollars to train young men in schools and colleges in order to build up a potential officer's military caste consisting of members of the wealthy class and specializing in the propaganda of militarism. Under this Act the United States has attained a mark in militarism never before attempted in times of peace.

Our government is also prepared to mobilize for war at a moment's notice the gigantic industries of the country. In this mobilization the business and professional elements, the engineers and the chemists, will play the leading role.

American Navalism.

Admiral Mahan's dictum that "He who controls the seas controls the world," has long been adopted by "leading" Americans as the proper policy for the United States. The practical implication of this was brought to light in a speech delivered recently by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt: "Behind all the pronouncements of our State Department rests the power of our Navy. It is the Navy that turns these pronouncements from simply unsupported statements into matters that must be given the gravest consideration by all nations. Our policies, in truth, are based on the Navy. Indeed, the Navy is the cornerstone on which rest the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of the 'open door.'"

The United States has invested more than three billion dollars in her Navy. America is the only country in the world that has an electric battleship fleet. This fleet

of six battleships, electrically propelled and electrically equipped throughout, totals close to two hundred thousand tons and has forty-eight sixteen-inch and fourteen-inch guns. The total electric energy generated by these ships would be sufficient to pull forty-eight electric passenger trains out of Grand Central Terminal in New York, pump sufficient water out of Lake Michigan in Chicago to lower the level of the lake ten feet a year, or light an ordinary household Mazda lamp for 657 years.

No one has taken the Washington Conference's Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty seriously. The naval ratio of 5-5-3 was upset before the powers that signed it had a chance to ratify it. We are now specializing along the lines of auxiliary craft—submarines and fast cruisers—not specified in the pact. The General Board of the United States Navy is demanding the expenditure of one billion dollars for new submarines and fast cruisers. The present fever of naval competition rages around submarines, chemical warfare, and aerial supremacy.

For a Huge Aerial Armada.

Today the United States has eight hundred service planes and a personnel of thirteen thousand aviators. Vigorous preparations are afoot to assure American aerial leadership. Coolidge sent a special message to Congress in which he emphasized the necessity "of providing for continued development of military and naval aviation if America is to keep abreast of other nations." The Supreme Council of National Defense is planning to mobilize the entire aircraft industry and give factories a definite program requiring an appropriation of forty million dollars by Congress. Plans are being formulated to establish aeronautical forces for the Naval Reserve and the National Guard.

And despite all the recent outbursts of morality against the use of poisonous gases in warfare, our chemical laboratories are working overtime experimenting with deadly fumes. It is said that our chemists have designed a uniform capable of resisting penetration of gas. All particulars regarding the advance in chemical warfare are kept in the strictest secrecy.

The Gold-Dust Twins of Capitalism.

Militarism and imperialism are the Gold Dust Twins of Capitalism. With the development of imperialism the capitalist classes of the various nations become more and more dependent on violence to maintain their positions as ruling classes at home and exploiters of the smaller and weaker nationalities abroad. The rise of monopolies and financial oligarchies on one side and increasing armies of workers massed in the highly developed, big, basic industries on the other side, tends to sharpen the class conflicts and therefore necessitates maintenance of huge military and naval forces in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

Militarism promotes in the worker a spirit of servility and causes him to submit more readily to economic, political and social exploitation and oppression. The capitalist case for militarism was stated with rare frankness by Secretary of War Weeks in his last annual report when he said: "It should be our national aim to secure to our national industries as many men as possible who have had the military training which leads to improved cooperation." One of the letters of appreciation received by Mr. Weeks from a big business man puts the case rather bluntly in

saying: "The company has hired men who served the country in uniform because it has found it good business to do so."

The army has rendered inestimable aid to the employing class in strikes. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the National Guard was mobilized and thrown into action against striking textile workers, railway workers, and coal miners in twenty-one states. Various subdivisions of the National Guard served at different points on these strike fronts a total of more than six thousand days. Infantry regiments, cavalry squadrons, artillery battalions, machine gun squads, coast and anti-aircraft artillery, signal companies, and tank and howitzer detachments played their part in crushing the recent national strikes in America.

The navy is doing more than its bit for the employing class. Our naval leaders have divided the world into seven sea areas with an admiral in charge of a squadron in each area to protect American commerce and citizens. At this writing United States squadrons are operating actively in the Caribbean, Near East, and Asiatic areas.

In 1919 the government spent four million dollars to maintain several destroyers in Constantinople in order to protect the extensive tobacco and oil interests of our capitalists in the Near East. Discussing this situation, Captain Luke McNamee, Director of Naval Intelligence, declared: "The American tobacco companies represented there (at Samsun, Turkey) depend practically entirely on the moral effect of having an American man-of-war in their port to have their tobacco released for shipment".

The United States maintains a naval patrol of gunboats on the Yangtze River at the cost of three million dollars a year to guard our capitalist interests in China. We may look forward to increased activity by our fleet in these waters in order to protect the thirteen million dollars in Chinese wireless stations, recently invested by American capitalists against the combined Japanese, British, Danish and Chinese protests.

Admiral R. E. Coontz, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, has time and again boasted that: "Naval forces are maintained throughout the Caribbean Sea for the purpose of keeping down revolutions, protecting life and protecting our commerce." The "Special Service Squadron" maintained by the government in these waters, at the annual cost of more than three million dollars, has been dubbed by the sailors doing duty as "banana-boats". A large part of America's imported fruit comes from the countries bordering the Caribbean.

Serious Dangers Confronting Working Masses.

There are many serious dangers confronting the American working and farming masses. Army and navy officers are addressing the country with increasing frequency on political questions from a professional militarist point of view. Secretary Denby has proclaimed through the National Security League that: "We must have aircraft with our fleets in such numbers as at least to be equal to any enemy." Secretary of War Weeks is demanding an increase in our military forces.

An even more dangerous situation is likely to grow out of the recent revival of the Navy League, which has

just opened headquarters near the White House. At the behest of this militarist clique the birthday of the late Theodore Roosevelt, October 27th, has been officially declared as national Naval Day.

More than two hundred twenty-five warships and aircraft are now engaged in fleet manoeuvres in the Caribbean Sea and the Canal Zone. The General Staff of the War Department is vying with the Navy Department in these dress rehearsals for new wars. Some time after the coming elections four hundred thousand men will be mobilized at their home stations in the first important display of military force under the National Defense Act.

Further dangers of new imperialist entanglements made by our capitalists, lurk in the sending over of the three Banker-Generals; Dawes, Young, and Robinson, the latter two being agents of the Morgan interests, to participate in the Reparations settlement in Europe.

The American workers and farmers must awake to this growing menace of war. The United States is no longer the peaceful, provincial country that it was many years ago. In the concert of nations American imperialists are playing second fiddle to none. The new America is today the strongest and the most aggressive capitalist power. Unless the working masses of our country organize to rid themselves of this death-dealing scourge of militarism, we will soon be in the throes of another world slaughter—a war that will cost thrice the forty billions the last one cost us, a war that will maim and kill millions of our best workers and farmers.

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