

Why They Want A Bigger Navy

By Jay Lovestone

THE House of Representatives has just passed a bill aiming to give the United States a navy second to none. The measure authorizes the construction of eight scout cruisers, six river gunboats, and big improvements in six battleships. The cost of these provisions will total approximately 111,000.

Besides this sum, about twenty million dollars will be spent on converting six coal-burning ships to oil burners and \$12,000,000 on gun elevation.

This bill is the first fruit of the vigorous campaign for preparedness recently launched by the American militarist and navalist juntas. The present strained situation in the Pacific arising out of the controversy with Japan over the immigration question, the increasing interest of the American manufacturers and bankers in securing complete trade and investment hegemony in the Latin-American countries, the plan to put over the Dawes' scheme for turning Germany into an American sweat shop have all been seized upon as immediate excuses for strengthening the land and sea fighting forces of the United States in the name of national security.

Of course the above events are only the present manifestations of a condition inherent in capitalism. These imperialist ventures, in their presently aggravated forms, have undoubtedly precipitated the re-opening of the preparedness campaign. But there are certain organic reasons for the capitalist class seeking to maintain a powerful navy and army at all times.

In view of the fact that the question of building up a navy greater than any afloat is today pre-eminent in the minds of the ruling class of the United States, the reasons given for the maintenance of such a huge armada are especially timely. The authoritative statements following were gathered by the writer to show, specifically, the role of the navy in the development of American imperialist policy and just why our capitalists are anxious to saddle the country with the staggering costs of naval upkeep.

Navy Is Imperialist Cornerstone

On January 20, 1923 Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, delivered an address on "Maintenance of the Treaty Navy" before the National Academy of Political and Social Science. Among the many frank and significant remarks made by Roosevelt we find the following:

"At this time our naval vessels are stationed from the Mediterranean to Asiatic waters. At this time we have ships cruising near Central and South America. Our vessels are spread over the seven seas. They are the tangible evidence of the power of the United States. 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.'" (Our Caps)

Watchdog of Foreign Markets

Admiral R. E. Coontz, Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy

broadcasted over the radiophone before the American Association Exposition at New York on November 9, 1922 a speech which is a masterpiece for its boldness and for the information shed on the usefulness of the navy to the capitalists. In the course of the address the Admiral dropped the following sentences which are highly appropriate at this juncture:

"The Navy also thruout its entire history has been a great developer of foreign markets and of American business. . . . The navy maintains a patrol force of gunboats on the Yangtze River, and this Yangtze patrol guards our interests for some 1,700 miles up the river, right into the heart of China. It costs the navy some \$3,000,000 a year to guard our interests in the Asiatic. In this connection it might be of interest to note that our exports to China in 1920 were valued at over \$145,000,000.

"NAVAL FORCES ARE MAINTAINED THRUOUT THE CARIBBEAN SEA FOR THE PURPOSE OF KEEPING DOWN REVOLUTIONS, protecting life, and protecting our commerce. Our trade could hardly exist thruout the West Indies, but for the protection given it by our 'Special Service Squadron.' Our fruit trade thruout the West Indies is enormous. In 1921, we imported fruit valued at nearly \$50,000,000 and a great part of this came from the countries bordering the Caribbean. . . . The result of this whole West Indian patrol so safeguards our trade in the Caribbean that bananas in certain Central American countries can be sold on the fruit stands in New York cheaper than apples which grow in our own very backyards. The sailors doing duty in this squadron have dubbed these ships the 'banana boats.' It costs the navy some \$3,000,000 to maintain this patrol thruout the West Indies. (Our Caps)

"The navy gives direct returns to business interests in other ways as well."

Capitalism Rests on Violence

Addressing the National Republican Club of New York on January 20, 1923 Admiral Hilary P. Jones of the United States Navy made a lengthy argument on the need of "keeping our house in order." One of the points brot home by the admiral was illustrated by a story purporting to convey to the audience what a Turkish delegate at Lausanne said to one of the American observers. The Turkish tale which we quote here shows the real basis of capitalist politics as it is played today. Said the Turkish delegate:

"We are very much interested in the views of the United States. If you should send an army of 100,000 men to Turkey, we would discuss matters with you; if you should send an army of 200,000 men to Turkey, we would kiss your hands and say to you that you can have your way; but in the present circumstances we will pay no attention to you."

The Admiral went on to clinch his argument with this choice conclusion:

"This illustrates the value of having force available, and of willingness to use that force."

Ultimate Form of Capitalism—War

Captain Frank H. Schofield made a rather instructive speech on "Incidents and Present Day Aspects of Naval Strategy" on March 3, 1923 before the Army and Navy Institute of New York. Building up his case for our ruling class possessing an unsurpassed and

unsurpassable navy the captain declared:

"The spirit of the age is competition at home and abroad. Modern industrialism and modern trade conditions are driving governments irresistibly toward a keener competition than ever before. Propaganda, commercial rate-wars, tariffs, concessions, spheres of interest, mandates, protectorates, and annexations are phases of international competition. Back of all these phases lies peace strategy—both naval and military, because WAR IS THE ULTIMATE FORM OF COMPETITION. (Our Caps)

I shall make no effort to demonstrate to you the necessity for an American navy second to none."

Must Protect Imperial Empire

It must not be forgotten that the United States has control of a big colonial empire. The various spheres of influence, protectorates, colonies, dependencies and investment areas must be protected against the encroachments of the competitors of other national capitalist groups.

Captain Mike McNamee, Director of Naval Intelligence, United States navy, stated the case for the Yankee imperialists forcefully before the Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts on January 22, 1923. The captain said in part:

"If one square foot of our territory was taken from us by force, even in the far off Philippines, Guam or Samoa, we would have to go and get it back if it cost the last dollar and the last drop of blood in the country. . . .

"We have a foreign fruit trade of \$50,000,000 in imports, largely built up around the old Boston Fruit company. Without a Special Service Squadron in West Indian and Central American waters, where the bulk of this fruit comes from, a few revolutions would wreck this business, as well as a business of \$500,000,000 annually in sugar and petroleum.

"The time is approaching when our prosperity will depend largely on our ability to compete in the international market with manufactured goods. All history shows that war is but an ultimate form of economic competition. If we are to compete on equal terms, we must have a navy able to protect our trade. 'He who controls the sea controls the world.' That is Mahan's dictum."

To Crush Revolution at Home.

The navy, like the National Guard and the army, has been employed by the bosses to crush attempts made by the working class to better its conditions. In the same address Captain McNamee made it clear that the army and navy would come in handy to the capitalist class in preventing the organization of the working class for victory over its exploiters thru a proletarian dictatorship.

"I wish to say a word about false propaganda against the army and navy. I am repeating no idle rumor when I tell you that much of this propaganda has a sinister foreign source—its object, the overthrow of our government and the ultimate dictatorship of the proletariat. A logical step in the procedure of these foreign gentry is the elimination of the forces of law and order—the army and navy."

From the above explanations given by the most important men in the United States navy it is clear why the American capitalists are today work-

ing so feverishly to become the world's greatest naval power.

What are the exploited workers and dispossessed farmers going to say about it?

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

Even millionaires sometimes bet on the wrong political steed. J. P. Morgan invested \$100,000,000 in the political fortunes of Raymond Poincare. When the latter was faced with an adverse vote in the chamber of deputies, and the franc was on the toboggan, the American money king poured his gold into the French treasury after receiving assurances that the loan would enable Poincare to weather the storm, bolster up the franc and pay Morgan his cash within six months, with a good rate of interest. The loan saved Poincare for the time being, but the recent elections sent him into the discard. Now the franc is sliding again and Morgan is worried over his millions. In vain Herriot assures the bankers that he means them no harm. The drop of the franc indicates their alarm. We may need another Dawes to act as the savior of the franc. Capitalism is rather sick in Europe.

Sol Bloom, New York representative, introduced a bill in congress requiring civilians to take off their hats and bow their heads to the American flag. Bloom's patriotic heart bled on Memorial day when he witnessed the callous indifference of Washingtonians to the starry emblem carried at the head of a column composed of Legionnaires, Daughters of the Revolution, and distant relatives of unknown soldiers. Bloom did not say that the Teapot Dome scandal and the Daugherty revelations were responsible for the unpatriotic attitude of the Capitol office dwellers, but he did say that the heart of the nation is sound, which is more than can be said for Bloom's bloomin' head.

Bloom holds that if the people are not naturally patriotic a law should be passed making patriotism mandatory. Is not Mr. Bloom trying to pass legislation which may be used by enemies of "lawrenorder"? Supposing a gang of burglars organized in a squad carrying an American flag at the head of the column thus forcing the policemen to take their hands off the banana stands, their hats off their heads and bow meekly while the burglars clean up the neighborhood. What then Mr. Bloom? If the cops arrested the burglars, they could be charged with desecrating the flag by acts of omission and commission. If they didn't arrest the burglars they would stand in danger of losing their job thru negligence. Bloom looks more like a missing link than a namesake of the famous lawgiver.

LaFollette, acting as Sam Gompers' megaphone discovered a red menace, after the new attorney general had barely stopped slapping himself on the back for having disposed of the darned thing. For years, our capitalists went to bed with palpitating hearts and troubled consciences, fearing that their easy, coupon-clipping, wine-guzzling, lives would be terminated ab-