

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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SECOND SECTION

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American Capitalism Preparing New Wars

By J. RAMIREZ (Gomez)

There is a whole assortment of "experts" at Washington whose sole business is to plan the next war. They plot out field offensives on the European continent, air raids against London, lightning invasions of Mexico, complex incidents of naval warfare against Japan. Minutely and patiently they study the topography of France, making numerous little markings on the map to indicate marches and counter marches, poison gas attacks, or other maneuvers. They take up one country after another and work out a complete, detailed plan of campaign against it.

U. S. Policies Make Enemies.

Our war experts have it all figured out as to who the future enemy is likely to be. If they prove to be wrong it doesn't matter, because they have laid their plans on the assumption that every great Power in the world is at least a possible enemy—not to speak of a few dozen of the lesser Powers. This means that at bottom the national policies of the United States are war policies.... policies which, if pushed to their logical conclusion, inevitably lead to war.

Wars arise out of clashes of policy. Where do the policies of the United States clash with those of other Powers? Where do they not clash?

Anyone can think offhand of a hundred "sore spots".... in China, Latin America, Europe. Chataqua orators are still repeating two-year old speeches on "our untroubled policy of isolation," but actually American foreign policy today is as adventurous as anything the world has ever seen. It is riding rough shod over all opposition, driving relentlessly on to new disasters. The legend of isolation is not believed by anyone who does not spend his time "reminiscing" instead of thinking.

Lafayette, We Are Here Again.

Europe occupies a more and more prominent part in our day's news from day to day. American capital is in Europe with both feet now, fighting aggressively for advantage, with the militant backing of the United States Government. The notorious Dawes Plan for the enslavement of Germany is the mark of the epoch.

Comrade Varga, in his lucid analysis of the Dawes Plan, showed how it reflected the changed economic conditions in the United States. "Owing to the boom period prevailing in the United States," he pointed out, "the bourgeoisie of that country had no inducement to involve themselves in European affairs. With the end of that boom, and the necessity for a world market, the interest of the American bourgeoisie in Europe increases and a share in the plundering of Germany appears to them more desirable."

There are more than 1,800,000 men out of work in this country today. Everywhere industry is continuing to slow down—especially the constructional industries, which play such an important part in American capital investment. On the other hand the bank vaults are bursting with gold; money is so plentiful (among financiers, stock gamblers, etc.) that it is being lent on call at less than 2 per cent interest.

Hughes Backs Morgan Scheme.

Finance capitalists must invest their surplus somewhere or they will get no returns from it. So they begin to look across the water. There are plenty of chances to invest in Europe. Germany for instance has been in the market for a loan, these many months. But the bankers must have guarantees. Germany, with the French occupation burdening the productivity of its most important industrial areas, is not good enough security. Consequently, Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P.

Morgan & Co., informs Ramsay MacDonald and Premier Herriot in London that no money will be forthcoming under the Dawes Plan unless the French troops are withdrawn. Secretary of State Hughes happens at this time to be enjoying a vacation tour to London. He declares himself heartily in accord with the Dawes Plan, and tells the newspapers that he agrees with the Lamont interpretation of it. Obviously Mr. Hughes would not talk like this unless he were talking for the United States Government.

How the Machinery Works.

The mechanics in the development of American foreign policy are shown here so plainly that one can "see the

hesitate to resort to any extremity if his profits are at stake. The last war was a Morgan War and the next war will be a Morgan War too.

Germany Mortgaged.

What is the Dawes Plan in essence? It is a scheme for giving the Allies (principally England and the United States) such control over the industrial processes of Germany that they could exploit her for their own benefit and at the same time forever hold her down as a rival. With heavy mortgage on the railroads and industries of the country, and control of her central banking institutions, the Allied bankers will have a strong hold over the entire economic life of Germany.



How will you keep him from your door?

wheels go round." Bankers, in pursuit of profit, lay down conditions for foreign governments to follow, and the State Department backs them up; in consequence, whereof, the Government embarks upon a certain line of policy, which may involve it in all sorts of entanglements if it does not abruptly shift its position. The State Department is now backing up Morgan. A definite stand has already been taken toward France and England and there has been a direct clash with French policy in the Ruhr. Moreover, it is not easy for the Government to retreat. Now that Morgan has gone ahead with his Dawes Plan adventure, on the basis of assured government support, he is in a position to demand that the support be not withdrawn. American foreign policy has thus become warp and woof of the policy of Morgan. And Morgan thinks only of his profits. He will intrigue to checkmate possible foreign competitors. He will endeavor to use his present position for future economic advantage. He will not

This is nice enough for the American bankers—but gives them an imperialist stake in the unstable affairs of Europe which the United States Government will be called upon to defend in every crisis. Eventually this means war.

It is inconceivable that there should be another big war in Europe, without the United States being involved. Morgan already has millions of dollars tied up in loans to Austria and Hungary, and practically controls the financial administration of the former nation, under the present receivership which the bankers forced upon her. In addition, there are the as yet unpaid loans to the Entente Powers. Morgan dragged the United States into the World War to protect those loans, and he intends to protect them in the future, however complicated the circumstances may become.

Other elements of danger are the heavy investments of American capitalists in European industry, the numerous concessions in the Balkans, the oil interests in Roumania and

other countries, the Sinclair contract for monopoly rights in the exploitation of oil in southern Italy.

Reviving the League of Nations.

The United States has become a part of the whole European system. Comrade Varga calls attention to the fact that the League of Nations is again becoming an issue in America. The tremendous drive to put over the Bok "Peace" Plan.... the 1924 platforms of both Republican and Democratic parties.... the active part taken by U. S. Ambassador Kellogg in the present conference of premiers in London, all these things show which way the wind is blowing. And the outcome is war.

But America is a peaceful nation! Did we not, shout the philistines, take the lead in the calling of the famous Disarmament Conference at Washington to the Conference should not blind us to its content. "It is probable that the Washington Conference will make not for peace but for war," declared Thomas F. Millard, in a confidential memorandum written for the State Department.

A Coup d'Etat.

The Washington Conference was a simple aggressive maneuver. Europe is a puny field for the exploits of our imperialists. For years now they have had a vision of empire, whose eastern outposts lay far across the broad Pacific. In the quaint, picturesque, and (incidentally) enormously wealthy land of Old Cathay, Wall Street and the United States Government have been pursuing a policy of late, calculated to fairly bewilder the average worker or farmer, toiling away in the seclusion of "isolated" America. "China," wrote Millard, in another of his confidential memoranda "is the central factor in American Foreign Policy." China is also a factor in the policy of other national imperialisms. These policies clash one with another. War is the certain consequence. The Washington Conference was a masterly coup d'etat on the part of American capitalism in the struggle for strategic advantage in the far East.

The proposals regarding armaments were shoved into the background in the Washington Conference; the American representatives refused even to discuss them until "various Pacific Coast and Far East questions" were disposed of. Japan was put abruptly on the defensive. The inviolability of American interests in China was urged and insisted upon. Even the proposal for limitation of armament, apparently so innocent, were a part of the American offensive against Japan. All military experts concur that, especially considering the present industrial background of the two countries, the naval limitation agreements made by the conference, tend inevitably to the relative weakening of Japan and the relative strengthening of American Capitalism.

A Fight for Empire.

The Japanese have been made to feel that the United States government is determined to back up all the schemes of American Big Business in China. The fight for empire is declared. There is the threat of war and the danger of war in every line of the Washington agreements.

China is the greatest market in the world for the absorption of surplus capital. She has coal, iron, antimony, lead, oil, cotton, rice.... and, above all, plenty of cheap human labor. What group of money-mad American financiers would hesitate to lead us into the most perilous adventures in the face of such a prospect!

But American capitalism comes late to the Chinese treasure house. Much of the treasure has already been parceled out. The United States pre-

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American Capitalism Preparing New Wars

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sents itself in the role of a pre-war Germany, knocking at a door which has been previously slammed and bolted. And, like the war lords of Germany, our American imperialists are knocking with an importunity that foreshadows war. The policy of the "Open Door," which the United States has taken up at the behest of Wall Street, is a policy of war, and is being pushed with that definite understanding.

Islands of the Pacific.

Japan is a poor country, having little or no mineral wealth, and with much of her mountainous country, unfit for agriculture. She cannot give up privileges in China, without abandoning all possibilities of capitalistic greatness; and this is what American capitalism asks of her. There is no other way out but war. Already there has taken place a strangle for "key" islands in the Pacific. Little Islands like Yap have become of vital importance. By the Versailles Treaty, Japan obtains all the Pacific Islands north of the equator which up to 1914 had been Germany's; and these give her various points of vantage in the line of the direct American route between Hawaii and the Philippines.

War with Japan is coming. When Wall Street is ready, the Japanese-California question will be there to prepare the atmosphere with column after column of sensational "Yellow Peril" propaganda.

Comrade Pavlovitch has pointed out that it is a great mistake to explain the whole meaning of the war of 1914-18 in terms of the rivalry between Germany and England. Apart from the Anglo-German clash of interests, one must also take into consideration, the conflicts between Czarist Russia and Germany and Austria, between France and Germany, etc., etc. In the same way, one must not imagine that the war in the Far East will be a simple exchange of hostilities between the United States and Japan. Japan is by no means our only possible enemy there. The clash of interests in Asia is intricate and many-sided. Great Britain is a dominant power in certain sections of China; France too has important interests. American imperialism jostles other expanding imperialism at every turn. It all means war, war, war. A world war with new and unexpected alignments.

U. S. Versus Britain.

It may well be that the American war with Japan be only a starting point for a greater military duel between the United States and Great

Britain. England is America's greatest commercial and industrial rival. The U. S. Steel Corporation is in fierce competition with the British steel monopolies, all over the world. The British Empire was built upon coal; but petroleum is taking the place of coal as the fuel of the future, and the world-wide competition between the Standard Oil and the (British owned) Royal Dutch Shell combine conceals what amounts to a life and death struggle for British world power. As for the United States, the oil reserves of the nation are inadequate to the needs of American capitalist industry, despite the present flush production in the California fields. Hence the unabated struggle for positions of privilege in Persia, Mesopotamia, Baku, Roumania, Latin America and every important field in the world.

Many people are already familiar with the following significant, quotation from Eckel:

"The first duty of our navy in time of war will be to secure the Caribbean. The first duty of our expeditionary forces will be to furnish protection to the oil fields of this extra territorial region.

"Countries with adequate commercial fleets and navies will look rather to the three South American zones, all of which have immense petroleum reserves. The pressure there and elsewhere, will be increased year by year and the financial and commercial rivalry may at times have political and military results."

The Oil War.

We are going to fight another Morgan war, but we are also going to fight an oil war. Teapot Dome, and the sinister activities of Doheny, Fall and McAdoo in Mexico, show how completely the oil interests are able to dominate American Government policy.

The Latin-American Battlefield.

The struggle for oil concentrates our attention on Latin America. Latin America is our favored, carefully staked out battleground. American policy in Latin America, perhaps even more than in Europe and Asia, has in it the germs of countless wars. American imperialism has declared Latin America its "eminent domain." We tolerate no open door here!

Out of the twenty Latin American republics, eleven now have their financial policies directed by appointed officials from the United States. Six of these eleven have the financial agents backed by American Military forces on the ground. Four of the remaining nine have their economic and fiscal live closely tied to the

United States through large loans and concessions, giving special advantage to American capitalists.

In these smaller countries of the South, controlled by our soldiers, our bankers, and our oil kings, we are developing our Irelands, our Egypts, and our Indias. Hatred of the United States is flaming up in Latin America. Newspapers are being established everywhere for the sole purpose of opposition to North American policy. The combined strength of the Latin American countries is considerable and it is continually growing. War clouds are gathering for the future.

While we talk of how we are protecting Latin America from Europe, Latin Americas are betaking themselves as fast as they can to Europe for protection against us. The League of Nations offers them a resource of which they are availing themselves. This brings Latin America into the orbit of European influences and is a direct challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. It betokens bitter, terrible war.

Monroe Doctrine.

Wall Street and the United States Government are determined to defend the right to their "natural" Latin-American empire. Every discussion of the Versailles Treaty carried with it the declaration that the Monroe Doctrine must be preserved. "Our" government is requiring statements of recognition of the Monroe Doctrine from every nation with which we have dealings.

Latin America is to be for Wall Street alone. We make no effort to hide the fact that the intervention of any other foreign power there means war.

But the Monroe Doctrine is being stretched even further. Great Britain and some of the other European powers already have some possessions in the Western Hemisphere which they have had for years. "The time is fast approaching" says Professor Gibbons of Princeton University, when the United States will regard European Sovereignty in the West Indies, as an anomaly that must disappear, and when the Latin American countries will take the same attitude toward the Guiana enclave, Trinidad and Tabago, and the Falkland Islands.... Because the American countries will demand a general liquidation and because the European owners will be unable to defend the titles, the forcing of Europe out of America is bound to go on until the last European title has been given up."

A Policy of Imperialism

American Foreign Policy is the policy of imperialism. Ever before

the war with Spain in 1898, American capitalism had reached the point of development where it could no longer maintain itself without giving up its self-absorption of two generations, and being drawn into the current of world events. Economic conditions were approximating those of European. The West was becoming populated. Money was no longer at a big premium for internal developments. Our native capitalists could not count indefinitely upon a constant consumption demand in this country. At last it became necessary for them to think of overseas investment for surplus capital and of overseas markets for surplus farm products and manufactured goods. With the first surplus of capital and the first suggestion of producing power in excess of consuming capacity, Wall Street began to look for new fields to conquer. In the United States itself, Big Business had developed into monopoly and monopoly had developed to the point where it was able to control the entire foreign policy of the Government.

There's Many a Slip.

Today the United States stands, a ready belligerent, the center of a hundred irreconcilable antagonisms, with new profit-wars facing it on all sides. But for all their unscrupulous scheming, the heaven of the capitalist is an impossible one. War leads easily to revolution, and revolution will destroy the whole basis of capitalist exploitation.

The United States has been going about its policy of war in a deliberate way. Over \$4,000,000,000 is invested in the United States navy. The strength of the United States army has been raised from 212,000 to 371,770 men,—and upwards of 500,000 citizens are being trained for slaughter in the military training camps and R. O. T. C. courses. Militarization is proceeding at an unheard of rate. Even small school children are being drilled in scout groups, and are being prepared, mentally and physically, to die for their country's financiers.

That bouyant phrase: "War to end War," is already beyond the comprehension of the younger generation. Its supposed meaning lives only in the memory of men and women who had already emerged from childhood before the outbreak of the war of 1914-18.

RIVERVIEW

RAIN OR SHINE

August 10th --- Sunday
Press Picnic Day