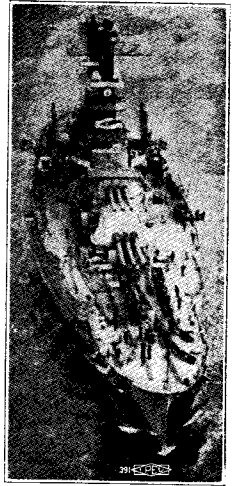


The New America: The American Empire—By Jay Lovestone



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, the spokesman of America's biggest bourgeoisie, has proclaimed this July Fourth, 1925, as Muster Day. On this day of the birth of the national independence of Yankee capitalism, our ruling class will muster its military, naval and economic forces as a demonstration to the world of its prowess and its lust for imperialist conquest.

It is no accident that Wall Street has chosen this day for flinging its political fist and flaunting its industrial resources into the face of the rest of the nations. The choice of July Fourth as the day for an ostentatious display of American imperialist power is the logical historical consequence of a series of politico-economic events of the first magnitude.

The American bourgeoisie are no longer struggling to secure, or maintain, or even strengthen their own national independence. To the capitalists of the United States July Fourth is no longer symbolic of the achievement of their national freedom from Great Britain. In the theater of international politics July Fourth now symbolizes the gravest menace of American imperialism to the national independence of many peoples and to the struggle of the international proletariat for working-class freedom.

Introducing America.

The growth of American capitalism from a struggling handful of British colonies into the dominating imperialist world power can be traced in three principal stages of economic development.

From 1763 to 1815 American capitalism was struggling for the right to be born, as it were, as a distinct, independent national group.

From 1815 to 1893 American capitalists consolidated their ranks as a ruling class and centralized their control of the means of production and exchange. It was in this period that the foundation was laid for the establishment of a highly centralized form of government and the exploitation of the resources of the country on a more intense and vast scale than had hitherto been known.

The year 1893 ushered in the third—the present—the imperialist stage of American capitalism—the final stage of Yankee capitalism. Today our exploiters talk of "spheres of influence," of the "open door" in the Far East and of the "supremacy of the Pacific."

Actually America made its debut on the imperialist stage in 1898 with the successful conclusion of the Spanish war. Immediately thereafter American capitalists turned the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean into a sixth Great American Lake. Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii soon fell into the clutches of the American eagle. Since then the United States has been accelerating the pace of its imperialist development and aggression.

An Imperialist Giant.

American imperialism now holds political sway over an area of 150 thousand square miles and more than ten million people in Central America and in the Caribbean regions. In the Pacific the flag of Wall Street waves proudly over an island empire of more than 125 thousand square miles populated by more than thirteen millions.

The territories of England, France and Belgium must be combined to be equivalent to this imperial colonial domain.

America is the leading world power of capitalism. Imperialist America is today not a country—gigantic as the stretch of land the United States and Alaska proper occupy—but a continent. Not a continent, not two continents, but a world. The United States is today the most self-supporting capitalist power. The Yankee imperialists have unexcelled harbors on two oceans and dominate the railways spanning two continents.

In his "American History and Its Geographical Conditions," Mr. Semple has well characterized this magnificent advantage enjoyed by our ruling class when he declared: "The most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe; the most important geographical fact in lending a distinctive character to their future history will probably be their location on the Pacific opposite Asia."

Many have declared that the World War has made the United States the dominant imperialist power. This is at best a half-truth. Sooner rather than later America was bound to become the dominant force in the arena of imperialist politics. The almost unlimited resources over a vast stretch of contiguous land, the highly developed technique of the exploitation of these resources, the strategic geographic location—these have been only among the outstanding factors making for the rise of America as the greatest capitalist national group. The World War only hastened this process of development. The World War with its years of destruction and self-improvement of the European capitalist competitors of America and with its period of intensified, stimulated industrial development in the United States only brought nearer the inevitable supremacy of American imperialism.

America's Vast Resources.

At the opening of the convention of the American Bankers' Association about thirty years ago, its president uttered the following historically accurate forecast of the development of the American imperialist domain. He said: "We now hold three of the winning cards in the game for commercial greatness—iron, steel and coal. We have long been the granary of the world, we now aspire to be its workshop;

then we want to be its clearing house." All of these wants have since left the realm of desire and have become realities. An examination of the control of natural resources by the Yankee imperialists discloses that:

America controls more than half the world's monetary gold; no less than 43 per cent of the world's output of coal; 54 per cent of the iron and 64 per cent of the steel; nearly 73 per cent of the world's petroleum; about 50 per cent of its copper; 52 per cent of the world's timber, almost 70 per cent of the cotton produced; more than 40 per cent of the shoes manufactured and well over 90 per cent of the world's automobiles. More than half the world's railway mileage is found within American boundaries. Three out of every four telephones in the world are found in the United States.

And the American workers are the most efficient in the world, running the best organized and highest developed apparatus of production and exchange in the world.

Militarism Flourishing—Navalism Expanding.

Our bourgeoisie have two tasks to accomplish in order to maintain and strengthen their present imperialist position:

1. They must maintain a huge enough military machine and a sufficiently powerful naval armada to keep secure their present capitalist empire, their spheres of influence and investment areas.

2. The American bourgeoisie must be able to mobilize at a moment's notice adequate legalized force and violence to crush any opposition at home to their imperialist ventures.

Consequently the cost of American imperialist national defense has more than doubled in the last decade. The American army has risen from a little over 200,000 to nearly 400,000 in this period. At the same time the number of citizens receiving military training has more than doubled, having risen from 243, 865 to 504,010.

Through the national defense act of 1920 all of America's military subdivisions have been unified and centralized. The basis has been laid for a grand national army. The Assistant Chief of Staff has boasted that this scheme "will provide a force of about three million men." More than three million dollars were spent by the United States government on schools and colleges for the purpose of training an officers' reserve corps and building up a powerful military caste.

More than that. In modern warfare a swift and effective mobilization of the industrial resources is essential to and an integral part of the scheme of national capitalist defense or offense. The success of such mobilization is the purpose of Coolidge's DEFENSE DAY and MUSTER DAY. Last year



A GROUP OF ARTILLERYMEN IN BRAZIL.

Looking over the group one can easily single out two or three American officers from among them.

more than sixteen millions participated in one way or another in the Defense Day rehearsals. There were held, then, more than 6,500 local demonstrations throughout the country. Nearly 93,000 officers and men of the regular army and more than one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men of the National Guard and approximately sixty thousand of the organized reserves took part in the 1924 Defense Day maneuvers. This year, MUSTER DAY, promises to equal, at least in magnitude and display, the military power and pomp of the preceding year.

But American imperialist, that is foreign, policy today rests on the navy. The United States navy is the very cornerstone of American diplomacy. Washington heartily espouses the doctrine of the noted naval critic, Admiral Mahan,



FILIPINO LEADER.

Manuel Quezon, President of Filipino Senate and Head of Independence Party in the Islands.

who once declared that: "He who controls the seas, controls the world." As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt has put it bluntly, but clearly, by saying: "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."

The American naval fever now rages around submarines, fast cruisers, and sea-planes. More than three billion dollars are today invested in the American navy.

Last year American naval maneuvers were held in the Caribbean. This year they were held in the Pacific. Next year, when the Dawes Plan will begin to strike its unavoidable numerous snags, the American naval maneuvers will very likely be held far out in the Atlantic.

It is also the aim of the American imperialists, in the words of Coolidge, "to keep abreast of other nations" in military and naval aviation. Hence the United States already has an aerial armada with a personnel of more than thirteen thousand men.

The American Imperialist Octopus.

The world, with the exception of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is virtually in bondage to American imperialism. Great Britain which but yesterday was at the top of the world financially, must pay scores of millions of dollars

annually to our bourgeoisie until 1984. In the last year alone, American capitalists increased their foreign holdings by almost a billion and a quarter dollars.

Within the last decade, the Yankee bourgeoisie have increased their foreign investments by more than seven billion dollars. Before the war the American capitalists' foreign holdings totalled a maximum of two billion dollars. This sum was far greater than the European capitalists had invested, at that time, in the United States. The imprint of the American dollar has been etched on the coat of arms of nearly every government in the world. The total loans of our private bankers abroad now amounts to approximately ten billion dollars. Inclusive of the United States government loans to foreign states, American imperialist investments have reached the dizzy heights of roughly, twenty billion dollars.

There are now invested about two and one-half billion American dollars in Canada.

Latin America owes the Yankee ruling class more than four billion dollars.

Europe is in bondage to our bourgeoisie to the extent of at least two billion dollars. The Dawes Plan has opened the floodgates of American investments in Europe. The United States and Great Britain are now in fierce competition with each other for securing the dominant hold on what was once the splendid German industrial machine and resources. American bankers are privately financing Norwegian nitrogen companies, Italian water-power concerns and French railways. American corporations are buying heavily into European industries. The Aluminum Company of America, controlled by the Secretary of the United States Treasury, Mr. Mellon, owns one-third of the capital stock, five million kroner, of the Norwegian Nitrogen Company. The Westinghouse Company is likewise making appreciable investments in Norwegian corporations engaged in the manufacture of telephone equipment. The contract for the recent thirty-five million dollar loan by the Standard Oil interests to Poland, "bore the unusual feature. . . that in the event that any interruption of the service of the loan occur, a representative of the bondholders may administer the railroads in their interest."

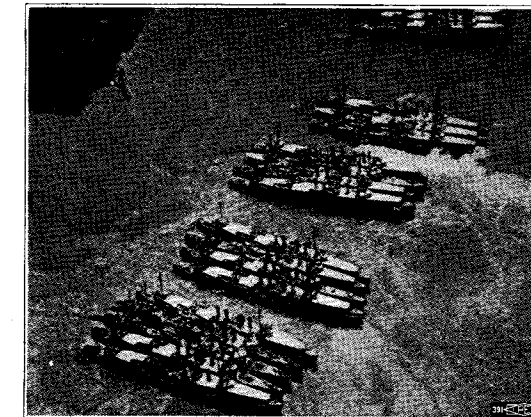
Asia and Africa are paying interest to the Wall Street kingpins on the ever-growing sum which has already reached a figure in the neighborhood of one billion dollars. American capitalists are today maneuvering and manipulating to secure control of the Japanese concession in China—the South Manchurian Railway, and the Fushun Colliery Territory. Wall Street has its heart set on ending the British control of the Kailan mining administration in Chihli—the largest coal producer in China.

Enter—The Financial Dictator.

The tentacles of the American imperialist octopus have been fastened on nearly every section of the earth. The sun never sets on the American flag because the sun never sets on the American dollar whose eagle's claws have been sunk into almost every country.

By means of a swarm of so-called unofficial observers, American imperialism is playing the decisive hand on the international political chessboard of capitalism.

A Boston corporation lawyer, Jeremiah W. Smith, is today the financial dictator of Hungary.



UNITED STATES DESTROYER DIVISIONS 10, 11, 15 AND 17 AT ANCHOR OFF PANAMA.

A New York banker, Gates W. McGarrah, and a New York corporation tool, S. Parker Gilbert, Jr., are the real rulers of Germany at this writing.

There is an American financial overseer for Persia; a tax and custom collector in Bolivia, Haiti, Salvador and Nicaragua. A former comptroller of the United States Treasury is today financial "advisor" to Panama. The Yankee imperialist agent, Mr. John S. Hord, is today serving as "fiscal" expert for Equador. American bankers have dictated Secretary of State Kellogg's last arrogant note threatening the most elementary rights of sovereignty of the Mexican people.

Wall Street's Winning Ways.

This all-powerful imperialist edifice rests on force and violence—against the weaker, the colonial peoples abroad, and the working class at home.

In a single year ending June 30, 1923, the United States National Guard served on the battlefield against striking workers in 21 states. The coal miners, the textile and railway workers, were the hardest hit by the legalized force and violence employed by the bosses to help them lower wages, smash unions, and raise the profits.

We are indebted to Admiral R. E. Coontz, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, for the following frank characterization of the mission of the United States Navy: "Naval forces are maintained throughout the Caribbean Sea for the purpose of keeping down revolutions, protecting life and protecting commerce."

In the Near East the United States Navy is protecting the American tobacco interests. In the Far East the American Marines and destroyers are protecting Standard Oil and other American capitalist property at Hsingho at the cost of several million dollars annually.

Yankee marines have won their spurs as international strike-breakers. The Union of Banana Plantation Workers at Ceiba, Honduras, owe their broken strike and the resulting sixteen-hour day to the strike-breaking prowess of the marines from the United States battleship Galveston.

Judge George Washington Williams of Baltimore, is filling the Virgin Islanders with American democracy at the point of cold steel and by means of pouring into them hot lead.

The notorious sugar baron, United States Governor General Farrington, is guilty of massacring and hounding tens of thousands of Filipino sugar workers in Hawaii.

In South America national hatreds, jealousies, rivalries and bloody puppet governments are fostered and maintained by the agents of Yankee imperialism.

And in Europe the white terrorists and fascists exist and flourish in many instances through the grace of the almighty dollar.

America's New Role.

This is the American Empire. America is not only the pantry, the manufacturer and the banker of the world. The United States is also the policeman of world politics.

American imperialism today holds in the hollow of its palm the fate of many capitalist governments. The dollar is today the basis of international capitalist exchange. The dollar has today veto power over the basic legislation of nearly every country where capitalism is supreme. The currency of every capitalist country rolls and rings in the line and to the tune of the Yankee Eagle.

The Federal Reserve of the United States is now the Federal Reserve bank of the world. Last year one of America's leading bankers declared: "We must look upon our gold as the reserve not only of the United States, but virtually the whole world." There is more truth than rhetoric in this boast and threat.

It was an American hundred-million-dollar loan that stabilized—temporarily at least—the franc last year. It was the Dawes' loan that gave German capitalism another lease on life. It was the recent fifty-million-dollar loan to Italy that saved the political neck of fascism and the financial legs of the lira. And it took the establishment of a \$300,000,000 credit fund to put Great Britain back on the gold standard.

What Is Ahead?

The American Empire presents us with a youthful, vigorous and growing imperialism.

The monopolists and financiers dominate every walk of our economic and political life. The export of American

finance-capital is today the thread running through the industrial, financial and political developments of nearly every capitalist country. The American trusts are vanquishing the trusts of the other national capitalist groups in every market, on every stock exchange, in every trade lane of the world.

Nor have the territorial boundaries of the American Empire been finally settled. The greatest capitalist countries have already divided the territory of the entire earth. But the American imperialists are now quietly laying their plans to challenge and change many of these boundaries.

The class struggle in the United States has thus been internationalized.

Imperialism has produced a further new condition for the class struggle in America. The ability of our capitalists to maintain high monopolistic profits affords them an opportunity, an economic possibility, to win away certain sections of the working class from the ranks of the proletarian struggles, and win these workers over to the virtual role of defenders of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist order. That explains the highly opportunistic character of our labor movement, the great influence and power of our bourgeoisified strata of the working class, the labor aristocracy. This opportunism has infiltrated the masses and manifests itself in countless ways in the activities of nearly every section of our working class.

Since it is clear that only a highly centralized mass Communist Party, functioning as a strictly disciplined organic unit of a powerful International Communist Party, the Communist International, can unify the ranks and give leadership to the masses of our workers, it is obvious that only such a party of the proletariat can challenge effectively and finally overthrow the American imperialist empire.

The new America—the American imperialist empire—affords a new basis for our class struggle. We are today fighting the class war in a new economic and political milieu. It is only a mass Communist Party, rousing and mobilizing the workers for effective political struggles on the basis of the program of the Communist International, that can end the American bourgeois dictatorship and bring about the establishment of a genuine proletarian democracy by the working class.

As It Looks From Over There!

"What with Dawes Plan,
Hurley Plan, Austrian
Receivership, Belgian
Consortium, etc., etc.,
etc. . ."

C. DE CHAMPS IN L'HUMANITE.

