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LABOR AND THE NEXT WAR

By JAMES ONEAL



PRICE 10 CENTS

Published by the
SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES
2418 West Madison Street
CHICAGO



Labor And The Next War

A STUDY OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM
AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE WORKERS.

By JAMES ONEAL.

Editor of the New York Call, author of "Workers in American History," "The Next Emancipation," etc.

Published by the
Socialist Party of the United States
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LABOR AND THE NEXT WAR

By James O'neal

A NEW PERIOD

CHAPTER I.

The working people of the United States live in a new period of history. The old period ended in 1917 when we entered the world war. As a result of the war the United States is a nation that differs much from the old nation before the war.

We live in an imperialist period of American history. What does imperialism mean? It means the extension of power and American rule over other peoples and nations. It means a lust for conquest. It means the suppression of the aspirations of peoples overseas. It means either control of or dictation to their governments, and this eventually leads to annexation. It means large naval power to keep these peoples in submission. It means a permanent militarism which cursed the peoples of Europe for a generation before the world war.

Workingmen may ask, How does all this affect us and our families? Why should we worry?

The answer is that no government can be a tyrant abroad without becoming a tyrant at home. It cannot suppress freedom overseas without suppressing it at home. It cannot make slaves of other peoples without making slaves at home. If it cares not for the institutions of other peoples it will have little regard for any at home that stand in the way of its domineering rule. If it imposes autoocracy on others it eventually will impose autoocracy on you.

But this is not all. Imperialism means the development of a powerful government machine, an army and a navy, that must be sustained out of the labor of millions. It means staggering burdens of taxation which the workers must pay. It means autocracy in industry and breaking down the standards of living. It means that you must work harder, produce more to satisfy the demands of a large army, a large navy, and an expensive government bureaucracy. It means eventually universal military service. **Your boys must hold themselves in readiness to crush the freedom of other peoples. It means persecution of opinions opposed to imperialism. It means censorship over the press and meetings. It means danger for the protective organizations of labor, the trade unions.**

EUROPE'S TRAGIC EXPERIENCE

For nearly two generations we read of militarism and imperialism in Europe. American workers were happy to know that 3,000 miles of water separated us from the imperialist contagion. Germany, France, England and Russia were piling up great armaments. All these powers had their itch for control over weaker peoples. All of them had forced China to surrender enormous concessions. France ruled with bayonets in Morocco. England with bayonets in Egypt and India. Germany in Africa. Russia in Manchuria. Japan in Korea.

The European nations were ranged against each other. To prevent one power from having any heavy advantage there developed what is known as "balance of power" politics. Alliances were contracted to preserve the balance of power. The naval and military programs of each were watched by all the others. When one power added more ships the "balance" was disturbed. This meant that others must build.

So the "balance" was in a constant process of adjustment by a steady increase of armaments all around. The burden became staggering. The menace of war brooded over all Europe. The peoples looked forward to the fateful day. They knew it must come. It did come and Europe was wrecked.

Beneath the alliances were the secret treaties. The diplomats contracted these treaties without knowledge of the parliaments, without knowledge of the peoples concerned. Even the diplomats did not know about all these secret treaties. **They were "double-crossing" each other.**

A DIRTY TRADE

The great Ferdinand Lassalle once said that "Lying is one of the great powers of Europe." The world war revealed that practically all the diplomats of the allied powers were lying about the objects of the war just as the German imperialists were. When the secret treaties were discovered in 1917 they showed that Russia, England, France and Italy were in the war for territory and plunder. Russia was to acquire the Dardanelles, Constantinople, the west shore of the Bosphorus, and certain areas in Asia Minor. France and England were to fix the western frontiers of Germany for allowing Russia to fix Germany's eastern frontiers. England was to get the neutral zone in Persia except two districts that were to go to Russia. Rumania was bribed to get into the war by being promised Bukowina and Transylvania. Italy was bribed to get in by being promised the Trentino, the southern Tyrol to the Brenner pass, Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia and other territory. **Later it was learned that Japan was promised territory of China, although China was an allied power!**

It was this territory and plunder that was secretly pledged by the diplomats as the stakes of the war. The

peoples and the soldiers were told that they were fighting for "democracy". Their signatures to the secret bargains show that the diplomats were after one thing while sending the soldiers to the trenches with promises of another thing.

Charles W. Hayworth, the British author of "What is Diplomacy?" writes that the diplomats practice "a code of immorality which would not be tolerated for a moment in national life, and which would be repudiated by savages," that the "highest political personages commit acts the meanness of which would make any gentleman kick them out of his back door." He quotes Lord Daintree, an ex-diplomat, who cynically refers to his work in the diplomatic service as follows:

"Men fight shy of you if you tell a certain kind of lie persistently, and if you cheat at cards. But I've been all my life lying. It was my profession to lie. I was a diplomatist, you know. Nobody thinks a bit the worse of me. In fact, I've got a jewel case full of ribbons and stars and things given me as tokens of respect for my skill as a liar."

Is it any surprise that imperialism and this dirty trade brought the great war and piled up 20 millions of dead? Yet the peoples of Europe were helpless. Many suspected the secret bargains but nobody outside the diplomats really knew what had been bargained for. All that was known was that secrecy in diplomacy was a fact. **The lives of the masses were pledged in behalf of things of which the masses were ignorant.**

ORIGIN OF IMPERIALISM

CHAPTER II.

The same causes that brought militarism and imperialism to Europe have finally brought militarism and imperialism to the United States. Imperialism gets its start when inventions and machinery increase the production of wealth to a point where large quantities are sold abroad. This produces rivalries with other nations that produce a surplus for sale abroad. The workers who produce the excess of wealth could enjoy it but their wages are not sufficient to enable them to buy it.

It is true that before this period some of our statesmen had imperial views. President Polk in 1848 favored the annexation of Yucatan. Three years before Senator Douglas wanted to annex all of North and South America. In 1854 three American Ambassadors abroad announced that Cuba should be annexed and by force if necessary. In 1868 President Johnson suggested the annexation of all neighboring America.

But all these were fitful dreams of conquest with no powerful forces behind them. Not until the United States was practically settled and its territory to the Pacific was filled did the dream of conquest begin to take hold of politicians, bankers and capitalists. In the Republican National Convention of 1900 Chauncey M. Depew asked, "Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa?" His answer was:

"The American people now produce two thousand million dollars' worth more than they can consume, and WE have met the emergency, and by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates, WE have our market in Cuba, WE have OUR market in Porto Rico, etc."

All imperialists talk of "the providence of God." Kaiser Wilhelm was always certain that he had God on his side. Missionaries are even used to aid in the extension

of markets for goods, concessions and loans. The American writer, Paul S. Reinsch, in his "World Politics," writes: "Never before, perhaps, has so much material value been attached to ministers of the Gospel in foreign lands, and the manner in which, after their death, they are used to spread civilization is somewhat foreign to our older ideas of the functions of the bearers of spiritual blessings."

He mentions a French consul in China, "who is famous for his expansionist intrigues," and who demanded mining rights in six districts for damages inflicted on French missions. The French Government also demanded the right to build a railway in China because of the murder of a missionary. It is notorious that the former German Government obtained valuable concessions for its capitalists in Shantung as "compensation" for the murder of two missionaries.

Another form taken by this idea of the "providence of God" is the belief of imperialists that they are the "chosen people." Professor Coolidge in his book, "The United States as a World Power," writes that American imperialists have the illusion "that they have grown great by their virtues and by the disposition of a kindly Providence, whereas, the progress of other nations has been marked by unscrupulous rapacity." Professor Reinsch, in his book mentioned above, writes that the time comes when we view "as barbarous or decadent, everything originating outside of the national boundary..... Each nation looks upon itself as the bearer of the only true civilization. France makes wars as a herald of progress and when Germany is victorious, she, in turn, announces a triumph of civilization."

Who has not heard of American imperialism as carrying "civilization" to the Filipinos? This "providence of God" is the tyrant's way of justifying the taking of the property of other peoples.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The imperialism which Depew glorified in 1900 was not the ruthless and brutal imperialism of today. Capitalists of one nation may rival the capitalists of another nation in selling goods to other peoples without any necessary danger to those peoples. This trade in goods means larger navies to protect it but the real danger to the weaker peoples does not occur until the next phase of imperialism.

When the export of goods is followed by the export of capital for permanent investment in other lands and forcing loans upon their peoples in the interest of the great bankers, we have the beginning of brutal control over those peoples. When foreign capitalists and bankers invest capital in these countries the foreign exploiters have fixed interests in those countries.

In the case of selling goods the sale is effected and that is the end of it. In the case of invested capital and loans capitalist interests are in the country to stay. They want mines and ranches. They want old fields and mineral deposits. They want to build railroads and factories. As soon as they have these tangible properties they become vitally interested in the laws of the country, the kind of government, the political parties and the men who administer the government.

In other words, foreign capitalists and bankers seek to shape the native government, to control the political parties and to enact laws that will favor their investments. This leads the foreign capitalists and their agents to enlist the support of their governments in favor of their plans to control the native governments. If native laws and governments do not suit these capitalists they call upon the American State Department to aid them. The State

Department sends a note to the native government demanding that it comply with the demands of these capitalists. Threats are made if the demands are not conceded. An American warship is sometimes sent to enforce the demands. If necessary, marines are landed to make the demands still more effective.

SECURING IMPERIALIST CONTROL

This method has been followed a number of times in American history as we shall see later on. Very often the agents of American capitalists in a weaker country will engage in political intrigues. If the native government or rulers refuse to permit American capitalist control these American agents will plot to overthrow the native government. Sometimes they will bribe the leaders of an opposition party. Sometimes they will secretly arrange with native "revolutionists" who are in the pay of the Americans to start a "revolution." If it succeeds a tool of American capitalists ascends to power and grants to the Americans what they want.

If American agents of American capitalism fail to bring about such a "revolution" other methods are resorted to. **They will get bandits on their payroll with instructions to cause all the disturbance that they can. Bandits will even be permitted to attack properties of the American capitalists.** The American agents will then protest that American lives and property are in danger. They will demand protection from the American Government. The State Department steps in with a note of warning to the native government that it must "maintain order."

Under this plan all that is necessary is for the agents of American capitalists to pay secretly for the continuance of disorder. More warnings are sent by the American State Department. It finally notifies the native government

that the "patience" of the American Government is about exhausted. An American warship appears off the coast. Another outbreak of "disorder" and American marines are landed. Naval power takes possession of the chief port where the "disorders" are generally arranged. It proclaims martial law. The native customs houses are seized. Proclamations are issued by the naval commander announcing that all "disturbers" will be severely punished.

After restoring "law and order" negotiations are entered into with native leaders for establishing another regime. The end of these negotiations is the selection of some tool of American capitalist interests who will carry out the wishes of these interests. Usurious loans favoring an American bank are then negotiated. Concessions for building railways, for mines and oil fields are extorted from the helpless nation. The little country then comes under some definite control of American imperialist investors whose interests are taken care of through officials of the American government, "financial advisors," etc.

THE AMERICAN RECORD

In one form or another of these methods American imperialism has overthrown the republics of Haiti, San Domingo and Nicaragua and maintains practical political and financial control over Hawaii, Samoa, Guatemala and has acquired as colonies the Philippines, Porto Rico, Guam and Panama. Only Salvador and Costa Rico, on the mainland of Central America are left with any degree of native independence. These little nations are so small that it is certain that they will be the next to fall a prey to what all Latin-America now calls "The Prussians of the North."

Only a few examples of the record of American imperialism can be cited in this booklet. We will consider Panama. In 1903 the late Mr. Theodore Roosevelt "took

Panama," to use his own phrase, after a "revolution" which separated Panama from Colombia. Within three days Panama was recognized by the United States Government. Was this Panama "revolution" a popular uprising of the masses?

No. It was planned in New York City. Its "constitution" was written in New York. The new Panama flag was made in New York. The hour for the "revolution" was set in New York. The chief conspirator had a talk with President Roosevelt on the subject before it occurred. He also had a talk with Secretary of State John Hay. The chief conspirator, a Frenchman, was accepted at Washington as the Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Panama in signing a treaty conceding canal rights in Panama to the United States.

We cannot go into the long negotiations of the United States with Colombia for a canal strip. It is sufficient to say that a treaty was negotiated between the two nations. The United States Senate ratified it. The Colombia Senate did not ratify it because it was unsatisfactory. This brought the negotiations to a deadlock. Only two methods remained to obtain a strip of territory for a canal. One was to negotiate a new treaty that would be satisfactory to Colombia. The other was to violate the territory of Colombia and seize the strip of land that was desired. The latter course was followed. Roosevelt "took Panama" as he boasted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SEIZURE OF PANAMA

The Colombian Senate had rejected the proposed treaty by a unanimous vote. The American Minister to Colombia warned Secretary Hay of the "tremendous tide of public opinion against the canal treaty." The directors of the old French canal company, whose equipment was largely old junk, were disappointed. Some of the "foremost citizens" of Panama "conferred with the American agent of the Panama Railroad Company as to the advisability of organizing a revolution," writes Latane in his book, "The United States and Latin America."

A certain Dr. Amador was selected to go to the United States where he had conferences with Cromwell, attorney for the French company, and with Secretary Hay. Then Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the former chief engineer of the company, appeared on the scene. He "entered with enthusiasm into the revolutionary scheme," writes Latane.

Varilla became the arch conspirator from this time on. In 1920 he published a book bearing the title, "The Great Adventure of Panama" in which he tells the shameless story of the plot to despoil Colombia and take her province of Panama away from her. Varilla tells of his interview with Roosevelt at the White House. He records this conversation with the President regarding Colombia:

ROOSEVELT: "Well, what do you think is going to become of the present situation?"

VARILLA: "Mr. President, a revolution!"

ROOSEVELT: "A revolution?.... Would it be possible?"

Varilla's conclusions regarding the interview are stated in the following words:

"If a revolution were to generate new conditions favorable to the acquisition of the Canal Zone by the United States, President Roosevelt would immediately seize the opportunity."

Varilla went to see Secretary of State Hay a few days later and records this conversation:

HAY: "These events, what do you think they will be?"

VARILLA: "I expressed my sentiments on the subject some days ago to President Roosevelt," I replied, "the whole thing will end in a revolution. You must take your measures, if you do not want to be taken by surprise."

HAY: "Yes, that is unfortunately the most probable hypothesis. But we shall not be caught napping. Orders have been given to naval forces on the Pacific to sail towards the Isthmus."

What happened? **President Roosevelt ordered the Boston, Dixie, Atlanta, and Nashville to proceed to the Isthmus!** Varilla also wrote that "the interview with Mr. Hay would have removed my last hesitations if hesitation had been any longer possible." Roosevelt in his book, "Fear God and Take your Own Part," in the face of these facts, wrote: "No one connected with this government had any part in preparing, inciting or encouraging the revolution on the Isthmus of Panama." Yet further evidence shows that the State Department was informed of the plans for a revolution. The following excerpt from Professor Latane's book (p. 188) is amazing in its revelation of a thorough understanding between the State Department and the plotters:

At 3:40 p. m., Nov. 3, (1903) the following dispatch was sent to the American consuls at Panama and Colon: "Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep department promptly and fully informed. Loomis,

acting." At 8:15 a reply was received from the consul at Panama: "No uprising yet. Reported will be in the night. Situation is critical." At 9 p. m. a second dispatch was received from the same source: "Uprising occurred tonight, 6; no bloodshed. Army and navy officials taken prisoners. Government will be organized tonight."

It appears from these dispatches that the "revolution" had been planned to the very hour. There being a delay Loomis, of the Department of State, wired for information of the "revolution" that had gone astray! Colombia was prohibited by American war vessels from sending her own troops into her own territory of Panama to put down the revolt. Three days later, November 6, the "republic of Panama" was recognized by the United States. Within one week thereafter Varilla, who remained in New York, was received as Minister of the "republic" by President Roosevelt.

It was Varilla who prepared the "proclamation of independence" in New York. He planned the military operations, conferred in a secret code with Amador, designed the flag of Panama, assured Amador that "you will be protected by the American forces," furnished Amador with \$100,000 as expense money, gave him thorough instructions regarding plans for the "revolution" and told him that he (Varilla) would take care of the "diplomatic representation of the new republic at Washington."

Mr. Roosevelt wrote that in this affair he had acted in terms of the "highest international morality" and to the day of his death he referred to Colombia's demands for compensation as "blackmail!" The old French Company, of which Varilla was a stockholder, realized \$40,000,000 on its old junk as a result of this hand-made "revolution."

CHAPTER V.

MORE RUTHLESS IMPERIALISM

No other nation has presented a more ruthless case of outrageous bullying than the United States in the case of Panama. Hawaii is another example. Hawaii was annexed in 1898. American sugar capitalists in the island desired annexation. In 1892 they enlisted the aid of the American Minister to Hawaii who wrote to Washington that "bold action by the United States will rescue property holders from great losses." **In March, 1892, he inquired of the Secretary of State whether the United States would support a revolution in Hawaii.** On January 14, 1893, Queen Liliuokalani proceeded to proclaim a new constitution in response to a request from two-thirds of all the voters of the island. Learning that there was a plot of the sugar kings against her she abandoned her intention. The small group of American plotters held a meeting on January 16. A Committee was sent to the American Minister. An American warship was in the harbor and under the protection of American marines two parties of conspirators took possession of the government building. They read a proclamation overthrowing the Hawaiian Government and the American Minister, without hesitation, recognized these American adventurers as the "government of Hawaii."

It is hard to characterize the acquisition of the Philippines by any other word than "treachery." The Filipinos had practically conquered the island from the Spaniards except for the city of Manila. They surrounded the city so that the Spaniards could not escape. **With the fall of Manila the islands would be in possession of the Filipinos.** Admiral Dewey had supplied Aguinaldo with arms. American and Filipino forces together captured the city. Then

the process of edging the Filipinos out began. They were asked to retire to the suburbs which they did. They were asked to give up more and more territory so that the Filipinos having conquered the islands from Spain were in turn being conquered by American forces. To make a long story short, after the Filipinos were betrayed by American imperialism there began the second Filipino war for independence. The Filipinos were defeated and Aguinaldo was even taken prisoner **despite the fact that he was negotiating under a white flag of truce.** The Philippine Islands have been a colony ever since.

The story of Haiti and San Domingo is so prominent in the press that only a casual reference is necessary. Suffice it to say that at the very time when President Wilson was talking about the "rights of weak peoples" he was then sending American marines to conquer Haiti. The republic was overthrown, the president and congress driven out of office, a military dictatorship installed, and compulsory labor was enforced upon natives in building roads. San Domingo has suffered a similar fate. These little countries are ruled by American bayonets. Intolerable loans favoring big American banks are being imposed upon these unhappy peoples while every effort has been made to screen this Prussian bullying behind a barrier of censorship.

CHAPTER VI.

PRESENT TENDENCIES

What has happened to Haiti and San Domingo, to Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua, and what Mexico is threatened with, is the sweep of an American financial Caesarism that will destroy the independence of all the Latin-American republics. By conquest the Caribbean Sea is now an American lake. Mexico is menaced by American oil investors and the international bankers. Through the State Department these American investors are dictating to Mexico.

Under President Porfirio Diaz Mexico was a vast slave pen. The masses were robbed mercilessly by a few Mexican families who owned great stretches of territory. American capitalists, who obtained concessions from Diaz, shared in this robbery of the Mexican people. After ten years of bitter struggle the Mexican people have destroyed the old system of slavery and adopted a new constitution. They hope to recover their natural resources for themselves.

Now they face the greed and might of American imperialism. **They are told by the American Government that they cannot have the constitution and the laws that they want. They are told that their constitution must be satisfactory to American investors, big millionaires who do not live in that country but whose money is invested there.** This policy means that American dollars are to determine the Mexican Constitution and that the Mexican people are not to control.

Should the Mexican people fail to satisfy the demands of American imperialism, war may result. In that case will the American capitalists and bankers with money invested in that country be asked to go and fight for it?

Not it all. It is not likely that a single one of them will be found on the firing line. The boys of working class families will be called to the colors to fight for the dollars of American oil investors and for bankers with money invested in Mexican railways.

Suppose British or German investors in American oil fields or American railways were to take the same attitude. Suppose they induced their governments to send notes to the United States demanding that the laws of the United States regarding foreign investments should be what the alien investors want them to be. Suppose Great Britain and Germany threatened intervention or war if the United States did not comply with the demands of these insolent German and British capitalists.

Is it not a fact that this insolence would be hotly resented here? Yet there are those who would resent it and who at the same time support the insolent demands of the United States upon Mexico, demands that are made solely in the interest of American corporations, bankers and exploiting investors.

If war comes because of this American bullying thousands of workingmen will have to pay for it with their lives. Many will leave their bones to bleach under the burning sun of Mexico. The survivors will return home and they and their children will face heavier taxation to pay the expenses of the raid. If Mexico is conquered and a tool of American imperialism is installed by military power in Mexico City, this means a still larger army and a more costly navy to keep the Mexican people in subjection to American investors.

CHAPTER VII.

AN OLD DOCTRINE

Before the rise of modern imperialism the American Government took the position that it was not within its functions or duties to protect the investments of American capitalists in other countries, much less to dictate the laws of those countries. In 1885 Secretary of State Bayard gave expression to this old doctrine with special reference to Haiti. Of this doctrine he said:

"I feel bound to say that if we should sanction by reprisals in Haiti the ruthless invasion of her territory and insult to her sovereignty which the facts now before us disclose, if we approve by solemn Executive action and Congressional assent that invasion, it will be difficult for us hereafter to assert that in the New World, of whose rights we are the peculiar guardians, these rights have never been invaded by ourselves."

Yet the very thing which Bayard said was not consistent with American doctrine and policy has not only been done in Haiti but in a number of other weak nations as we have seen. **It has been carried out by Republican and Democratic presidents, by Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson and Harding.** The striking thing about the complete reversal of the old doctrine is that it came when capitalism had developed to that point in the United States when surplus capital began to accumulate for investment overseas. The material interests of American investors then brought about a change whereby the American Government regards it as its sacred duty to back up these investments with coercion, threats, marines and soldiers if necessary.

In December, 1920, Secretary of State Colby in transmitting to the Secretary of the Treasury estimates of the

financial needs of the State Department for the fiscal year, wrote:

"Nations are incited to extend their efforts to the remote and undeveloped regions of the earth in order to establish control over the initial sources of supply to their own advantage."

What he means by "nations" is capitalists and investors. Nations do not engage in mining, in building of railroads, sinking oil wells in regions overseas. Colby continues:

"It is probably in this field that the intervention of government is today playing its most active part. The universality of the struggle for petroleum, the coal and fuel problem, the supply of wood pulp, and of many other essential prime necessities are examples of this tendency."

Secretary Colby's statement is a clear expression of the view that it is the duty of a government to look after the material interests of capitalists and investors all over the world. The natural resources, raw materials and other riches of weak peoples of other countries are regarded as booty for American capitalists and bankers. **The government is looked to to serve this class in obtaining this booty. This is the new doctrine of imperialist capitalism.**

How different it is from the old doctrine as stated by Secretary of State Bayard in a dispatch dated June 24, 1885, which I quote from Latane's "America As A World Power." Dealing with the claims of American capitalists and bankers on peoples abroad he wrote:

"All that our government undertakes, when the claim is merely contractual, is to interpose its good offices; in other words, to ask the attention of the foreign sovereign to the claim; and this is only done when the claim is one susceptible of strong and clear proof."

"If the sovereign appealed to denies the validity of the claim or refuses its payment, the matter drops, since it is not consistent with the dignity of the United States to press, after such a refusal or denial, a contractual claim for the repudiation of which, by the law of nations, there is no redress."

Yet under the administrations of Wilson and Harding, and beginning as early as the administration of Roosevelt, government power has been used as an agency not only to back up claims of bankers and investors in the Latin-American countries, but to force loans upon them, overthrow their governments, rule the people with bayonets, and establish control in the interest of American bankers.

THE DRAGO DOCTRINE

The peoples of the Latin-American countries have long understood the grave danger to them of the new imperialist doctrine of the United States. They have had ample experience with it. They recognize that it is the doctrine of the big powers against the little powers but not intended for each other. The United States Government would not think of backing up the investments and loans of its capitalists and bankers in England. This would mean a bitter war. But the United States can take this attitude towards the little nations because they are weak and are incapable of defending themselves.

Luis M. Drago, Foreign Minister of the Argentine Republic, sent a communication to the American State Department on December 29, 1902. This note set forth not only the view of The Argentine regarding military and naval power employed to collect private debts, but the view of practically all Latin-America. Part of this Drago statement reads:

"The collection of loans by military means im-

plies territorial occupation to make them effective, and territorial occupation signifies the suppression or subordination of the governments of the countries on which it is imposed.....

“The simplest way to the setting aside and easy ejection of the rightful authorities by European governments is just this way of financial interventions..... The Argentine Republic..... would, with great satisfaction, see adopted..... by..... the United States..... the principle, already accepted, that there can be no territorial expansion in America on the part of Europe, nor any oppression of the peoples of this continent, because an unfortunate financial situation may compel some one of them to postpone the fulfillment of its promises.”

It will be observed that the Drago Doctrine is nothing more than a statement of the policy which the big imperialist powers observe towards each other. These big powers in the matter of trade, loans and concessions, of their capitalists and bankers with the little nations, pursue a policy of coercion, threats, invasion, bullying and military occupation. But they do not follow these policies with each other. **The Drago Doctrine seeks to obtain the same treatment for the weak nations which the big imperialist powers concede to each other.**

This Drago Doctrine also holds that capitalists and bankers of other countries, investing or loaning money in another country, should invest and loan under the laws of the other country. If they do not like the laws they should not loan or invest. This is the doctrine of the big powers in their intercourse with each other. The United States, for example, requires that foreign capitalists should invest under American laws. The American Government would regard it as an insult if another government were to tell it to change its constitution or its laws to suit alien capitalists.

But in late years we have witnessed the amazing

spectacle of the American Government sending notes to Mexico telling that government that the Mexican Constitution and Mexican laws must be changed to suit the interests of a handful of powerful American investors in Mexico. During the past 20 years financial imperialism in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific has been followed by a consistent policy of intervention to collect debts of the little nations contiguous to these waters, establishing naval bases and arranging for police control in the interest of American bankers and investors.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

What has come to be known as the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by President Monroe in 1823. It had its origin in the fear that the Holy Alliance was plotting for the overthrow of republics in South America. The gist of the Monroe Doctrine is contained in the statement that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization of any European powers." It went on to declare that "We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relation existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The Monroe Doctrine has had many interpretations since it was first announced. It is not now what it was originally conceived to be. In the first place while it served to protect Latin-America against European aggression, it has not protected Latin-America from American aggression. On the contrary, beginning with the interpretation given to it by President Roosevelt, it has served as a menace to all Latin-America.

What it means today according to the development it has had in the hands of Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson and Harding is that Europe shall still keep hands off Latin-America but that the United States will act as a policeman for the European powers, and the United States as well, in coercing and gradually destroying the independence of Latin-American peoples.

In 1904 President Roosevelt stated this conception of the United States as a policeman for the bankers and capitalists of the world. In a message to Congress he said:

“If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States..... (But) in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of... wrong-doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.”

Notice that the United States is to judge of the “wrong-doing” of another nation. The reader’s attention is again called to the account given of how the agents of American capitalists stir up trouble in Latin-America for the purpose of getting support of this “international police power.” Readers are asked to remember Mr. Roosevelt’s connection with the “revolution” in Panama. Is not the sinister character of this sort of Monroe Doctrine apparent when it is remembered that both Wilson and Harding have acted in accord with it? Its conflict with the Drago Doctrine is also evident. Considering that all Latin-America subscribes to the Drago Doctrine it is evident that the peoples of that vast region are ranged against the mailed fist that now goes with the Monroe Doctrine.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND IMPERIALISM

By 1900 the United States was launched upon a career of imperialism by its acquirement of overseas territory which it obtained in the Spanish-American War. The Democratic party made the national issue in the campaign of that year one of imperialism. In its platform of that year it warned that "no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home." The Democrats also made the following significant declaration:

"We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation, and would be a constant menace to their liberties."

It is a remarkable warning and prophecy considered in the light of the second Wilson administration. But the Democrats also said in this platform. **"This republic has no place for a vast military establishment, a sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription."** This conscription they denounced as "un-American, undemocratic and un-republican and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people."

Within 20 years after the Democratic party denounced all these things it imposed all of them upon the masses of this country, including conscription! **It did all these things with the aid and willing cooperation of the Republican party!** It inaugurated "oppression at home" by suppressing public meetings. With the "strong arm" it threw critics into prison, suppressed newspapers, and inaugurated a reign of terror. The man who was the chief author of

the platform of 1900, William Jennings Bryan, was a member of the Wilson administration which brought this reign of terror and autocracy!

By 1912 the Democratic party had accepted the full program of the imperialism which it had denounced in 1900. In its platform of 1912 it said that "every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself **and his property.**" It is this protection of American property abroad that is the source of the imperialism of the mailed fist in Latin-America. The Republican party pledged the same thing in its platform of the same year.

The Republican party was the original party of imperialist capitalism. It was imperialist in 1900. In 1916 the National Hughes Alliance published an advertisement in the daily papers of October 11 in favor of Hughes for President. These Republicans said in that document: "**The rivalries that begin in commerce end on battlefields. The history of war is green with international jealousies. Whatever the diplomatic excuse, every great conflict in modern times had its origin in some question of property rights.**"

The Massachusetts Republican platform in 1917 contained this paragraph:

"After this war of armies is over, a war for the conquest of the world markets will begin, and for this we must prepare."

It is always markets, investments, loans and more investments for capitalists, traders, bankers, and concession hunters which the two-party machine of capitalism favors. "**Whatever the diplomatic excuse, every conflict in modern times had its origin in some question of property rights.**" The workers of the United States are expected by both parties to hold themselves in readiness to die abroad to promote these "property rights."

CHAPTER IX.

THE COST OF IMPERIALISM

The most authoritative study of the costs of the world war is that made by Professor Bogart in his book on "The Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War." He shows that in all the wars of the nineteenth century, beginning with the wars of Napoleon, the total dead was about 4,449,300. The total deaths from direct causes in the world war was twice the number of dead in all the wars of the nineteenth century! When we include those who also died of indirect causes in the world war **we get the staggering total of 20 millions of dead!** The total cost in wealth is estimated at the enormous sum of nearly \$338 billion dollars, of which the 26 billion dollar debt of the United States is a part.

But this 26 billions is not the only cost to the working people of this country. In the Searchlight (Washington) for April, 1920 Basil M. Manly, formerly Joint Chairman of the National War Labor Board, reveals the enormous war profits of the great capitalists of America. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo reported in 1917 that the mine owners of bituminous coal realized from 15 to 2,000 per cent on their capital stock and that "earnings" of from 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. Only a small number of his report known as Senate Document No. 259 was printed. A paragraph from Manly's article is amazing:

"At the time that the coal operators were making profits as high as 7,856 per cent on their capital stock, the meat packers were making profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent, canners of fruits and vegetables 2,032 per cent, woolen mills 1,770 per cent, furniture manufacturers 3,295 per cent, clothing and dry goods stores 9,826 per cent, and to cap the climax, steel mills as high as 290,999 per cent!"

Meantime the soldiers served for \$30 per month. The great masses were told to "buy till it hurts" of Liberty Bonds. They were put on rations. The masses were told to "work or fight." Those who tried to expose the shameless profiteering were tarred as "pro-German". Others were mobbed and still others were sent to prison for long terms. The profiteering was tremendous. It will be noticed that the mine owners, the woolen manufacturers and the steel manufacturers, whose enormous lootings are mentioned above, are among those who in 1922 were waging a campaign for heavy wage reductions!

All this must be added to the costs of the war so far as the costs affect the working people of the United States. They constitute the staggering cost of imperialism. In addition to all this the soldier workers and all other workers are commanded by the capitalist masters of the country to give up their trade unions and accept the "open shop."

Mr. Manly gives another illustration of the cost to us in the following paragraph:

"It is clear that if the national government at the beginning of the war had taken over the essential lines of industry, and the American people had been required to pay the prices which private manufacturers and merchants have charged them, there would have been sufficient profit to pay for every dollar's worth of capital stock, and leave the nation in possession of practically all its manufacturing plants!"

This is the price we pay for the imperialism which serves bankers, international traders and investors. Out of the sweat and toil of the working masses is heaped up surplus capital for foreign investment. When investments are fixed in other countries navalism, militarism and imperialism follow. Efforts of capitalists and bankers to control the weaker countries lead to war. The workers go to war, not the investors. The latter stay home to "keep the home fires burning."

CHAPTER X.

THE "NEXT WAR"

The world war, we were assured, was a "war to end war." Already the statesmen, bankers, diplomats and politicians are talking of the "next war." This war will certainly come and more wars will come. They are the inevitable fruits of the present capitalist and imperialist order of society. Ghastly as the world war was the next world war will be more ghastly. The next war will be fought under such conditions and with such weapons that all civilians will be combatants. Every man, woman and child, the aged and the sick, will be within the zone of war.

In the last war liquid flame—burning men alive—was introduced on the Western front. Efforts are being made to perfect and extend it. As the war drew to a close the most deadly gas known to chemistry was being manufactured. Will Irwin in his notable book, "The Next War," tells us of this Lewisite gas:

"It was invisible; it was a sinking gas, which would search out the refugees of dugouts and cellars; if breathed, it killed at once—and it killed not only through the lungs. Wherever it settled on the skin, it produced a poison which penetrated the system and brought almost certain death. It was inimical to all cell-life, animal or vegetable. Masks alone were of no use against it. Further, it had fifty-five times the spread of any poison hitherto used in the war..... Now we have a hint of a gas beyond Lewisite. It cannot be much more deadly; but in proportion to the amount of chemical which generates it, the spread is far greater. A mere capsule of this gas in a small grenade can generate square rods and even acres of death in the absolute."

All this means that the next war will be a war of aeroplanes loaded with gas shells. Experience in the world war has shown that civilian populations are not immune

from attack. The army of one nation bombs a city of the "enemy" and the "lid is off." Tons of gas bombs may be easily dropped from the sky upon cities. A gas that is invisible, that follows refugees into cellars, that has a spread fifty-five times that of any other gas, that penetrates masks, that means death when it penetrates the clothing—such warfare means death for the population of whole cities. Even the population of the countryside can be destroyed.

"In the next war, this gas bombardment of capitals and great towns is not only a possibility but a strong probability—almost a certainty," writes Irwin. **Technicians, experts and chemists are now at work in the leading countries perfecting these ghastly agencies of wholesale massacre. Disease-bearing bacilli are also being prepared in the laboratories.** "Then by night-flying aeroplanes, by spies, by infected insects, vermin or water, by any other means which ingenuity may suggest, scatter the germs among enemy forces.... Among the possibilities of the next war is a general, blighting epidemic, like the Black Plagues of the Middle Ages—a sudden, mysterious, indiscriminating rush of death from which a man can save himself only by fleeing his fellow man."

This hideous prospect is outlined by one of the foremost war correspondents of the country. It is based upon a careful investigation of what has been accomplished and what is being coolly prepared by the men who are administering the "civilized" governments of the twentieth century. Any "civilization" that can give rise to such ghastly preparations for the slaughter of babes, the aged, the sick and infirm, is thrice damned in the eyes of thinking men and women. It is a hideous product of the present era of imperialist capitalism. Is this terrible thing, this ghastly spawn of imperialism, the thing you would have?

CHAPTER XI.

LABOR AND IMPERIALISM

The war placed a bloated plutocracy in the saddle. Its command of the mercenary press was never more secure than now. It has its propaganda societies in the Navy League, the American Defense Society, the National Security League and the National Civic Federation. The enormous accumulations of this plutocracy during the war surpass anything ever gathered by any other ruling class in the same period of time. It itches for more. To protect its ill-gotten gains from criticism it labels all its critics "Bolsheviks." It has jailed many of its critics and it would like to jail them all.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the great corporations, trusts and mergers appeared on the scene. The old era of small, scattered and competing industries was passing into the era of the great combinations of finance and capital. Industries of the same kind not only consolidated but industries of a different kind were gathered under a single control, including mines, transportation companies, blast furnaces, rolling mills, iron and steel products, and in some cases the marketing of finished products is under a single control. The value of manufactured products increased from more than 11 billion dollars in 1899 to more than 24 billions in 1914. The invasion of foreign markets began about this time. The world as a whole showed a tremendous development of capital and commerce. The commerce of the world in 1890 was 17½ billions. By 1914 it had increased to more than 37 billions. The Department of Commerce was created in 1903 to look after the foreign trade and investments of American capitalists.

Professors Jenks and Clark in their work on "The Trust Problem" wrote in 1917:

"Million dollar output plants producing 38 per cent of the country's output in 1904 were producing 44 per cent in 1909. If this same swift rate of change has been maintained since 1909, huge million dollar output plants are today producing more than half the value output of the manufactured goods of this nation..... In 1909 the number of plants whose average value of products was above \$100,000 a year, was only 11.5 per cent of all the listed manufacturing establishments of the country (yet they are) accredited with 82.2 per cent of whole value of manufactured products."

These giant offshoots of the old system of competitive industry, as well as other consolidations in Europe, heaped up masses of capital for investment overseas. This extension of trade, investments and loans abroad was a big factor in bringing on the world war. Remember that the Hughes Republicans in 1916 said: **"The rivalries that begin in commerce end on battlefields."** These rivalries ended in the greatest slaughter in all history. But even before the bloody shambles had ended the governments were preparing for the next rivalries. Dr. W. E. Aughinbaugh of New York University, writing in the New York Commercial of June 4, 1921, states that as early as 1917 Great Britain prepared to give "effective assistance" to "private enterprises abroad." A Department of Overseas Trade was created and all branches of the diplomatic and consular services were overhauled "to secure the best qualified men." The French Government has also created the National Office of Foreign Commerce with a series of bureaus for looking after overseas interests of its bankers and capitalists. Holland, Denmark, Norway, Germany and Japan are also making similar preparations.

Everywhere the modern nations of the world are organizing their governments to serve the profit and gain of capitalists and bankers. The toiling hosts of labor bend their backs in mill, mine, shop and factory, working for wages and heaping up surplus commodities and surplus capital, the first to be sold abroad and the latter to be invested abroad. When the rivalries to control the backward areas of the world issue in war, the masses are summoned to the colors, drilled and sent abroad to conquer in the name of King Capital. The powerful chiefs of the great financial institutions and combinations of capital have never been found fighting at the front. They will not be at the front in the next war although it is these gentlemen who have stakes in the struggle.

THE MENACE OF LOANS

Still more menacing is the international financial oligarchy. What is known as the Chinese Consortium is an international organization of the great bankers of England, France, Japan and the United States. They have combined for the "development of China." This Consortium was initiated by the State Department. These governments have agreed to support their respective bankers in loans which they will make for concessions in China, building railways, docks, etc.

Suppose that the people of China rise some day and establish a government representing the masses, at the same time repudiating the hard bargains of the international bankers. The governments are already pledged to use their powers to see that the interest and the principal of the loans shall be paid. What will happen in the case of such a Chinese revolution? The governments will combine in a joint protest to the new China. They will demand that every dollar of interest and principal be paid. It

would make no difference to the imperialist governments whether the loans were made with grafting Chinese militarists of which China has quite a number. The Chinese people will be told to accept the yoke of the world's bankers. If they do not agree, then there will be a declaration of war on China.

Now such a war would mean that you, the toilers of this nation, would be called to go to the front. You would be ordered to go to China to serve the dollars of not only American bankers but the bankers of England, France and Japan. The bankers themselves would certainly stay at home to repeat whatever catch-words would be coined to glorify such a war. China could not have the kind of government and social system it might choose. The toilers of four nations would be armed and sent abroad to suppress the aspirations for freedom of the Chinese people and to perpetuate the yoke of the international bankers.

Because of the disorganized state of China; because of having already been carved into "spheres" by the imperialist powers; because of the adventurers, bandits and grafters that infest China, some of them in the pay of some imperialist powers, the Chinese Consortium is almost certain to issue into a war for the world's bankers. This is a prospect which should make intelligent workingmen and women recoil with disgust and a determination that they will do their part to change a system of society that holds this prospect out for them and their boys.

CHAPTER XII.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

The writer hopes that he has made it plain what this new period of history means for us. The old age before the world war is dead. A new epoch is before us. The old period of American isolation from world politics and world struggles is gone never to return. Our capitalists, bankers and traders are after oil, railroads, mines, minerals and other natural riches in all parts of the world. They are interested in Persia, Syria, Mesopotamia, China, Latin America and Asia. They drag us behind them after their intrigues, concessions, loans and trade. They insist on the powers of government sustaining their ventures wherever their dollars are sent. They demand that the army and navy be placed at their service when their gains require it.

We want peace, security, enjoyment and happiness but these are phantoms under this new order of world imperialism. **War will always brood over every household, the ghastly war of chemicals and gas.** Like the peoples of Europe for nearly two generations we will know that war is coming but will never know the date of its arrival. **We have no choice in making the decision. It is made for us by the imperialist diplomats who work in secret and who serve the great powers of finance and capital.**

What are we going to do about it? That is a big question. Where do the capitalists of the nation get their surplus commodities and surplus capital for export abroad, that export which brings rivalries and that leads to war? They get this surplus from the toil and sweat of the workers of the United States who produce it in the mines, mills, shops, factories and great plants of production owned and mastered by capitalists and financiers. That is where the

surplus comes from and nowhere else. Their ownership and control of the great powers of production, transportation and exchange is the source of their power. It is the source of their mighty riches. This power makes them supreme in modern society.

When the industries were small and scattered, located in thousands of villages, towns and cities, ownership by capitalists was not so bad. But the hundreds of thousands of small owners are rapidly disappearing and a few giant corporations are taking their place as we have already seen. Those who own the giant combinations of industry are the masters of America. The mass of workers are doomed to serve them by selling labor power. A few may escape into the upper ranks of the masters now and then but the masses are doomed to wage service.

Industrial concentration is accompanied with political concentration. Back of all the great property combinations are laws. The ownership of the natural resources and great industries has been made legal by these laws. Back of the laws are the parties that have placed them on the statute books. Back of them are the many millions of voters. **The ownership of the natural riches and great industries, therefore, rests upon the consent of these millions of voters.**

If you can give your consent that these great powers of production shall be owned by a privileged class you can also withdraw your consent. It is simple enough. Quit voting for the major political parties that are in favor of the great capitalist combinations owning the powers of wealth production. Vote for a party of your own which stands for a program of recovering the great industries for the service and welfare of the workers of hand and brain.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION

Notice the development of industry. The individual owner, the partnership, the pool, the corporation, the trust, the holding company, the merger, the international alliances. The tendency has been greater combination, greater power, increasing mastery for a class of owners. Why should the combination end at its present stage of mastery for a few? **Why not a still greater combination, the nation itself, organized in its collective capacity, relieving the masters of ownership, just as the slave owners were relieved of their ownership?**

In other words, these great empires of capital have become so dangerous and so menacing to the welfare of the masses that the only organization capable of absorbing them is the nation itself. The workers of hand and brain, skilled and unskilled, must seek through their voting power to transfer the great industrial powers to themselves as the organized nation of the workers. Legalize this transfer by obtaining control of the governing powers through a party of their own.

If through the ballot our fathers and their sons could make class ownership lawful we can make national ownership for the welfare of all lawful. This is the reason why Socialists organize into a party of their own. They want the mills, mines, railroads and industries in general to cease being sources of enrichment for a small class of powerful owners. **When that class ceases to own we will cease to pile up surplus goods and capital for them to export abroad and draw us into imperialist wars after the goods and capital.**

There should be no surplus sent abroad so long as there are those in want at home anyway. When we, the

masses of America acquire mastery over the industries of the country we can introduce democracy in industry by our own initiative and control. The mill, mine, shop and plant should be as democratic as a town meeting. Today they are so many autocracies presided over by agents of absentee owners. Most of the latter rarely see the plants in which their capital is invested. They do not manage. They do not superintend. **They do nothing but own.** When they die the son who inherits becomes an absentee owner and the agents, managers, superintendents act for him.

When the masses become the masters of their industrial life they can make the agents, managers and superintendents act for them and be responsible to them. These managers and superintendents will be responsible to workers who are also owners instead of being responsible to owners who are not workers. When humanity acquires this mastery over its great powers of production all useful labor will be engaged in solving problems of management, apportionment of rewards, hours of labor. **A new age of history will dawn. The process of combination that began two generations ago will issue into the greatest combination of all—organized humanity!**

This is the essence of Socialism, the liberator of the workers of our time. It means the end of imperialism, foreign conquest and war. It means that disarmament may be a reality. It means that the peoples of the world may live in peace with each other.

But to obtain the mastery and scientific control and management of the industrial powers of America also means the education of all those who fear the black tendencies of the present system of capitalist imperialism. It means organization, too. **It means building a party of the workers of this country representing their claims and interests.**

The Socialist Party presents its claims for the support of all those who do useful labor. It stood steadfast during the trying period of the world war. Its capitalist enemies tried to destroy it. They failed. They will always fail. Had the Socialist Party sold its soul to the enemies of the workers it would not be worthy of its claims upon you.

Join it. Work for it. Circulate this booklet. The future is black with the menace of more wars. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness. The Socialist movement seeks to reorganize it on a basis that will free the masses from the servitude that is the lot of millions today. **National ownership of the great industries with democratic control by the workers is the issue of the hour. Make it yours and hasten the day of universal liberation for the toilers of this country and of the world.**

THE END.

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