

000908

000908

ANOTHER WORLD WAR

by Scott Nearing

FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

SOCIALIST - LABOR
COLLECTION

ANOTHER WORLD WAR

WORLD WAR COMES WITH WORLD CIVILIZATION

Many people who lived through the War of 1914-1918 learned to refer to it rather boastfully as THE World War. Boosters for an age of mechanical wonders—the automobile, the airplane, the submarine, the radio—they proudly added to the list of modern marvels THE World War.

Historians adopted the idea. In writing on the subject they used the term World War. A generation which could have the biggest and best of everything could surely have the biggest and best of wars!

Granted that the War of 1914 was the biggest of wars, it was very far from being the only world war. It is true that more soldiers were engaged in the War of 1914-1918 than in any previous four years of war; that more wealth was destroyed; that more lives were snuffed out. Still, the War of 1914-1918 was A world war—not THE World War.

A "world war" is one fought not locally, but in various parts of the known world by the principal world powers. Using the term in this sense, the War of 1914-1918 had many predecessors.

Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans fought what they called "world wars" or "general wars." Such wars were limited in scope to the territory lying near the Mediterranean Sea—North Africa, Southern and Eastern Europe, and Western Asia. However, this territory comprised the "world" of ancient times.

The Italian cities were the chief centers of European economic power in the fifteenth century. Portugal and Spain forged to the front, however, and were all for dividing the world between themselves. This division was actually made on paper by the Pope, but Holland, France, and Britain demanded a share. The conflict between the rival European empires for the control of Asiatic trade, and for the colonizing of the Americas and Australia, led to a series of terrible wars, fought through four centuries and all over the world.

The Peace of Cambrai, in 1527, ended a struggle which Abbott describes in these terms: "Once more Charles faced a world of enemies, and once more the continent was rent with all but universal war." Although Europe was the battle ground of this

war, the principal contestants had their eyes on trade and territory outside the European boundaries.

A century of warfare terminated in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). While this series of wars was fought in Europe, the period was one of world-wide colonial expansion and the rivalry between the European empires was, in the last analysis, a rivalry for world power. The battleground was not yet world-wide, but the spoils of war lay in the Americas, Asia, and Africa.

A world war ended in 1713 with the Peace of Utrecht. This "War of the Spanish Succession" in which Britain, the Netherlands, and Austria were allied against France, Savoy, Cologne, and Bavaria lasted for ten years. At its conclusion Britain secured Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, Minorca, and the right to furnish slaves to the Spanish colonies. The Netherlands secured military garrisons in the border fortresses. Austria obtained the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, and Milan. As a result of this war the world was redivided.

A world war ended in 1763. From 1741 to 1763 one European war succeeded another. The last of the series, the Seven Years' War, fought primarily between Spain, France, and Britain, resulted in the Peace of Paris (1763), under which Britain won the supremacy of India and of the Atlantic coast of North America. Louisiana was transferred from France to Spain. This series of wars was fought in Europe, North America, the West Indies, Africa, and India. These wars were world wide in a double sense: on one hand, the object of the struggle was world control, and on the other hand, the battles of the wars were actually fought all over the world. Abbott describes this period as follows: "For more than twenty years she (Europe) had scarcely known peace within her own borders, while the most distant peoples of the earth had been drawn into her quarrels, whose settlement had altered the aspect not of Europe alone but of the world."

A world war ended in 1815 with the defeat of Napoleon. This war was fought in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America. In it every important empire was engaged. For years the issue hung in the balance as the British and French, with their respective allies, fought for world supremacy.

The world war of 1914-1918 was one of a series extending across four centuries. To be sure, in 1914, the world was more thoroughly and more intimately involved than it had been in former wars, because improved transport and communication had spread civilization to more remote parts of the planet. The Far East (Japan, China) had not participated in previous world wars. Like its predecessors, however, this war of 1914-1918 was fought for a world stake by the world's principal empires.

World war thus appears, not as an isolated phenomenon, confined to the years 1914-1918; on the contrary, wherever there has been world civilization, there has been world war. Ancient and classic empires fought wars that were world wide in the historic sense, if not in the geographic sense. The world shrunk during the middle ages. General economy and trade all but disappeared. Social life was localized and wars were correspondingly provincialized. When trade, commerce, and communication revived, the European world was reunited. Voyagers and discoverers rushed into Africa, Asia, and the Americas taking with them the organization and technique of western Europe. As civilization broadened to a world scale, the field of war-making was correspondingly extended.

Economically, the ruling class in civilized states has aimed at the making of profit. Land owners, shop owners, factory owners, mine owners, bankers, and other profiteers have sought for profit-making opportunities in all parts of the earth. When the home market would no longer absorb the surplus of marketable goods and capital in the hands of the ruling class, foreign markets were found, foreign resources tapped, foreign business opportunities developed. This foreign exploitation necessarily involved some form of conquest.

Conquest and exploitation, in territories lying beyond the boundaries of the homeland, are one means of added profit. But to conquer, to exploit, and to drive out rivals who seek the same opportunities for conquest and exploitation, civilized nations must fight.

Where civilization was local (confined to the shores of the Mediterranean) the wars of civilized states were confined to that area. As civilization has extended itself across the world, to more and more remote regions, introducing its profit-making economy, its business class state, its modern military technique, and its up-to-the-minute agencies for war-making, the forces that make for world war have been correspondingly extended and augmented.

War-making is a part of the technique of civilization. As civilization becomes world-wide, world war follows as a matter of course. Delaisi writes of the world economic solidarity built up during the past few years, and concludes: "Henceforth, war between great states can only be conceived as **world wide**.".. The developing nations everywhere must take an interest in future conflicts, says Blanchon. "A war is no longer simply a local accident, a restricted evil; it becomes a crisis that involves the whole of humanity."

The character of the civil state and the history of civilization both point conclusively to more world war. The rapid and general

extension of civilization is laying the foundation for the most widespread and general war in history.

Historic parallels have their limitations. They should never be looked upon as conclusive evidence in support of particular contentions. Nothing is further from the truth than the old saw that "history repeats itself." But if this stock phrase is translated: "Like historic causes produce like historic effects," it becomes one of the best established generalizations of social science.

The course of history varies, but a causal thread runs through its variations. Once this causal thread is discovered, it leads to historic generalizations, which, if they are correctly deduced from the historic premises, provide a functional pattern or a patterned course of history. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Marx and his co-workers have been setting up a method of historic interpretation which uncovers the functional pattern underlying the development of civilization. There are four major elements in this pattern:

- (1) Economic expansion after raw materials, markets, trade routes, profit-making opportunities. Economic conflict with rivals who are after the same profit-making opportunities.
- (2) Political expansion after concessions, spheres of influence, dependencies, protectorates, provinces, colonies, and new square miles for the home land. Political conflict; diplomatic controversy; alliances; manoeuvres with and against rivals.
- (3) Military preparations: Organization of war and navy bureaus and departments; building capital equipment; making and storing munitions; training soldiers; building the war machine.
- (4) War: against weaker, undeveloped peoples and against imperial rivals.

It is by such a sequence of activities that the ruling classes of civil states protect and extend their profit-making opportunities and their power. It is by such a series of paralleled forces that the war-making activities expand with the expansion of civilization.

Historically, this is the succession which has recurred time after time: economic expansion; political expansion; military preparation; and war. It appeared in the era 1450-1815; in the era 1815-1920; and it is reappearing today.

FIRST HISTORIC PARALLEL, 1450-1815

Between 1450, when the Italian cities were the dominant force in European economic life, and 1815, when Great Britain, by driv-

ing Napoleon out of Europe, finally established herself as the world's dominant commercial and colonial empire, the principal west European nations were engaged in an unceasing conflict. At times this conflict was primarily economic. At other times it was military. These four centuries were marked by: economic expansion; political expansion; military preparation; and war.

Economic expansion during the years of the period 1450-1815 was directed toward three main objectives: (1) Eastern trade in silks, spices, precious woods; (2) the gold, silver, and precious stones that Europeans could employ in paying for Eastern luxuries, and in financing their military operations, and (3) at the close of the period, as European manufacturers turned out a larger surplus of exportable goods, the search for markets was added to the two earlier objectives.

The voyages of discovery, undertaken from 1450 onward and led by Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and British interests had as their objective a short, cheap water route to Indian and Chinese markets. The Portuguese were the first to open such a route (Vasco da Gama, 1497-99), but they were speedily followed by Spanish, Dutch, and other navigators.

Venice and the Italian cities dominated Eastern trade until about 1500. These cities were trading and banking centers, transshipping the goods which they received from the Mohammedan Turk into Western and North Central Europe. Their profits depended on their position astride the most available trade route between Western Europe and Asia Minor. The moment the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened an all-water route to India, the Italian trade monopoly disappeared and the Italian cities sank to a position of economic inconsequence. Thereafter, the center for expansion was Western Europe.

This struggle for economic expansion, involving the issue of life or death for the contestants, was fought with terrible bitterness. Each aspirant strove for economic self-sufficiency, preserving its monopolies and guarding its trade secrets with jealous care.

First Portugal, then Spain, Holland, France, and Great Britain took the leadership in this expansion. The Portuguese and Spanish lost out inevitably, because of the failure of their ruling classes to develop a commercial economy. In both countries the semi-feudal ruling classes were supported by the intensified exploitation of their colonies. Neither developed an effective export trade by means of which imports could be paid for. Neither would tolerate even the thought of equality between the business classes and the nobility.

A very different situation existed in the North. In Holland, France, and Britain the fisheries, the textile industries, and, later,

the metal industries provided an exportable surplus. Furthermore, after 1650, both in Holland and Britain, the business classes were in substantial control of public policy. A century later the French business class seized power. In Spain and Portugal the old landed aristocracy remained dominant and continued to throttle business development.

Each discoverer of some special economic advantage such as the Portuguese trade route around Africa, the Spanish mines in Mexico and Peru, the French fur trade in North America, hoisted the national flag and proclaimed a political monopoly. These political monopolies over economic advantages were called colonies. Each colony was an area from which the ruling class of the colonizing country hoped to derive a profit, either through plunder, the exploitation of local resources or through trade. Imperial rivals were excluded from these colonial areas.

The hoisting of the national flag was (and is) a regular part of the procedure in any exploring expedition. Thus, little by little, the non-European portions of the world were politically Europeanized. In each case the nation from which the discoverer had come claimed the territory that the discoverer had seen. When Columbus or Vasco da Gama might touch a great island or even a continent, their respective sovereigns promptly asserted their authority over the new territory.

Where new territory was in the hands of a society too strongly organized to permit of easy conquest, treaties were made and the sovereignty of the newly discovered country was respected. For example, the division of China among the powers did not really begin until 1840. In weak countries like Mexico and Peru, on the other hand, and in lands peopled by savages such as the Australian or North American aborigines, the discoverers conquered, slaughtered, enslaved.

Thus, between 1450 and 1815, those portions of Asia, Africa, and the Americas which were most available for purposes of exploitation, had been claimed and, in some instances, conquered and subjugated by the chief European states. The trading nations had begun their voyaging and discovering in search of trade routes and trade. In the course of this economic expansion they found it necessary to extend their sovereignty over the territories in which economic opportunities had been discovered.

Economic and political expansion led to military preparation. Control over Spice Islands and Mexican gold and silver mines could only be maintained by the use of armed force. Consequently, each of the principal colonizing nations built up a military machine. Trading stations were fortified. Trading nations built navies with which trade routes could be protected and colonies defended.

France, for example, in 1492, had a military machine, ready and eager for war-making. "His (Charles VIII's) standing force of cavalry, fitted alike for the shock of battle, for scouting and skirmishing, and for missile tactics, was full of military enthusiasm and wanted work. His artillery was far ahead of any other in Europe. His infantry was less satisfactory, but could be strengthened from abroad. He had himself but lately come to man's estate and was eager to prove himself a man and a king."

At the time of the first war between Holland and England (1652) "those two elements—a great seaborne commerce, and sea-keeping warships—which I have spoken of as fundamental in naval war, were abundantly present on both sides." Other historians stress the obvious determination of the British ruling class to seize the trade of Holland by main force, and the tenacity of the Dutch ruling class in retaining and extending its profit-making opportunities.

Abbott points out that the Treaty of 1648, instead of bringing peace, was followed by active military preparation. "So far from ushering in a period of peaceful progress, the Westphalian treaties became the starting point for new and bloody rivalries."

Military preparations were directed, first against the native population of the colonies, who must be conquered and held in subjection, and, second, against economic and political rivals who were seeking an opportunity to exploit the same colonial territory. The wars of the period were therefore wars of conquest in the colonies and wars of rival colonizing forces to determine supremacy in the colonial world.

The economic and political struggle between the rival European empires was necessarily accompanied by war, in which all of the principal contestants for economic and political power freely engaged. The Venetians, the Pisans, the Genoese, and the inhabitants of Amalfi and Florence fought in a long series of wars. When the Hanse towns had monopolized the trade of the Baltic and the North Sea and driven out competition by force of arms, the Dutch fitted out a fleet and crushed the power of the Hanseatic League in a series of decisive naval engagements. "Henceforth, the Netherlands were the paramount naval power in the seas of Northern Europe." These wars were followed by the conflicts between Portugal and her rivals for the Eastern trade. Hill sums up the history of the period by saying that the great powers had been "almost constantly engaged in war or preparation for it and that it has grown almost entirely out of their imperial aspirations."

Writing on *War and Peace*, William Jay early in the nineteenth century made this significant comment: "From the commencement

of the eighteenth century Great Britain, France, and Russia have been the most formidable powers in Europe, while Holland, Denmark and Portugal have ranked among the minor states. From 1700, to the general peace in 1815, these countries had been engaged in war as follows, viz:

Great Britain	69 years	Holland	48 years
Russia	68 "	Portugal	40 "
France	63 "	Denmark	28 "

The "most formidable powers" were of course the chief war-makers.

Woods shows that between 1450 and 1850 (400 years) Austria was engaged in war for two hundred and thirty-four years; England for one hundred and ninety-eight years; France for one hundred and ninety-two years; Spain for two hundred and seventy-one years, and Russia for two hundred and fifty years. Throughout the era the world's chief powers were engaged in a constant succession of wars.

Economic conflict, political expansion, monopoly, and conflict, and military preparation invited the inevitable consequence of war. The economic and political conflicts of the principal civilized nations of the period were settled by an appeal to arms. Perhaps the issue can best be stated in the experience of the country which triumphed over all her rivals, emerging from the Napoleonic Wars as the world's supreme imperial power.

British trade expansion is shown in the increase of her exports.

1613	£ 2,487,000
1662	2,023,000
1703	6,644,000
1770	12,142,000
1800	34,382,000
1855	116,691,000

British industrial expansion is well indicated in her consumption of raw cotton. Barnes, in his **History of Cotton Manufacture**, gives the amounts of raw cotton used by Great Britain as follows:

1781	13,000 bales
1820	572,000 "
1860	3,366,000 "

British economy, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was a rapidly expanding economy. Both industry and trade were feeling the effects of the industrial revolution.

Political expansion accompanied and followed the economic expansion of Great Britain. Bridge lists one hundred and thirty-

four political territories as belonging to the British Empire in 1901. Of these territories:

- 2 were acquired between 1583 and 1599
- 16 were acquired between 1600 and 1699
- 30 were acquired between 1700 and 1799
- 86 were acquired between 1800 and 1901

At the beginning of the period, as Mr. Bridge points out, Great Britain was a group of insignificant islands. At the end of the period, the British exercised political control over a quarter of the globe.

Military organization and preparation kept pace with the expanding economic and political interests of Great Britain. As an island empire, Britain maintained a consistent command of the sea. It was on the sea that she defeated the Spanish Armada and the Dutch fleets. It was on the sea that she checked the triumphant career of Napoleon.

Great Britain met the Spanish Armada (1588) with a fleet of 197 fighting ships, averaging 151 tons and carrying an average of 89 men. The largest of these ships, *The Triumph*, was rated at 1,100 tons and was manned by 500 sailors. To bring such a fleet together, the British strained their resources to the utmost.

The British fleet of 1727 consisted of 123 fighting ships of 50 or more guns and 66 ships of less than 50 guns. In the eighteenth century the peace-time fleet was actually larger than the emergency fleet that met the Armada.

Thirty-three years later (1760) the British navy consisted of:

- 76 fighting ships in home waters
- 6 fighting ships in the East Indies
- 10 fighting ships in the West Indies
- 6 fighting ships in the Mediterranean
- 78 fighting ships in North American waters

This British war machine was in constant use through the centuries during which the British Empire was being established. "The British derived from command of the sea in war not only their Colonial Empire in the eighteenth century, but also their commercial expansion in the nineteenth," writes Kenworthy. Cramb writes: "This war for empire again finds expression in the conflict with Spain, in the wars against Holland and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And what was the stake for which England fought in all her battles against Bonaparte? The stake was world-empire; and Napoleon knew it well." Barker describes the economic supremacy of Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the desire of the English to replace the

Dutch as the masters of world exploitation: "The King, the Court, the mercantile interests, and the people were eager to attack the Dutch, and as there was no just cause for war, a cause had to be created."

Admiral Bridge writes: "There was a great deal of fighting whilst the British Empire was being built up. It is well known that we owe the establishment and also the maintenance of that Empire to our naval pre-eminence. . . . What is much less generally perceived is that military operations on shore were often found necessary for the acquisition and perhaps even more often for the retention of territory that became, and still is, British."

Seeley states the case even more emphatically: "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century. . . . The great triple war in the middle of that century is neither more nor less than the great decisive duel between England and France for the possession of the New World."

Seeley precedes this summary with the statement that Britain fought one century-long war against France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a second from 1688 to 1815. The latter wars were of "a more formal business-like kind than earlier wars. For England has now for the first time a standing army and navy." "Between the Revolution (of 1688) and the Battle of Waterloo (1814), it may be reckoned that we waged seven great wars, of which the shortest lasted seven years and the longest about twelve."

Bridge presents the following summary of British war-making between 1558 (the accession of Elizabeth) and 1815 (victory over Napoleon):

	Spain..	Britain fought against	
		Holland	France
1558-1649	49 yrs.	9 yrs.
1650-1763	37 yrs.	9 yrs.	45 yrs.
1764-1815	17 yrs.	24 yrs.	29 yrs.
	<hr/> 103 yrs.	<hr/> 33 yrs.	<hr/> 83 yrs.

During the first period (1558-1649) Britain fought almost entirely against Spain—the then dominant imperial power. Through the period, Spain was still in the field, although France had become the principal rival. During the last 50 years, the chief struggle was with France and Holland. Spain, as a power, had become comparatively unimportant. But against these three powers, alone, in the course of 257 years, Britain was at war with one for 104 years and with a second for 83 years.

Thus, the economic and political expansion of the British Empire was paid for by the spilling of blood—not once nor twice, but almost continuously—year by year; century by century.

The era 1450-1815 may be described as a period of economic, political, and military struggle between the principal nations of Central and Western Europe. The ruling class in each of these nations, was aiming at economic and political expansion. Each was armed and prepared to realize its ambitions by an appeal to main force. Four centuries of war, fought in all parts of the world, were the logical accompaniment of this contest for economic and political world supremacy.

SECOND HISTORIC PARALLEL, 1815-1920

From the Napoleonic Wars to the Franco-Prussian War, Great Britain was the supreme world empire. Economically, she was the world's workshop, the world's chief exporter; the world's carrier and trader; the world's principal banker and insurer. Politically, the British ruled more territory than any other Empire, and it was scattered, in strategic positions, over Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the Americas. From a military point of view, the British maintained an effective army, and a navy as strong as that of any two rivals.

"England entered upon her grand career shortly after the victories of Clive and Wolfe," writes Brooks Adams. "The year 1761 may be fixed as a convenient starting point when the Duke of Bridgewater opened the canal which connected his coal mines with Manchester, and thus gave that city cheap fuel. . . . From 1761 Great Britain advanced fast in wealth and power until the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830, when she may be considered to have achieved her fullest ascendancy; and this period of ascendancy lasted, practically without diminution, until the consolidation of Germany in 1870 inaugurated energetic industrial competition." The immense economic advantage enjoyed by the British was founded upon their supplies of iron, lead, zinc, tin, coal; on their superior machine manufacturing technique; on their world net-work of trade and finance; on their domination of trade routes; on their merchant marine.

Through the early nineteenth century the technique of machine industry spread slowly. Toward the end of the century it went with a rush, inaugurating a period of unparalleled economic expansion.

Some idea of nineteenth century economic expansion may be gained from the following items:

World Production of Pig Iron—The Chief Metal of Industry

1800	800,000 tons
1850	4,700,000 "
1900	40,400,000 "

World Production of Coal—The Chief Fuel of Industry

1800	11,600,000 tons
1850	81,400,000 "
1900	800,000,000 "

Facilities for Transport and Communication (in thousands)

	Nominal Vessel Tonnage	Railroad Mileage	Telegraph Lines (Miles)
1800	4,026	---	-----
1850	12,334	24	-----
1900	20,531	500	1,180

World Commerce— Money Value (in millions)

1800	\$ 1,479
1850	4,049
1900	20,105

Economic expansion was rapid during the entire nineteenth century. In the latter half of the century it assumed immense proportions as the system of mass production was extended to the most varied and remote phases of economic life.

The outstanding factor in this expansion was the industrialization of Japan, Germany, and the United States. Incidentally, Belgium, France, Italy, Sweden, Austria and other European areas were being industrialized, and after 1895 Russia, India, China, Mexico, Australia, and Canada began to feel the quickening economic drive of industrialization.

New centers of economic activity developed with great rapidity after 1870. Japan was "opened" to westernization in 1859. By 1870 the process of industrialization was well under way. Germany, as a result of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) secured a majority of the iron and coal reserves of Continental Europe, and began an era of rapid industrial expansion. In the United States the railroad consolidation which began about 1865 and the organization of the Standard Oil Company in 1870 inaugurated the era of large scale or monopoly capitalism. At the same time Great Britain began the extensive exportation of machinery into Asia, Australia, and the Americas. In Europe, Asia and America the facilities for mass production were rapidly expanding.

This expansion is reflected in the phenomenal increases of pig iron production (expressed in millions of tons).

	Great Britain	Germany	U. S. A.
1875	6.4	2.0	2.0
1890	7.9	4.7	9.2
1900	8.9	8.9	13.8
1913	10.4	10.9	30.9

These figures show that British industry was still expanding, as pig iron production nearly doubled in less than half a century. The important showing made by this table lies, however, in the last two columns. In 1875 British pig iron production was still greater than that of the remainder of the world. It was more than three times the production of either Germany or the United States. Within the next twenty-five years, however, Germany pig iron production increased fourfold, practically equivalent to that of Britain, while production in the United States increased sevenfold and exceeded British production by half. By 1913 Germany was producing more pig iron than Britain, and the production in the United States was three times that of the British.

A similar growth was taking place in other industries such as textiles, chemicals, machinery. One by one the newly industrialized nations entered the field of international competition with a flood of exportable goods. British exports (in millions of pounds sterling) were 263 in 1870 and 599 in 1910, an increase of 127%. French exports more than doubled between 1870 and 1910. German exports were £125 million in 1872; £245 in 1890; and £403 million in 1910 (220% increase). Exports from the United States increased 324% between 1870 and 1910. Japanese exports rose from £12 million in 1890 to £52 million in 1910—330% in twenty years!

Increased production and increased export meant increased economic conflict; for necessary raw materials—coal, iron, copper, oil; for the necessary markets; and for the trade routes upon which the control of markets depends.

Abbott, in his *Expansion of Europe*, gives a detailed description of the movement that "Europeanized" the world. "From the years which saw the entry of Portugal and Spain into lands beyond the sea to the present day the great, outstanding factor in the world's affairs has been European aggression."

Frederic Lenz shows that the British Empire increased its square mileage from 4,600,000 in 1862 to 10,800,000 in 1912; the French Empire from 400,000 in 1862 to 4,800,000 in 1912; the German Empire from 240,000 in 1862 to 1,200,000 in 1912; the American Empire from 1,500,000 in 1862 to 3,700,000 in 1912. "Ten imperialist nations of today possess colonies and protectorates which, taken together, are seven times the size of Europe and half the earth's total land surface."

When the Napoleonic Wars ended, Australia, Asia, Africa, and the Americas were still unexplored continents,—inhabited by natives whose ancestors had occupied the land for generations or centuries. When the War of 1914 began, exactly a century later, the entire area of these continents was either settled by Europeans or else it was under their political control. Within a hundred years the steam-boat, the locomotive, machine tools and high explosives had given the world into the hands of the industrial nations.

With economic and political expansion during the 1815-1920 era went military preparations on an ever widening scale. Sombart in *Krieg und Kapitalismus* and Steinmetz in *Die Philosophie des Krieges* give detailed figures of the growing magnitude of war—armies, navies, budgets—from the middle ages down to modern times.

Sombart compares the army and navy expenditures of the three principal European powers from 1875 to 1913: British expenditures (in millions of marks) were 532 in 1875, 1165 in 1907, and 1540 in 1913, an increase of approximately 200 per cent in 40 years. French expenditures were 550 (million marks) in 1873, 975 in 1908, and 1109 in 1913. The expenditures for France thus doubled in 40 years. German expenditures like those of Britain increased about threefold—in 1881, 426 million marks; in 1908, 1162; and in 1913, 1411 million marks. Hirst prints a table showing army and navy expenditures "of the four leading Powers that acted as pace-makers in the great race." The four are: Britain, Germany, United States, and France. Hirst shows that between 1890 and 1912 the increase in army costs was less than double for Britain, Germany, and France, but more than threefold for the United States, while the increase in navy cost was: for France more than double; for Britain, threefold; for Germany nearly seven fold, and for the United States almost exactly seven fold. This armament race was speeded up as a result of the economic expansion that followed 1870. After 1900 it became even more severe.

Between 1900 and 1920 the eight principal civilized nations: Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Japan and the United States built 2,861 warship with a total tonnage of 7,880,613 tons and a total horsepower of 38,804,924. On these ships there were mounted 22,548 heavy guns and 15,737 light guns. Of this tonnage, Britain built 2,847,234; United States, 1,387,319; Germany, 967,445; Russia, 740,153; and France, 711,641.

The same author lists expenditures for warlike purpose made by fourteen nations between 1900 and 1913.

	Warlike Expenditures (in millions of pounds sterling)	Expenditure for all other purposes
1900	284	705
1902	334	759
1904	287	835
1906	310	941
1908	334	967
1910	357	1017
1912	411	1121
1913	480	1094

Before 1900 the principal industrial nations were already well armed. Within the next decade they added steadily to this armament. Carl Schurz said in 1899: "It looks as if the most civilized powers, although constantly speaking of peace, were preparing for a gigantic killing-and-demolishing match such as the most barbarous ages have hardly ever witnessed."

An era of unprecedented economic and political expansion and intensive military preparation is an era of potential or of actual warfare. This holds true of the half century under review. It was a period of almost continuous war.

On the one side were the colonial wars; on the other were the wars between imperial rivals. Among the colonial wars of the period were the Afghan Wars (Great Britain and Afghanistan) 1878-1882; the British campaign against the Zulus, 1879; the First Boer War, 180-1881; the French Wars in Annam, 1882-1885; the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, 1887; French operations in Dahomey, 1892; Spanish War against the Moors, 1893; Second Abyssinian War, 1896; the U. S. War on Philippines, 1899-1901; Second Boer War 1899-1902; French operation in Somaliland, 1902; German operations in southwest Africa, 1903-1908; French War on Africa tribes, 1912; Several major wars between great empires occupied the same period: the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871; Chino-Japanese War, 1894-1895; Greco-Turkish war, 1897; Spanish, American War, 1898; Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905; World War, 1914-1918.

These individual conflicts are described in the ordinary histories as independent wars; really they are all parts of one vast social process—the modern imperial cycle, which in its turn is merely one page in the history of civilization. Brooks Adams connects these political events and gives them their economic setting. "The present war is only the prolongation and accentuation of that eighteenth and nineteenth century acceleration of movement which began by sending Washington to Great Meadows, Clive to Plas-

sey, Wolfe to Quebec, and Frederick the Great to Silesia and Posen. The peculiarity of this double acceleration was, however, that the eighteenth-century part was essentially maritime, caused by advances in the art of navigation, and exemplified for example by Captain Cook and the explorers of an earlier age still, while the nineteenth century portion was a land-travel acceleration, embodied in Stephenson, the locomotive, and modern Germany and America."

Summing up a chapter on the economic causes of the War of 1914-1918 Bakeless writes: "It was rooted in economic causes. The political rivalries, the naval rivalries, the colonial rivalries are only the expression of the underlying economic struggle.

"Through the whole warp and woof of the diplomacy which leads up to the final war, we have the thread of economic conflict. Economic questions were perpetually under discussion in the diplomatic interchanges of the years before the war; and even when the stakes at issue seem entirely political or military, they can usually be seen to have an economic origin. The statesman who seeks to extend the boundaries of a colony to include some especially valuable territory, the soldier who demands a strategic position to defend that colony, or the sailor who asks for a naval base,—all are seeking, consciously or unconsciously, the same thing: relief from economic pressure by further expansion."

The era 1815-1920 may be divided roughly into four periods:

- 1815-1870 British economic and political expansion—unchallenged world supremacy.
- 1870-1895 Economic and political expansion of the rivals of the British Empire—Germany, United States, Japan.
- 1895-1914 Economic and political expansion of lesser empires; industrialization of colonial areas. Active military preparations. Preliminary local wars.
- 1914-1919 General war. Treaty of 1919.

Throughout the period of active imperial rivalry that began about 1870 the central theme was the economic rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. Great Britain in 1870 was the world's dominant empire. She was the economic center of the world—producing, transporting, exchanging, lending. She was the world's chief exporting nation, the center of commercial and investment banking. As Sir Michael Hicks Beach stated the matter on March 18, 1896 (Hansard), "our trade and commerce are probably greater than any other country has ever enjoyed. Our wealth is enormous. It arises from investments and enterprises in every quarter of the globe." Politically Great Britain controls more square miles of territory than any other empire and "throughout the entire Nine-

teenth Century and until their design was accomplished in the Twentieth, British diplomats have bent every effort toward securing the points of dominance along every possible avenue leading to the Indian Empire, whether on land or sea."

As for war preparations, Britain depended primarily upon her navy and followed a policy expressed by Major Murray in these words: "The only really safe standard is for our navy to be made stronger by five to three in battleships than the next two strongest navies — those of Germany and France." And during this whole period, "England is at war. For twenty years she has not ceased to fight; in Egypt, on the Indian frontier, in Afghanistan, on the banks of the Niger, in Burma." "Under the reign of Imperialism the temple of Janus is never closed. Blood never ceases to run. The voice of the mourner is never hushed. . . . On each several occasion we acted purely on the defensive, and on each several occasion we ended by occupying the land of our aggressive neighbours." The development of the British Empire in this epoch precedes the familiar round of economic and political expansion, military preparation and war.

Through the years 1870-1913 Germany developed as the outstanding rival of the British Empire. "Germany, like the United States, used to be a poor agricultural country and a customer of Great Britain for her manufactured goods," Barker wrote in 1909. "In 1879 Bismarck introduced the policy of protection. Since then the industries and the wealth of Germany have so marvelously increased that she has become our most dangerous industrial competitor in all our markets, including our home market." Bernhardt gave the German answer in 1912: "Notwithstanding our small stretch of coastline, we have created in a few years the second largest merchant fleet in the world, and our young industries challenge competition with all the great industrial states of the earth. German trading houses are established all over the world; Germany merchants traverse every quarter of the globe; a part, indeed, of English wholesale trade is in the hands of Germans."

Economically German production increased in those very lines — coal, iron, shipbuilding, machinery, chemicals, textiles — on which British supremacy depended. German exports grew more rapidly than British exports; the German merchant fleet increased more rapidly than the British. German commercial and investment banking expanded. Germany was building a network of world economic organization in direct competition with that of Great Britain.

Germany's army was reorganized. The navy building rivalry between Britain and Germany featured the pre-war struggle of these two great empires. Admiral Mahan in the *National Review*

for 1902 discussed the building program of the principal European powers and showed the pattern of British-German rivalry. Ahr gives a detailed analysis of the expenditures of the principal European powers from 1880 to 1909. During the last decade of this period it was plain that Britain was building against Germany and Germany was building against Britain. Such economic and political rivalry could have but one possible outcome. Lord Roberts uttered this warning in the House of Lords November 23, 1908:

"Our naval supremacy is being disputed. . . . Within a few hours' steaming of our coasts, there is a people numbering over sixty millions, our most active rivals in commerce, and the greatest military power in the world, adding to an overwhelming military strength a naval force which she is resolutely and rapidly increasing. . . . A terrible awakening may be in store for us at no very distant period."

Gooch and Masterman point out the seriousness of the conflict which was developing between Britain and Germany during the years 1886-1900. The London **Saturday Review** for September 11, 1897, stated the matter boldly. "A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. If Germany were extinguished tomorrow, the day after tomorrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer. Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession; must they not fight for two hundred and fifty million pounds of yearly commerce?"

Economically, politically, and in terms of military preparation these two great rival European empires were moving toward war.

When the spark was finally struck at Sarajevo in 1914, in connection with an obscure conflict in Eastern Europe, the flames of war swept over Europe, with Britain heading one group of nations and Germany heading the other. The two outstanding economic and political rivals had become, as a matter of course, the two outstanding military rivals. The war of 1914, in which virtually the entire capitalist world was engaged, was the flower which blossomed from the long growing period of economic and political rivalry that followed 1870.

Between 1815 and 1900 as between 1450 and 1815 appears the same historic sequence; economic expansion and conflict; political expansion and conflict; military preparation, and, finally, war. This pattern of social forces holds true of the years following 1815 as it did of the years following 1450. One modifying factor should be noted, however. The maturation of the pattern was far more rapid in the latter period than in the former one. Forces were greater. The speed of social change was accelerating. While the

pattern remained the same the intensity of its fulfillment had increased.

THIRD HISTORIC PARALLEL, 1920

The war of 1914-1918—the “war to end war”—was won by the Allies who wrote a treaty in 1919 that opened a new era in the history of the Western World. The Treaty of 1919 was unlike the treaties with which other world wars have been concluded—the treaties of 1648, 1713, 1763, 1815. It was unlike them in several important respects. First, it was not a negotiated peace but a dictated peace. Representatives of victors and vanquished, on previous occasions, gathered about a council table, and drafted a treaty. The Treaty of 1919 was drafted by the victors and handed to the vanquished on a bayonet. Second, the Treaty of 1919 was a treaty of vengeance, dismembering empires, despoiling the vanquished, and levying reparations payments on an unparalleled scale. Third, the Treaty of 1919 was signed in the midst of the most extensive social revolutionary movement that the modern world has known. In several respects, therefore, the Treaty of 1919 was more like an armistice, signed on a battle-field, than a treaty of friendship and amity.

Many international conferences have met since 1919. The League of Nations has held regular sessions. A great number of additional treaties have been drawn up and signed including the Washington Treaties, the Locarno Treaties, and the Pact of Paris. Still, the Treaty of 1919 stands substantially as it was written.

What does the Treaty of Versailles offer to the world? Will it bring peace and order instead of war and chaos? Will the era beginning with 1920 be substantially different from the era 1450-1815 or the era 1815-1920? Have the old forces been eliminated? Have new forces entered the field?

So far as the Allied Powers and the Central Empires were concerned, the pattern of forces in 1920 was the same as the pattern of forces in 1900 and 1800. Their magnitude and their velocity were greater in 1920. The forces themselves remained.

Economically, the major object of the ruling classes of the principal industrial nations was and is the making of profit through intensified exploitation at home and through the control of raw materials, of markets, of trade routes, and of investment opportunities abroad. The evolution of the machine has led to mass production on a greater scale; the development of transport and communication have widened the world economic struggle; competition is fiercer; the rewards of success are larger and more dazzling; the penalty for failure is, by comparison, more severe.

But the same principles of exploitation and expansion in the pursuit of profit underlie the system.

Politically, the major object was and is the stabilization of ruling class power through the coercion of workers; the acquisition of new territory; the readjustment of "alliances" and balances of power, and the making of war preparations on a vaster scale than during any modern period. Politically as well as economically, the Treaty of 1919 left the forces of the Western world very much the same in 1920 as they were in 1815.

During the War of 1914 there was much talk about a "war after the war." For example, one French Deputy, Victor Boret, published a book in 1917 under the title: *La Bataille Economique de Demain* (The Economic Battle of Tomorrow). Another Deputy wrote a book: *La Guerre Economique dans nos Colonies* (The Economic War in Our Colonies) for which Paul Deschanel wrote an introduction.

In the years that followed 1920 the predictions of "war after the war" were fully realized. "The search for investment fields and markets has become more and more keen since the war," writes Phillips Price. "The United States has taken the lead over all countries in this respect." Carter devoted considerable space in his book *Conquest* to this intensified economic conflict. Madariaga sums it up in these words: "What we call wars are but fits of hostility in a disease which is the real war, a state of open rivalry, of jealousy, of greed. Let us take economic life, for example. What do we see? A wholly militant, if not military, attitude dominates the field of economic relations. The style of economic and financial specialists lags far behind that of their military cousins in point of warlike spirit. While military experts affect a pseudo-scientific attitude and study the methods for murdering a million people with the cool detachment of an astronomer calculating an eclipse, our economic and financial expert will speak with bellicose ardor of conquering markets, of a defensive commercial policy, of rate wars, of vanguard, pioneer, campaign, attack, outposts."

Underlying the "war after the war" is a phase of economic expansion which has made itself felt on every continent. Four major factors have led to this expansion: (1) the growth, under the pressure of war-demand, of productive facilities in well established industrial areas, such as Japan, Canada, United States; (2) the growth of productive facilities in non-industrial areas such as India, China, South Africa; (3) post war "rationalization" (closing inefficient plants and operating only the most efficient; modernization of plants and sales organization; introduction of labor-replacing machines); (4) saddling Germany with a heavy war

indemnity which she could pay only by the extensive export of manufactured goods. All of these factors operated to increase mass production; to stimulate the demand for raw materials; to increase the pressure upon world markets.

The London **Financial Times** of January 22 and January 26, 1929, presented an index of industrial production which shows that the production of Great Britain stood at 100 in 1913; at 90 in 1920 and at 90 during the first nine months of 1928. France was at 100 in 1913; 62 in 1920; and 125 during the first nine months of 1928. Production in Germany stood at 100 in 1913; 62 in 1920; and 113 during the first nine months of 1928. Production of the United States stood at 100 in 1913; 125 in 1920 and 166 in 1928. For Canada the figures were 100 in 1915; 123 in 1920; and 224 for the first nine months of 1928. With the exception of Britain each of these countries showed a volume of production well above the 1913 volume. In each of these countries the capacity for production far exceeded the 1913 figure, and in no one of the countries was production at one hundred per cent of capacity. Thus economic competitive struggle was intensified during, and immediately following, the war era.

A significant aspect of this post-war struggle is the resort to trade monopolies and tariff barriers which the principal industrial nations have established. The "closed door" aspect of the problem is dealt with by Culbertson in **International Economic Policies**, Chapter VI. The controversy over tariffs has agitated parliaments and filled the columns of the public press for a decade.

The struggle between competing empires for profit-making opportunities—the "war after the war"—is far sharper than the economic struggle preceding the war. The post-war era has been one of intensified economic expansion and conflict, and the forces lying behind this conflict grow stronger rather than weaker with the passing years.

Post-war years have also been years of political expansion and conflict. On the one hand, colonialism has extended itself. On the other hand, the leading empires have been manoeuvring for position.

Colonialism has been steadily extended since 1920. Japan has advanced her control in Manchuria and is tightening her grip on Shantung. Great Britain has been trying to establish herself more securely in Egypt, in Arabia, in Mesopotamia. Holland has successfully repressed rebellions in Java and Sumatra. France has fought her way into control of the Riff and of Syria. Italy and Britain have agreed on a division of interests in Abyssinia. The United States, under the steadily growing impetus of the Monroe Doctrine, has consistently violated the sovereignty of any

Latin American states where, in the words of President Coolidge, "American investments and business interests" are in danger.

At the same time that imperial aggression in non-imperial territory was on the increase, the imperial powers were manoeuvring into position for the conflict which statesmen recognize as inevitable.

The Treaty of Versailles divided the world into seven well-defined areas: (1) the victorious European empires and Japan (the League of Nations); (2) Germany and Austria (defeated European empires) dismembered, loaded with indemnity payments and ultimately brought into the League; (3) the United States of North America; (4) the Soviet Union; (5) secondary or satellite states such as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia; (6) "undeveloped" territory subject to exclusive exploitation ("mandates" under the League, and Latin America under the Monroe Doctrine); (7) undeveloped, open-door territory subject to general or joint exploitation (China under the Washington Treaties of 1922).

Since the signing of the Treaty these scattered groups have been consolidated into three more or less homogenous areas; (1) the League of Nations group, headed by Britain and France, now maturing as the United States of Europe; (2) the Monroe Doctrine group, dominated by the United States; (3) the Soviet Union.

Europe is acutely unstable. Half of its geographic area, and one of its most important pre-war markets are under Soviet control. Britain has been for more than ten years in the grip of the most disastrous economic depression that she has ever experienced. Central Europe has been economically disorganized, and partially or wholly bankrupt since 1920. The depression that began in 1929 struck an especially heavy blow at her economy. Italy is a source of friction in Southern Europe, her conflicts with France being especially bitter. The Baltic and Balkan States are in economic and political turmoil: loans, dictatorships and revolutions follow one another in rapid succession. Spain seethes with unrest. The growing power of France, which menaces Britain's continental position, and even her security, is in turn menaced by the economic come-back of Germany. Over all capitalist Europe hangs the threatening success of the Soviet Five Year Plan.

The Monroe Doctrine group is hammered together by the drive of United States economic and political power. There are revolts in Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Haiti; labor demonstrations are staged in Cuba and Brazil. Argentina is restive and revolutionary. Some of her more outspoken statesmen and editors openly protest against the Yankee peril.

Since the drastic reduction in the prices of sugar, coffee, wheat, meat, tin, nitrates and copper, that accompanied the depression of

1929, Latin American "nationalism" has been more aggressive. At the same time, the drastic depression in the United States has made the Canadian and Latin American markets more imperatively necessary as an outlet for surplus products.

The Soviet Union is stabilized and is busily working out a system of economic planning the obvious success of which is causing profound concern in every center of capitalist power.

Asia has been bubbling with revolt since the Boxer Movement (1899-1900). The War of 1914 speeded up revolutionary forces which have already modified the situation in China, India, Turkey, Persia, Central Asia and Siberia.

The London Conference of 1930 revealed the fundamental character of the forces that separate the principal world groups. Asia (aside from Japan) and the Soviet Union were not represented. Among the great empires the conflicts were so bitter that instead of naval disarmament the conference resulted in intensified navy building.

The world was more effectively consolidated in 1930 than it was in 1910 or 1920. The units were bigger and stronger. But the lines of conflict between these units were more apparent in 1930 than they were in 1910 or in 1920. The political struggle had matured. It had been consolidated, but it had not abated.

The principal nations of the world are better armed and better equipped for war than they were in 1913. War machines are more efficient. The organization for war is more complete. Preparations for war are not secret. Scarcely a week passes in which the press or the movies do not carry pictures of the "largest" bombing plane, the "fastest" cruiser, the "finest" submarine, the "heaviest" coast defense gun, the "deadliest" gas. War preparations are extensive and they are being steadily extended.

The most spectacular form of military preparation is navy building. Because of the expense involved, only six or seven nations can afford the luxury of a modern navy. Even wealthy nations such as Britain, France and Japan are feeling the strain of the "cruiser-race." Yet, as the London Armament Conference of 1930 clearly showed, instead of a reduction in naval tonnage, the world may expect an increase. Certainly it can expect greater naval efficiency.

Since 1920, there has not been a single year in which a war did not take place somewhere in the world. A partial list of wars since 1920 shows:

- 1918-20 Imperialist campaigns against Soviet Russia.
- 1918-21 Civil Wars in Soviet Union.
- 1918-20 War of Poland against Russia.

-
-
- 1919-22 Wars between Greece and Turkey.
 - 1919 Egyptian Revolt against Britain.
Poles over-run Galicia.
Afghan attack on India.
Roumanian march into Hungary.
Italian occupation of Fiume.
Japanese suppression of Korean rebellion.
 - 1920 French War on Arabs in Syria.
Italian attack on Albania.
Polish attack on Vilna.
 - 1921 Montenegrin revolt against Jugoslavs.
 - 1916-26 Spanish and French Wars in the Riff.
 - 1922 Chinese Civil War.
 - 1923 Lithuanians seize Mervel.
Italy bombards Corfu.
Military occupation of the Ruhr.
 - 1924 China, Civil War.
Mexico, Civil War.
 - 1925 French Wars against Druses.
 - 1926-30 China, General Civil War.
 - 1928-29 Afghan Civil War.
 - 1929 Mexico, Civil War.
 - 1929 Russo-Chinese War in Manchuria.
 - 1926-28 Nicaraguan War.
 - 1929 Arab revolt in Palestine.
 - 1930 India, Civil War.
Argentina, Civil War.
Spain, Civil War.
Brazil, Civil War.

To be sure, no one of these conflicts was a "world war," but several of them contained world war possibilities at least as great as the Balkan Wars of 1912. In any case, they showed that the formula: economic expansion and conflict; political expansion and conflict; military preparation, and finally, war, is as true of the years following 1920 as it was in the preceding epochs.

As in the earlier historic epochs, there are several centers about which the present struggle is revolving: one of these centers is the League of Nations, headed by Great Britain and France, against the Soviet Union. Another is the League of Nations group against the United States of America. Beside these major centres of conflict there are many minor ones, such as the conflict between France and Italy over the control of Mediterranean trade; the conflict between France and Britain over the control of the Near East; the conflict between Great Britain and Italy over the

domination of North Africa; the conflict between Japan, Great Britain, and the United States over China. Perhaps the most striking conflict is that between Great Britain and the United States. This struggle is being fought for the control of raw materials of trade routes, of lines of communication, of markets, of investment opportunities, in all parts of the world.

The conflict between the League of Nations (capitalist) and the Soviet Union (proletarian) is basic. The two groups are on different cultural levels. The economic and political success of Sovietism means the destruction of capitalist imperialism. Since 1921 this struggle has not assumed any military form, though leaders of capitalist statecraft have insisted that active steps be taken to destroy the "bolshevik menace."

Sooner or later this conflict between capitalism and socialist construction will probably take a military form. Meanwhile the issues between Great Britain and the United States are being more and more clearly defined.

Within the past twenty years the issues between Great Britain and the United States have assumed huge proportions. Chiefly economic in character, these issues have reached the political field only incidentally and the military field not at all. The economic issues center about the rapid rise to power of the American Empire.

Traditionally, Great Britain is the world's workshop. Actually, she has forfeited that title to the United States. This loss strikes a direct blow at the power of the British business class—a blow that they cannot fail to resent and resist. "Germany, our neighbor across the North Sea, our natural ally and associate, and our kin in race with a common culture, was challenging our supremacy in sea power and our superiority as carriers, colonisers, and capitalists. But Germany was not even aspiring to anything more than equality in economic competition and was accepting inferiority in naval strength. Whereas America will, in ten years, have equality in naval strength and already has superiority as a capitalist."

The economic superiority of the United States over Great Britain is rapidly growing. British resources have been failing for forty years:

Production in the British Isles (in millions of metric tons)

	Coal	Iron Ore	Lead Ore	Tin Ore	Zinc Ore
1890	184	14	46	15	22
1910	268	15	28	8	11
1925	247	10	16	2	2

Compares with these figures of British production in essential raw material fields, the figures of production in the United States for the same period:

Production in the United States (in million tons)

	Coal	Iron Ore	Copper	Refined Lead	Zinc
1890	141	16	.11	.14	.06
1910	448	57	.48	.38	.25
1925	528	63	.86	.70	.52

While British production of essential minerals and fuel has remained stationary or has actually declined, production in the United States has rapidly increased. Add that Britain produces neither oil nor cotton, while about two-thirds of the world supply of both are produced in the United States, that Britain must import about two thirds of her food, while the United States is still able to feed herself (with the exception of coffee, sugar, and tropical fruits, none of which is a food necessity), and some idea may be gained of the very superior resource position of the United States.

At the outset of the epoch begun in 1920 the United States and not Great Britain was the principal world workshop. This fact is made evident by a report to the Geneva economic conference on the manufacture of machinery.

Production of Machinery

	1913	1925
United States	50.0%	57.1%
Germany	20.6%	19.6%
Britain	11.8%	11.6%

This immense preponderance in the production field gave the United States an inevitable lead in marketing. In 1913 Great Britain was still the world's chief expoter, with 13.93 per cent of the world's total export. The United States was even then a close second, with 13.43 per cent of world exports. By 1925 this situation was fundamentally modified. In that year, Great Britain held only 12.43 per cent of the world's export trade, while the United States held 16.35 per cent.

In important fields such as textile, machinery, and various forms of iron and steel, British exports for 1925 were actually lower than in 1913. United States exports, on the other hand, showed immense gains.

The Department of Commerce of the United States, comparing the five year average of 1910-1914 with the year 1928 shows that exports from the United States of raw materials increased sixty-

five per cent; exports of partially manufactured goods increased one hundred and nine per cent; exports of finished manufactures, two hundred and fifteen per cent. The United States is thus rapidly abandoning her pre-war position as an exporter of foods and raw materials and is invading the world's markets with an immense supply of manufactured goods. Three-quarters of the exports of the United States in 1928 consisted of manufactured or partly manufactured goods.

The geographic direction of the increase is equally striking. Taking the years 1910-1914 as a base, United States exports for 1928 increased:

Europe	72%
Canada and Newfoundland	173%
Latin America	175%
Australasia	264%
Africa	349%
Asia	369%

This economic expansion of the United States is leading directly into those territories which form part of the British Empire (Canada and Australasia) and into those areas of Latin America, Africa, and Asia on which the British have relied in the past for their export markets.

Similar changes are taking place in the world of finance. London, before the war, was the world's money market. New York now occupies that position. While it is true that the British still have a world network of financial institutions, bankers in the United States are rapidly duplicating this organization.

Before the War, the United States was still a borrowing nation. British interests alone had about \$3,500,000,000 invested in the United States. Today the British Treasury is under contract to pay the United States Treasury about \$165,000,000 a year until 1932, and about \$185,000,000 a year from 1933 until 1894. Meanwhile, year by year, United States exports of capital are three or four times British capital exports.

The economic rivalry between Britain and the United States is typified in the conflict for oil. This subject is exhaustively treated by Denny in **America Conquers Britain** and in **We Fight for Oil**. It is one of the major economic conflicts of modern times. "The oil supply of the world, outside the Soviet sources, is now organized in two combines, one British, the other American." Both governments have repeatedly taken part in this oil war.

The United States, in the post-war period, is the world's principal producer, exporter, and banker. The center of world economic power has shifted from Europe to North America.

Economic supremacy has passed from Britain to the United States. Britain still retains political control of about one-quarter of the earth's surface. This constitutes a state of disequilibrium which cannot continue. Either the British must win back economic supremacy or they must surrender political control. Neither alternative can meet with the approval of both British and United States ruling classes.

The apparent conflict of interests between Great Britain and the United States has led to much discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. Lloyd George has raised the issue on numerous occasions. So has Bottomly. Bertrand Russell discussed it in **The Prospects of Industrial Civilization**. Kenworthy's **Peace or War** (published in 1927) has the following chapter headings: "Why an Anglo-American War is Possible"; "The United States versus the British Empire"; "Probable Course of a War"; "The Drift Towards War"; "Naval Rivalry"; "Washington and Geneva." In 1930 Denny brought the issue up to date with his **America Conquers Britain**.

The era beginning in 1920 is evidently no exception to the general rule of modern history. The same forces are at work and they are pointing in the same general direction—toward world war.

THE LESSON OF HISTORY

History clearly shows that war-making is one aspect of business for profit. Economic expansion, political expansion, military preparations, and war make up a complex of forces that dominate the activities of every important profit-making center. Since the struggle, it seems obvious that profiteering or capitalist wars must continue to be world wars. On no lesser stage could they function in this era of world conflict for raw materials, markets, trade routes, and investment opportunities.

There may have been a time when wars were made by people who wanted to fight. That time is past. Wars now-a-days are made by people who are after economic advantage.

People who want fight either go into the prize ring and there work off their pugnacity, or else they have it out on the street corner and run the risk of being locked in the police station on a disorderly conduct charge. Some few of them go in for banditry, but they are not ranked as war-makers.

The makers of war are members or servants of an owning, ruling class,—profiteers who desire to become still richer; masters of economic and political affairs who seek to become still more powerful. These men use war as a weapon, because it seems to

offer them the shortest and surest route to that exalted position of world supremacy where they can exploit, unopposed and at will.

Even the most casual student of history would not argue that the great masses of people want war or make war. Periodically, they are forced into war—cajoled, misinformed, goaded, terrified, conscripted. But how many times, in the past hundred years, have the masses clamored for war? War is not a popular form of entertainment. Despite all of the glorification, the tinsel, the brass bands, the masses everywhere must be whipped into a frenzy of fear and hate before they will support war.

Wars are today unquestionably wars between groups of profit-makers. Modern war is part of the struggle for wealth and power. Never since the foundation of modern capitalism has the total volume of profit been so great. Never has the struggle to monopolize this profit been so intensive or so extensive.

The volume of profit has been increasing by the introduction of a steadily broadening variety of labor replacing machines. Each one of these machines involves an "investment" upon which the capitalist demands and receives a "reasonable rate of profit." As the complexity and variety of the machines mount, their "investment" value grows correspondingly. That is, from his ownership of the growing volume of machines the capitalist is able to secure a mounting volume of profit.

Mass production of goods does not solve the problem, however. Automatic machines turn out great quantities of marketable products. Where are these products to be marketed? The drive toward economic expansion grows sharper with each development in mass production that offers more profit to the successful capitalist who can broaden his market or cheapen his production costs.

How can costs be lowered? By increased productivity per worker. The necessity for lowering production costs, therefore, leads to greater pressure on working masses—in the home territory and in the foreign territory that is subject to exploitation. Men and women must work faster, harder, more efficiently.

The struggle for markets and for raw materials is being waged with growing intensity all over the planet. This struggle takes the profiteer into Latin America, China, India, South Africa.

With the growing pressure of economic expansion goes a corresponding pressure of political expansion—the protection and advancement of colonial interests. Alliances and combinations are made among the chief imperial rivals. Gradually, the line-up is clarified and sharpened, until the world is ready for war. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries alliances were largely

confined to Europe, but with the world spread of capitalist production, Japan, the United States, Australia, Canada, and now, China and India, demand and secure a place at the world council table. Like economic expansion, political expansion is on a world scale.

The struggle between profiteers grows in intensity. Economic and political expansion parallel one another. With them goes an increasing rivalry between competing profiteering groups to secure the golden prizes offered by profit economy.

The restlessness of exploited home and colonial masses, the nationalist colonial movements, and the inevitable major conflicts between competing groups of profiteers all involve armed violence—the use of police, marines, navy, army. As the struggle grows more intense, the military preparations are more widespread.

Under present world policies world war is inevitable. Military men take this for granted. Public officials in all of the principal nations are preparing for the new blood bath: drawing up plans; designing new engines of destruction; scheduling war games; building tanks, bombing-planes, submarines, cruisers; putting over propaganda. The sign-posts all point to war.

IMPORTANT BOOKS by Scott Nearing

MUST WE STARVE?

Millions starving amid plenty. The causes of business recession and depression, with particular reference to the years from 1920 to 1932. The crisis of 1929-32. The proposals and plans of business leaders for meeting the emergency. The one way out through a socialized, world economy. 277 pages \$2.50

THE TWILIGHT OF EMPIRE

Ancient, classical and modern imperialism compared. An analytical picture of the imperial cycle. The rise of the present imperial era, from the days of the crusades. The role of the proletarian revolution in destroying the economic foundations of imperialism. 363 pages \$2.50

BLACK AMERICA

The principles of imperial exploitation as they are applied to the American Negro. 159 illustrations, 285 pages \$3

WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?

An analysis of the trend in present-day society, with an anticipation of the immediate social future.

Social history chart. 118 pages 75 cents.

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE.

What happened when a whole nation stopped work.

208 pages 75 cents.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

How the wheels go around in the biggest and most successful economic organization in the world.

(Nearing and Hardy) 267 pages 75 cents.

.....

ORDER FORM

VANGUARD PRESS, 100 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Enclosed please find \$..... for which send me the following books by Scott Nearing:

..... copies of War
..... copies of Must We Starve?
..... copies of The Twilight of Empire
..... copies of Black America
..... copies of Where is Civilization Going?
..... copies of The British General Strike
..... copies of Soviet Russia's Economic System

Name

Address

(PLEASE PRINT)

This order form, if detached, and sent in with your order for any of the above books, will be accepted as the equivalent of ten cents, which is the price you have paid for this pamphlet.

What critics said about

WAR

Organized Destruction and Mass Murder by
Civilized Nations

"This work will be a standard reference on war. The objectivity and thoroughness of its 'historic parallels' and its brief yet masterly summary of the peace treaties since 1918 will be twin magnets for the student."

WINCHELL TAYLOR in The New Republic

"Thorough and workmanlike analysis of the war-germ in modern civilization On the main line of argument this radical philosopher is brilliant."

JOHN CARTER in The New York Times

"The reader will find it difficult to deny the uncomfortable truth of the picture of war as the inevitable consequence, not of human nature, but of social institutions as at present constituted."

WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD Jr. in the Portland Evening News

"His account of war is detailed, accurate and convincing. It is a treatise full of naked realism."

J. B. MATTHEWS in The World Tomorrow

"This is perhaps the first fundamental analysis of the martial spirit to reach the men and women who must fight in the next war."

ST. LOUIS STAR

"This book is one of the most powerful indictments of war ever written from a standpoint of determinism."

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM

"Nearing builds up a strong case for his theory."

DAVID FRIEDMAN in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Pamphlets by Scott Nearing

Why Hard Times?

A study of the economic and social forces that are sweeping away capitalist imperialism.

Must We Starve?

What will declining capitalism do with its surplus population?

1931 - The Decisive Year

Capitalism, imperialism and sovietism before the bar of history. A report of observations made during a visit to Western Europe and Soviet Russia.

One Way Out

Socialized, planned, world economy as an answer to the crisis in capitalist imperialism.

10 cents a copy

FREE BORN

a full length novel by SCOTT NEARING

The story of Jim Rogers, an American Negro who began life on a Georgia plantation, worked his way through the Chicago Stock Yards and learned the lesson of labor solidarity in a Pennsylvania coal mine.

Paper Cover 50 Cents

URQUHART PRESS
108 Greenwich Street
New York City

CIVILIZATION IMPERIALISM WAR REVOLUTION

Books by
Scott Nearing

Since 1920 Scott Nearing has been making a number of studies, each one of which deals with some phase of the present social order. These studies are grouped under four heads:

1. Civilization

a. WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?

The place of civilization in social history. Its evolution. Its present form. Its trend. Its speedy replacement by a new social order.

Published
1927
Vanguard
Press.

b. EXPLOITATION.

The civilized method of plundering producers. Evolution of capitalist technique. What workers can do to free themselves from exploitation.

In
preparation.

c. HARD TIMES.

Why are times hard? The economic contradictions of civilized society. Starving in a world of plenty. A survey of economic crises. The present world crisis. The one way out.

Ready in
1932.

2. Imperialism

a. THE TWILIGHT OF EMPIRE.

An economic interpretation of imperial cycles. The imperial cycle during civilization. Its pattern. The modern imperial cycle. Its direction. Proletarian revolution and the end of imperialism.

Published
1930
Vanguard
Press.

b. THE AMERICAN EMPIRE.

The rise of a world empire from colonial beginnings. Its place in the modern imperial cycle.

Published
1920.
Rand School

c. DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

(with Joe Freeman)

The American Empire after 1895. Economic surplus. The extension of imperial boundaries. Economic penetration and military domination in Canada and Latin America.

Published
1926
Viking Press.

d. BLACK AMERICA.

Exploitation by white property owners of a subject race 15 million strong. Negro life and labor. The struggle for freedom and self-expression. The urgent need for labor solidarity.

Published
1929
Vanguard
Press.

3. War

Organized destruction and mass murder by civilized nations. The method of holding and extending imperial power. Preparations for the next world war. The role of proletarian revolution in laying the foundations of a warless world.

Published
1931
Vanguard
Press.

4. Revolution

a. THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Historical role of revolution under civilization, and through the imperial cycles. The modern revolutionary epoch. Revolution as the means of transition from exploitation, imperialism and war to a new social order.

In
preparation

b. THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE.

The revolutionary situation in Great Britain in 1926. The solidarity of the workers. Treachery of the leaders. A warning.

Published
1926
Vanguard
Press.

c. WHITHER CHINA?

Industrialism, imperialism, colonial revolt, and the beginnings of a new social order. The 450 million Chinese face a mighty task. Building the centre of the new world around the Pacific, and in Asia. The course of the Chinese Revolution.

Published
1928
International
Publishers.

IMPORTANT BOOKS

by Scott Nearing

WAR. Organized destruction and mass murder by civilized nations.

Is war a relapse into barbarism or is it the real business of the civilized state? This book presents the latter view. Peace, it holds, is merely a breathing spell between wars. As soon as peace is established, the ruling classes of the various nations begin to prepare for the next war. If this view is correct, any attempt to curb war, whether by the League of Nations, the World Court, or other international agencies, is doomed to failure. The movement for the abolition of war must begin by abolishing a form of society under which war is inevitable.

320 pages \$3.

THE TWILIGHT OF EMPIRE

Ancient, classical and modern imperialism compared. An analytical picture of the imperial cycle. The rise of the present imperial era, from the days of the crusades. The role of the proletarian revolution in destroying the economic foundations of imperialism.

363 pages \$2.50

BLACK AMERICA

The principles of imperial exploitation as they are applied to the American Negro. 159 illustrations, 285 pages \$3

WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?

An analysis of the trend in present-day society, with an anticipation of the immediate social future.

Social history chart. 118 pages 75 cents.

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE.

What happened when a whole nation stopped work

208 pages 75 cents.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

How the wheels go around in the biggest and most successful economic organization in the world.

(Nearing and Hardy) 267 pages 75 cents.

VANGUARD PRESS

100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

