



**Written by Two-Time
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CHAPTER ONE

WAR IS A RACKET

WAR is a racket. It always has been.

It is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives.

A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of the people. Only a small "inside" group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes.

In the World War [I] a mere handful garnered the profits of the conflict. At least 21,000 new millionaires and billionaires were made in the United States during the World War. That many admitted their huge blood gains in their income tax returns. How many other war millionaires falsified their tax returns no one knows.

How many of these war millionaires shouldered a rifle? How many of them dug a trench? How many of them knew what it meant to go hungry in a rat-infested dug-out? How many of them spent sleepless, frightened nights, ducking shells and shrapnel and machine gun bullets? How many of them parried a bayonet thrust of an enemy? How many of them were wounded or killed in battle?

Out of war nations acquire additional territory, if they are victorious. They just take it. This newly acquired territory promptly is exploited by the few – the selfsame few who wrung dollars out of blood in the war. The general public shoulders the bill.

And what is this bill?

This bill renders a horrible accounting. Newly placed gravestones. Mangled bodies. Shattered minds. Broken hearts and homes. Economic instability. Depression and all its attendant miseries. Back-breaking taxation for generations and generations.

For a great many years, as a soldier, I had a suspicion that war was a racket; not until I retired to civil life did I fully realize it. Now that I see the international war clouds gathering, as they are today, I must face it and speak out.

Again they are choosing sides. France and Russia met and agreed to stand side by side. Italy and Austria hurried to make a similar agreement. Poland and Germany cast sheep's eyes at each other, forgetting for the nonce [one unique occasion], their dispute over the Polish Corridor.

The assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia [Yugoslavia] complicated matters. Yugoslavia and Hungary, long bitter enemies, were almost at each other's throats. Italy was ready to jump in. But France was waiting. So was Czechoslovakia. All of them are looking ahead to war. Not the people – not those who fight and pay and die – only those who foment wars and remain safely at home to profit.

There are 40,000,000 men under arms in the world today, and our statesmen and diplomats have the temerity to say that war is not in the making.

Hell's bells! Are these 40,000,000 men being trained to be dancers?

Not in Italy, to be sure. Premier Mussolini knows what they are being trained for. He, at least, is frank enough to speak out. Only the other day, Il Duce in "International Conciliation," the publication of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said:

"And above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace... War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it."

Undoubtedly Mussolini means exactly what he says. His well-trained army, his great fleet of planes, and even his navy are ready for war – anxious for it, apparently. His recent stand at the side of Hungary in the latter's dispute with Yugoslavia showed that. And the hurried mobilization of his troops on the Austrian border after the assassination of Dollfuss showed it too. There are others in Europe too whose sabre rattling presages war, sooner or later.

Herr Hitler, with his rearming Germany and his constant demands for more and more arms, is an equal if not greater menace to peace. France only recently increased the term of military service for its youth from a year to eighteen months.

Yes, all over, nations are camping in their arms. The mad dogs of Europe are on the loose. In the Orient the maneuvering is more adroit. Back in 1904, when Russia and Japan fought, we kicked out our old friends the Russians and backed Japan. Then our very generous international bankers were financing Japan. Now the trend is to poison us against the Japanese. What does the "open door" policy to China mean to us? Our trade with China is about \$90,000,000 a year. Or the Philippine Islands? We have spent about \$600,000,000 in

the Philippines in thirty-five years and we (our bankers and industrialists and speculators) have private investments there of less than \$200,000,000.

Then, to save that China trade of about \$90,000,000, or to protect these private investments of less than \$200,000,000 in the Philippines, we would be all stirred up to hate Japan and go to war – a war that might well cost us tens of billions of dollars, hundreds of thousands of lives of Americans, and many more hundreds of thousands of physically maimed and mentally unbalanced men.

Of course, for this loss, there would be a compensating profit – fortunes would be made. Millions and billions of dollars would be piled up. By a few. Munitions makers. Bankers. Ship builders. Manufacturers. Meat packers. Speculators. They would fare well.

Yes, they are getting ready for another war. Why shouldn't they? It pays high dividends.

But what does it profit the men who are killed? What does it profit their mothers and sisters, their wives and their sweethearts? What does it profit their children?

What does it profit anyone except the very few to whom war means huge profits?

Yes, and what does it profit the nation?

Take our own case. Until 1898 we didn't own a bit of territory outside the mainland of North America. At that time our national debt was a little more than \$1,000,000,000. Then we became "internationally minded." We forgot, or shunted aside, the advice of the Father of our country. We forgot George Washington's warning about "entangling alliances." We went to war. We acquired outside territory. At the end of the World War period, as a direct result of our fiddling in international affairs, our national debt had jumped to over \$25,000,000,000. Our total favorable trade balance during the twenty-five-year period was about \$24,000,000,000. Therefore, on a purely bookkeeping basis, we ran a little behind year for year, and that foreign trade might well have been ours without the wars.

It would have been far cheaper (not to say safer) for the average American who pays the bills to stay out of foreign entanglements. For a very few this racket, like bootlegging and other underworld rackets, brings fancy profits, but the cost of operations is always transferred to the people – who do not profit.

CHAPTER TWO

WHO MAKES THE PROFITS?

The World War, rather our brief participation in it, has cost the United States some \$52,000,000,000. Figure it out. That means \$400 to every American man, woman, and child. And we haven't paid the debt yet. We are paying it, our children will pay it, and our children's children probably still will be paying the cost of that war.

The normal profits of a business concern in the United States are six, eight, ten, and sometimes twelve percent. But war-time profits – ah! that is another matter – twenty, sixty,

one hundred, three hundred, and even eighteen hundred per cent – the sky is the limit. All that traffic will bear. Uncle Sam has the money. Let's get it.

Of course, it isn't put that crudely in war time. It is dressed into speeches about patriotism, love of country, and "we must all put our shoulders to the wheel," but the profits jump and leap and skyrocket – and are safely pocketed. Let's just take a few examples:

Take our friends the du Ponts, the powder people – didn't one of them testify before a Senate committee recently that their powder won the war? Or saved the world for democracy? Or something? How did they do in the war? They were a patriotic corporation. Well, the average earnings of the du Ponts for the period 1910 to 1914 were \$6,000,000 a year. It wasn't much, but the du Ponts managed to get along on it. Now let's look at their average yearly profit during the war years, 1914 to 1918. Fifty-eight million dollars a year profit we find! Nearly ten times that of normal times, and the profits of normal times were pretty good. An increase in profits of more than 950 per cent.

Take one of our little steel companies that patriotically shunted aside the making of rails and girders and bridges to manufacture war materials. Well, their 1910-1914 yearly earnings averaged \$6,000,000. Then came the war. And, like loyal citizens, Bethlehem Steel promptly turned to munitions making. Did their profits jump – or did they let Uncle Sam in for a bargain? Well, their 1914-1918 average was \$49,000,000 a year!

Or, let's take United States Steel. The normal earnings during the five-year period prior to the war were \$105,000,000 a year. Not bad. Then along came the war and up went the profits. The average yearly profit for the period 1914-1918 was \$240,000,000. Not bad.

There you have some of the steel and powder earnings. Let's look at something else. A little copper, perhaps. That always does well in war times.

Anaconda, for instance. Average yearly earnings during the pre-war years 1910-1914 of \$10,000,000. During the war years 1914-1918 profits leaped to \$34,000,000 per year.

Or Utah Copper. Average of \$5,000,000 per year during the 1910-1914 period. Jumped to an average of \$21,000,000 yearly profits for the war period.

Let's group these five, with three smaller companies. The total yearly average profits of the pre-war period 1910-1914 were \$137,480,000. Then along came the war. The average yearly profits for this group skyrocketed to \$408,300,000.

A little increase in profits of approximately 200 per cent.

Does war pay? It paid them. But they aren't the only ones. There are still others. Let's take leather.

For the three-year period before the war the total profits of Central Leather Company were \$3,500,000. That was approximately \$1,167,000 a year. Well, in 1916 Central Leather returned a profit of \$15,000,000, a small increase of 1,100 per cent. That's all. The General Chemical Company averaged a profit for the three years before the war of a little over \$800,000 a year. Came the war, and the profits jumped to \$12,000,000. a leap of 1,400 per cent.

International Nickel Company – and you can't have a war without nickel – showed an increase in profits from a mere average of \$4,000,000 a year to \$73,000,000 yearly. Not bad? An increase of more than 1,700 per cent.

American Sugar Refining Company averaged \$2,000,000 a year for the three years before the war. In 1916 a profit of \$6,000,000 was recorded.

Listen to Senate Document No. 259. The Sixty-Fifth Congress, reporting on corporate earnings and government revenues. Considering the profits of 122 meat packers, 153 cotton manufacturers, 299 garment makers, 49 steel plants, and 340 coal producers during the war. Profits under 25 per cent were exceptional. For instance the coal companies made between 100 per cent and 7,856 per cent on their capital stock during the war. The Chicago packers doubled and tripled their earnings.

And let us not forget the bankers who financed the great war. If anyone had the cream of the profits it was the bankers. Being partnerships rather than incorporated organizations, they do not have to report to stockholders. And their profits were as secret as they were immense. How the bankers made their millions and their billions I do not know, because those little secrets never become public – even before a Senate investigatory body.

But here's how some of the other patriotic industrialists and speculators chiseled their way into war profits.

Take the shoe people. They like war. It brings business with abnormal profits. They made huge profits on sales abroad to our allies. Perhaps, like the munitions manufacturers and armament makers, they also sold to the enemy. For a dollar is a dollar whether it comes from Germany or from France. But they did well by Uncle Sam too. For instance, they sold Uncle Sam 35,000,000 pairs of hobnailed service shoes. There were 4,000,000 soldiers. Eight pairs, and more, to a soldier. My regiment during the war had only one pair to a soldier. Some of these shoes probably are still in existence. They were good shoes. But when the war was over Uncle Sam has a matter of 25,000,000 pairs left over. Bought – and paid for. Profits recorded and pocketed.

There was still lots of leather left. So the leather people sold your Uncle Sam hundreds of thousands of McClellan saddles for the cavalry. But there wasn't any American cavalry overseas! Somebody had to get rid of this leather, however. Somebody had to make a profit in it – so we had a lot of McClellan saddles. And we probably have those yet.

Also somebody had a lot of mosquito netting. They sold your Uncle Sam 20,000,000 mosquito nets for the use of the soldiers overseas. I suppose the boys were expected to put it over them as they tried to sleep in muddy trenches – one hand scratching cooties on their backs and the other making passes at scurrying rats. Well, not one of these mosquito nets ever got to France!

Anyhow, these thoughtful manufacturers wanted to make sure that no soldier would be without his mosquito net, so 40,000,000 additional yards of mosquito netting were sold to Uncle Sam.

There were pretty good profits in mosquito netting in those days, even if there were no mosquitoes in France. I suppose, if the war had lasted just a little longer, the enterprising

mosquito netting manufacturers would have sold your Uncle Sam a couple of consignments of mosquitoes to plant in France so that more mosquito netting would be in order.

Airplane and engine manufacturers felt they, too, should get their just profits out of this war. Why not? Everybody else was getting theirs. So \$1,000,000,000 – count them if you live long enough – was spent by Uncle Sam in building airplane engines that never left the ground! Not one plane, or motor, out of the billion dollars worth ordered, ever got into a battle in France. Just the same the manufacturers made their little profit of 30, 100, or perhaps 300 per cent.

Undershirts for soldiers cost 14¢[cents] to make and Uncle Sam paid 30¢ to 40¢ each for them – a nice little profit for the undershirt manufacturer. And the stocking manufacturer and the uniform manufacturers and the cap manufacturers and the steel helmet manufacturers – all got theirs.

Why, when the war was over some 4,000,000 sets of equipment – knapsacks and the things that go to fill them – crammed warehouses on this side. Now they are being scrapped because the regulations have changed the contents. But the manufacturers collected their wartime profits on them – and they will do it all over again the next time.

There were lots of brilliant ideas for profit making during the war.

One very versatile patriot sold Uncle Sam twelve dozen 48-inch wrenches. Oh, they were very nice wrenches. The only trouble was that there was only one nut ever made that was large enough for these wrenches. That is the one that holds the turbines at Niagara Falls. Well, after Uncle Sam had bought them and the manufacturer had pocketed the profit, the wrenches were put on freight cars and shunted all around the United States in an effort to find a use for them. When the Armistice was signed it was indeed a sad blow to the wrench manufacturer. He was just about to make some nuts to fit the wrenches. Then he planned to sell these, too, to your Uncle Sam.

Still another had the brilliant idea that colonels shouldn't ride in automobiles, nor should they even ride on horseback. One has probably seen a picture of Andy Jackson riding in a buckboard. Well, some 6,000 buckboards were sold to Uncle Sam for the use of colonels! Not one of them was used. But the buckboard manufacturer got his war profit.

The shipbuilders felt they should come in on some of it, too. They built a lot of ships that made a lot of profit. More than \$3,000,000,000 worth. Some of the ships were all right. But \$635,000,000 worth of them were made of wood and wouldn't float! The seams opened up – and they sank. We paid for them, though. And somebody pocketed the profits.

It has been estimated by statisticians and economists and researchers that the war cost your Uncle Sam \$52,000,000,000. Of this sum, \$39,000,000,000 was expended in the actual war itself. This expenditure yielded \$16,000,000,000 in profits. That is how the 21,000 billionaires and millionaires got that way. This \$16,000,000,000 profits is not to be sneezed at. It is quite a tidy sum. And it went to a very few.

The Senate (Nye) committee probe of the munitions industry and its wartime profits, despite its sensational disclosures, hardly has scratched the surface.

Even so, it has had some effect. The State Department has been studying "for some time" methods of keeping out of war. The War Department suddenly decides it has a wonderful plan to spring. The Administration names a committee – with the War and Navy Departments ably represented under the chairmanship of a Wall Street speculator – to limit profits in war time. To what extent isn't suggested. Hmmm. Possibly the profits of 300 and 600 and 1,600 per cent of those who turned blood into gold in the World War would be limited to some smaller figure.

Apparently, however, the plan does not call for any limitation of losses – that is, the losses of those who fight the war. As far as I have been able to ascertain there is nothing in the scheme to limit a soldier to the loss of but one eye, or one arm, or to limit his wounds to one or two or three. Or to limit the loss of life.

There is nothing in this scheme, apparently, that says not more than 12 per cent of a regiment shall be wounded in battle, or that not more than 7 per cent in a division shall be killed.

Of course, the committee cannot be bothered with such trifling matters.

CHAPTER THREE

WHO PAYS THE BILLS?

Who provides the profits – these nice little profits of 20, 100, 300, 1,500 and 1,800 per cent? We all pay them – in taxation. We paid the bankers their profits when we bought Liberty Bonds at \$100.00 and sold them back at \$84 or \$86 to the bankers. These bankers collected \$100 plus. It was a simple manipulation. The bankers control the security marts. It was easy for them to depress the price of these bonds. Then all of us – the people – got frightened and sold the bonds at \$84 or \$86. The bankers bought them. Then these same bankers stimulated a boom and government bonds went to par – and above. Then the bankers collected their profits.

But the soldier pays the biggest part of the bill.

If you don't believe this, visit the American cemeteries on the battlefields abroad. Or visit any of the veteran's hospitals in the United States. On a tour of the country, in the midst of which I am at the time of this writing, I have visited eighteen government hospitals for veterans. In them are a total of about 50,000 destroyed men – men who were the pick of the nation eighteen years ago. The very able chief surgeon at the government hospital; at Milwaukee, where there are 3,800 of the living dead, told me that mortality among veterans is three times as great as among those who stayed at home.

Boys with a normal viewpoint were taken out of the fields and offices and factories and classrooms and put into the ranks. There they were remolded; they were made over; they were made to "about face"; to regard murder as the order of the day. They were put shoulder to shoulder and, through mass psychology, they were entirely changed. We used them for a couple of years and trained them to think nothing at all of killing or of being killed.

Then, suddenly, we discharged them and told them to make another "about face" ! This time they had to do their own readjustment, sans [without] mass psychology, sans officers' aid and advice and sans nation-wide propaganda. We didn't need them any more. So we scattered them about without any "three-minute" or "Liberty Loan" speeches or parades. Many, too many, of these fine young boys are eventually destroyed, mentally, because they could not make that final "about face" alone.

In the government hospital in Marion, Indiana, 1,800 of these boys are in pens! Five hundred of them in a barracks with steel bars and wires all around outside the buildings and on the porches. These already have been mentally destroyed. These boys don't even look like human beings. Oh, the looks on their faces! Physically, they are in good shape; mentally, they are gone.

There are thousands and thousands of these cases, and more and more are coming in all the time. The tremendous excitement of the war, the sudden cutting off of that excitement – the young boys couldn't stand it.

That's a part of the bill. So much for the dead – they have paid their part of the war profits. So much for the mentally and physically wounded – they are paying now their share of the war profits. But the others paid, too – they paid with heartbreaks when they tore themselves away from their firesides and their families to don the uniform of Uncle Sam – on which a profit had been made. They paid another part in the training camps where they were regimented and drilled while others took their jobs and their places in the lives of their communities. They paid for it in the trenches where they shot and were shot; where they were hungry for days at a time; where they slept in the mud and the cold and in the rain – with the moans and shrieks of the dying for a horrible lullaby.

But don't forget – the soldier paid part of the dollars and cents bill too.

Up to and including the Spanish-American War, we had a prize system, and soldiers and sailors fought for money. During the Civil War they were paid bonuses, in many instances, before they went into service. The government, or states, paid as high as \$1,200 for an enlistment. In the Spanish-American War they gave prize money. When we captured any vessels, the soldiers all got their share – at least, they were supposed to. Then it was found that we could reduce the cost of wars by taking all the prize money and keeping it, but conscripting [drafting] the soldier anyway. Then soldiers couldn't bargain for their labor, Everyone else could bargain, but the soldier couldn't.

Napoleon once said,

"All men are enamored of decorations...they positively hunger for them."

So by developing the Napoleonic system – the medal business – the government learned it could get soldiers for less money, because the boys liked to be decorated. Until the Civil War there were no medals. Then the Congressional Medal of Honor was handed out. It made enlistments easier. After the Civil War no new medals were issued until the Spanish-American War.

In the World War, we used propaganda to make the boys accept conscription. They were made to feel ashamed if they didn't join the army.

So vicious was this war propaganda that even God was brought into it. With few exceptions our clergymen joined in the clamor to kill, kill, kill. To kill the Germans. God is on our side...it is His will that the Germans be killed.

And in Germany, the good pastors called upon the Germans to kill the allies...to please the same God. That was a part of the general propaganda, built up to make people war conscious and murder conscious.

Beautiful ideals were painted for our boys who were sent out to die. This was the "war to end all wars." This was the "war to make the world safe for democracy." No one mentioned to them, as they marched away, that their going and their dying would mean huge war profits. No one told these American soldiers that they might be shot down by bullets made by their own brothers here. No one told them that the ships on which they were going to cross might be torpedoed by submarines built with United States patents. They were just told it was to be a "glorious adventure."

Thus, having stuffed patriotism down their throats, it was decided to make them help pay for the war, too. So, we gave them the large salary of \$30 a month.

All they had to do for this munificent sum was to leave their dear ones behind, give up their jobs, lie in swampy trenches, eat canned willy (when they could get it) and kill and kill and kill...and be killed.

But wait!

Half of that wage (just a little more than a riveter in a shipyard or a laborer in a munitions factory safe at home made in a day) was promptly taken from him to support his dependents, so that they would not become a charge upon his community. Then we made him pay what amounted to accident insurance – something the employer pays for in an enlightened state – and that cost him \$6 a month. He had less than \$9 a month left.

Then, the most crowning insolence of all – he was virtually blackjacked into paying for his own ammunition, clothing, and food by being made to buy Liberty Bonds. Most soldiers got no money at all on pay days.

We made them buy Liberty Bonds at \$100 and then we bought them back – when they came back from the war and couldn't find work – at \$84 and \$86. And the soldiers bought about \$2,000,000,000 worth of these bonds!

Yes, the soldier pays the greater part of the bill. His family pays too. They pay it in the same heart-break that he does. As he suffers, they suffer. At nights, as he lay in the trenches and watched shrapnel burst about him, they lay home in their beds and tossed sleeplessly – his father, his mother, his wife, his sisters, his brothers, his sons, and his daughters.

When he returned home minus an eye, or minus a leg or with his mind broken, they suffered too – as much as and even sometimes more than he. Yes, and they, too, contributed their dollars to the profits of the munitions makers and bankers and shipbuilders and the manufacturers and the speculators made. They, too, bought Liberty Bonds and contributed to the profit of the bankers after the Armistice in the hocus-pocus of manipulated Liberty Bond prices.

And even now the families of the wounded men and of the mentally broken and those who never were able to readjust themselves are still suffering and still paying.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW TO SMASH THIS RACKET!

WELL, it's a racket, all right.

A few profit – and the many pay. But there is a way to stop it. You can't end it by disarmament conferences. You can't eliminate it by peace parleys at Geneva. Well-meaning but impractical groups can't wipe it out by resolutions. It can be smashed effectively only by taking the profit out of war.

The only way to smash this racket is to conscript capital and industry and labor before the nations manhood can be conscripted. One month before the Government can conscript the young men of the nation – it must conscript capital and industry and labor. Let the officers and the directors and the high-powered executives of our armament factories and our munitions makers and our shipbuilders and our airplane builders and the manufacturers of all the other things that provide profit in war time as well as the bankers and the speculators, be conscripted – to get \$30 a month, the same wage as the lads in the trenches get.

Let the workers in these plants get the same wages – all the workers, all presidents, all executives, all directors, all managers, all bankers –

yes, and all generals and all admirals and all officers and all politicians and all government office holders – everyone in the nation be restricted to a total monthly income not to exceed that paid to the soldier in the trenches!

Let all these kings and tycoons and masters of business and all those workers in industry and all our senators and governors and majors pay half of their monthly \$30 wage to their families and pay war risk insurance and buy Liberty Bonds.

Why shouldn't they?

They aren't running any risk of being killed or of having their bodies mangled or their minds shattered. They aren't sleeping in muddy trenches. They aren't hungry. The soldiers are!

Give capital and industry and labor thirty days to think it over and you will find, by that time, there will be no war. That will smash the war racket – that and nothing else.

Maybe I am a little too optimistic. Capital still has some say. So capital won't permit the taking of the profit out of war until the people – those who do the suffering and still pay the price – make up their minds that those they elect to office shall do their bidding, and not that of the profiteers.

Another step necessary in this fight to smash the war racket is the limited plebiscite to determine whether a war should be declared. A plebiscite not of all the voters but merely of

those who would be called upon to do the fighting and dying. There wouldn't be very much sense in having a 76-year-old president of a munitions factory or the flat-footed head of an international banking firm or the cross-eyed manager of a uniform manufacturing plant – all of whom see visions of tremendous profits in the event of war – voting on whether the nation should go to war or not. They never would be called upon to shoulder arms – to sleep in a trench and to be shot. Only those who would be called upon to risk their lives for their country should have the privilege of voting to determine whether the nation should go to war.

There is ample precedent for restricting the voting to those affected. Many of our states have restrictions on those permitted to vote. In most, it is necessary to be able to read and write before you may vote. In some, you must own property. It would be a simple matter each year for the men coming of military age to register in their communities as they did in the draft during the World War and be examined physically. Those who could pass and who would therefore be called upon to bear arms in the event of war would be eligible to vote in a limited plebiscite. They should be the ones to have the power to decide – and not a Congress few of whose members are within the age limit and fewer still of whom are in physical condition to bear arms. Only those who must suffer should have the right to vote.

A third step in this business of smashing the war racket is to make certain that our military forces are truly forces for defense only.

At each session of Congress the question of further naval appropriations comes up. The swivel-chair admirals of Washington (and there are always a lot of them) are very adroit lobbyists. And they are smart. They don't shout that "We need a lot of battleships to war on this nation or that nation." Oh no. First of all, they let it be known that America is menaced by a great naval power. Almost any day, these admirals will tell you, the great fleet of this supposed enemy will strike suddenly and annihilate 125,000,000 people. Just like that. Then they begin to cry for a larger navy. For what? To fight the enemy? Oh my, no. Oh, no. For defense purposes only.

Then, incidentally, they announce maneuvers in the Pacific. For defense. Uh, huh.

The Pacific is a great big ocean. We have a tremendous coastline on the Pacific. Will the maneuvers be off the coast, two or three hundred miles? Oh, no. The maneuvers will be two thousand, yes, perhaps even thirty-five hundred miles, off the coast.

The Japanese, a proud people, of course will be pleased beyond expression to see the united States fleet so close to Nippon's shores. Even as pleased as would be the residents of California were they to dimly discern through the morning mist, the Japanese fleet playing at war games off Los Angeles.

The ships of our navy, it can be seen, should be specifically limited, by law, to within 200 miles of our coastline. Had that been the law in 1898 the Maine would never have gone to Havana Harbor. She never would have been blown up. There would have been no war with Spain with its attendant loss of life. Two hundred miles is ample, in the opinion of experts, for defense purposes. Our nation cannot start an offensive war if its ships can't go further than 200 miles from the coastline. Planes might be permitted to go as far as 500 miles from the coast for purposes of reconnaissance. And the army should never leave the territorial limits of our nation.

To summarize: Three steps must be taken to smash the war racket.

We must take the profit out of war.

We must permit the youth of the land who would bear arms to decide whether or not there should be war.

We must limit our military forces to home defense purposes.

CHAPTER FIVE

TO HELL WITH WAR!

I am not a fool as to believe that war is a thing of the past. I know the people do not want war, but there is no use in saying we cannot be pushed into another war.

Looking back, Woodrow Wilson was re-elected president in 1916 on a platform that he had "kept us out of war" and on the implied promise that he would "keep us out of war." Yet, five months later he asked Congress to declare war on Germany.

In that five-month interval the people had not been asked whether they had changed their minds. The 4,000,000 young men who put on uniforms and marched or sailed away were not asked whether they wanted to go forth to suffer and die.

Then what caused our government to change its mind so suddenly?

Money.

An allied commission, it may be recalled, came over shortly before the war declaration and called on the President. The President summoned a group of advisers. The head of the commission spoke. Stripped of its diplomatic language, this is what he told the President and his group:

"There is no use kidding ourselves any longer. The cause of the allies is lost. We now owe you (American bankers, American munitions makers, American manufacturers, American speculators, American exporters) five or six billion dollars.

If we lose (and without the help of the United States we must lose) we, England, France and Italy, cannot pay back this money...and Germany won't.

So..."

Had secrecy been outlawed as far as war negotiations were concerned, and had the press been invited to be present at that conference, or had radio been available to broadcast the proceedings, America never would have entered the World War. But this conference, like all war discussions, was shrouded in utmost secrecy. When our boys were sent off to war they were told it was a "war to make the world safe for democracy" and a "war to end all wars."

Well, eighteen years after, the world has less of democracy than it had then. Besides, what business is it of ours whether Russia or Germany or England or France or Italy or Austria

live under democracies or monarchies? Whether they are Fascists or Communists? Our problem is to preserve our own democracy.

And very little, if anything, has been accomplished to assure us that the World War was really the war to end all wars.

Yes, we have had disarmament conferences and limitations of arms conferences. They don't mean a thing. One has just failed; the results of another have been nullified. We send our professional soldiers and our sailors and our politicians and our diplomats to these conferences. And what happens?

The professional soldiers and sailors don't want to disarm. No admiral wants to be without a ship. No general wants to be without a command. Both mean men without jobs. They are not for disarmament. They cannot be for limitations of arms. And at all these conferences, lurking in the background but all-powerful, just the same, are the sinister agents of those who profit by war. They see to it that these conferences do not disarm or seriously limit armaments.

The chief aim of any power at any of these conferences has not been to achieve disarmament to prevent war but rather to get more armament for itself and less for any potential foe.

There is only one way to disarm with any semblance of practicability. That is for all nations to get together and scrap every ship, every gun, every rifle, every tank, every war plane. Even this, if it were possible, would not be enough.

The next war, according to experts, will be fought not with battleships, not by artillery, not with rifles and not with machine guns. It will be fought with deadly chemicals and gases.

Secretly each nation is studying and perfecting newer and ghaselier means of annihilating its foes wholesale. Yes, ships will continue to be built, for the shipbuilders must make their profits. And guns still will be manufactured and powder and rifles will be made, for the munitions makers must make their huge profits. And the soldiers, of course, must wear uniforms, for the manufacturer must make their war profits too.

But victory or defeat will be determined by the skill and ingenuity of our scientists.

If we put them to work making poison gas and more and more fiendish mechanical and explosive instruments of destruction, they will have no time for the constructive job of building greater prosperity for all peoples. By putting them to this useful job, we can all make more money out of peace than we can out of war – even the munitions makers.

So...I say,

TO HELL WITH WAR!

Major-General Smedley Butler (1881-1940)

By Richard Sanders, Editor, [Press for Conversion!](#)

Major-General Smedley Darlington Butler, a 33-year veteran of the Marine Corps who was twice decorated with the Medal of Honor, blew the whistle on the fascist plot to oust FDR. He also confessed to having been a “high class muscle-man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the Bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.”

In his book [War is a Racket](#), 1935, Butler opens with these lines:

"War is a racket. It always has been. It is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope.... [and] the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives.

A racket is best described as something that is not what it seems to the majority of the people. Only a small 'inside' group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes.

For a great many years, as a soldier, I had a suspicion that war was a racket; not until I retired to civil life did I fully realize it.... I must face it and speak out."

In "Time of Peace," *Common Sense*, Nov. 1935, Butler said:

"There isn't a trick in the racketeering bag that the military gang is blind to. It has its 'finger men' (to point out enemies), its 'muscle men' (to destroy enemies), its 'brain men' (to plan war preparations), and a "Big Boss" (super-nationalistic capitalism).

It may seem odd for a military man to adopt such a comparison. Truthfulness compels me to.

I suspected I was just part of a racket at the time. Now I am sure of it. Like all the members of the military profession, I never had a thought of my own until I left the service. My mental faculties remained in suspended animation while I obeyed the orders of higher-ups.

I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927, I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested....

I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket.... I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents....

Our exploits against the American Indian, the Filipinos, the Mexicans, and against Spain are on a par with the campaigns of Genghis Khan, the Japanese in Manchuria and the African attack of

Mussolini. No country has ever declared war on us before we first obliged them with that gesture. Our whole history shows we have never fought a defensive war."

Butler made these conclusions in his book *War is a Racket*:

"* We must take the profit out of war.

* We must permit the youth..., who would bear arms, to decide whether or not there should be war.

* We must limit our military to defense purposes....

Secretly each nation is studying and perfecting newer and ghastlier means of annihilating its foes wholesale.... Ships will continue to be built, for shipbuilders must make their profits. And guns still will be manufactured... powder and rifles will be made, for the munitions makers must make their huge profits.... Victory or defeat will be determined by the skill and ingenuity of our scientists.

If we put them to work making poison gas and more and more fiendish mechanical and explosive instruments of destruction, they will have no time for the constructive job of building greater prosperity for all peoples. By putting them to this useful job, we can all make more money out of peace than we can out of war – even the munitions makers.

So...I say, TO HELL WITH WAR!"

General Smedley Butler

By John Spivak

With the [MacCormack Dickstein] Committee having enough credence in the now-common rumors to take the General's testimony, I kept asking myself why Butler had been selected to head the putsch. What was there about him that made him the choice?

I knew that in 1924-25, Philadelphia, then the third largest city in the country, had borrowed Butler from the Marine Corps because of his reputation for honesty and integrity. Philadelphia was then reputed to be one of the most corrupt municipalities in the land. Political machines controlled its life, and, as in most communities with such problems, the people were apathetic. When crime and graft mounted and corruption became a political issue, the city fathers, either for public relations reasons or in an earnest desire to get an incorruptible man, tapped Butler to serve as their Director of Public Safety. The General did not last long in this job, however; the machine was too big and too well rooted.

I knew, too, that Butler's prestige among American servicemen was greater than that of any living military leader except perhaps General John J. Pershing. The more I dug into the Marine's past, the more I was convinced that the conspirators were incredibly incompetent in picking him. In many ways the General was an extraordinary man. He was a Quaker who made war his career. He was one of the few men in American history to be twice awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, and he held sixteen other decorations from a grateful nation. His ancestors were pacifists who operated an underground station to help runaway slaves, and during the Civil War, when

Confederate soldiers approached Gettysburg, his grandfathers on both sides of the family took up muskets.
pp. 299-301.

Butler was sixteen when the battleship Maine was sunk. Despite his parents' disapproval, he enlisted in the Marines and, without ever attending an officers' training school, went from private to commanding officer. He was known for his strictness and toughness but, equally well, for never ordering his men to do anything he would not do himself. Those who served under him told how in the heat of battle he went out personally to bring in wounded Marines, and how when he happened by and saw his men unloading railroad cars he pitched in with a helping hand. As a result his men gave him extraordinary devotion. When he retired he did a good deal of public speaking, especially to veterans' groups. He delighted in calling his listeners "dumb, stupid soldiers." His audiences would grin and nod in agreement; from him they were willing to take almost anything, because they sensed that behind the gruffness was a genuine affection and concern for their welfare. He believed the American soldier's job was to defend the United States and its democratic system of government-not to give up his life on alien soil to protect American foreign investments. As a Marine he had fought wherever his superiors ordered and had come to the conclusion that "war is a racket." Labor's Untold Story quotes him as writing, after he retired:

I spent 33 years [in the Marines] and during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.... I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for the American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927, I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.
pp. 326-327

Source: Excerpts from a chapter of *A Man in His Time*, "The Plot To Seize Washington."

The Plot to Seize the White House

By [Jules Archer](#)

(These excerpts were selected by Dale Wharton from Archer's book, *The Plot to Seize the White House*. Click here to read [Wharton's review of Archer's book](#).)

...neither (Italian or German paramilitary organizations) could be made attractive to the American veteran. [...] Riots had erupted in Paris early in February (1934), ending in...a general strike that had paralyzed the country. Civil war had been averted only by...a National Union ministry made up of all parties except Socialists, Communists, and Royalists. A key role in ending the crisis had been played by a rightwing veterans' organization...the [Croix de Feu](#) (officers, noncoms) 23

During 1914, four presidents of (Haiti) were overthrown. The Germans were threatening to intervene....63.

When the National Assembly met in Port-au-Prince, Marines stood in the aisles with bayonets drawn until Philippe Dartiguenave, the Haitian selected by the American minister, was "elected" president by the Assembly (aug/sep 1915). He was the first Haitian President to serve out his full seven-year term, only because of the occupation of the Marines. 64 Although still only a major, Butler's rank as head of the Haitian Gendarmerie was major general, and his power that of Minister of the Interior. 68

Mary Roberts Rinehart, who visited Butler in Philadelphia to study his cleanup, wrote about it in her biography: "He did a fine job....But it was an unbeatable game, that of the crooks, gamblers, bootleggers, and dive keepers." 91

(David Shoup told author) I wondered at the time (1927) if our government would put all these Marines in a position of danger, where they might sacrifice their lives in defense of [Standard Oil](#). Later I discovered that of course it would, and did. It was only some years later that I learned that General Butler had been thinking the same way. I thought I had been alone in suspecting it. 101

[Butler was]...awarded an Umbrella of Ten Thousand Blessings--a magnificent canopy of red satin with small silk streamers proclaiming his greatness. No foreigner in Tientsin or Peking had ever rated one...103

"The fellow we had there (Nicaragua) nobody liked, but he was a useful fellow to us, so we had to keep him in. How to keep him in was the problem." Then he described how the election had been rigged, under orders, for that purpose. 107

Outraged neighbors in many communities were setting up roadblocks with guns to bar outside bidders at foreclosure auctions so that the property could be bought for a song and returned to its owners (1932). Alarmed bankers saw this development as a Communist threat. 122

...Americans were hungry for a change, especially for a turn away from foreign affairs to home problems. But he found no indication that Main Street America either wanted revolutionary change or thought it likely, despite alarm over a Red menace in the conservative press. 126 (See [Spivak](#), 298)

"...[Jimmy \[Van Zandt--VFW leader\]](#) and I are going around the country trying to educate the soldiers out of the sucker class." 129

He warned veterans not to believe "the propagandist capital circulates" in the press, which he condemned as largely capitalist-controlled. "The paper that takes the part of the soldier," he charged, "loses advertising." His concern for disabled veterans was not mere rhetoric. He met many of them in the 18 veterans' hospitals he visited during his (12/33) tour of the country (for VFW). 130

([Paul Comly French](#), quoting [MacGuire](#);) He said that a crash was inevitable and was due to come when bonds reached five percent... 166

"All the principals in the case," [George Seldes](#) noted in his book *Facts and Fascism*, "were [American Legion](#) officials and financial backers." 171

[Dickstein](#) indicated that about 16 persons mentioned to the committee by Butler would be subpoenaed and that an open hearing might be held within a week. 172

One Nebraska woman wrote him:

"It is heartening to find a man who has the courage to fight that Octopus, Wall St. More power to you. There are millions of honest people in the United States who applaud you and would follow you heart & soul. Read of [MacNider](#)'s name being linked with the case. Heard him speak before a woman's club in Omaha. Sized him up as being that kind of tripe. Here's hoping you expose these traitors to a showdown. Yours for justice..." 173

(Roger Baldwin, director ACLU:) (CUAA) has just reported that the Fascist plot to seize the government...was proved; yet not a single participant will be prosecuted under the perfectly plain language of the federal conspiracy act making this a high crime. Imagine the action if such a plot were discovered among Communists! 197

...the most bitter animosity big business had ever manifested toward any President...Their hate campaign was echoed in the vast majority of newspapers...which had originally supported the President, then denounced him as a dictator. Roosevelt had been compelled to turn to "fireside chats" over the radio in order to communicate with the American people over the heads of the press lords. 202

(Geo Seldes on fighting fascism in US:) ...the entire Red-baiting wave which culminated in the McCarthy era was successful in inundating the anti-Fascists by making every anti-Fascist, whether liberal, socialist, or Communist, a Red. 208

The McCormack-Dickstein Committee had exposed Ivy Lee, the noted public relations expert ostensibly employed by the German dye trust, but actually on the payroll of the Nazi Government to help them win favorable publicity in the American press. 215

He told a YMCA audience that Mussolini was invading Ethiopia to get oil because the nation was bankrupt:

"The only way out for Mussolini is to declare war on somebody. That's the regular way of dealing with such situations. If this country ever gets busted, you can look for a war in about six months. Before he started it, Mussolini called a conference with England and France...and he thought he had everybody's permission to go ahead. Diplomacy is reeking with rotten politics." 225

"Let Congress say to all foreign investors: `Come on home or let your money stay out of the country--we will not defend it.'" 227

1937: "Lying propaganda is almost certainly necessary to bring nations to the pitch where men kill and women give their men and boys to be killed.....The object of war is to get something for nothing...." 233

In his library during his last years were *SAWDUST CAESAR* by Geo Seldes, *THE ROAD TO WAR* by Walter Millis, and *JOHNNY GOT HIS GUN* by Dalton Trumbo. *EUROPE UNDER THE TERROR*, by John L. Spivak, was inscribed to him as "one of the best fighters against Fascism in this country, with the respect and admiration of JLS."

1940: Ever since he had been a starry-eyed Marine recruit of 16, American administrations had persistently cried wolf in order to use him and the youths under him to protect and augment foreign investments wrapped in the flag. It was now impossible for him to believe that the shouts of wolf he heard once more were any more genuine than all those he had heard... since 1898. 239

The general who could have had all the wealth and power he wanted as dictator of the United States died (June 21, 1940, of abdominal ailment, apparently cancer) leaving an estate that totaled two thousand dollars. 240

War Is Still A Racket

by Ed Rippy

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September 11 2001 — we hear over and over — changed everything. In the "War On Terrorism," says President Bush, anyone who isn't with "us" is with the terrorists. Afghanistan and Iraq are now US clients or protectorates. But a deeper look shows that except for the details and the players, nothing has changed at all.

In the early 1930s Major General Smedley Butler, retired from thirty-three years in the US Marine Corps, had a fit of realization and then a fit of honesty. He began making speeches and published a book, all telling a fundamental, ugly, and timeless truth: War Is A Racket.¹ Seventy years later, The Racket is going stronger than ever. It is not so much a conspiracy as a combination political philosophy and business model.

"I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in," confessed Butler. The National City Bank's descendent, Citigroup, is now the biggest bank in the world² — and the eleventh biggest corporation — and collects revenues in over a hundred "decent places" including Angola, Vietnam, Panama, Saudi Arabia, and Colombia³ — all of which (like most of the world) have had Butler's successors on the scene to keep them "decent."

"I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909–1912," Butler relates, and within years Brown Brothers, by then merged with the Harriman Co., helped pay Hitler's Wehrmacht to "purify" Europe. Prescott Bush, later a US Senator and then both father and grandfather of US Presidents, ran the New York office of this piece of The Racket.⁴

"In China I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested." Later on, the Chinese "molested" Standard Oil, but now they are finding their place in The Racket: the Chinese Academy of Sciences owns part of a company which is in a consortium which has bought the manufacturer of critical parts for US "precision" weapons — and is relocating the factory to China.⁵

The Racket works in many ways. First it funnels money from taxpayers and consumers to banks and big business. Butler gives some examples from World War I (the numbers have been adjusted for inflation using the US Bureau of Labor Statistics calculator):⁶

"Take our friends the du Ponts, the [gun]powder people How did they do in the war? . . . Eight hundred and twelve million dollars a year profit we find! Nearly ten times that of normal times. . . .

"[Bethlehem Steel's] 1910–1914 yearly earnings averaged \$84,000,000. . . . Then came the war. . . . [T]heir 1914–1918 average was \$686,000,000 a year! . . .

"Or, let's take United States Steel. The normal earnings during the five-year period prior to the war were \$1,470,000,000 a year. Not bad. Then along came the war and up went the profits. The average yearly profit for the period 1914–1918 was \$3,360,000,000. Not bad."

But "If anyone had the cream of the profits it was the bankers. Being partnerships rather than incorporated organizations, they do not have to report to stockholders. . . . those little secrets never become public. . . ."

FASCISM AND THE RACKET

Powerful Racketeers from US business, political, and military circles have wanted a global fascist order for a long time. (For example, in the mid-1930s, vice-president of General Motors Graeme K. Howard wrote a book titled *America and a New World Order*, which described the glories of an international fascist regime led by the US.)

IBM, ITT, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Ford, General Motors, The Chase Bank, the National City Bank of New York (now Citibank/Citigroup), and other US businesses and banks funded Hitler before and during World War II.⁷ (As we noted above, Prescott Bush, G. W. Bush's grandfather, funneled money to the Nazis from New York.⁸) They also supplied trucks, oil, aircraft engines, communications equipment, transportation, and propaganda to the fascist powers. Allen Dulles and John Foster Dulles, who later became head of the CIA and Secretary of State respectively, were heavily involved in this collaboration. Some of these fascists actually plotted a military coup against President Roosevelt, but it was discovered.⁹ After the war, the US fascists saw to it that most of the Nazi industrialists — and their capital equipment — remained in place. (The British foreign policy elite, led by the "Round Table" founded by Cecil Rhodes, had secretly wanted to give Nazi Germany enough of Europe to make it a strong bulwark against Communism, but wanted to avoid war.¹⁰)

The Office of Naval Intelligence recruited the Mafia to control the New York waterfront and help plan the invasion of Italy. The US military also installed Mafia chiefs as mayors of many towns and cities in Italy (they had set them up as an occupation force to release US troops for the European theater of war). Under Lucky Luciano, the Mafia rebuilt its heroin trade, expanding into Marseille (we shall revisit this in a later section). The Mafia also guarded against Socialist and Communist resurgence, a great aid to US foreign policy. King Ibn Saud (of Saudi Arabia) had supported Hitler; right after the war FDR cut a deal with him (and some other Arab heads of state). The CIA, which adopted hundreds of Nazi spies, scientists, and military officers, set up a fascist network in the Middle East to assure control of oil supplies and to counter Soviet influence. It also brought many Nazis to the US and to South America.

One of the Nazis US Racketeers spirited away to South America was Klaus Barbie. Known as "The Butcher of Lyons," he helped set up the infamous "School of the Americas," a training center for torture and repression, for the US army in the Panama Canal Zone.¹¹ (The school later moved to Fort Benning, GA, and has changed its name to the "Western Hemispheric Institute for Security Co-operation.") Barbie's mercenaries, wearing Swastika armbands, carried out the bloody "Cocaine Coup" of 1980 — the first time in history that an entire government had been bought by drug dealers, according to a State Dept. diplomat. This was part of a regional plan of the US military — involving six South American governments — to rid the continent of "leftists."¹²

THE RACKET TODAY

These days, with tens of billions of dollars in emergency appropriations for the Afghan War, a yearly military budget close to \$400 billion, and as-yet-uncounted billions for the recent "liberation" of Iraq, US military suppliers are still doing well. Kellogg, Brown, and Root, wholly owned by Dick Cheney's old company Halliburton, is building tank transporters for the British Army,¹³ built the cells for the "detainees" from Afghanistan at Guantanamo Naval Station in Cuba, feeds US troops in Uzbekistan,¹⁴ and supplies US military operations in Afghanistan, Djibouti, Georgia, Jordan, Uzbekistan, Kuwait, and Turkey.¹⁵ Halliburton, on Cheney's watch, did over \$20 million worth of business with

Iraq while still supplying the US, which was loudest in supporting the sanctions against Iraq. Brown and Root has paid millions of dollars in fines for illegally selling to Libya, another country the US has outlawed trade with, allegedly for sponsoring terrorism.¹⁶ To be fair, Cheney has sold his Halliburton stock, so he doesn't profit overtly from its business, but it is unlikely that the company will forget who its friends are.¹⁷

The Carlyle Group, a private investment firm which owns so many "defense" companies that it's one of the top US military contractors, made \$237 million in *one day* selling shares in one of its holdings which was poised to cash in on Congress's post-9-11 largesse. With former President Bush, former "Defense" Secretary Carlucci, former Secretary of State Baker, and other leading Racketeers on the payroll, Carlyle knows the War Racket inside and out.¹⁸ Savvy investors, including some of the bin Laden family, have found Carlyle attractive.¹⁹

But it would be unfair to pick solely on Cheney, Halliburton, or Republicans. Shareholders are suing General Electric, ConocoPhillips, and, yes, Halliburton, for doing business with forbidden, "terrorist-sponsoring" states;²⁰ and John Deutch, Director of Central Intelligence during a Democratic administration, sits on the board of Schlumberger, the US's second largest oil-services company, also doing business with Iraq as of late 2000.²¹ Northrop Grumman, having concluded that "total peace would not prevail in our time," expects "at least double digit earnings growth" for years; it just bought TRW and Litton Industries, making it the third largest US military supplier.²² Its stock reached a three-year high two days after the US started bombing Afghanistan.²³

Other US merchants of death are also doing well. Raytheon is selling cruise missiles right and left. Lockheed Martin got \$200 billion to build the Joint Strike Fighter, a multipurpose combat jet. Boeing is making over 1,000 precision-guidance kits — with movable tailfins — to make US bombs "smart." The Racketeers are doing so well that the American Stock Exchange, one of their principle scoreboards, has set up a "Defense Index" of fifteen companies which make money off of war — sort of a Dow-Jones of death to measure their success in transmuting human blood into revenue.²⁴

But it would also be unfair to pick solely on the US, although its enforcement arm has by far the most muscle; The Racket is international. During the Iran-Iraq War, US, Soviet, Middle Eastern, and European Racketeers supplied both sides.²⁵ In one sweaty, incestuous tangle of corporate and governmental limbs, Israeli Racketeers traded weapons they had gotten from US Racketeers for oil from Iranian Racketeers. They couldn't be seen in bed together, though, so they hired Swiss Racketeers to broker the deal. No doubt they had a fun and lucrative romp; but the wet spot they left behind them was a spreading pool of other people's blood.²⁶ The "Afghan Freedom Fighters" who dealt the Soviet Racket a mortal blow were mainly a joint production of US, Saudi, Pakistani, and Chinese Racketeers, although others had pieces of the action too.²⁷ The US-sponsored proxy war in Nicaragua drew on Saudi,²⁸ Israeli, Panamanian, Czech, and Costa Rican money, weapons, and talents — to name only a few.²⁹ For much of the shady dealing and financing, they used a bank incorporated in Luxembourg by Pakistanis, financed by Arabs, and headquartered in London.³⁰

THEY JUST TAKE IT

The instructive General Butler continues:

"Out of war nations acquire additional territory, if they are victorious. They just take it. This newly acquired territory promptly is exploited by the few — the selfsame few who wrung dollars out of blood in the war."

US and British Racketeers, having just taken over Iraq, are taking its oil³¹ and its bank deposits to pay themselves for rebuilding what they have destroyed (our old acquaintance Citigroup has been holding some of the money since a 1990 decree of Bush Sr.;³² but then so has Deutsche Bank, German Racketeers' traditional "armaments bank,"³³ which has been involved with Middle East oil since before World War I.³⁴) Soon after the "liberation" of Afghanistan, which the Clinton and Bush Administrations had planned years before the World Trade Center attacks,³⁵ Unocal signed a deal with the new government to build a pipeline across Afghanistan to the Arabian Sea.³⁶ (Unocal had been planning the pipeline since 1997, but as one of their vice-presidents explained to Congress, the Taliban were in the way.³⁷)

War is such a good racket that the Racketeers have no plans to stop it anytime soon: as one major wrote in the journal of the Army War College,

"We have entered an age of constant conflict.... There will be no peace. At any given moment for the rest of our lifetimes, there will be multiple conflicts in mutating forms around the globe..... The de facto role of the US armed forces will be to keep the world safe for our economy and open to our cultural assault. To those ends, we will do a fair amount of killing."³⁸ As the bombs started falling on Afghanistan, Vice-President Cheney said that the "War on Terrorism" "may never end. At least, not in our lifetime."³⁹ More than a year later, on an aircraft carrier returning to San Diego after helping "liberate" Iraq, President Bush said, "The war on terror is not over."⁴⁰

ONE GOOD RACKET DESERVES ANOTHER... AND ANOTHER... AND ANOTHER

War has been such a swell racket that it has spawned several subsidiaries: the Oil Racket, the Drug Racket, the Terrorism Racket, and the hybrid War-On-Drugs and War-On-Terrorism Rackets.

THE OIL RACKET

The Oil Racket began when the Allies broke the World War I stalemate of trench warfare with tanks, gasoline-driven transport, and air power. The oil-burning British Fleet out-maneuvered the coal-burning German Fleet in the North Sea. It was clear that to stand a chance in the War Racket you had to be a player in the Oil Racket. The powers began jockeying for all the oil they could control, mostly in the Middle East.⁴¹ A long series of coups, wars, and other crises ensued as different Racketeers fought over the juice that drove their economies, and more important, their war machines. Of

course, the banks and weapons companies cashed in on all this action. During World War II the King of Saudi Arabia was an ardent supporter of Hitler but took protection money from Roosevelt to keep US oil rigs — and their oil — from the Axis.⁴² After the war, Roosevelt met the King and cut a secret deal trading US protection of the Saud dynasty's throne for privileged access to its oil.⁴³ (The "fundamentalist Muslims" so important for the Terrorism Racket take their inspiration from a right-wing sect allied with this dynasty.⁴⁴)

Two main features of the Oil Racket since the latter Twentieth Century are that most or all oil producers have demanded US dollars in payment (helping US banks and importers), and that oil-rich governments (especially Saudi Arabia's) quietly kicked much of the loot back to the US Treasury (in loans) and weapons companies (in purchases).⁴⁵ They also kept most of their leftover money in US banks⁴⁶ (this is how Citigroup et al. got their hands on the Iraqi money the elder President Bush froze in 1990). The Oil Racket is so blatantly obvious that an advisor to Tony Blair admitted that the US and UK took over Iraq for its oil.⁴⁷ Cashing in on rising demand (to fuel the war machine) and rising prices (as the military demand bid them up), ExxonMobil, BP, and Shell posted record profits for the quarter — double or triple the previous quarter.⁴⁸

THE DRUG RACKET

The Drug Racket — at least in its modern, globalized form — began in the late 1940s when the CIA enlisted the Sicilian Mafia and Corsican gangsters to fight leftists in Italy and France; in return, it allowed them to rebuild their heroin network (it turned the Corsican operation over to French intelligence in the mid-1950s). Later, as US Racketeers took Southeast Asia over from French Racketeers, they inherited their opium smuggling networks and built them into a heroin ring which financed a covert proxy war against Communist China.⁴⁹ In the mid-1980s, US "clandestine services" took over the South American cocaine trade to finance their proxy war in Nicaragua (and later in Colombia) and grew it into such a big racket that the central banks of Bolivia,⁵⁰ Colombia, and Peru⁵¹ can't repay their dollar-denominated loans to US banks without the drug money. (The CIA actually admitted that it protected its allies' drug running in Central America.⁵²) At about the same time they did the same thing with Afghanistan's opium, and now Pakistan's central bank is thoroughly hooked on heroin dollars.⁵³ And so on. Such countries are war-torn and, due to years of the World Bank's "structural adjustment policies," many have so much of their land devoted to export crops that they can't grow their own food — so without foreign currency, the people starve. This, along with their covert armies, is how the really big Racketeers buy and sell governments.

THE TERRORISM RACKET

The Terrorism Racket hit the big time after US, Saudi, and Pakistani Racketeers decided to make trouble for the Soviets in Afghanistan. They started giving secret aid to enemies of the socialist Afghan government, and the Soviets invaded,⁵⁴ beginning a long and bloody war which hastened the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the process they built up the Afghan Drug Racket until it supplied about two-thirds of the world's

heroin.⁵⁵ They set up Islamic "religious schools" teaching an extremist doctrine similar to that of the sect allied with the Saudi monarchy⁵⁶ and gave their "best" students weapons training.⁵⁷ Osama bin Laden was a top recruiter for this project, rounding up footloose young men in the Middle East and sending them to the US for special training before they went to Afghanistan.⁵⁸

After the fall of the Soviet Union leading US and Saudi Racketeers met with others several times to decide what to do with the Mujahedin and their gun and drug rings. While the more cautious ones wanted to disband them, others refused to give up such useful arrangements.⁵⁹ As a former CIA analyst explained, the same policies that helped bring down the Soviet Union are still useful to curb residual Russian and emerging Chinese influence in Central Asia.⁶⁰ But they are useful elsewhere as well: various Mujahedin groups resettled in places like Chechnya,⁶¹ the Philippines, and Sudan.⁶² Al Qaeda, in concert with US and British forces, helped train Bosnian Muslims and the KLA, moving heroin to help pay the bills.⁶³ Although the Saudi government has officially expelled Osama bin Laden, and his family has officially disowned him, there are persistent reports that Prince Turki, long head of Saudi intelligence and now Ambassador to the US, remains in close contact with him. Further, the royal family continues to support his businesses, and his own family manages to stay in touch quietly.⁶⁴ The French newspaper *Le Figaro* reported that a high-level CIA officer, as well as many of Osama's relatives, visited him while he was having his kidneys treated at the US hospital in Dubai in July 2001.⁶⁵ As late as 1997 the US National Security Agency was bragging of intercepting his phone calls to his mother.⁶⁶ His brothers still run banks and other companies connected with terrorists,⁶⁷ and al Qaeda troops protect Western oil pipelines in war-torn areas.⁶⁸

Terrorist attacks against the US can be helpful to US Racketeers: a former US bioweapons director observed that the 2001 anthrax attacks weren't all bad, since they led to a \$6 billion increase in the biowarfare budget. The anthrax strain originally came from a US military laboratory, and only such laboratories know how to make it as fine and fluffy as the anthrax in the mailings.⁶⁹

THE WAR-ON-DRUGS RACKET

The War Racket and the Drug Racket combine to form the War-on-Drugs Racket, by which the Racketeers get more military and police power by pinning their own drug racket on their enemy *du jour*. There are many examples: Reagan brandished pictures of "Sandinista narco-traffickers" which actually showed Medellin Cartel members who had (until then) been protected by the CIA since their profits benefited the Contras. Even though the DEA didn't buy the "Sandinista" story, it led to a secret Presidential National Security Decision Directive authorizing increased military and intelligence forces to fight the "Drug War."⁷⁰ More recently, the Clinton and Bush Administrations have been doing the same thing with the FARC in Colombia, branding it a "narco-guerrilla" army and increasing "counternarcotics" aid to the Colombian military.⁷¹ According to the Colombian government, the FARC does control about 2.5 percent of Colombia's cocaine exports; right-wing paramilitary groups, in close alliance with the

army which is getting the "counternarcotics" aid, control about 40 percent.⁷² Of course, the "War on Drugs" serves to increase police powers in the US, too.

THE WAR-ON-TERRORISM RACKET

The latest model is the War-on-Terrorism Racket, unveiled after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. It has major advantages: it promises to be endless, the "enemy" can be just about anywhere, and it has proved even better than the War-on-Drugs Racket for increasing US police powers. So far it has "justified" major military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq, more US troops and "advisors" from Uzbekistan⁷³ to the Philippines,⁷⁴ the "PATRIOT" Act (with a sequel in the works at this writing), and the Department of "Homeland Security."

HOW TO STIR UP A WAR

But most people don't want war, so the Racketeers often have to stir it up. In 1939 German officers dressed an unknown prisoner up in a Polish Army uniform, staged a Polish attack on a German radio station, and invaded Poland the next day.⁷⁵ In 1931 Japanese soldiers bombed the South Manchurian Railway (which Japan controlled), blamed China for the attack, and promptly invaded.⁷⁶ Ten years later the US Government cut off Japan's oil supplies, steel, and credit while leaving the Pacific Fleet exposed in Hawaii. As expected, Japan responded by going to war with the US. They kicked it off with a "surprise" attack on Pearl Harbor, but Naval Intelligence had broken Japan's military codes and tracked Japanese warships all the way there. The Washington brass hobbled the Pacific Fleet commander's reconnaissance efforts, didn't tell him of the attack force bearing down on him, and told him to prepare for propaganda and sabotage, not an air attack.⁷⁷ (This is not to say that the Roosevelt Administration was running this racket; other players may have forced his hand. Roosevelt knew that Hitler was planning to attack the US when he had bombers with enough range. FDR had troubles at home, too: US Nazi supporters planned a military coup and approached General Butler to spearhead it, but he blew the whistle and the plan fizzled.⁷⁸) The Tonkin Gulf "incident" (which followed a series of covert US-led commando raids into North Vietnam⁷⁹) also comes to mind. It is a well-established technique. As Hermann Goering put it, "Naturally, the common people don't want war. . . . [But] it is always a simple matter to drag the people along. . . . All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country."⁸⁰ Many signs suggest that the September 11 attacks were no exception to this pattern.

THE PRELUDE TO 9-11

In recent years leading US Racketeers have fretted that the people of the US don't understand their "global responsibilities," which boil down to making sure that they (US Racketeers and their allies) run the world. Without US "primacy," they say, the world must sink into anarchy and economic depression. Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Advisor and still a professor at Johns Hopkins University,

wrote in 1997 that to save the world from this fate the US must control Eurasia, and to do that it must control Central Asia. He noted, however, that the US only rose to the challenge of ending World War II after the shock of Pearl Harbor.⁸¹ The Project for the New American Century, whose statement of principle boasts the signatures of Dick Cheney, Don Rumsfeld, Jeb Bush, Steve Forbes, William Bennett, Paul Wolfowitz, and other luminaries of the US right, echoes Brezinski's lament that the US people lack the resolve to Keep the World Safe for Democracy. The Project called for a return to the Reagan years of high "defense" spending to support US "constabulary" actions all over the world. Its monograph *Rebuilding America's Defenses* admitted that the "transformation" it so earnestly sought would be very slow indeed without something equivalent to the attack on Pearl Harbor.⁸²

The Clinton Administration drew up plans for a war on al Qaeda in Afghanistan, but didn't get them finished until he was on his way out, so he handed them over to Bush's people. They rewrote the plans for a much larger war, and these modified plans hit Bush's desk in early September 2001.⁸³ Meanwhile (in July), retired US diplomats told their Russian and Pakistani counterparts in informal meetings that the US was considering the "military option" in Afghanistan and that bombs might be falling by the middle of that October⁸⁴ (they were pretty close: it turned out to be October 7).

Although the FBI has known since 1995 that plans to fly hijacked airliners into important US buildings were afoot,⁸⁵ the Clinton and, especially, the Bush White Houses reined in rank-and-file agents who wanted to investigate a Virginia-based Muslim charity run by relatives of Osama bin Laden. Despite information from the governments of India and the Philippines that this charity had links to terrorists, Bush's men told the FBI to shut down investigations which might reveal wrongdoing by the extended Saudi royal family or any of its cronies.⁸⁶ Agents had Zacarias Moussaoui, the accused "20th hijacker" who missed the boat, in jail three weeks before the attacks, but couldn't get permission to search his computer's hard drive. France's intelligence service had told them that Moussaoui had close links to al Qaeda, and an FBI agent in Phoenix had sent a warning that Middle Eastern extremists were attending US flight schools. The suits in Washington throttled the investigation and intimidated the agents.⁸⁷ John O'Neill quit his job as the FBI's counter-terrorism chief because he was so frustrated; he became head of security for the World Trade Center and died there in the flames and rubble.⁸⁸

According to witnesses, FBI agents, accompanied by Florida Governor Jeb Bush, took all of the records from the Florida flight school which trained Mohamed Atta to Washington, DC, where they remain hidden.⁸⁹ The school, along with another at the same airport, trained at least eight of the accused hijackers, including three of the accused pilots.⁹⁰ The schools' owner was involved in government-protected heroin smuggling, and supplied Atta and his buddies with all the cocaine they could toot.⁹¹ Atta, his girlfriend (a lingerie model for an outcall escort service), and another woman had at least one nonstop three-day party flowing with drugs and booze.⁹² (Who says Islamic fundamentalists can't have a little fun?) A local law enforcement official says that US covert operatives have used the airport — which also houses maintenance facilities for a CIA-controlled airline servicing the Caribbean drug racket — for decades.⁹³ Although

numerous witnesses place Atta in Florida months before the FBI says he entered the country, agents have been telling them to keep their mouths shut.⁹⁴ Atta received \$100,000 by wire transfer from Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) organization, the CIA's prime contractor for the 1980s war in Afghanistan, shortly before the 9-11 attacks. The chief of the ISI was in a breakfast meeting with the heads of both the House and Senate intelligence committees on September 11 and managed Pakistan's support of the ensuing US-led war until it became public that he had ordered the money wired to Atta, and he quietly retired.⁹⁵

Warnings of terrorist attacks came from at least a dozen countries. The British,⁹⁶ Jordanians,⁹⁷ and Russians⁹⁸ each sent *two*. Some were vague but between them they mentioned the Pentagon, important symbols of US power, suicide hijackings, and the approximate time frame.⁹⁹ Even the CIA director told Congress shortly before the 9-11 attacks that something like them could happen.¹⁰⁰ (But if he was part of a conspiracy, why would he do that? Many of the "hijackers" had clear CIA links, but if "the CIA" did it, its director was merely playing for effect. Perhaps "national governments stood on the sidelines while bigger operators arranged the world's affairs," as a US Department of Justice lawyer summed up the way the Racketeers rescued many of their Nazi industrial, political, and military partners after the World War II.¹⁰¹ Before 9-11, John Ashcroft,¹⁰² George Schulz, Donald Rumsfeld, and Dick Cheney quit flying on commercial airliners due to a "security alert,"¹⁰³ Willie Brown received warnings not to fly,¹⁰⁴ and a group of high-ranking Pentagon officials canceled their travel plans without explanation.¹⁰⁵

Butler, in the 'thirties, could hardly imagine the high-tech, networked "battlespace" his successors kill and get killed in today, but he understood the basic principle very well. War is still a racket, and any sane person can only echo his final sentence: "*To hell with War!!!*"

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