

WORLD DEMOCRACY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM*

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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, especially since the break-up of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in mid-December, has become one of greatly increased war danger. The world has become definitely divided into two hostile camps: that of democracy and peace, and that of imperialism, fascism, and war; the first with the U.S.S.R. at its head and the second led by the United States. At this time the United States, in its ruthless determination to rule the world, is waging a so-called "cold war" against the U.S.S.R. in the fields of diplomacy, economics, politics, and military preparations. In this expansionist drive, however, the United States is meeting with ever stronger resistance from the world democratic forces. Consequently, the international situation is very tense, and this tension is steadily increasing.

What has caused this greatly sharpened world situation? To help us find the answer, let us review the analysis made by our June, 1947, National Committee meeting. At that time, in my report on the international situation, I pointed out that

regarding the question of war imminency the American bourgeoisie might roughly be divided into three sections. First, there was a strong group of atom-bomb fanatics who would be glad to provoke an immediate war against the U.S.S.R. Secondly, there was a larger, the decisive, section of the capitalist class which, while accepting war as inevitable and supporting all war steps of the Truman Administration, nevertheless tended to hesitate before actually plunging into the so-called preventive war. Thirdly, there was a splinter section of smaller capitalists who supported the Roosevelt-Wallace peace policies. In that report I pointed out that any one of three factors could strengthen the war party; namely, a failure of American foreign policy, a victory of reaction in the national elections, and the fear, or the actual existence, of an economic crisis in the United States. Essentially, this analysis was correct at the time it was made.

Since that National Committee meeting, as we can plainly observe, the war party in the United States has become greatly strengthened—in numbers, in unity, and in militancy. The three factors of change that I

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indicated in June have basically operated to intensify this war trend among the bourgeoisie and its hirelings and dupes. First, American foreign policy has suffered serious checks and defeats in the recent past (as I shall indicate later on). Secondly, the reactionaries feel that they have the national election, so to speak, in the bag, as far as the Presidency is concerned, all the leading candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties being imperialists and warmongers. The possibilities of an anti-war Congress, too, in their consideration, are quite remote at this time. Third, the fear of a coming economic crisis in the United States has become an obsession in capitalist circles (many authorities are prophesying its outbreak in about six months). Under the pressure of these three factors, and in the face of the growing democratic opposition both here and abroad, the American bourgeoisie is becoming infused with a spirit of desperation for war. There are still some divisions in capitalist ranks regarding war, as can be seen by their intense election struggle and by their sharp differences over the Marshall Plan; but the strong and growing tendency of the capitalist class toward war is unmistakable.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM ON THE RAMPAGE

In order to understand this movement and the relation of the two

great camps of contending forces in the present world situation, it will also be well to analyze briefly the general course of the world struggle since the end of the war. Here I shall not attempt to review all major world developments during this period. I shall merely try to outline the general strategy of both sides, and to indicate the direction of this vast and vital world struggle.

Already, while World War II was still on, American and British imperialists were actively preparing for their present postwar drive to dominate the world. This was the significance of their delay in opening the Second Front, of their substitute offensive through Italy, and of their strong tendencies to concentrate their war effort against Japan instead of Germany. They wanted the U.S.S.R. to be bled white by Germany so that it might be the more easily defeated in the postwar world struggles they had in mind.

Accordingly, as soon as the war ended, American imperialism, with Great Britain as its junior partner, launched into its long-contemplated drive for world supremacy. This drive mainly took the form of a vigorous diplomatic blitzkrieg directed against the U.S.S.R. and backed by a widespread political use of goods, money, and especially the atom-bomb threat. Some of the major objectives of this offensive were to establish decisive American control over the United Nations, to intimidate politically the U.S.S.R., to

another the developing liberation struggles in the colonial countries, to halt the spread of Socialism in Europe, to break down the new democratic coalition governments in Central and Eastern Europe, and to lay the basis for American trade supremacy in Europe and the world. This ruthless policy of American imperialist expansion throughout the world was supplemented by a domestic program of general political reaction, wild profiteering, and war-mongering in the United States. Imperialist expansion abroad and aggressive reaction at home were already then the co-ordinated policy of Wall Street.

The atom bomb played a very big role in the development of this offensive of American imperialism. The bomb did not provide its actual basis, but it intensified it. The offensive would have taken place in any case, even had the bomb never been invented. As early as June, 1945, in an article published in the *Communist* entitled "The Danger of American Imperialism in the Post-war Period," which was written three or four months before the first atom bomb was dropped, I pointed out that a postwar imperialist drive for world control would be made by the United States. The atom bomb greatly accelerated the tempo of this inevitable offensive and lent it its element of extreme danger. Without the atom bomb, the drive of American imperialism would

have been far less vicious and much less menacing to world peace.

In the main, the democratic peoples of the world firmly met the big postwar offensive of Anglo-American imperialism. The U.S.S.R. particularly, although terribly wounded by the war, resolutely refused to be intimidated. It vigorously combated every attempt of Wall Street to use the United Nations to advance its imperialist ambitions. The liberation movements in Asia, too, despite American opposition, grew and flourished. In China, notwithstanding American direct armed intervention on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek, the people's struggle broadened and prospered. In Europe the Communist parties rapidly expanded in numbers and influence; European trade union unity was largely achieved, the World Federation of Trade Unions was organized, and the new coalition democracies gradually consolidated themselves in Central and Eastern Europe. The U.S.S.R., with enormously increased prestige, stood out ever more clearly as the world champion of peace and democracy.

THE RENEWED WALL STREET OFFENSIVE

The first phase of the postwar drive of American imperialism lasted till the early months of 1947. By that time, however, the diplomatic blitzkrieg, with its various weapons of money, food, and military threats, and with all its fascist, Vatican and

Right-wing Social-Democratic allies throughout the world, was not succeeding. Despite Wall Street's assault, the world forces of democracy and Socialism were steadily advancing and realizing the democratic, anti-fascist goals for which the great war had been fought. Manifestly, something had to be done by the reactionaries to change the situation into one more favorable for American imperialism. However, to achieve this purpose the military jingoes apparently did not dare to use their all-prized weapon of the atom bomb, although they threatened freely to employ it in the so-called preventive war against the U.S.S.R. that they were publicly plotting. Perhaps, unwillingly, the American imperialists agreed with Stalin that the atom bomb was not a decisive weapon, and they feared to stake everything upon it.

About the beginning of 1947 American imperialism greatly stepped up its offensive. The first dramatic example of Wall Street's intensified effort to overcome its unfavorable world position was the announcement of the Truman Doctrine by the President in April. This amounted to armed intervention in Greece, allegedly to stop Communism. Along with his invasion of Greece, Truman also let it be known that the U.S. was prepared to provoke civil war elsewhere in Europe wherever it was thought necessary in order to advance Wall Street's interests and to carry on the anti-

Communist crusade. The Truman Doctrine met widespread mass opposition, both in Europe and the United States. Its raw bluster exposed it as too obviously a war drive. This did not fit in with the pretense that the United States was simply on the defensive and was struggling for peace. Consequently the United States was compelled to restate its policy. Thus the Marshall Plan was born. Announced by Secretary Marshall in June, it is now known as the European Recovery Program. This plan is simply the Truman Doctrine implemented with vaster funds and softer words. Those liberals and labor leaders who are trying to prove that the Marshall Plan is opposed to the Truman Doctrine are proving themselves ridiculous. Until now the Marshall Plan has been limited to Europe; but obviously the aim is to extend it to other countries, especially in the hope of halting the victorious advance of the armies of liberated, Democratic China.

The Marshall Plan is a war plan. It cannot and does not aim at the economic rehabilitation of Europe. For real recovery Western Europe would have to adopt the progressive economic and political measures now being so successfully applied by the new democracies in Eastern and Central Europe, to all of which American imperialism, with its Marshall Plan, is violently opposed. The Plan's real aims are to bolster monopoly capitalism by guaranteeing

the dividends and protecting the wealth of the owners of the great industries of Western Europe against the financial demands that would otherwise be made against them by their peoples; to give American capitalism a strong economic grip everywhere in Europe; to build Germany into a puppet, fascist state directed against the U.S.S.R.; to re-arm the reactionary governments of Western Europe; to reduce the national independence of European countries; and, finally, to mobilize a Western European bloc of satellite countries as military allies against the U.S.S.R.

The Marshall Plan cannot succeed in putting Europe on its feet economically. The 15 billion dollars allocated by the United States for Europe since the end of the war have simply been poured down the drain. The four billions that Chiang Kai-shek got were also squandered. And Truman's proposed 17 billion dollars will go the same way. Wall Street, with all its billions and bayonets, cannot revive moribund Europe. The American exceptionalists who believe that war-fattened American capitalism, by blood transfusions, can cure the dying world capitalist system, are living in a world of dreams and wishful thinking.

Not only is the Marshall Plan ruinous for Europe, it also has disastrous effects upon the United States. Its criminal waste of American resources in Europe for war purposes adds fuel to the fires of infla-

tion now burning so high in this country. Its imperialist purposes are stimulating every reactionary and fascist trend in the United States. Its war-like objectives are leading to the militarization of this country. And it threatens to throw the United States into a devastating and fatal war.

Together with the announcement of the Marshall Plan, American imperialism has been, all through 1947, increasing the volume and tempo of its offensive. Using the acute dollar shortage as a whip, it is ruthlessly forcing various European capitalist countries to submit to its dictation. It is pushing its atom-bomb diplomacy more recklessly than ever. It is callously ignoring the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, and it deliberately broke up the London Conference of Foreign Ministers over the issues of Germany and Austria. It is shamelessly cultivating Franco and various other European fascists. It is by-passing the United Nations on many questions, acting unilaterally on such vital matters as its armed intervention in Greece, in Indonesia and in China, on the whole question of postwar rehabilitation, on the establishment of military air bases in various parts of the world, on the virtual establishment of a war alliance with the Latin-American governments, on the proposal for a West European war bloc, etc., etc. This intensified atom-bomb diplomacy is being supplemented by a barrage of open war threats against the U.S.S.R.

on the part of such jingoistic Anglo-American political leaders as Baruch, Byrnes, Hoover, Marshall, Bevin, Attlee, Truman and many others. Actual naval maneuvers are being carried on in the Mediterranean in order to intimidate the Soviet Union.

THE PERIL OF MILITARISM IN THIS COUNTRY

The intensified imperialist drive has been accompanied by a big increase in the militarization of the United States. The past year has seen the combination of all the armed forces under one Cabinet head, the fortification of war bases far and wide, including new ones in North Africa and Iran, the turning over of scores of vital government posts to generals and admirals, the assignment by President Truman of 21 billions for the armed forces in his proposed national 1948 budget (at a time when the U.S.S.R. has substantially reduced its military budget), the systematic war mobilization of American industry, the open, detailed war preparations against the Soviet Union, and the far-reaching war propaganda to prepare the American people ideologically for an unprovoked attack upon the U.S.S.R. All these militaristic developments tell their own story of direct preparations for war now being carried on by the agents of Wall Street within and without the Truman government. They also emphasize the growing danger of fascism in the United States.

A dangerous feature of American imperialism's preparations for war is the success Wall Street is having in the mobilization of the Social-Democratic and conservative trade union leaders in Europe and the United States. Recently, the State Department hailed the European Social-Democrats as capitalism's strongest allies. These misleaders of the people, ardent advocates of the Marshall Plan, have sunk to the lowest levels of strike-breaking and general labor betrayal in order to do the bidding of their imperialist masters. The so-called "third force" appearing in its domestic aspects as "middle-of-the-road" governments and in its international aspects as a Western European bloc, is championed by the Right Social-Democrats and reformist labor leaders; this "third force" is manifestly only a stalking horse for Anglo-American imperialism. Among the tasks set for these labor betrayers by warlike American imperialism is to smash trade union unity in Europe, to split the Latin-American Confederation of Labor, and to wreck the World Federation of Trade Unions. To all these anti-labor tasks various Marshall Plan labor leaders are now applying themselves, with the A. F. of L. taking the lead, and with the C.I.O. top leaders also disgracing themselves.

The democratic peoples everywhere are, however, solidly withstanding the greatly intensified offensive of American imperialism and its Socialist and labor stooges. They are,

moreover, distinctly stepping up their active fight to defend their economic welfare and national independence. There are many indications of this new and militant counter-offensive by the workers and other democratic forces. The U.S.S.R. has embarked upon a policy of ruthlessly exposing the Anglo-American warmongers, and it also refuses to be intimidated or by-passed in the United Nations. By refusing to recognize or co-operate with them, it has doomed to impotency the Wall Street created Balkan and Korean Commissions and the Little Assembly, which are attempts to override the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations. Foreign Minister Molotov also shocked the capitalist world by announcing that the atom bomb is no longer a secret. In China, the people's forces are achieving spectacular success against Chiang Kai-shek's rotten regime, and the Chinese Communists are anticipating an early and decisive victory. In various colonial and semi-colonial countries liberation struggles are unfolding. In Latin America too there is widespread anti-Yankee imperialist sentiment. Panama's dramatic refusal of military bases to the United States tells an eloquent story in this respect. Also, the A. F. of L. union wreckers were amazed to find anti-imperialist spirit to be very powerful even among the stooges they brought together at Lima to wreck the Latin-American Confederation of Labor.

The historic September conference

in Poland of the nine Communist Parties sounded the note of struggle against American imperialism. The big Communist Parties of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, France, Italy, and the Soviet Union came together, reviewed the general situation, formed an Information Bureau, and called upon the peoples of Europe to defend themselves against the encroachments of American imperialism. "A special task," said the Conference, "falls upon the Communist Parties. They must take into their hands the banner of defense of national independence and sovereignty of their countries."

This Information Bureau is a type of organization different from the dissolved Communist International and does not replace it. Although our Party, for reasons publicly stated by our National Board, does not deem it expedient at this time to affiliate with the Information Bureau, we are in accord with its objectives of peace, economic recovery, and national independence.

The significant nine-Party Communist conference was followed throughout Europe with an intensified struggle against American imperialists and warmongers. The new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe, together with the U.S.S.R., have rejected the Marshall Plan and are scoring great successes with their own programs of rehabilitation. The U.S.S.R. especially, despite its terrible war losses, is making a swift

recovery. Already it is able to make huge exports of goods to its neighbors. Great strikes and political movements have occurred in France and Italy against the evil effects of the offensive of American imperialism. In Germany, too, in the American and British zones, huge protest strikes of the workers are also taking place against their new Wall Street masters. All over Europe, the masses are awakening to the new danger to their national independence from American imperialism. Also in Canada the question of preserving their national independence against American domination has become a live issue.

CAPITALIST DESPERATION CREATES WAR DANGER

The masses in this country are also beginning to awaken to the grave dangers that threaten their economic well-being, democracy, and peace because of the world drive of American imperialism for power and control, which has its program in the Marshall Plan. The basic significance of the Wallace movement is that it forms part of the broad world resistance struggle of the democratic masses against the monopolists of Wall Street who, in their greed for world domination, would plunge the peoples, if they could, into a new plague of fascism and the frightful devastation of a third global war.

The sum and substance of all these developments of mass resistance is

that the United States is not succeeding in its drive for world domination. This is a fact of the most decisive significance for the peoples everywhere. Wall Street is finding the democratic opposition of the peoples too great and the disintegration of dying capitalism too relentless. True, the American imperialists have won some important victories. They have practically reduced the governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy to the role of puppets; they have consolidated their domination over Japan; they have enlisted as their allies Right-wing Social-Democrats, fascists and clerical reactionaries throughout Europe; they have secured in the United States the active support of the top leadership of the A. F. of L., C.I.O., and Railroad Brotherhoods; they have both the Republican and Democratic Parties in their pocket; and they have undoubtedly confused large masses of the American people with their nonsensical propaganda to the effect that this country is in danger of an attack from the U.S.S.R.

Nevertheless, the world situation is one that fills American capitalists with grave alarm and foreboding. They realize that they are not winning the battle against democracy and Socialism. Their Marshall Plan is failing and is already slipping into a quagmire of contradictions. European capitalism is sick unto death, and Wall Street cannot possibly cure it. More alarming yet to the capitalists is the shattering blow that has

been given to the foundations of world imperialism during the past two years by the great colonial and semi-colonial revolts in the Far East. And most important of all, there is burning ever brighter the Socialist sun of the U.S.S.R. in the East, which never fails to incense every capitalist heart. The capitalists dread, too, the disintegrating effects of the contradictions between the United States and Great Britain and other capitalist States. And to fill the cup of capitalist pessimism to overflowing, there is the ever-broadening fear among them of a great economic crisis in the United States. For this crisis would knock into a cocked hat all the imperialists' hopes to put the battered world capitalist system on its feet again. In short, the American imperialists face the deepening general crisis of the world capitalist system, the significance of which is daily being brought home to them with ever greater force by the course of world events.

The serious danger of war at the present time comes precisely from this profound pessimism of the Wall Street imperialists. They see that their foreign policies are failing; they are afraid the U.S.S.R. will get the atom bomb, if it has not already got it; they fear the outbreak of a great economic crisis in this country; they have an inferiority complex about the rising Socialist system in the U.S.S.R.; and they dread the awakening of the democratic masses here and abroad. Consequently, they tend

to generate the reckless idea that if they are to win with their imperialist program, they must strike now while they still have the power to do so. The American capitalist class is fear-crazed and power drunk. The war danger arises primarily from the possibility that these big capitalists, unable to accomplish their imperialistic aims by economic and political intimidation, will seek to solve their overwhelming problems by a desperate attempt at the military destruction of the forces of world democracy. The danger of war is the danger of a sudden so-called preventive war by the United States.

WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE

The present diplomatic relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. are undoubtedly bad and they are growing worse. But it would be a grave error to conclude therefrom that war is inevitable; that, perforce, the world must go through another terrible blood bath, incomparably worse than anything it has ever known before. Contrary to this pessimistic outlook, war is not inevitable. The decision still rests with the peoples. The democratic masses of the world have the potential strength to bridle the would-be warmakers and to make it impossible for them to plunge the world into war. To eliminate the war danger there must be no reliance upon the so-called intelligence of the capitalists, or upon the fear of the monopo-

lists that war would destroy the world capitalist system. The Anglo-American imperialists must be stopped cold by superior democratic mass pressure for peace. There is no other way.

The people of the United States bear a tremendous responsibility in halting the warmongers; for our country is the storm center of the war danger. The great American monopolists want war; but our people, like others all over the world, ardently desire peace. The masses can and must be organized into a vast and powerful struggle for peace. The present national election campaign offers a splendid opportunity for such a great peace movement. Our Party especially has great tasks in this fight. We must be alert and active to teach the masses that war is not inevitable and that the American and Soviet peoples can and must live together in peace and harmony. We must help liquidate the dangerous lie of the warmongers that the United States is being attacked by the Soviet Union, and we must ruthlessly expose Wall Street's aggressive imperialist expansionism. We must show the people that Wall Street's proposed war would be a reactionary war, directed against all the forces of democracy and Socialism throughout the world. We must make clear, too, that it would be a lost war, one that would ravage our country, wipe out tens of millions of our people, and plunge our country into defeat. We must unmask the Marshall Plan

as a war plan, and as cut from the same cloth as the Truman Doctrine. With the fight for peace as the center of the election struggle, we must show the workers and the people the direct connection between American imperialism abroad and Wall Street reaction here at home. We must know how to link up this exposure of imperialist warmongering with the daily struggles of the workers in defense of their living standards and civil liberties.

In the sphere of specific campaigns there are four that I particularly wish to emphasize. First, there is the heroic struggle of the Greek people against their domestic fascist oppressors and the Wall Street invaders. This epic fight cries out for more ardent support from democratic Americans. Secondly, there is the desperate struggle of the Jewish people to establish a homeland in Palestine. This is the cause of all freedom-loving people and we should support it with far greater energy than up to this time. Third, there is the determined fight of the Latin Americans against the effort of Wall Street to subjugate and enslave them. It is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder with these people, especially the exploited Puerto Rican masses, against American imperialists. Fourthly, there is the tremendous struggle of the Chinese people against their domestic and foreign oppressors. The Chinese situation will become all the more urgent because the Wall Street imperialists are soon going to extend

the Marshall Plan to that country. We must counter this armed intervention of the Wall Street exploiters by intensifying our efforts to unite the American democratic forces to aid Democratic China. In the near future, in all probability, China will become a center of American imperialism's desperate attempt to establish its own dominant rule and to save the stricken world capitalist system. The significant January Conference in New York of many labor and other democratic organizations gives an inkling of the powerful potential mass support for Democratic China in this country.

Comrade Eugene Dennis will develop all these urgent tasks in his report. My task here is rather to indicate the general course of world events, to point out the line-up of forces, and to show which side is winning and why. But to this general analysis I wish to add a few words about the building of the Party, the need of which is emphasized by the sharpening political struggles throughout the capitalist world. The need for strengthening the Communist Party is one of the supreme lessons taught by the present world situation.

THE NEED FOR A STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY

I wish to stress in this respect the tremendous role and the responsibilities that Communist parties are now fulfilling as the real leaders of

their peoples in many parts of the world. To meet these tremendous tasks, the Communist parties everywhere are strengthening their ranks and fortifying themselves with Marxist-Leninist theory. Our Party, too, also faces many grave responsibilities, and urgently needs strengthening. We must get rid of all false theories and pessimistic attitudes which are preventing the more rapid growth of our Party. Such negative moods have cost our Party tens of thousands of fine workers who might have been recruited. It is true that reaction is making a very sharp attack against our Party, the most severe we have ever had to face; and it is also true that war propaganda and Red-baiting have made dangerous inroads into the ranks of the working class. But this very drive of reaction has also brought about a strong growth, polarization and activation of the peace-loving masses. This situation offers our Party a magnificent opportunity to grow in numbers and mass influence. We must cultivate a strong pride in our Party. We must make our members and sympathizers feel that it is an honor to be a Communist in these historic days of struggle in defense of the people's most elementary liberties, against dying capitalism, and for growing Socialism. We must raise the theoretical level of our Party. We must also improve the working and fighting spirit of the Party. One of the greatest injuries Browderism did to our Party was to

weaken its militancy. This weakness has still not been fully overcome. We must, in our support of the third party, develop a working and fighting spirit in the Communist Party such as it has never known before. While co-operating in the broad third-party mass movement, we must also know how to develop our Party's independent role ideologically and politically, and to broaden its ranks. In the intense election struggles ahead of us, we must never lose sight of the supreme necessity of building our Party. The need for a Communist Party is one of the fundamental lessons taught by the present stormy world situation.

Let me conclude my report by once again emphasizing the grave war tension now existing in the world and our heavy responsibilities in the fight for peace. The democratic forces of the world, of our own country, are strong enough to block and defeat the insolent Wall Street fascists and warmongers. Has not a strong mass opposition prevented up until now the adoption of the univer-

sal military training so ardently desired by American imperialists? And did not a powerful mass pressure compel the reluctant Truman government to join with the Soviet Union in the United Nations' motion for the partition of Palestine? Fully aroused and organized, our people can go much further than these partial successes; they can smash back the reactionary warmongers and defeat their war program altogether. As the statement of the Nine-Party Communist Conference in Poland declared: "It is necessary to remember that between the desire of the imperialists to develop a new war and the possibility of organizing such a war there is a great gap."

We must fight with confidence and stout hearts. Let us not be dismayed by the arrogant Red-baiters. Let us be guided by that further statement of the Nine-Party Conference: "The main danger to the working class at present consists in an underestimation of its forces and an overestimation of the forces of the imperialist camp."

IN THE APRIL ISSUE: The full text of the celebrated speech by A. Zhdanov in the discussion of G. F. Alexandrov's *History of Western European Philosophy*, at a conference of Soviet philosophers held in 1947.