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# WAR Mongers

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, the author of this pamphlet, is National Chairman of the Communist Party and a veteran leader of the American labor movement, which he has served for more than fifty years. He led the great steel strike of 1919, which helped pave the way to industrial unionization of the basic industries in the U.S.A., and scores of other labor struggles. His most recent books are American Trade Unionism, a collection of his writings covering several decades; and The New Europe, an account, based on first-hand observation, of the new democratic governments arising in Europe following World War II.

## Quarantine the Warmongers

#### By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

ANY liberal organizations and the Communist Party, as well as the Soviet Union and a large group of countries in the United Nations, are charging that a virulent campaign of warmongering is now going on in the United States. They claim that powerful forces are again trying to plunge the world into another, even more terrible war. The United Nations, upon Soviet insistence and in the face of strong American opposition, has even adopted a weak resolution against warmongering. The United States delegates strongly denied all charges of warmongering in this country. But let us see the kind of pro-war stuff that is being fed to the people by the American press and radio:

#### The Warmongering Campaign

- "If we were willing to go to war to save Europe from Nazi domination, does not the 'inexorable logic' of our own behavior demand that we be willing to go to war to save Europe from Soviet domination?" (Wall Street Journal, Aug. 13, 1947)
- "George H. Earle, former Pennsylvania Governor . . . said last night that he would settle the Russian problem by 'dropping an atomic bomb' on the Kremlin." (United Press, Oct. 11, 1947)
- "We can't do business with Stalin, just as we couldn't do business with Hitler." REPRESENTATIVE O'KONSKI of Wisconsin.
- "Several of the speeches identified Russia inferentially as the probable enemy in the next war. Two speeches were so frank in this regard that the army generals who delivered them cautiously asked reporters that those

- portions be kept off the record." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 28, reporting the American Legion Convention)
- Commander O'Neil, in the American Legion Convention, declared that "expanding Communism is the most virulent threat ever faced by our people. It is far more dangerous than Nazism, fascism and nipponism combined."
- At the A. F. of L. Convention, General Mark Clark virtually called for war on the U.S.S.R.
- Colonel Maas, in explaining that the world is "choosing sides" for a Soviet-American war, predicted that "Our principal allies would be Germany and Japan."
   (N. Y. Times, Oct. 30)
- On Oct. 11, in an hysterical anti-Soviet radio harangue, Walter Winchell shouted that "except for armies in the field, the third world war has already begun." He accused the U.S.S.R. of spreading cholera germs in Egypt as a military experiment and of plotting "50 Pearl Harbors" against the United States. He practically called for war against the U.S.S.R.
- "There can be but little doubt but that the same debate has been going on in the Kremlin that went on in the Reichschancellory under Hitler." (ALFRED M. LAN-DON, Mar. 25)
- Rep. C. J. Karsten, of Wisconsin, demands that the U.S.S.R. should be brought before the United Nations and "charged as an aggressor and as a potential and deliberate perpetrator of world war."
- "Many an American General in Japan talks of commanding a Japanese army equipped and staffed by Americans. . . . Recently Kamikaze (suicide pilots) have been reporting in considerable numbers to American airfields, ready to fly in the new war against the Soviet Union, which they have heard has already started." (F. KERR, Foreign Editor of News Week)
- "If President Truman were to ask General MacArthur to... fly to China to organize with Generalissimo [Chiang Kai-shek] a joint plan to prevent subjugation of China by the Soviet Union, the whole Far Eastern

- horizon would brighten with hope." (WILLIAM C. BUL-LITT, Life Magazine, Oct. 13)
- In his book, Speaking Frankly, Ex-Secretary of State James F. Byrnes proposes that the United States and its allies draft a German treaty and if the U.S.S.R. refuses to sign it, they should drive the Red Army out of Eastern Germany. The Times of London commented that this monstrous proposition "seems little better than a simple recipe for war."

These quotations are only a drop in the ocean of war agitation now going on in the press and radio. In the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson gutter sheets, and in the mouths of such reactionary radio commentators as Kaltenborn, Taylor, Winchell, and others, this propaganda reaches the stage of hysteria.

If all this isn't warmongering, the advocacy of aggressive war, then the English language has lost its meaning. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a U.S. delegate to the United Nations, defends this outrageous campaign of saber-rattling on the grounds that it is merely the expression of a free press. She stated (Oct. 5): "The Soviet resolution makes the elimination of warmongering an assignment. We are not willing to agree to this." Actually, these reactionaries are advocating the greatest outrage in the world, aggressive war. They are potential war criminals and should be treated as such. In Nuremberg, Germany, a score of Nazi leaders were hanged for doing precisely what the Hearsts, McCormicks, Byrnes', Bullitts, Earles, Winchells, and others are now proposing openly.

The representatives of the U.S.S.R. and other nations in the U.N. were not hasty in raising their charges of warmongering, as the campaign has been going on with increasing volume ever since the end of the war. These representatives were also restrained in naming the warmongers, and could well have added President Truman to their list. For not only has he made no criticism of the warmongers, but he has added fuel

to their fire by his own many jingoistic speeches.

The most dangerous part of the current warmongering is that much of it comes from conservative and Social-Democratic labor leaders. Dubinsky, Woll, Reuther, Carey, and other union officials seem determined to outdo the capitalists themselves in their eagerness for an American-Soviet war.

#### Organizing for War

Not only are the reactionaries violently advocating war against the U.S.S.R. but they are furiously preparing for such a war. These preparations are going on on a huge scale and in many parts of the world, as a few examples will show.

The Federal Government, Congress as well as the Truman Administration, is now under the dictation of such Wall Street agents, imperialists and get-tough-with-Russia elements as Hoover, Dulles, Vandenberg, Forrestal and Harriman. Their

program is an anti-Soviet war, as soon as possible.

The State Department has been turned over to a General, and this department, and various others, as the diplomatic service generally, is loaded with military men, as never before. Powerful forces also want to have a military President, General Eisenhower. Senator Taylor says the army practically belongs to Wall Street. This militarization of the Government is a dangerous war trend.

United States policy in the United Nations is obviously to by-pass that body on important questions (intervention in Greece and China, the Marshall Plan in Europe, MacArthur's activities in Japan, etc.) and to transform the U.N. into an

anti-Soviet military alliance.

The Federal military budget for 1948 is 121/2 billion dollars, far and away the largest in our peace-time history. It is 15

times as large as in 1936.

In July, 1947, the Army, Navy and Airforce were combined under one head, the Wall Street imperialist, Secretary James V. Forrestal. Not even during the war did the Government so

tightly centralize its armed forces.

The United States continues piling up atom bombs; it has a navy bigger than all the navies of the rest of the world; the Russians claim the American Army is the strongest in the world, and energetic efforts are being made to introduce universal compulsory military training. Many scientists, including 100 Nazi specialists, are busily at work perfecting rocket bombs, germ bombs and other super-dreadful weapons.

The United States has, or is building, powerful military air bases in many parts of the world, including Greenland, Labrador, Iceland, Bermuda, Azores, Brazil, Paraguay, the Near-East, Pakistan, the Aleutian Islands, the Japanese Islands, Canada, the Arctic and Antarctic, etc. The general strategic plan behind this world network of air bases is a sudden, allout atomic-bomb, airplane attack upon the U.S.S.R.

The Government has also worked out plans for the speedy and complete war mobilization of the basic industries on a far greater scale than was achieved during World War II.

A major war preparation, too, is the so-called standardization of arms agreements of the United States with Great Britain, Canada and the Latin American countries. This would virtually place the armed forces of these countries under the control of the United States. It would also provide almost

a monopoly for American munitions manufacturers.

The warmongers are feverishly preparing the masses of the American people ideologically for war. They are deluging them with Red-baiting and Soviet-hating. They have developed a big war scare in order to make the people believe that war is both imminent and inevitable. Under cover of this war scare they are militarizing the country and putting across their general program of fascist-like reaction, of which the Taft-Hartley law is but one example.

These and other developments constitute a formidable mobilization of the industrial, military and human forces of the United States and its allies for Wall Street's contemplated war against the Soviet Union and other democratic nations.

#### **Actively Waging War**

The Wall Street warmongers and imperialists are also preparing for war by developing reactionary allies in various parts of the world. Their general line of policy is to break up the peace forces in the various lands and to build up reactionary groupings, with the objective of dominating these countries' governments and of enlisting them in its projected war against the U.S.S.R. Wall Street's weapons in this imperialist drive are atom-bomb diplomacy, the political manipulation of food and financial loans, and the use of armed force. These preparations have reached the point of actual civil war in several countries.

In France, Italy and Chile, in order to lay a war basis, State Department agents have forced the expulsion of Communists from the government Cabinets. All over Europe, similarly striving to undermine democracy, they are working to shatter the growing Communist-Socialist unity. Also, with the help of A. F. of L. bureaucrats, they are trying to wreck the trade union movements of Latin America and Europe. The conservative New York Post (Oct. 17) boasts that "A. F. of L. money and men are going to Europe to work for anti-Communist unions and to help break up the World Federation of Trade Unions." The A. F. of L. maintains a special office in Paris to cultivate disruption in the progressive French Confederation of Labor.

American food reserves are also being used far and wide among famished peoples in order to coerce the peace-loving forces and to secure control over their governments. For example, of the many hundreds of millions of dollars sent to China by U.N.R.R.A. only 2 per cent reached the liberated areas under Communist leadership, which contain one-third of the total population of China and which were the worst devastated by the Japanese.

American loans are being widely used for the same warlike, imperialist purposes. Democratic, peace-loving countries are systematically refused loans, but those bowing to Wall Street get lots of money. This is the very heart of the so-called Marshall Plan. The conservative James P. Warburg (United Press, Oct. 21) says: "We seem at times bent on attaching such political strings to economic aid as would force other peoples to remodel themselves on the American image." The N. Y. Herald-Tribune (Oct. 14) states: "Various means are employed to carry it [American policy in Europe] out. One is to encourage non-Communist elements. The other is to withhold financial credits from governments which are or appear to be Communist-controlled." And on Oct. 18 (United Press), Sen-

ator H. Styles Bridges, with brutal imperialist frankness, "disclosed that he had served notice on Prime Minister Paul Ramadier that American aid depended on whether France crushes Communism and stops the strikes the Communists provoke."

The present so-called Marshall Plan of giving big loans to the countries of Western Europe is a Wall Street imperialist scheme to weaken the peace-loving democratic forces in these countries, to secure control over their governments, and to build a Western European military bloc against the Soviet Union.

Along with these imperialist methods of food and financial coercion, Wall Street government representatives encourage and support the use of armed force against the democratic and peace-loving forces and governments. In Latin America, a reign of violence against the labor unions and advanced political parties is now being provoked by State Department agents, and in Europe every band of fascist adventurers and capitalist plotters can depend upon American support in every attack they make against democracy, however violent. Thus, in violent contradiction to our national interests, our country is placed by Wall Street agents in the disgraceful role of being the chief organizer of world reaction and of civil war. If, today, for example, the fascist General de Gaulle is making dangerous headway and actually threatening France with civil war, a major part of the responsibility rests with Wall Street. The latter wants to make a military puppet of France, and de Gaulle serves its purpose.

Wall Street policy (the Marshall Plan) in Germany is to rebuild that country's industry, put the monopolists back into control, ease the fascists into government power, make the country dependent upon the United States, and prepare it for war against the U.S.S.R. As we have seen, Mr. Byrnes boldly demands such a war.

In Greece, American food, funds and guns are being used on a huge scale to smash the democratic, peace-loving Greek people, to keep in power the war-like near-fascist Royalist Government, to wage civil war. Now there is talk, too, of sending American troops. The general idea behind this outrageous policy, the Marshall Plan in action, is to make Greece a military fortress, with its guns pointed toward the U.S.S.R.

In Indonesia, where the people are in open revolt against their Dutch imperialist oppressors, the United States is lending armed support to the Dutch. It gave these reactionaries a \$195,000,000 loan through the International Bank; it accords the Dutch Government in Indonesia full diplomatic recognition and support; and its guns and planes are being freely used by the Dutch armed forces against the army of the Indonesian Republic. In order to cover up a bit our shameful role in this reactionary war, the then-Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes, ordered the Dutch military leaders to remove all American markings from their guns, planes and ammunition. Without American support in Indonesia, as in Greece, the democratic forces would quickly overpower their reactionary oppressors.

In the civil war in China, too, the United States is an active participant, with money, guns and troops, on the side of the rotten, reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government. Four billion American dollars have already been squandered in a futile attempt to crush the democratic movement. Now another billion is scheduled to go to Chiang. At present, 1,000 American combat officers and men are training and advising Chiang's armies, and recently the U.S. government gave this butcher of the Chinese people 271 naval vessels. American officials, in reality, are practically taking over Chiang's government. The main obstacle to victory for the Chinese people is American imperialism. Chiang's armies, of themselves, are weak and ineffective. Hanson W. Baldwin, no friend of the Chinese people, said (N. Y. Times, Oct. 12), "What fighting capacity they [Chiang's armies] still possess is due chiefly to United States aid." The strategic purpose behind this outrageous civil war policy in China is to transform that country into a vast American dependency and fortress and to mobilize its many millions for the hoped-for Wall Street war against the U.S.S.R.

The general danger in all this war propaganda, war preparation, and stimulation of civil war in various countries is obvious. Unless the American people put a halt to it by quarantining and disarming the warmongers, it may well lead—as its Wall Street backers intend it to lead—to World War III.

#### Wall Street's Drive for World Domination

What is the cause of all these warlike developments? The reactionaries have a ready answer to this question. They blame everything on the Soviet Union, which they accuse of imperialist expansion. But this is nonsense. The U.S.S.R. is a Socialist country and fundamentally non-imperialist. Besides, it lost perhaps 15,000,000 dead in the last war and its industries and cities were frightfully devastated. Its whole situation absolutely demands peace. It is absurd to allege that such a country is fomenting world war. Its policy is based definitely upon friendly relations between the peoples under both capitalist and Socialist regimes.

The real culprit is to be found closer to home: Its name is American Big Business and its habitat is Wall Street. The great monopolists, with the same ruthlessness that they show in ruling this country, are seeking to dominate the world. They are out to capture the world's markets, industries, resources, and strategic positions. The vast economic, political and military resources of the United States are in their hands, and they see that most of the rest of the world is war-ravaged and impoverished. So they deem the situation ripe for them

to take over.

The Taft-Hartley act in this country and the Marshall Plan in the rest of the world—these are the the twin policies of conquest, domestic and foreign, of American Big Business, of Wall Street imperialism. This year, the profits of the corporations, after paying taxes, will be 17½ billions. Their greed has already sent the cost of living skyrocketing. But they want more and more and more profits. They have the boundless appetite of monstrous hogs. They see as the great obstacle in their imperialist path the Soviet Union, the new democracies in Europe, the newly-independent colonies, and the labor unions and Communist movement of the world, so they want to crush them.

The following quotations give the real explanation of the present world tension:

"In foreign affairs, the reactionary representatives of Wall Street have carried over to other nations struggling to rise from serfdom and servitude the same repressive and tyrannical policies which they have enacted into the anti-labor laws of the 8oth Congress." (SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER, Oct. 14, 1947)

"Whatever the outcome of war, America has embarked upon a career of imperialism. . . . Even though by our aid, England should emerge from this struggle without defeat, she will be so impoverished economically and crippled in prestige that it is improbable she will be able to resume her dominant position in world affairs. At best, England will become a junior partner in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism." (VIRGIL JORDAN, President of the National Industrial Conference Board, early in 1941)

"The United States stands at the pinnacle of world power... Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries [i.e., to grab world control—W.Z.F.]. (WINSTON CHURCHILL, Mar. 5, 1946)

"The 20th century is the American century. . . . The big point to be made here is simply that the complete opportunity of leadership is ours." (HENRY R. LUCE, Life, Feb. 17, 1941)

#### Beware of World War III!

The workers and the whole American people must be on guard against the anti-Soviet World War III, that Wall Street, in its greed for world domination, is trying to rush humanity into. The United States got by pretty easily in World Wars I and II. Other peoples did most of the fighting and suffering and dying. We had relatively light casualty lists, no war devastation whatever, and after the wars we experienced big prosperity "booms." In fact, capitalist America grew fat and rich on these two great world disasters.

But for the United States, World War III would be something else again. On both sides there would be atomic bombs and other dreadful weapons.\* We could be sure of tens of millions of casualties and of widespread destruction of our cities. The warmongers are even now glibly trying to condition the American people to be ready to accept a loss of 40,000,000 lives in the anti-Soviet war which they are trying to organize.

This would be one world war that the United States would have to fight practically alone. War-weakened Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France and Italy, for a considerable period, could not give this country any serious military support, even in the very doubtful event that the reactionaries in those lands could succeed in forcing their war-weary and rebellious peoples into the war. The United States, in such a war, would be confronted by many democratic and Socialist peoples, resolved to defend their national independence and determined to defeat Wall Street's attempt to enslave the world. "We are not loved in Europe," says Henry Wallace (New Republic, Oct. 6), "and the more we use economic pressure to intervene in European affairs, the worse we are hated." Let Wall Street but launch a new world war and that would be the end of the "reservoir of good feeling for America" that once so pleased Wendell Willkie.

What a tragedy to the United States an anti-Soviet war would be has been indicated by no less a military authority than General Eisenhower. It would be a lost war, a devastating calamity. Answering those fanatical warmongers who believe the U.S.S.R. could be defeated merely by showering a few Russian industrial centers with atom bombs, Eisenhower

warned:

"Our people do not want a war which could have no end but the destruction of the greater part of the world. Atom bombs or no, war still means knocking out the opposing armies. . . . We saw what happened to the finest armies the world ever saw. If we tried to conquer Russia, there's no telling when we could establish ourselves on her soil. But once we did, we'd face years of slogging

<sup>\*</sup> Just as this pamphlet goes to press, Foreign Minister Molotov of the U.S.S.R. has stated that the secret of the atom bomb "has long since ceased to exist."

through Siberia. We have nothing to gain to start, and would have nothing left at the end."

Wall Street's plan to conquer the world is as crazy at Hitler's, and it is cut from the same imperialist cloth. The democratic, peace-loving forces in the world are today incomparably stronger and better able to resist war aggressors than they were when the Hitler gang started out upon its world conquering rampage. Therefore, if Wall Street dares to provoke a war to establish its world domination the consequences will be far more disastrous to it than they have been for the clique of big capitalists, whose spokesmen were Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo. Those Social-Democratic and conservative trade union leaders in both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., who are so eagerly endorsing Wall Street's Marshall Plan and who are indulging in the warmongers' Red-baiting and Soviethating hysteria, should ponder a bit upon the foregoing facts of life.

#### Quarantine the Warmongers!

The American people are peace-loving, and they hate war. They long to live in peace with the U.S.S.R. and all other nations. But to do this they must defeat the Wall Street warmongers and return to the cooperative international policies of Roosevelt. An anti-Soviet war is neither necessary nor inevitable. A democratic America can have a fair and friendly working agreement with the U.S.S.R. for the asking.

The first thing necessary to this end is to put a stop to the Hitler-like warmongering and Red-baiting hysteria now going on in this country. The anti-warmongering resolution of the United Nations must be strictly enforced. A halt, too, must be made to Wall Street's militarization of the United States. A friendly policy of liberal financial grants to all war-devastated countries, under the general policies of the United Nations, must be substituted for the imperialist, war-breeding Marshall plan. The whole program of domestic reaction—the militarism, the lynching of Negroes, the Jew-hating, the union busting, the Un-American Committee Red-baiting, etc., must

also be beaten in the United States. The warmongers should be quarantined, and when necessary put into jail, as advocates

of the most frightful of all crimes, imperialist war.

The capitalist warmongering can be finally ended, however, only when the Hoovers, Vandenbergs, Trumans, Rankins and Deweys are defeated by the masses. Consequently, the coming elections must mark a great political victory of the peace-loving, democratic American people over such imperialists. The Roosevelt democratic coalition of workers, farmers, Negroes, veterans, youth, women, and intellectuals must be reformed, in the shape of a great new third party, a people's party, a party directed against the monopolists and warmongers and for a democratic peace. The big grass roots movement behind Henry Wallace shows that the people are ready for this great step forward.

Organized labor bears a heavy responsibility in the task of crushing Wall Street's warmongers. But labor must realize that it cannot defeat reaction in this country while supporting Wall Street's main reactionary policy abroad, the Marshall plan. The trade unions should also bridle the Red-baiters and warmongers in their own ranks, who consciously or unconsciously, are taking their policies from the N.A.M. and repeating the war propaganda of Wall Street. Organized labor must learn that there is a direct connection between the fascist danger in this country and the war danger abroad. Both are

the products of Wall Street's imperialist greed.

The peoples of the world are on the march forward to economic prosperity, to democracy, to peace, to Socialism. They are determined to realize in life the great democratic goals for which the recent terrible war was fought and won. And all the gold and industrial power, propaganda trickery, and armed force of America Big Business, and its fascist, clerical, and Social-Democratic allies all over the world, cannot stop them.

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