

THE DANGER OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

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THE MILITARY DEFEAT of Germany which is now an accomplished fact, bringing daily nearer the ultimate smashing of Japan, is at the same time a shattering defeat of reaction throughout the world. For the fascist menace was more than a ruthless bid for world domination by imperialist Germany and Japan; it was also an attempt by powerful fascist-minded capitalists everywhere throughout capitalism to set up a world fascist system. The world must not forget that reactionary big capitalists in France, Great Britain, the United States, and other countries gave active support to developing fascism in Germany in the hope that Hitler would destroy the U.S.S.R. and make the world safe for fascism—a world in which the capitalist exploiters would not be hindered by trade unionism, parliamentary democracy, and mass trends toward Socialism.

In the course of the present great

peoples' war of democracy and national liberation the fascist states of Germany, Japan and Italy, which once were helped so blithely by reactionary capitalists in the democracies in their reckless strivings for a fascist world, have now been largely shattered militarily. But it would be a mistake to conclude that the menace of fascism would automatically be ended with military victory by the the United Nations.

This would mean to overlook the trend of present-day reactionary forces toward fascism in all capitalist countries. The world capitalist system is sick, very sick; as the two world wars and the great economic crisis, all within one generation, eloquently testify. The system is full of active and latent contradictions; between productive capacity and markets, between workers and capitalists, between colonial lands and imperialist countries, and between the great capitalist states themselves. To this must be added pernicious anti-Soviet campaigns by world reaction. Hard-bitten reactionaries continue to try to resolve their capitalist contradictions along the lines that Hitler did through plans leading to fascism, imperialist aggression and war.

This danger cannot be defeated by military means alone. To mitigate the basic capitalist contradictions and therewith to destroy the poisonous source of fascism, will require, besides military victory over Germany

and Japan, the vigorous application of the whole series of political and economic measures, definitely outlined or clearly forecast by the program adopted by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at the Crimean Conference.

To wipe out the remnants of the great conspiracy to establish a fascist world which is now being broken up by the armies of the United Nations, and, therefore, to destroy the very basis of fascism, will be no mere mopping up process. It will require many major operations. Numerous strong fascist groupings and tendencies, most of which, in some measure at least, will survive military defeat, will offer serious obstacles to the new democratic governments and programs born out of this war.

There will be in the liberated and ex-fascist countries large numbers of big capitalists and landlords, the real instigators and backers of fascism, who, unfortunately, almost all over Europe, are not being punished as real war criminals. In the postwar period, therefore, their fascism-breeding power will have to be curbed by powerful democratic governments, strong labor movements, and effective political and economic measures.

There will be also desperate remnants of the broken-up fascist parties, armies and other reactionary mass organizations in the former Axis countries and their satellites. These will have to be ruthlessly liquidated.

There will be, too, for a time at

least, such European poison centers of fascism as Franco-Spain and Portugal. These will have to be cleaned up by their peoples, with the active help of the United Nations.

There will be also the powerful fascist fifth column in Argentina and other Latin American countries, which is full of danger to democracy in this Hemisphere and the world and which must be defeated. The entrenched reactionaries in Kuomintang China, who are a serious threat in the Far East, must be defeated.

There will also be the pro-fascist policy of the Vatican to contend with. All through the war this has been an active danger, and in the postwar stage it will definitely have to be counteracted.

But the most powerful concentration of reactionary danger will reside in the United States. With the downfall of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan, the reactionaries here will undertake to develop the center of world reaction in the United States. Its core will be the aggressively imperialist elements typified by Hoover, Vandenberg, Dewey, Hearst, Wheeler, Gerald K. Smith, Gannett, Lindbergh, McCormick, duPont, Girdler, Coughlin, etc.

AMERICAN IMPERIALIST REACTION

By far not all American capitalists favor a policy of aggressive imperialist expansion. Large numbers of them follow the general Roosevelt line. These more far-sighted ele-

ments among the capitalists, the Kaisers, Krugs, Nelsons, etc., realizing that their class interests dovetail with the nation's interests and understanding that any attempt of the United States to go it alone in the world would result in sure disaster, are accepting the general policies laid down at Teheran and Yalta.

The more militantly imperialist sections of the capitalists, who are immensely powerful and have at their disposal the bulk of the nation's press, as well as strong representation in Congress, believe, however, that the present world situation presents an unequalled opportunity for the United States to acquire domination internationally. They are out to achieve this at all costs. These reactionaries see on the one hand, that the great imperialist powers of Germany, Japan and Italy, which formed the Axis, are ruined, and that the rest of the capitalist countries including France, Belgium, Holland and even Great Britain herself have been greatly weakened by the war; while on the other hand, the United States, little damaged by the war, is emerging incomparably the strongest capitalist power, industrially, financially, and militarily. Hence, they are determined to register this strength in imperialist world domination.

The Hoover-Vandenberg-Hearst imperialists, in view of the mass unpopularity of imperialism, do not, in specific terms, outline their grandiose plans of domination. Several years

ago Henry Luce, with his "American Century" theories, stated pretty clearly just about what such people have in mind; but generally the militant imperialists do not go in for such frankness, which would make them too plain a target for the democratic forces. The stark imperialism of their program, however, can be readily seen in their stand on current questions centering around the great issues of Teheran and Crimea.

The biggest obstacle they see in their path of imperialist conquest is the U.S.S.R. They conceive of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., not as friends who must work together along the lines of the Crimean agreement, in peace as in war, but as enemies. And their line is to make the U.S.A. the master. To their old hatred of the U.S.S.R. because of its socialism, they have added a new hatred, in that they consider the U.S.S.R. as the most serious force blocking their fascist-imperialist way.

In their attitude all through the war, the reactionary clique has actively expressed this imperialist line by trying to load the burden of the war effort onto the U.S.S.R.; by striving for a separate, negotiated peace with Hitler; by trying to keep reactionary governments in power in the liberated countries; by scheming to do away with the unconditional surrender slogan and to make a soft peace with Germany; by plotting to protect the war criminals; etc., etc.

Toward the question of consolidating the United Nations, their atti-

tude is one of plotting to give the United States major control of the new peace organization. They are working to create disharmony among the "Big Three" powers; they are working to keep the Security Council of the United Nations weak by transferring much of its power to the Assembly, in which they hope to control the majority of the votes with the aid of a big bloc of Latin American nations; they want to keep the new world organization in a state of turmoil by cultivating every spurious national demand against the U.S.S.R.

Toward Great Britain their arrogance is but thinly disguised. They are casting avaricious eyes upon British dominions, especially Australia, New Zealand and Canada. They are full of contempt for Latin America and consider all the countries to the south of us veritably as United States dependencies. Their conception of China is that of a golden field for American exploitation. They want American air and naval bases all over the world, and, in the postwar period they want to keep our armed strength at extravagant levels—obviously for eventual war against the U.S.S.R.

Toward the U.S.S.R. their attitude is one of insolent antagonism. They blow up every difference between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. into a crisis (as they have done with regard to Poland), and they are brazenly dining into the ears of the American people the sinister notion that a war with the U.S.S.R. is inevitable. This

attitude Vandenberg made especially clear at the San Francisco conference of the United Nations. Thus the American delegation, following Vandenberg's lead, brazenly rejected the Soviet Union's proposal to seat the democratic Polish government and was responsible for admitting the delegates of fascist Argentina in the face of strong opposition from the U.S.S.R. and other countries. It was a deliberate attempt of the Hoover-Vandenberg reactionaries to lay the basis for an imperialist world line-up against the U.S.S.R. The whole incident gravely weakened America's democratic prestige.

The international economic policies of the Hoover-Taft-Hearst-Vandenberg imperialists dovetail into their military and political policies. In the postwar period they want a free-for-all scramble for markets, being confident that the United States, because of its vast industrial resources, can out-distance all trade rivals. Consequently, they are inveterate enemies of the Roosevelt international economic policies, which fit in with those of the Crimean agreement and which call for lower tariffs and international collaboration for economic reconstruction as developed in the Bretton Woods proposals. To the rabid imperialists all these plans are but so much "boondoggling."

The national political and economic policies of the Hoover brand of imperialists, naturally enough, fit into their expansionist foreign policies. They constantly warred upon the

Roosevelt Administration and are trying now to hamstring the application of its policies; they lose no occasion to sabotage national unity; they are opposed in principle to full production and full employment, and they look upon the late President Roosevelt's New Economic Bill of Rights and his 60,000,000 job program as virtually Socialism; they shout continuously for "free enterprise," by which they mean a free hand for the great monopolies to do pretty much as they please. They strive to weaken the labor movement; they redouble their efforts to seize control of the Government. The activities of their stooges in the labor movement—Woll, Lewis, Hutcheson, Dubinsky, *et. al.*—fit right in with the imperialist program of this clique.

DANGERS TO GUARD AGAINST

The fascism and war danger, especially in the post war period, of this American program of imperialist expansion, backed as it is by huge and powerful forces, should be obvious. For it is absurd to suppose that such a program could, if applied, have anything but disastrous consequences. Great Britain and the other capitalist powers will resist American domination. Already Great Britain is much disturbed by American pressure and imperialist ambitions, and if the Hoovers and Tafts could induce or force the American Government to apply their policies, the result could only be a major

collision with the British. It is absurd, too, to think that the great U.S.S.R. would submit to American imperialist dictation. Likewise, the attempt to apply the Hoover imperialist policy of unrestrained international economic competition would surely produce an unprecedented world crisis.

A policy of active American imperialist expansion, colliding as it would, with the still more powerful aggregate of world economic and political forces, as well as with a strong labor movement and other democratic forces on our own shores, could not possibly succeed. It would be the broad, straight road to national and international catastrophe. Hoover imperialism will constitute the main reactionary danger in the postwar world. To realize where it would lead to, if its advocates could have their way, all we have to do is to consider the deplorable situation the world would have found itself in now, had Dewey succeeded in capturing the Presidency, which he missed last fall by a narrow margin.

The Hoover-Dewey-Vandenberg imperialists are now actively organizing their forces for another attempt to secure control of the Federal Government in the elections of 1946. While they have suffered many heavy setbacks in the recent past, including the defeat of Dewey, the success of the Teheran and Crimean conferences, the mass rejection of isolationism, the growth of broad mass friendliness toward the U.S.S.R.,

the political awakening of the trade unions, etc., they nevertheless remain strong and dangerous. From our knowledge of the economic and political strength of these people, judging especially from the big fight they made in the 1944 elections, it would be folly to underestimate them. They are a menace which must be fought resolutely by the anti-fascist coalition, particularly with the elections of 1946 in mind, and with the enormous problems facing us as we enter into the reconversion stage.

The end of the war in Europe, is now here, and this will bring about according to the statement of Mr. Vinson, War Mobilization Director, a cutback in war production which will soon run as much as 30 per cent. Obviously in this situation there is great economic danger, unless proper preventative measures are taken. The Roosevelt Administration made many proposals, including the Bretton Woods plans, suggestions to lower tariffs, the 60,000,000 job program, etc., etc.; but Congress, under the pressure of the reactionary opposition, has dilly-dallied all along, doing nothing constructive. This refusal to act properly and fast means to invite an economic holocaust in the postwar period.

Such an economic breakdown, evidently, is what the Hoover imperialists want. Their whole outlook is based upon a perspective of economic chaos following the end of the war. An economic crash, they hope, would help them as the "we-told-

you-so" opposition, to get their men elected to Congress in 1946 and generally it would further their disruptive game of weakening the labor movement. It would be a blow to the entire program of Yalta. It would provoke sharp internal class conflicts and lay the basis of new wars as the good old "way out"; it would sharpen once more the danger of fascism. Such are the grave perils involved in the present sabotage of constructive domestic and foreign policies by the opposition in and out of Congress.

THE STRUGGLE AHEAD

The United States, precisely because it is so extremely strong and the other capitalist countries relatively so weak, bears a tremendous responsibility for the accomplishment of the goals of Crimea. This is true of the further prosecution of the war, and especially is it true in the economic field. This country *must* show democratic economic leadership, for its own and the world's benefit, or the Crimean program of victory, peace, democracy and prosperity cannot be realized. The United States now faces the greatest world responsibility in all its history.

The key position of the United States in present-day world affairs makes triply dangerous the existence of aggressive imperialist trends in our midst. These destructive forces must be beaten; they must not be allowed to block a vigorous application of the Roosevelt policies,

or to serve as the center for a new rallying of world reaction and fascism.

If the United States, after the United Nations victory over the Axis, is to play a progressive role in strong economic and political collaboration with our Soviet and British allies, with whom we jointly won the war, a very heavy responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the American labor movement, which is the backbone of the anti-fascist coalition fighting for the Roosevelt policies. The unions must unite their huge forces to checkmate the maneuvers of the Hoover-Vandenberg-Hearst imperialists by vigorous mass political action; they must bring pressure upon the Truman Administration toward a firm orientation to carry through quickly and decisively the far-reaching economic and political measures requisite to realize the program of the United Nations.

The trade unions must be particularly alert to back up the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods proposals, without emasculating amendments. These are the very heart of the Crimean postwar program, and it would be a disaster if the reactionary opposition were allowed to devitalize them as it is now trying to do.

The trade unions must likewise show great activity in demanding the lowering of the tariff, the development of programs of industrialization in undeveloped countries, the general application of the late President's New Economic Bill of Rights

and his 60,000,000 jobs program. They must warn the country that the present refusal of Congress to accept the Roosevelt economic proposals is threatening us with a serious economic dislocation at the end of the war.

Organized labor must, too, more than ever, be the driving force in strengthening the nation's anti-fascist unity. A new instrument it can use effectively for this purpose is the recently formulated Charter of Labor and Management. By a firm, united and intelligent policy, the trade unions, under this new cooperative agreement with large sections of the employers, can greatly diminish postwar industrial strife, raise the living standards of the workers, extend labor organizations widely into new fields of white collar workers and workers in rural areas. It can draw whole new segments of the population into the nation's anti-fascist unity behind the Roosevelt policies. The trade unions, however, must be on guard against the injurious class collaborationism of Social-Democracy, which chained labor to the chariot wheel of reactionary capitalist interests.

International trade union unity is another matter that must receive first-line attention, especially from the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. A labor movement, solidly united internationally, is indispensable for carrying out the program of the United Nations, especially in the postwar period. All sections of the

American labor movement must therefore affiliate to the new world trade union federation of labor now being born. The isolationist, anti-Soviet policy of the A. F. of L. leaders, which helps the aggressive imperialism of the Hoovers and Vandenberg, must be reversed.

In all their struggles against the reactionary opposition and for the nation's anti-fascist unity in support of the Roosevelt policies, the trade unions should especially keep in mind the Congressional elections of 1946. The Republican reactionaries, counting on the inertia of the workers in "off" election years, are planning a sneak victory in 1946, much as they won in 1942. Were they to succeed, this would be a real calamity to our domestic situation and to the whole program of the United Nations. Organized labor must, therefore, go into the 1946 elections politically united and prepared to administer a first-class defeat to reaction. This means that preparations for the election must be pushed now, and vigorously.

Very important is it, too, in fighting against the Hoover-Vandenberg-Taft opposition, that the imperialist program of these people should be fully exposed. It is not enough merely to denounce them as reactionaries. The American people must be taught that the reactionary opposition is against the whole plan of a democratic collaboration among the nations and is fighting for American

imperialist world domination. By thus exposing the real aims of the Hoovers and Deweys and showing the national and world disasters inherent in their program, the fight against them will be greatly strengthened.

The overwhelming masses of the American people are in favor of the general objectives laid down in the great conferences of Moscow, Teheran and Crimea. But these objectives have to be fought for in order to make them prevail over the demagoguery and stratagems of the militant American imperialists. The fate of our country and all its people depends upon how well the trade unions understand the basic character of the fight they are engaged in and upon the vigor with which they carry on that struggle.

The death of President Roosevelt makes it all the more necessary that the trade unions carry on this political fight for the program laid down at Crimea. The Vandenberg, et al, realizing that by Mr. Roosevelt's passing the world democratic movement has lost a great leader, are redoubling their reactionary activities.

It devolves, therefore, upon the trade union movement, by its mass political activity within the framework of the nation's anti-fascist unity, to help bring about the assurance that the main line of policy laid down by Roosevelt is effectively realized.