

SPECIFIC FEATURES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

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I.

AMERICAN capitalism, contrary to widespread capitalist denials, is imperialist in the fullest sense. Lenin in his great work, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, made the classical analysis of imperialism, which fits American capitalism precisely. Thus, American imperialism is characterized by (a) concentration of industry and banking; (b) the dominance of finance capital; (c) a vast export of capital; (d) participation in the economic division of the world, and, (e) in the territorial division of the world. Besides these basic aspects, characteristic generally of imperialism, American imperialism also has its own special secondary features. These features are influenced by the relative strength and specific position of American capitalism, by the resistance of other peoples and countries to American penetration, by the general status of the world capitalist system, and by numerous other factors. The specific features of American imperialism are of great importance and they contribute significantly in determining the general perspective of the United States and the world. Let us, therefore, after outlining some of the broader characteristics of the present expansion of American capitalism, point out those special forces tending

either to facilitate or to defeat this American expansionist drive.

1) *The wide scope of American imperialist conquests:* Through military occupation during the latter phases of the war and through the broad extension of its general world influence since the end of armed hostilities, the United States has built up by far the biggest empire in the history of the world. The combined war conquests of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito did not equal those of Wall Street. Thus, the United States holds Japan and Western Germany under its complete domination; it has reduced the weakened British Empire to the status of a minor partner in the Anglo-American imperialist combination; it holds the sixteen so-called Marshall Plan nations of Western Europe, including France and Italy, on its financial dole; it has greatly tightened its grip upon the countries of Latin America; it holds the Chiang Kai-shek Government of China in the position of a puppet; and it has greatly extended its influence in the British Dominions and in many colonial and semi-colonial countries. Never before has there been such a wide and rapid imperialist expansion as that of the United States during the past five years.

2) *The specific American forms of imperialist domination:* Because the United States, unlike Great Britain and France, has not developed an extensive system of outright colonies, especially after its victory in the war, capitalist apologists are loudly asserting that this country is not an imperialist power. Browder even uses this argument to "prove" that American capitalism is progressive. This is one of the Hitler Big Lies of the present period—the denial of the imperialist character of the United States. In reality, our country is the biggest and strongest imperialist country in world history.

The capitalist defenders of Wall Street's conquests, in denying that the United States is imperialist, limit the concept of imperialism to outright colonialism. But Lenin did not. He clearly and correctly saw various degrees of control over weaker countries by strong imperialist powers. In his work, *Imperialism*, he spoke of "transitional forms" of dependency:

Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the period of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which reduces itself to the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of *transitional* forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two principal groups—of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other—is not the only typical feature of this period; there is

also a variety of forms of dependence; countries which, formally, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the net of financial and political dependence. . . .*

American imperialism, far more than the older imperialism of Great Britain, France, Holland, etc., makes use of these "transitional forms" which Lenin here deals with. Thus, throughout its farflung sphere of influence, American imperialism employs various means, short of actually establishing colonies, for consolidating its control and exploitation. In Latin America it intensifies its imperialist grip through military bases, economic privileges, standardization-of-arms agreements, semi-puppet governments, etc. In France and Italy it threatens the national independence of these countries, and dictates who shall or shall not be in the government (expulsion of the Communists). In Great Britain, it boldly halts the movement for the nationalization of the steel industry, and lays down conditions for the world trade of that country. In Greece, Turkey, and Kuomintang China it arrogantly orders the dependent governments about like lackeys. In Western Germany and Japan it acts as the sole master in the house. As fast and as far as American imperialism spreads its tentacles, its whole tendency is, in the basic spirit of colonialism, to force the subjugated peoples to subordinate their economies and their political independence to the will of the

* V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, International Publishers, p. 85.

United States, while at the same time it generally leaves them a thin pretext of political independence. But, as we shall see, this is meeting with powerful and effective resistance.

3) *American imperialism's boundless objectives:* German fascist imperialism did not possess the same seeming advantages for pressing its drive for world domination as does the United States. When the Hitlerites launched World War II there still was, in the capitalist sector of the world, a powerful Japan, Britain, and United States — major world powers. The Hitler ambition for world domination was thus faced with powerful obstacles—apart from the U.S.S.R.—that had to be overcome.

American imperialism, to the contrary, sees no such obstacles within the capitalist world. It therefore lacks all restraint in its wild dream of complete and sole world domination. It is determined to rule alone, with other leading capitalist states relegated to minor satellite roles, if not reduced practically to the position of colonial possessions of the U.S.

Indeed, the United States has already succeeded in establishing, in varying degrees, its domination over the countries making up the capitalist world. This, Hitler was never able to do. The United States, already largely dictating the course of capitalist world economic affairs and generally controlling a subservient majority of votes in the United Nations, is recognized universally as far and away the strongest capitalist

world power. What it is striving to accomplish now are the strategic aims of further consolidating its world capitalist leadership and of transforming the more or less subordinate capitalist countries into an active military alliance, under its leadership and directed against the Soviet Union. The central objective of American imperialism is to be the supreme world master, and in order to accomplish this end it is preparing to deluge the world in the blood of another great war. But as we shall see, it is, like Hitler, overreaching itself, for its grandiose objective is unrealizable.

4) *Special American imperialist ideological camouflage:* The United States is covering up its determined drive for imperialist world control with a blanket of hypocritically disarming pretenses, especially adapted to deceive the American and world democratic masses. Hitler, during the recent expansionist drive of German imperialism, boldly glorified war. He stated that he was out to shatter the Versailles Treaty and to conquer what he called *Lebensraum* for the German people at the expense of other nations. Although his program was very thinly veiled with slogans of defense and of his bastard National Socialism, it was transparently one of ruthless imperialist world conquest.

But the American imperialists are more discreet in proclaiming their aims. They speak in the name of democracy and of the defense of world peace. With industries far stronger than those of anyone else, they are

vociferous defenders of "free enterprise," "free trade," and "free competition." They also talk, tongue in cheek, of America's "moral world leadership." This leadership, allegedly forced upon their "unwilling" capitalist shoulders, they claim they are carrying out for the benefit of all the world (except, naturally, American Big Business). These democratic and pacifistic pretenses are, of course, merely a tipping of the hat to the deeply ingrained democratic and anti-militaristic sentiments of the American people. They are also calculated to allay the lively suspicions of the war-weary masses of the world, who have just had such bitter experiences with another set of would-be world conquerors. In our imperialist country, only the less skillful capitalist demagogues speak openly of American world domination. At the recent Republican Convention, Herbert Hoover characteristically expressed in the following words the self-righteous, sentimental slobber that is generally being used to obscure the expansionist program of American imperialism:

In these thirty years of wars we alone have taken no people's land; we have oppressed no race of man. We have faced all the world in friendship, with compassion, with a genuine love and helpfulness for our fellow men. In war, in peace, in disaster, we have aided those whom we believed to be in the right and to require our aid, foe as well as ally. . . . We have hated war; we have loved peace.

5) *The American path to fascism:* American reactionaries are also de-

veloping a different route to fascism than that followed by Hitler's imperialists; it is American imperialism's specific way. They are not organizing a fascist party and plumping for a one-party system; although there is less and less difference between their two big parties. Also, they do not definitely fulminate against democracy and parliamentary government, as Hitler and his protagonists did, but, instead, glibly defend it in words. Likewise, although advocates of Anglo-Saxon superiority and of "white supremacy," they do not as openly advocate the Hitlerian doctrine of the "master race." Also they do not (as yet) openly legislate "Nuremberg laws" against the Jews, nor do they propagate a vague "new order" to take the place of capitalism. In short, they have no elaborated body of fascist "theory."

Nevertheless, American imperialism, under pseudo-democratic slogans, is definitely pressing in the direction of fascism at home and abroad. All over the world the agents of the U.S. State Department have as their close allies (together with reactionary Social-Democrats and clericals) various fascist groupings and individuals. Wherever they can, they are establishing ultra-reactionary governments, of the type of Greece and Kuomintang China. And all this, they are doing in the name of a crusade against Communism and for world democracy.

In this country, under similar democratic slogans, they are building up a whole body of national

legislation and persecutions of a definitely fascist character. This internal fascist development expresses itself through such developments as the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Taft-Hartley Law, the Mundt Bill, the "loyalty" oath for government employees, the growing attacks upon the Negro people, the rising wave of anti-Semitism, the persecution of the Communists, the growth of militarization, etc., as well as a host of reactionary laws in individual states. To carry on its war-breeding imperialistic program abroad, American Big Business requires a reactionary, fascist-like regime in this country. It is building such a regime with specifically American methods and slogans.

II.

Factors Facilitating American Imperialist Expansion

Among the major factors favoring and motivating American imperialist expansion may be listed the following:

1) *The huge extent of American industry:* The highly monopolized industries of the United States, swollen and fattened by two world wars, far surpass in productivity those of Nazi Germany in its imperialist drive, and, indeed, of all the former Axis powers together. The present situation is an extreme example of the uneven development of capitalism. American industry is now turning out fully 60 per cent of the industrial production of the en-

tire capitalist world. This, in the crippled condition of world industry, gives the United States a highly favored economic position. Its vast industrial productivity is also supported by a monster merchant marine (now largely laid up) of some 35 million tons. During World War II, the gigantic industrial base of American imperialism doubled its production, adding new plants to the extent of 25 billion dollars, or an increase equal to about 1½ times the total prewar industrial system of Germany. This predominance in productive capacity is the most powerful weapon of Wall Street in its present drive for world supremacy. Nevertheless, this economic supremacy is but a temporary phenomenon. American capitalism lives, economically, on borrowed time, for its very economic strength is generating and sharpening its internal contradictions and driving it toward economic crisis and catastrophe.

2) *Vast financial resources:* The United States is also far and away the greatest creditor nation in the world. It has all the big capitalist powers deeply in its debt. Its total exports last year, amounting to nearly 20 billion dollars, something never before even remotely equalled by any country in peacetime, intensified the dollar famine and vastly increased the indebtedness of Western Europe and other countries to the U.S. Moreover, the United States has over half of the world's gold reserves cached away at Fort Knox. With its unprecedented mass of surplus capital pressing for investment,

American capitalism is under the most urgent need for imperialist investment and conquest all over the world. This imperialistic urge is all the greater because of the Keynesian consciousness among American big businessmen, who widely believe that only by developing huge capital exports, plus a war economy, can they avert, or at least delay, the almost instant outbreak of a devastating economic crisis of overproduction in the United States. Its present financial strength, based upon its tremendous industrial system, furnishes the United States with its most powerful weapon for the subjugation of other peoples. This fact is especially expressed in the Marshall Plan. Hitler, in his drive for world domination, had only a fraction of such financial resources at his disposal.

3) *Powerful military forces:* The United States now has a navy stronger than the navies of the rest of the world put together. With these vast naval forces it is, for the time being at least, able to dominate all the oceans of the world. The American Air Force, already very powerful, is also being rapidly strengthened under the 70-group plan, as well as through the development of air bases in scores of strategic places throughout the capitalist world. According to Hansen W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* military expert, present government plans call for 20,500 up-to-the-minute planes in the Army Air Force and 14,500 in the Navy.

The obvious aim of all this is to secure for the United States as com-

plete atom-bomb domination of the world's airways as it now holds over the world's oceans. American air strategy is developing through the creation of several great air salients, all pointed against the U.S.S.R.—through Canada and over the North Pole, through the Japanese Islands, through Kuomintang China, through the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and through Western Europe.

The Army is also being rapidly strengthened, to keep pace with the Navy and Air Force. The draft, just enacted into law, will bring the total number in all the highly-modernized national armed services, up to 2,160,200, a figure previously unheard of in peacetime in the United States. Moreover, there are about half a million more men in the National Guard and the reserve forces. The United States' national military budget now reaches the vast total of twenty billions yearly and it is being rapidly increased. The principal military strategic aim of the Marshall Plan, with its planned total expenditure of at least seventeen billion dollars, is militarily to arm Western Germany and Western Europe against the Soviet Union. The newly-formed Western European Union is also being built as the nucleus of an all-capitalist war alliance against the U.S.S.R. But all such Hitler-like dreams of world military supremacy do not reckon with the mighty U.S.S.R. and the peace-loving peoples, and are doomed to disaster.

4) *Imperialistic Labor Leaders:* An important factor favoring the drive of American imperialism,

which cannot be ignored, is the special role being played by the bulk of the decisive conservative labor leaders in the A. F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, United Mine Workers, etc. These officials openly support the foreign policies of American imperialism, picking up and repeating to the masses all of Wall Street's demagogic slogans about democracy and national defense and aid to Europe. They are the principal means for weakening the anti-fascist, anti-militarist, anti-imperialist solidarity of the masses. They are acting openly as strike-breakers and union splitters. They are brazenly seeking to split the labor movements of France and Italy, to disrupt the Latin-American Confederation of Labor, and to break the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Hitler, of course, had the powerful objective support of the Social-Democrats who, with their persistent Soviet-baiting, refusal to join with the Communists in anti-fascist struggle, and support of increasingly reactionary political candidates under the slogan of "the lesser evil," were indispensable in preparing the ground for fascism in Germany. The American conservative union leaders, including such Social-Democrats as Reuther, Rieve, and Dubinsky, are open and direct defenders of American capitalism and its drive for world control. They are labor imperialists. Not only would they heartily support an anti-Soviet war, but also, no doubt, many of them would adapt themselves to the role of leaders of a fascist "labor front,"

as many Social-Democrats did in Germany and elsewhere. However, the mounting cost of living, Taft-Hartleyism, government strike-breaking, and the peace aspirations of the American workers, create favorable conditions for undermining the influence of these labor lieutenants of monopoly capital.

5) *Weakened capitalist competitors of the United States:* This is an undermining factor, peculiar to the present postwar situation and very important in influencing the drive of American imperialism. The fact that Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Italy, and other capitalist countries have been gravely weakened by the war, while the United States has grown fat on it, is a powerful indirect stimulant to the expansionism of American imperialism. Hitler never had such easy pickings with his capitalist rivals. It would be like counting on the wolf to protect the sheep to expect the powerful United States not to take full advantage of its own strength and of the war-weakened condition of its capitalist competitors. By seizing upon all possible controls over them, it is acting fully in accord with the dog-eat-dog nature of capitalism. It is in the same spirit of imperialist cannibalism that the United States is also attempting to subjugate the U.S.S.R., which suffered such gigantic losses in manpower and industry during the war while fighting to save the world from fascist enslavement.

6) *The capitalists' sense of im-*

pending doom: A powerful factor motivating the expansionist drive of American imperialism is the growing sense among capitalists of the inferiority and hopelessness of the capitalist system. They sense, even if they do not clearly understand, the fact that world capitalism is slipping deeper and deeper into general crisis. And small wonder that they should develop such ideas, considering the ruinous wars and devastating economic crises to which their system is increasingly a prey. The capitalists have a profound dread of socialism, whose forces they see developing in many parts of the world. This capitalist fear is manifested by an increasing awareness of the superiority of growing world socialism. It translates itself into action in the shape of a violent hatred of the U.S.S.R. and every other socialist force, and also into a desperate determination to crush by violence the new social system which is growing out of the ruins of the old. Never were such pessimistic moods of desperation so prevalent among capitalists as they are now, in this difficult postwar period, for capitalism. American imperialism, although itself deeply infected by these fears and feelings of inferiority, nevertheless knows how to make use of such moods among the world's capitalists. They are the basis for its present international campaign of Red-baiting and Soviet-hating, behind the screen of which American imperialism is not only fastening its grip upon many capitalist nations and preparing to launch a third world war, but also

systematically building fascism in the United States.

III.

Factors Impeding American Imperialist Expansion

Among the major obstacles that are hindering the advance of American imperialism in its efforts to conquer the world may be listed the following:

1) *The Soviet Union:* The U.S.S.R. is the major fortress of world democracy. By the same token, it is also the biggest obstacle in the path of American monopoly capital's drive for world domination. The Soviet Union, although heavily devastated in the war, has grown greatly in strength and prestige. It is sturdily and successfully resisting the tremendous pressures—ideological, economic, political, diplomatic, and military—now being brought to bear against it by the imperialists of Wall Street. The United States has been able to put Great Britain in a subordinate position with the help of the capitalist lickspittle Labor Government. But not the socialist U.S.S.R., led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Wall Street's inability to break the democratic resistance of the U.S.S.R. is a fact that has created a panic of desperation in the ranks of American imperialists.

2) *The New European Democracies:* Another serious stumbling block for American imperialism is the group of new people's democracies in Eastern Europe, including Po

land, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania, with the position of Yugoslavia in the course of being determined. During Hitler's drive for power, all these countries, except Czechoslovakia, had fascist governments. But today they are fortresses of democracy. They have defeated every effort of American imperialism to dominate them and they are a most disturbing problem indeed for the would-be world rulers in Wall Street.

3) *The colonial and semi-colonial countries:* The great national liberation movements at present surging in various colonial and semi-colonial countries throughout the world constitute another massive road-block along the route of American imperialism. China, India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, North and South Africa, and other countries and areas formerly more or less completely dominated by the imperialist nations, are now in varying stages of anti-imperialist revolt. Half the world's population is systematically casting off the shackles of feudalism and imperialist oppression, and the insurgent peoples can never be re-enslaved by ambitious American imperialism. They present a staggering menace to those who are striving to make American Big Business master of the world.

4) *Resistance of the peoples in the capitalist countries:* Despite the fact that the capitalists and the Right Social-Democratic leaders are selling them down the river to American imperialism, the peoples in the capitalist countries are maintaining

a stubborn and powerful democratic resistance that is proving impossible to break. The peoples' deep hatred of fascism and growing opposition to capitalism, and their determination not to permit the launching of a third world war, are especially receiving powerful leadership from the big Communist Parties and from the greatly enlarged and solidified trade unions.

In the United States, although undoubtedly the current imperialist, war agitation has sunk deep roots among all classes of the people, there is nevertheless a powerful popular opposition that is proving to be a thorn in the side of American imperialism. This mass resistance was repeatedly shown in the long struggles against U.M.T. and the selective draft, against military control of the atom-bomb, against government by generals, and, in these recent weeks, by the successful fight against the police state Mundt Bill. But the most significant and most all-embracing of such developments is, of course, the growth of the anti-war, anti-fascist, new party movement under the leadership of Henry A. Wallace. This movement embraces Left and progressive trade unions, Negro organizations, and a whole host of other democratic movements. Many millions of workers and others are sympathetic to its democratic, anti-war slogans.

5) *Internal counteracting forces.* The special advantages of U.S. imperialism are offset not only by the world forces of peace and democracy, but also by its internal contra-

dictions, by the sharpening class struggle at home. The oncoming crisis threatens to upset thoroughly the overly-ambitious expansionist aims of Wall Street. The plethora of surplus capital influences and sharpens the contradictions of American capitalism and threatens to choke it in its own wealth. Mass resistance of the working class to Taft-Hartleyism and the increasingly rapid deterioration of its living standards is already gaining momentum. The Negro question remains, politically, the Achilles' heel of U.S. imperialism; and the liberation movement of the Negro people is reaching new heights of consciousness and unity, representing a mighty anti-imperialist force. The people's resistance to militarization and draining the wealth of the nation of the war budget, will assert itself—as demonstrated in the mass response to the peace program of the new people's party.

6) *Mutual capitalist antagonisms:* Further big obstacles that confront American imperialism are the many sharp economic and political antagonisms that are arraying various of the capitalist states against each other. At most, it is only a limited degree of control that the United States has been able to set up over other capitalist countries, and the present American hegemony over world capitalism is very shaky. Between the United States and Great Britain in particular, serious clashes in interest are constantly cropping out, some of the more recent ones being the disputes around the Pal-

estine question and the struggle over Near East oil. France and the United States are also in conflict over the latter's project of rebuilding a fascist, rearmed Western Germany. Growing sections of native capitalists, students, and professional elements in Kuomintang China are resentful at the American policy of recreating a strong Japan. And the peoples of Latin America are highly antagonized by the bare-faced efforts of American imperialism to reduce them almost to the status of colonies. Such inter-capitalist janglings naturally make it extremely difficult for American imperialism to create anything like a united capitalist front against the U.S.S.R.

7) *The weakened condition of the world capitalist system:* A further and most basic obstacle to the progress of American imperialism in its attempt to establish its all-world control is the present weakened condition of the very foundations of the whole world capitalist system. Among the multiplying signs of the developing general crisis of capitalism are the disrupted state of international financial relationships; the wrecked state of world markets; the war devastation of many industries and cities; the lop-sided development of world industry, with an overwhelming preponderance in the United States and with the result that while most of the capitalist world is suffering a grave crisis of underproduction the United States trembles in fear of a major crisis of overproduction; the surging class struggles in many countries; the

sharpening antagonism among the respective capitalist nations; the breakdown of the colonial system, which is so vital to the existence of imperialist capitalism; the ideological confusion in the ranks of the world bourgeoisie; and the tremendous loss of capitalist prestige and the growth of socialist sentiment among the world's toiling masses, etc., etc. Obviously all these capitalist weaknesses and confusions present very severe problems to American imperialism, hindering its efforts to breathe the breath of life into the whole ramshackle capitalist structure and to weld it together into a powerful and smoothly-working anti-Soviet military alliance under American leadership. Hitler, in his drive for world power, faced no such degree of chaos in international capitalism. The deepening crisis of the world capitalist system is the specific and also most fundamental factor conditioning the world drive of American imperialism.

IV.

The Failure of American Imperialist Policy

Although, as indicated at the outset of this article, American imperialism has scored some heavy victories and has widely expanded its world influence, nevertheless, by and large, its policy is failing. This is because it has not succeeded in achieving its major objective of defeating the Soviet Union and the other great world democratic forces. The factors hin-

dering American imperialism are manifestly much stronger than those promoting its progress. In this basic relation of forces lies a perspective of the ultimate disastrous defeat of American imperialism.

American imperialist policy has passed through several stages, or phases, overlapping and reinforcing each other. But ever and always the objective of this policy has remained the same—to break down the stubborn resistance of the U.S.S.R. and the other world democratic forces opposed to American expansionism.

1) *Atom-bomb diplomacy*: When the Russians decisively defeated Hitler at Stalingrad in the winter of 1942, the allies began definitely to develop a victory perspective. At the same time it became increasingly clear that American imperialism, after the war, was itself going to make a big bid for world supremacy, and also that in this endeavor it considered the U.S.S.R. to be its greatest obstacle. This explains why, already during the war, the main body of American reaction, combating the Roosevelt policy of wartime and postwar collaboration with the U.S.S.R., delayed the opening of the Western front in Europe for a full 18 months, thereby causing the Russians and the countries occupied by the Hitlerites to suffer millions of needless casualties and endless devastation of their industries and cities. These reactionaries tried, too, to put the chief burden of the war even more heavily upon the Russians by switching the American attack away

from Nazi Germany and against Japan. Their general purpose was to weaken the U.S.S.R. so basically that it could not offer serious resistance to American imperialism in the post-war period. President (then Senator) Truman cynically expressed this unspeakable treachery to our Soviet war ally as follows:

If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if we see that Russia is winning we ought to help Germany. . . .

Immediately upon the end of the war in 1945, with Roosevelt dead, the Wall Street reactionaries, finding a willing tool in President Truman, opened up in full blast their offensive of imperialist conquest. Their major effort was directed toward cowing the U.S.S.R. They believed that they had by their wartime betrayal so debilitated that country that it would be unable to resist the powerful American pressure. In this spirit they launched their get-tough-with-Russia policy. This was a combination of open threats of a "preventive" atom-bomb war against the U.S.S.R. and the ruthless use of an American-controlled majority of votes against that country in the United Nations. But the U.S.S.R. ignored all the atom-bomb threats and it protected itself in the United Nations by a resolute use of the veto. The general result was a serious defeat for Wall Street's atom-bomb diplomacy.

2) *The Truman Doctrine*: This infamous policy of American imperialism, rightly named after our

gingoistic President, was announced in the Spring of 1947. In connection with its cold-blooded armed intervention in Greece, which by-passed the U.N., the United States served notice on the world that in its efforts to intimidate the world democratic forces into submission it was prepared to provoke civil war in the respective countries. The Truman Doctrine was only a clearer statement and an accentuation of the already developing American policy of ruthlessly interfering in the internal affairs of other nations for the purpose of defeating democracy and strengthening Wall Street's imperialist front. Examples of such interference, both before and after the formal announcement of the Truman Doctrine, were the development of numerous armed fascist plots and uprisings against the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe; the sending of arms, money and men to the reactionary forces in the civil wars in China, Indonesia, and Indo-China; the ousting of the Communists from the French, Italian, Chilean, and Brazilian Governments; the cultivation of the De Gaulle movement and the so-called Center force in France; the systematic shielding of fascist elements in Germany and Japan; the recent wholesale interference on the side of reaction in the Italian elections, etc., etc.

But the Truman Doctrine, like its related policy of atom-bomb diplomacy, has not succeeded in defeating world democracy. The mass resistance to American imperialism in the

Western European countries has not been broken; the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, with the present exception of Yugoslavia, which is in an uncertain position, have definitely moved to the Left under this American intimidation; the civil wars in China and Greece, despite huge American assistance, continue to go badly for the reactionaries. And, of course, the attempts of the supporters of the Truman Doctrine to create a reactionary diversion within the Soviet Union itself, which was the expressed purpose of their anti-Russian radio broadcasts, collapsed miserably. So the Truman Doctrine, like atom-bomb diplomacy, has, in the main, failed in its major anti-democratic objectives.

3) *The Marshall Plan*: This policy, the chief aim of which is to re-arm Europe against democracy at home and also for eventual war against the U.S.S.R., was announced close upon the heels of the statement of the Truman Doctrine. It dovetails right in with that doctrine and also with atom-bomb diplomacy. Like the Truman Doctrine, the promulgation of the Marshall Plan was the culmination of a course that had already been developing for a considerable time. It is the American policy, raised to the *nth* degree, of granting loans and relief to subservient countries. The Marshall Plan, which also by-passed the United Nations and thereby rendered it impotent, is the full economic power of America being used to prepare Europe for an anti-Soviet war. During the year of its existence the

Marshall Plan, with its billions of dollars for profit-hungry European exploiters, has done much to establish American hegemony over the capitalist-ridden countries of Western Europe and it has also created illusions far and wide among the capitalist world's toiling masses. Nevertheless, it has not been able to crack the resistance of the new democracies in Europe, or to halt the progress of the national liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and especially it has not succeeded in overcoming the resolute anti-imperialist, pro-peace stand of the U.S.S.R.

4) *Active preparation for war*: American imperialism, perceiving the obvious failure of its atom-bomb diplomacy and its Truman Doctrine, and realizing also that the Marshall Plan cannot succeed in smashing the world anti-imperialist resistance, now finds itself in a most difficult position. It simply must break the resistance of the peoples to American imperialism if it is to achieve the world domination for which its whole structure of monopoly capitalism inexorably compels it to strive. It cannot possibly tolerate the tremendous consolidation of the world forces of democracy and socialism that has taken place since the end of the war. Hence it reaches desperately for the only other weapon left to it after the failure of its previous policies, namely, an anti-Soviet, anti-peoples' war. The present intense war preparations in the United States and in the countries under American domination are the surest signs that

American imperialism considers its policies up until now to be essentially a failure. These developments indicate that Wall Street can see no other possible way to defeat the forces of democracy and socialism and to establish its own world rulership except through the frightful hazard of war.

From its inception, the drive of American imperialism has borne within it the danger of war. It is to the credit of the Communist Party of the United States that it has realized this fact all along. Behind the atom-bomb diplomacy, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan, there has always been implicit the danger of the precipitation of another world war. But the war danger has grown more and more acute with the continuing failure of these policies to achieve their anti-democratic aims. This has been especially true since the collapse, last February, of the American-inspired attempt to overthrow the Communist-led government of Czechoslovakia, with the result that that country moved sharply to the Left. After this major political defeat, which doubly emphasized the failure of American imperialist foreign policy, the Wall Street reactionaries have turned more and more sharply toward using the weapon of war. They are greatly intensifying military preparations and are readying the people ideologically for an early plunge into war.

American Big Business has undoubtedly resolved upon throwing our country into war against the

U.S.S.R. Both of its two big political parties are saturated with this war spirit. Only strong mass democratic resistance can balk the bellicose determination of the warmongers. The great monopolists of this country cannot tolerate the perspective of capitalism and socialism living in the same world together, in peaceful rivalry. For they are sure, in their pessimism, that such a competition of the two systems could only result in the ultimate defeat of capitalism. They also do not believe that the Marshall Plan, even if supported by atom-bomb diplomacy and the Truman Doctrine, can of itself bring the whole shattered world economy under the iron-bound control of American monopoly capital. They believe that only by a war economy, and eventually war, can they prevent overdeveloped American industry from collapsing in crisis. They do not share the naive opinions of the "American exceptionalists" who, holding that the economic system in this country is not subject to the destructive influences that have so deeply undermined world capitalism, believe that American capitalism can not only itself survive, but can restore and reinvigorate capitalism in all other countries. Having no such illusions, American big capitalists want to smash democracy and socialism by war, since they are unable to do so by atom-bomb diplomacy, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan. And it is not merely political expediency (as many capitalist apologists claim) that makes the agents of American Big Business line up

with fascists all over the world and also makes them move in the direction of fascism in this country. This reactionary course is inseparable from the main orientation of American monopoly capital toward fascism and war.

But the war for which the American imperialists are planning also could not succeed any better than have their other ill-omened imperialist policies. For the world forces of democracy and socialism are much too strong to be defeated militarily by American imperialism, with its impoverished and crisis-stricken foreign allies and its ideologically bankrupt trade-union and Social-Democratic stooges. Such a war, besides wreaking havoc on the American people, would be a lost war for American imperialism and would also have dire consequences for world capitalism. This grim reality is sensed by many of the more thoughtful of bourgeois military experts and political commentators. These people are telling us that an American-Soviet war would lead to an almost immediate occupation of Western Europe and most of Asia by the Red Army, whence it could be dislodged, if at all, only after ruinous struggle. They say, too, that the warring capitalist countries would become the prey of anti-capitalist revolutions from their war-weary peoples. And they are also sure that the world capitalist system could never stand the physical shock and revolutionary upheavals that a World War III would produce. Despite this most lugubrious outlook, however,

American big capital is preparing to try the reckless gamble of war.

Nevertheless war is not inevitable. The people of this country and the world can halt the war being prepared, if they will throw their great power athwart the path of the American warmongers and imperialists. But the American people will have to accept the logic of the situation. While it is profoundly true that rising socialism and declining capitalism can live peacefully together, it is clear that the condition for such peaceful co-existence is a mutual desire for it on both sides. But an aggressive American imperialism bent on world domination rejects this possibility of peaceful co-existence which is the most decisive condition today for world peace. Hence, if the world is to be saved from another and greater blood-bath, the power of American monopoly, the poison source of fascism and modern war, must be broken. As our convention draft resolution points out, the peace measures of the new, third party can undoubtedly advance the cause of peace, and check the plans of the warmakers. But it must never be forgotten that to eliminate finally the danger of war it is necessary to eliminate the source of that danger, capitalism. To achieve the kind of world in which alone peace will be absolutely guaranteed, the peoples of the capitalist world, especially the United States, must be mobilized for an attack upon the economic and political power of the monopolies as the historic condition for the advance toward socialism.