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## The Domination of the Capitalist World by the United States

by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WITHIN the general scope of the present insane and ill-fated drive of American imperialism for world mastery there stands forth the important fact that during the post-World War II years the United States has succeeded in achieving a high degree of domination, or hegemony, over the capitalist world. This country has now reached a position where, arrogantly infringing upon the national independence of many other capitalist countries, it is able largely to dictate to them regarding major domestic and foreign policies. This is a situation unique in the history of world capitalism. During the past there have been predominant single countries—thus, England was the outstanding capitalist country all through the 18th and 19th centuries—and, from time to time, there have also been powerful alliances of capitalist states; but never before has any one country, or group of countries, achieved a position of

such decisive control over the capitalist world as that now being exercised by the United States. To a certain extent, the United States shares this domination with Great Britain, as its junior partner.

American capitalist world hegemony is vastly intensifying the most basic problems at present being faced by humanity—the menacing dangers of another world war and a re-growth of fascism. The very existence of this hegemony, an expression of growing capitalist decay, deepens the contradictions within the capitalist system; it sharpens the antagonisms between the capitalist and Socialist worlds; it thereby sharpens the general crisis of capitalism and hastens the disappearance of that system.

American capitalist hegemony is also, incidentally, placing before the Communist Party a complex of theoretical questions which urgently demand Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Our Party since 1945 has been pointing out the drive of the Wall Street monopolists for world mastery, but, for the first time, in its present convention resolution, it is taking up concretely the vital problem of an established American hegemony over the shaky capitalist world, and what this implies.

#### THE BASIS OF AMERICAN CAPITALIST HEGEMONY

Capitalist world domination by the United States is now being ever more boldly proclaimed by the spokesmen of Wall Street and their Social-Democratic stooges and other hangers-on. At the outset of their postwar drive for world conquest, warned by the evil effects upon Hitler of his raucous assertions of German imperialism's "right" and determination to rule the world, American imperialists contented themselves with vague, cunning, and hypocritical expressions about "our moral leadership of the world," "our responsibilities to mankind," and the like; but now, as United States control over the wobbly, ramshackle structure of capitalism has become more definite, they are making the eagle scream by expressing their imperialist ambitions more clearly. They are now letting the capitalists in all countries know unmistakably just who is their boss.

The hegemony of the United States over the rest of the capitalist world is based upon this country's

vastly superior strength, in comparison with that of any other single capitalist nation or of any hostile grouping of capitalist powers now in sight. In this rise of the United States to capitalist supremacy, we have a clear-cut example of the working of Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism. The United States, controlled by finance capital, having become so preponderantly the most powerful capitalist country economically, therefore inevitably proceeds to set up its imperialist domination, politically and militarily, over the world capitalist system.

The main reasons for the present dominance of the United States over the rest of capitalism may be stated under three heads: (a) The United States turns out about two-thirds of the industrial production of the capitalist world—that is, twice as much as all the other capitalist nations combined, and its highly developed industries give it an immense advantage in the trade markets of the capitalist world. (b) The United States likewise possesses overwhelmingly the largest sums of capital available for investment. In its vaults it holds about three-fourths of the gold reserves of the capitalist world. Since the end of the war (according to a recent report of the Senate-House Committee on Federal Expenditures) the United States has exported capital, for all purposes, to various foreign countries to the immense

amount of \$42.5 billions. It has on its financial dole all the leading capitalist nations. (c) The United States, on the basis of its economic preponderance, also possesses armed forces far stronger than those of any other capitalist power. Its air force and navy are much greater than those of all the capitalists combined, and so are its munitions industries. It has, too, an atom-bomb monopoly (so far as capitalism is concerned), and its military bases all over the world not only constitute a threat against the U.S.S.R., but they also serve conveniently to intimidate the capitalist world. Controlling this over-weight of production and military strength, and in line with the inherent and fundamental imperialist drive of monopoly capitalism, the moguls of Wall Street are now undertaking to boss the capitalist nations of the world.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF U.S. WORLD CAPITALIST HEGEMONY

The march of the United States to world capitalist hegemony, which began to get under way two generations ago, came to realization only during the aftermath of World War II. Lenin, in his great work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, shows that the dog-eat-dog struggle, going on among the imperialist powers for the division of the world among themselves, is one of the basic aspects of imperialism. This struggle raged especially sav-

agely during the past thirty years. The United States has emerged as the outstanding victor, at least for the time being, in this murderous inter-imperialist struggle. It is now cock of the capitalist walk, all of its principal imperialist rivals having either been wholly or partly ruined in warfare against one another, or having been destroyed outright at the hands of their revolutionary peoples.

Already by 1890, the United States had become the leading industrial nation in the world. In 1894 its total production amounted to \$9,498,000,000, as against \$4,262,000,000 for Great Britain, \$3,357,000,000 for Germany, and \$2,900,000,000 for France. There was no possibility for American hegemony at that time, however, since the United States confronted a world of strong and growing imperialist rivals. Capitalist hegemony for any one capitalist power was still far off in the future.

The First World War gave a big stimulus to eventual world capitalist domination by the United States, in that while this country, far from the scene of hostilities, fattened on the conflict, the Russian bourgeois state was overthrown by revolution, Austria was disintegrated, and Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy were deeply injured by the war. The Second World War gave another, even greater push to American imperialist world ambitions. This war, by military devasta-

tion and revolution in Europe and Asia, shattered Germany, Italy, and Japan, and gravely weakened Great Britain and France; whereas the United States, again safe from war damage, even more enormously expanded its industries and improved its relative imperialist position. In the post-World War II situation, consequently, the United States, with itself grown strong in war and its capitalist rivals weakened or destroyed, has been able to achieve the position of world capitalist boss.

#### THE EXERCISE OF AMERICAN CAPITALIST DOMINATION

The United States is employing in many ruthless ways its imperialist hegemony over the capitalist world. For want of space, only a few examples of these American pressures upon other capitalist countries can be given here, as follows: (a) In applying the Marshall Plan, the United States has arbitrarily interfered with, and damaged the economies of the West European countries. (b) In Latin America (Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Central America, etc.) the United States is systematically organizing a regime of brutal reaction all along the line and is reducing the heads of these states to the status of virtual puppets of Wall Street. (c) In the Mediterranean, the United States has largely cut the ground from beneath Great Britain and has become chief boss in that vital area. (d) The United States is also winning Canada and Australia

away from the British orbit. (e) France and Italy, upon a threat of receiving no financial aid otherwise, were brusquely ordered by our State Department to expel the Communists from their Government cabinets, instructions which they dutifully obeyed. (f) The United States is now attempting to force unwilling France to agree to the re-arming of Germany. (g) By dominating the European imperialist powers, the United States is getting its hooks into Africa. (h) China is being arbitrarily barred from United Nations membership by the American opposition, in spite of the demand of the great majority of mankind, including many capitalist nations, for its admission. (i) The recent shameless railroading through of Trygve Lie, Wall Street Social-Democratic stooge, by the United States as General Secretary of the United Nations. (j) United States labor tools (A. F. of L. and C.I.O.), under State Department direction, are splitting the labor movement in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and on a world scale. Various other individual examples of United States domineering policies could be cited from its relations with numerous capitalist countries.

The general organizational expression of American hegemony over world capitalism is this country's grip upon, and systematic manipulation of, the majority of delegates in the United Nations. The United Nations started out as an or-

ganization, supposedly, of independent states and dedicated to the establishment of world peace; but it has long since lost this character. It has now become largely an agency of the American State Department. Most of the capitalist countries represented in the U.N. are either now on the American dole or are trying eagerly to get on it. So they do pretty much what the arrogant American monopolists tell them to. The United States especially cinched its hold on the United Nations in connection with the Korean war, during which it has virtually transformed the U.N. majority of states into a full-fledged anti-Soviet alliance, with the United States in decisive command. No single power, or group of powers, ever dominated the old League of Nations so completely as the United States is now dominating the United Nations.

The American militarists have been especially active to grab control as much as possible, of the armed forces of the United Nations. General MacArthur is commanding the U.N. forces in the Far East; General Eisenhower is primed to head those in Europe, and General Marshall is organizing to run the whole business from Washington, as United States Secretary of Defense.

The basic policy and action of the United States in its domination over world capitalism is summed up by the ruthless manner with which the American government is now

crowding and compelling the other capitalist powers, through the United Nations and otherwise, to fall in line with its militant orientation of an early war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia. Vigorous American capitalism is literally rushing sick European capitalism into an all-out war for which it is quite unfit. While it is true that capitalist reactionaries everywhere want an anti-Soviet war (example, Churchill), nevertheless, many of them, facing strong mass anti-war sentiment and grave economic difficulties in their home countries, would proceed more slowly. They are alarmed at the speed with which the United States is shoving them toward war.

An example of this reluctance has been seen in the Korean war, when the United States practically had to slug many of the reluctant capitalist governments before they would agree to send even token armed forces to support the American aggression against the Korean people. Their present even greater reluctance to join in the MacArthur attack upon China further illustrates this tension between militant United States imperialism and its sick allies.

#### THE UNITED STATES AIMS AT FULL WORLD DOMINION

The aim of American imperialism, of course, is not limited simply to exercising world hegemony over capitalism—which it has already, in

considerable measure, achieved. It drives for domination over the entire world; not only the capitalist segment of it, but the Socialist segment as well. Wall Street, in its grandiose plans and preparations for world conquest, far surpasses even the wildest dreams of Hitler and other would-be world conquerors of the past.

The imperialist United States, completely dominated by monopoly capital, is propelled upon its warlike course for domination over international capitalism and the whole world by four major, inter-woven forces. These are: (a) This country is far and away the strongest capitalist nation in the world; hence, in line with the aggressive expansionism inseparable from monopoly capitalism, it seeks inevitably to establish its imperialist mastery over all other countries. (b) The capitalists of the United States, haunted by the fear of another, even greater economic crisis than that of 1929-33, are convinced that the only way this crisis can be averted, even temporarily, is through a gigantic (Keynesian) program of munitions production, including the waging of war itself. (c) The American monopolists, sensing the reality of the general crisis of capitalism, believe that the sole means by which the capitalist system can be saved from disintegration is for Wall Street to take over the whole system and to reorganize it essentially on a fascist basis. And, (d) these monopolists,

mortally alarmed at the rising tide of Socialism in many parts of the world, are resolved at all costs to destroy the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia by military action. These are the main pressures that are driving American imperialism along upon its desperate course of fascism, war, and boundless imperialist expansion.

#### NEW METHODS OF AGGRESSIVE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The Wall Street monopolists, learning from the general decline of the decadent British empire and from the recent crushing defeat of militant German imperialism, have developed distinctive political techniques and tactics of their own for achieving world imperialist domination. To further the program of foreign aggression, some of the more important of these specifically American imperialist policies are as follows: (a) An elaborate pretense that the United States is opposed to colonialism and favors the national independence of the present colonial and semi-colonial lands; whereas, in actuality, however, the American drive is toward reducing all governments, especially those in the weaker countries, to the status of mere puppets under its imperial sway, permitting them to exercise hardly a shadow of independence. (b) The United States, while using the fascist slogan of an anti-Communist crusade, largely avoids the

Hitler-Mussolini glorification of aggressive war and energetically cultivates an intensive propaganda to the effect that it is the great apostle of world peace and is standing on the defensive against a supposedly militant Soviet imperialism. Under slippery slogans of defense, it is building up a huge military force for aggressive war. (c) Avoiding the crassly anti-industrialization attitudes of Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Japan, and other colonial powers, the United States, with its "Point 4" and otherwise, boasts that it is going to industrialize all the backward areas of the world. In reality, this country, on the contrary, follows far more drastically even than Great Britain, Germany, and other powers ever did, the imperialist policy of making itself into the great industrial center of the world, at the expense of the economies of all other countries. (d) The aggressive American imperialists also skillfully steer clear of Hitler's blatant propaganda of the inherent superiority of the so-called Aryan peoples, and are proclaiming themselves to be the champions of the equality of all peoples; although, in reality, they themselves are definitely white supremacists and are seeking to establish Anglo-Saxon cultural, as well as political, domination over the darker peoples of all the world.

In the sphere of domestic policy, also, American monopoly capital has its own distinctive policies of ag-

gression against this nation's democracy and well-being. As an indispensable part of its general war program for world conquest, Wall Street is definitely driving toward the establishment of fascism in this country, (as many reactionary laws eloquently prove); but it is doing this under very different slogans than those used by Hitler's Nazis. Among these reactionary trends are: (a) There is none of the open glorification of autocratic rule by a chosen social élite, the rejection of parliamentary government as such, or the flagrant propagation of anti-Semitism as a political principle; but, on the contrary, the Wall Street magnates and their Truman government are trying to pose as the great champions of democracy. These fascist-minded reactionaries—persecutors of the Negro people, union smashers, anti-Semites, and fascists at heart—like nothing better than hypocritically to assail the evils of what they call "totalitarianism." In the name of democracy, they are systematically stripping the American people of their traditional liberties. (b) Instead of building up a new, independent fascist party, as Hitler and Mussolini did, the American reactionaries, for their drive of war and conquest, find it quite convenient to utilize their traditional two-party system, although with many creakings, on a bipartisan basis. (c) Instead of wiping out the trade unions and establishing a fascist "labor front" at

one blow, à la Hitler, they are erecting rigid state controls over the unions (Taft-Hartley Act, McCarran Act, etc.), and they have, by unparalleled corruption, brought about a thorough domestication of the Social-Democratic (American brand) leadership of the trade unions. (d) In the name of free speech, they have also established an unprecedentedly reactionary control over the school system, the press, the radio, television, the movies, and all other means of public information and education.

This elaborate demagogy of American imperialism, in its drive for world domination, is doubly menacing. Its cunning pretenses that Wall Street is the defender of world peace, the enemy of imperialism, and the champion of democracy, are very deceptive to great masses of the people, both here and abroad. It is a tragically dangerous political fact that today the great bulk of the American people, including huge masses of workers, are unaware that the United States is an imperialist power, in fact the strongest and most aggressive of all imperialist states, and, especially, that it is definitely driving toward world mastery and fascism on the basis of a war of conquest.

#### SOME QUESTIONS OF MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS

The aggression of American imperialism, with its specific and pe-

cularly insidious slogans, as we have seen, creates numerous illusions among the masses. This means that we have many new questions to answer with clarifying Marxist-Leninist analysis. One of these questions relates to the traditional ideological disease of "American exceptionalism." This has now become more malignant than ever. Stated briefly, this question presents itself as: Does the fact of the relatively greater strength of the United States and its rise to world capitalist eminence—while all the other capitalist states are either very sick or altogether collapsed—signify, as the capitalists and Social-Democrats constantly tell us, that capitalism in this country is fundamentally superior to the capitalism of other countries?

The answer to this question is, of course, a categorical negative. Capitalism in the United States is fundamentally the same as capitalism in other countries, and is subject to the same laws of growth and decay that shape the capitalist system everywhere. It has all the basic internal contradictions characteristic of capitalism everywhere. If capitalism in the United States has grown relatively stronger during the past generation—while other capitalist countries have become weaker—and if it has finally been able to establish its hegemony (such as it is) over the rest of the capitalist world all this is not because American capitalism, as such, is in any basic sense ex-



ceptional or superior to the rest of the capitalist system. It simply means that capitalism in this country has been able to expand primarily because of its strategic location in remaining free of the ravages of the two world wars. American capitalism has actually been able to profit and grow fat from the very decline of the world capitalist system. It is a sort of pawn-broker or cannibalistic capitalism, which has benefitted greatly as a result of the very wars which have just about wrecked world capitalism. Capitalism in this country, therefore, has also been able to utilize for its own imperialist purposes the postwar difficulties of the many crisis-stricken capitalist countries.

But these parasitic advantages are only temporary. American capitalism, for all its present economic development, has also been decaying at the heart. This was proved conclusively by the devastating economic crisis of 1929-33, which originated in this country and which could only be liquidated by the outbreak of World War II. It was demonstrated again during the past two years, when American industry was slipping into a deep crisis, which was only relieved by the beginning of the Korean war. The fascist trends and rampant imperialist expansionism of American capitalism are fundamental indications of its basic weakness. The rottenness of American capitalism will be further dramatically demonstrated in the course of

the continued development of the general crisis of world capitalism and the irresistible advance of world Socialism and democracy. Capitalism in the United States, as capitalism in other countries, is doomed, and for the same general reasons.

The second question that we need to answer clearly is whether or not the advance of the United States to world capitalist hegemony signifies a strengthening and a renaissance in general of world capitalism. That it means just this is the contention of the Wallaces and Browders, and other advocates of "progressive capitalism." The essence of such arguments is that American capitalism can, and actually is, saving the world capitalist system from disintegration.

But this is nonsense. The rise to world capitalist hegemony by the United States is not a sign of an increasing strength, but of the growing breakdown of the world capitalist system. The other capitalist powers would never submit to the arrogant domination of the United States, even to the qualified extent that they are now doing, were it not that they find themselves caught in a morass of ever-deepening, insoluble economic and political difficulties. American capitalist hegemony is a result of the deepening general crisis of world capitalism. It cannot possibly cure that crisis. It has developed on the basis of the decline of world capitalism. The very

existence of American capitalist hegemony is a dramatic demonstration of the growing weakness and desperation of the world bourgeoisie in the face of its ever increasing difficulties. American capitalist hegemony does not signify capitalist recovery, nor can it stop the decay of capitalism. It can only increase that decay and make it more destructive.

Even at the very time of the achievement of American world capitalist hegemony—particularly in the aftermath of World War II—world capitalism has suffered tremendous losses. Ten European countries have taken the road to Socialism, the great revolution in China is victorious, the colonial system of world imperialism has just about been wrecked, and many capitalist countries remain in a state of chronic crisis.

#### THE QUESTION OF ULTRA-IMPERIALISM

Does the achievement of world capitalist hegemony by the United States imply that world capitalism is overcoming its internal and external contradictions and is now arriving at the state of ultra-imperialism as envisaged a generation ago by Karl Kautsky, the renegade ideological leader of the Second International? This question, closely related to the previous one, must also be given an emphatic negative answer. Far from curing the capitalist contradictions, the advent of American capitalist domination signifies a great sharp-

ening of all these internal and external contradictions and a further intensification of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Kautsky (and later, Bukharin, with his theories of "organized capitalism," and still later, the Wallaces and Browders, with their conceptions of "progressive capitalism") foresaw a steady growth and consolidation of the capitalist system into an ever-advancing, frictionless, social order. This meant, in final analysis, so these theories implied, the voluntary liquidation of the class struggle, the automatic self-elimination of imperialism and war, and the general elimination of Socialism as a social perspective.

Lenin, in polemizing against this general conception of Kautsky, pointed out that in capitalist society there is a double-phased development taking place. That is, whereas, on the one hand, there are consolidating tendencies within capitalism, on the other hand, there are ever more powerful revolutionary tendencies, and the general working out of this process leads to the establishment of Socialism. Lenin said (in his introduction to Bukharin's book, *Imperialism and World Economy*), "There is no doubt that the development is going *in the direction* of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and states, without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such a tempo, with such conflicts and

convulsions—not only economical but also political, national, etc.—that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance capitals will have formed a world union of ‘ultra-imperialism,’ imperialism will inevitably explode, capitalism will turn into its opposite.”

The present world situation, in which the conquest of world capitalist hegemony by the United States takes place, gives a graphic demonstration of the correctness of this analysis by Lenin. The two tendencies within capitalism which he noted—the tendency to organize and consolidate capitalism, and the tendency of the revolutionary forces to replace capitalism by Socialism—have now reached the point of political maturity where they are expressed by the two great camps into which the world is now divided—the camp of imperialism, fascism, and war, led by the United States, and the camp of democracy, peace, and Socialism, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union.

The imperialist world camp is going ahead organizing its forces economically, politically, and militarily through such means as the West European Union, the North Atlantic Pact, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations. At the same time, the forces of democracy and Socialism are growing and consolidating themselves. The latter's recent huge advance has been marked by an

enormous increase in the strength of the Soviet Union, the foundation of the People's Democracies in Europe, the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the maturing of the national liberation revolution in Asia and its beginning in Africa, the growth of powerful Communist Parties in France, Italy, and various other countries, the vast postwar expansion of the world trade-union movement, etc. The center of world political strength has now passed to the side of the forces of democracy and Socialism.

The establishing of hegemony by the United States over world capitalism does not signify a consolidation and integration of that system. On the contrary, it is fundamentally the development of a destructive military capitalist alliance, formed for the reactionary and hopeless purpose of destroying ever-growing world democracy and Socialism which are increasingly eroding the very foundations from beneath ramshackle world capitalism. World capitalist hegemony in the United States occurs in a capitalist system that is incurably a prey to vast economic crises, wars, and revolutions—in short, in a capitalist world that is rapidly exploding into its opposite, Socialism, as Lenin said it would.

#### AMERICAN HEGEMONY INTENSIFIES CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Like the growth of world fascism—under the aegis of German-

Japanese-Italian imperialism—the development of American capitalist hegemony is both an expression of the weakness of capitalism and also a factor in the further undermining of the capitalist system. Fascism, at the outset, despite Communist contentions to the contrary, was hailed by Social-Democrats and other capitalist agents as essentially a strengthening of the capitalist system in the fascist countries. But in the end fascism proved to be highly destructive to national and world capitalism. Fascist imperialism, with its tyranny and war, stimulated vast millions of toilers into people's front struggle in defense of their most vital immediate interests and finally against capitalism itself. It arrayed two great alliances of capitalist powers against each other, and it finally provoked the great people's war, World War II, that resulted in the permanent loss of many countries to the capitalist world.

American capitalist world hegemony, which is created and propelled by similar forces to those behind German fascist imperialism, is producing similar negative, destructive effects upon world capitalism. Wall Street's imperialist arrogance and cupidity are antagonizing big sections of the bourgeoisie in other capitalist countries and thus is sharpening up the contradictions among the various imperialist powers. It is also especially arousing new scores of millions of workers and other toilers to go into united action in fight-

ing defense of their living standards, their democratic freedom, their national independence, and world peace, in the face of American aggression. Already mass anti-American imperialist sentiment is developing swiftly all over the world. And unless the mad war course of American imperialism is halted by mass pressure at home and abroad, it will bring about a war that will be even more fatal to the world capitalist system than were the two great world wars. Such an anti-Soviet war would be the final explosion in the double-phased social process which is transforming capitalism into its opposite, Socialism.

Among the international capitalist antagonisms, initiated or sharpened by the dominant position of American imperialism, may be mentioned: (a) the intensified struggle among the capitalist powers over world markets; (b) the battle between the dollar bloc and the sterling bloc for financial supremacy; (c) the hostility of Great Britain toward the Schuman (steel) plan of France and Germany; (d) the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for oil in the Near East and Venezuela; (e) French resistance to the rearmament of Germany; (f) the dispute among the capitalist powers over the recognition of China and its admittance to the United Nations; (g) the struggle of Great Britain to prevent American penetration of its various colonies, semi-colonies, and dominions; (h)

the resistance of the European capitalist states to the excessive armaments demands being made upon them by the United States; (i) wide-spread opposition to the efforts of the United States to bring Franco Spain into the United Nations, etc., etc. Such antagonisms bear within themselves, especially under conditions of strong mass peace pressure, the potentialities of slowing up, paralyzing, or breaking up altogether the capitalist military alliance under American hegemony. American domination is a bitter pill for the other imperialist powers to swallow.

At the present writing such capitalist antagonisms, intensified by the very fact of American capitalist domination, have become most acute in connection with the attempt of the American warmongers to organize an all-out imperialist war against China. So sharp are the antagonisms among the capitalist powers that the whole shaky war alliance under Wall Street's leadership may explode.

American capitalist world domination is especially developing resistance far and wide among the workers and other toiling masses throughout the capitalist world. The United States, with its aggressive economic, political, and military policies, is rapidly coming to be looked upon by the masses of the peoples as a great world menace. In Europe, huge numbers of workers are outraged by American attempts to slash their living standards, wreck their trade unions, break up their political parties, and dominate their national

elections. In every capitalist country the defense of national independence and democracy against the ultra-aggressiveness of reactionary American imperialism has become a living issue. And all over Europe, Asia, and Latin America newly aroused millions of workers have become aware of the danger of another world war through the farflung military activities of the United States. In the United States, too, there is a great undercurrent of peace sentiment among the masses, which still has to be reckoned with. Thus, American capitalist hegemony, by its very existence, is contributing to the strength of the democratic-peace-Socialist forces of the world. It is unwittingly broadening the whole mass base of the struggle for peace.

The disintegrating effects of American capitalist world hegemony upon world capitalism are greatly intensified by the rapid growth in strength and prestige of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies in Eastern and Central Europe, of the People's Democratic Republic of China and of the growing strength of the Communist Parties and the broad forces of peace and democracy throughout the capitalist world.

The two most loyal allies of American imperialism in its bid for complete domination of capitalism and the whole world are the Vatican and the Right-wing Social-Democracy. The Vatican, facing the most serious crisis in its whole history, is aiming at the establishment of clerical fascism of the Hitler, Dolfuss,

Peron, Petain, Franco type, and it believes that a victory by the United States would open the door to such a system. The Right Social-Democrats, who never did believe in Socialism, are convinced that the capitalist system, to which they are devoted, can be saved only by virtue of a triumph of American imperialism, which they hypocritically label "progressive capitalism."

The capitalists in Hitler's time tried to organize an all-out anti-Soviet war. This was the essence of the actions taken by Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier at Munich. But they failed. Their mutual hostilities were too strong, and as a result they came to the mutual clash that began World War II. The big question now is whether or not American imperialism, in spite of sharpening capitalist contradictions and the developing world peace movement, can succeed in holding together its ramshackle capitalist alliance in support of its policies of aggression and a third world war. Even if it should prove able to lead the capitalist beast to the water, which is not at all certain, it would never be able to make it drink. There can be no doubt but that if things came to war, the many inner capitalist contradictions, now being sharpened and multiplied by the very existence of American world capitalist hegemony, would come to a climax, shattering in its effects on capitalism. This hegemony is already proving to be a short-lived but deeply disastrous experience for world capitalism.

The reluctance of the capitalist powers to enter militarily into the Korean war is a forecast of what would happen, but on a much larger scale, in the event of a general capitalist war against the U.S.S.R. In case of such a war, countries like Germany, France, and Italy, far from being effective allies of the United States, would almost certainly go into revolution. Great Britain, which played only a secondary role in World War II, would play even less of a role in a third world war. And certainly, the United States, in its military aggression, would get very little help from Asia, save possibly, to a limited degree, from sick Japan. The United States would have to do the bulk of the fighting itself (as in Korea), which would be a fatal perspective.

American capitalist world hegemony, which is now vastly sharpening the inner contradictions of capitalism and also the contradiction between the capitalist and Socialist sectors of the world—if it could succeed in precipitating the war, for which it is organizing and consolidating its hegemony, would not bring about the world supremacy of Wall Street nor the salvation of capitalism, but the ruin of American imperialism and the destruction of world capitalism. Thus, American hegemony over world capitalism, if unchecked by mass pressure for peace, would sharpen the contradictions of capitalism up to the point of the very destruction of that system in a new world war.

## ON THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

Our Convention resolution clearly outlines the policies of our Party in the general conditions in which we find ourselves—of the capitalist hegemony of United States imperialism, of Wall Street's reckless war drive for world domination, and of the ever-increasing strength of the world forces of democracy and Socialism. There is no need, therefore, to recapitulate here these policies. Suffice it to say that in this period of sharpening national and international struggle, we must fight, with our united-front allies, to make the people understand the warlike, imperialist character of American policy, to protect the living standards of the workers, to defend the democratic rights of the Negro people and the toilers generally, and to crush the rising wave of fascism in our country.

The very center of all our struggles is the fight for peace; to prevent the monopolists and their Social-Democratic labor lieutenants from plunging the world into another, still more terrible, war conflagration, in their desperate and ill-fated attempt to destroy Socialism, to save the capitalist system, and to make the Wall Street monopolists the masters of the whole world. Neither fascism nor war is inevitable—it all depends upon the degree of opposition that the working class is able to develop against these murderous trends of American monopoly capital. In

building this people's anti-fascist, anti-war opposition, our Party faces its supreme task. It must operate in the realization that the forces of peace are growing, largely because of the very fact of the hegemony of American imperialism over the capitalist world.

The Communist Party, situated in the heart stronghold of world capitalism, is a veritable symbol of the revolt of the world's peoples against capitalist exploitation and oppression. It has a highly strategic role to play in the developing world struggle. Nor will it fail in its opportunities and responsibilities. The capitalists realize this fact—this is why they attack us with such ferocity. The present acute situation is a testing time for our Party but it will emerge from this test stronger than ever. Armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, infused with unbounded confidence in the revolutionary potentialities of the American working class, and inspired by the knowledge that the forces of democracy and Socialism are irresistibly advancing upon the world scale, our Party will prove invincible under the persecution of the panicky, fear-driven capitalist class. The very blows that the capitalists are now raining upon us will serve to steel us, to give us those firm Leninist qualities so markedly possessed by all the Communist Parties that are now leading their peoples on to the establishment of Socialism.