

The "Putschist" Danger in American Foreign Policy

By William Z. Foster

Since the end of World War I, the United States, by far the strongest of all capitalist powers, has maneuvered consistently to put itself in a position of complete international dominance. This is in the nature of big capitalist powers to struggle relentlessly for greater markets, for larger supplies of raw materials, for firmer control of the most strategic areas, and for more and more peoples to exploit. The United States, dominated by monopoly capital, with its great wealth and half the capitalist world's industrial production, has inevitably participated full blast in this imperialist struggle for world mastery.

This drive of American imperialism for world mastery is bred of the very fibre of monopoly capitalism, especially emphasized by the present world of decaying capitalism and rising Socialism. The capitalist rulers of the United States are thrust into their world conquest program in the firm conviction that this is the only possible way they can keep their industries running and can extend their enormous profits. They believe it to be the sole means by which they can destroy world Socialism and save

the world capitalist system. They know very well, of course, that there is no remotely possible chance for them to establish American world domination, short of a great war, and upon this basis they are cold-bloodedly orientating all their policies. They can be halted in this murderous objective only by superior mass peace pressure in this country and abroad.

The sum total of the results of American policy since the end of World War II, aiming at world mastery through another world war, amounts to a basic failure. It is already abundantly clear that Wall Street, war or no war, cannot possibly achieve its hard-set purpose of world domination. Its policy of conquest is bankrupt. This does not mean, however, that the grave danger of war has been liquidated. On the contrary, that danger is now taking on new and sinister aspects. The peace forces of the world must be on guard against the danger that Wall Street, grown desperate over failure, may suddenly plunge the world into war by an "incident" or a putsch.

WALL STREET'S PLANS OF
IMPERIALIST CONQUEST

In the decade prior to World War II, during the imperialist offensive of the fascist Axis powers, Germany, Japan, and Italy, United States imperialist policy contemplated some sort of eventual bargain, over the body of the U.S.S.R., with these aggressive powers, with the United States in the driver's seat. This was definitely true of the big Wall-Street monopolists, and they strove to press the Roosevelt Administration in this general direction. This was the basis of the appeasement policies followed by the Government during those crucial years, and especially of the failure to join in with the Soviet Union's proposal to preserve world peace by a collective security pact of the democratic countries, socialist and capitalist, to restrain the mad war dogs of fascism. In view of the prevalent powerful anti-fascist spirit of the masses, in this country and abroad, however, and the irreconcilable antagonisms among the capitalist powers themselves, these appeasement tendencies could not result in a definite agreement with German, Japan, and Italy for a re-division of the world. On the contrary, the war broke out as an imperialist struggle among the great imperialist powers for world control.

During the early phases of World War II, with the Axis powers winning spectacularly on every front, imperialist prospects for the United States looked pretty dim. That is,

they did up until the historic battle of Stalingrad in January 1943. In this world decisive battle the Red Army broke the back of the Hitler *Wehrmacht* and opened the way for general anti-fascist victory. With the Axis now on the defensive, Wall Street's imperialist plans perked up again, and thenceforth American capital strove to transform the people's victory that was then clearly in the making into a victory for United States imperialism, one that would make it the undisputed master of the whole world.

Although Roosevelt personally very probably envisaged a post-war policy of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union, nevertheless the war policies of his Administration definitely reflected the world conquest program of the big monopolists of Wall Street. The heart of this imperialist program was to let the two most powerful obstacles standing in the path of American imperialism, Germany and the U. S. S. R., cut each other to pieces in the war. This cold-blooded, cynical policy was openly expressed at the time by many outstanding political figures, including Hoover, Truman, and others.

In action, the Wall Street policy manifested itself by the United States turning its guns chiefly against the lesser enemy Japan, and leaving the Soviet Union to fight basically alone against the main enemy, Germany. This, too, was why the vital Western European front, which could and should have been opened up in late

1942, was actually not launched until June 1944, after Hitler had been fundamentally whipped by the Red Army. The second front would not have started even then had not the Anglo-American imperialists been mortally afraid that otherwise the victorious Red Army, then driving the fatally wounded German army before it, would soon liberate and occupy all of Europe. The Western front, therefore, while militarily directed against a nearly defeated Germany, was politically aimed against the victorious Soviet Union.

WALL STREET'S SCHEME OF WORLD DOMINATION

After Stalingrad, as the victorious phase of the war began, Wall Street's imperialist program of world conquest, with the British as minor co-partners, grew more obvious and definite. In *The Communist* of November, 1944, (this was during the period of the Browder-Teheran opportunism and I had to write under severe limitations), I undertook to analyze Wall Street's developing imperialist plans as follows, in an article entitled, "Dewey and Teheran":

The United States is now far and away the most powerful capitalist country in the world. Mr. Dewey, if elected President, would try to transform this situation into American imperialist domination over the entire world. A Dewey Administration would not, of course, suddenly discard the Teheran agreement and embark upon a policy of individual action, as W. W.

Aldrich of the Chase National Bank, is advocating. Rather its course would be to try to make Great Britain into a sort of junior partner, and then, by a series of economic and political pressures, controls, and maneuvers, gradually to concentrate decisive hegemony in Washington.

I pointed out further that this futile program "would lead to economic chaos and in the direction of war."

Upon the conclusion of World War II, with the surrender of Japan in August 1945, the spirits of the Wall Street would-be world conquerors were high and superficially the world situation seemed to justify their optimism. The United States, unscathed by the war's devastation, had emerged from the great struggle financially and industrially far stronger than ever, whereas all the other great powers of the world had been seriously injured by the conflict. Germany, Japan, and Italy were lying flat, exhausted, devastated and broken, France was but little better off, Great Britain was greatly weakened, and the Soviet Union, with 20,000,000 war dead and half of its industries and cities destroyed, was apparently helpless.

Thus, the road to world conquest seemed to lie wide open for American imperialism. Its leading spirits believed they could now take charge of the world and manage and rebuild it to their own liking. The "American Century" appeared about to begin. Those countries that the United States could not dominate

directly and politically, it would buy up with its great wealth, and those it could not purchase it would intimidate into submission with its fearsome weapon, the atombomb, of which this country had a monopoly.

Dewey was, of course, defeated in 1944, but the new President, Truman—after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt in April, 1945, shortly upon taking office for his fourth term—followed out substantially the Dewey program. To establish Wall Street's mastery over the world was the basic purpose of the whole network of American foreign policy from then on—atombomb diplomacy, Truman doctrine, Marshall plan, North Atlantic pact, Japanese treaty, Korean war, and all the rest of it. The post-World War II "cold war" has been nothing else than the relentless striving of American imperialism—that is, Wall Street Big Business—to subjugate a resisting world.

WORLD VICTORIES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE FORCES

But the sequel has turned out quite differently from what Wall Street so confidently planned and hoped after Stalingrad. Instead of the United States being able to seize control of the world, its imperialist policies have encountered one major defeat after another. Wall Street's program of world domination is being wrecked upon the rocks of the solid resistance of the rebellious, progressive, peace-loving peoples of the world. They emphatically have no love for the

"American Century," they are refusing to be enchained by American big capital, and indeed eight hundred million of them have broken with the capitalist system and are heading into a new, free, and scientific system of Socialism. The first and most decisive defeat of Wall Street's foreign policy was the swift and tremendous recovery of the Soviet Union after World War II. Whereas, the big capitalist countries—Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Italy, etc.—still remain in various degrees of crisis despite being subsidized by scores of American billions, the U.S.S.R., which did not get a dime of post-war American help and which faced incomparably heavier physical tasks of reconstruction than any other country, has made a complete recovery and is booming ahead at an unprecedented rate of development. Actually, total Soviet industrial production is now two-and-one-half times greater than it was in 1940, on the eve of the war. This stupendous Soviet economic recovery and advance spells final disaster to all of Wall Street's plans of world domination.

Another decisive post-war defeat of Wall Street imperialism was the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. The United States squandered several billion dollars trying to keep in power its puppet government, the ultra-reactionary Chiang Kai-Shek regime; but to do so was impossible. The crooks in that government divided among themselves

the American funds as fast as they got their paws on them; and the vast amounts of military help given to Chiang's army by the United States quickly passed into the hands of the ever-advancing People's Liberation Army. And nothing could be done to reverse this, to Wall Street, fatal course of events. The ultimate victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary forces four years ago under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tse-tung slammed the door shut forever against the cherished key phase of Wall Street's world plan of imperialism—the overrunning of Asia.

Still another blow to the world conquest schemes of the American monopolists was the establishment of People's Democracies in the early post-war years in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Albania, as well as the People's Democratic Republic in East Germany. To prevent revolutions in Central Europe by allied occupation, had been the major purpose behind the Anglo-American war-time invasion of Italy, but the reactionary scheme failed. The loss of these vital Central European countries to capitalism was a body blow to all the Wall Street imperialist schemes.

At the outset of World War II, the Socialist segment of the world's population encompassed about 200,000,000 people, but now it embraces some 800,000,000, or one-third of the entire human race. This enormous increase in the anti-imperialist, peace-loving, democratic, and Socialist forces of the world (not to mention those

in the capitalist countries themselves) is the basic measure of the failure of Wall Street's plans of world conquest. American imperialism cannot possibly overcome these gigantic forces of freedom—not by financial corruption, not by political intimidation, not by military force, and not by all these measures combined. These progressive regimes are the handwriting on the wall for imperialism in general.

INCREASING DEFEATS FOR AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Wall Street imperialism in the post-war period has especially striven to build up a vast, all-inclusive, capitalist war alliance, which, at the appointed time, would be able to overrun the countries of peace, democracy, and Socialism. But this deadly threat to world peace and democracy is also manifestly failing. During the post-war years the United States Government has squandered some \$250 billion dollars in trying, here and abroad, to construct and to arm this presumably overwhelming world military power; but in this, too, it has not succeeded.

The United States has managed, of course, by economic penetration, political intimidation, and financial subsidies, to establish for itself a certain wobbly political hegemony over the capitalist world on the basis of a general anti-Soviet policy. But this hegemony, torn with conflicting capitalist antagonisms, is of the most shaky character, threatening constantly to collapse. Its dubious value

is to be seen in the more independent stand being taken by Great Britain and a number of other countries against the demands of the United States, and also by the growing weakening of the hitherto rubber-stamp American majority in the United Nations.

The hodge-podge aggregation of capitalist countries that the Anglo-American imperialists have tinkered together during the past several years—of which NATO is the main manifestation—in no sense constitutes an effective anti-Soviet military alliance, such as Wall Street has been aiming at. In the event of a great war against the U.S.S.R. and its allies, most if not all of the European countries, members of NATO, would be liabilities rather than assets as fighting forces. The French and Italian peoples, more and more peace-minded, would not fight effectively for Wall Street, and the help it would get from Britain would be very limited at most. Even Germany would provide an unexpected surprise for Wall Street if the German people were confronted with another war against the U.S.S.R. And, in Asia, Japan for a long time cannot be built into a real fighting force, if ever, by American imperialism.

The Korean war in which the United States had to do the bulk of the fighting although this was supposed to be a war of the United Nations, was a mild forecast of what the situation would be in case Eisenhower, Dulles, and other Wall Street agents should succeed in precipitat-

ing the world war that they are so anxious for. Such a war, far from resulting in victory for Wall Street, would certainly deal a death blow to the world capitalist system.

This failure to build a great anti-Soviet war alliance constitutes a major defeat for the general political strategy of Wall Street imperialism for world domination. The concrete military phases of this broad political plan of conquest have fared no better. First, there was the strategy of the atom bomb monopoly. Undoubtedly, Wall Street put major reliance in this weapon. The general idea (expressed openly time and again by authoritative spokesmen of reaction) was to precipitate a "preventive" atomic war against the U.S.S.R. and its political friends, when a sufficient stockpile of the lethal bombs had been built up. A deadly shower of A-bombs on the decisive Russian industrial population centers would do the job, it was freely said at the time in Congress, in the press, and on the radio. But the announcement by President Truman, in September 1949, that the Soviet Union had exploded an atom bomb, knocked to pieces this whole murderous scheme. With its atom bomb monopoly broken, overnight Wall Street recast its entire military strategy, and initiated a build up of "conventional" armed forces here and in capitalist Europe. All this constituted a heavy setback.

Later came a similar failure of the hydrogen bomb monopoly. The warmongers of Wall Street had

greeted with great gusto the American tests which had demonstrated the feasibility of this country's hydrogen bomb, a murderous weapon many times more destructive than the atom bomb. True, the Russians had broken the A-bomb "monopoly," but they certainly could never make the H-bomb—it was confidently said on all sides. In the H-bomb, Wall Street was sure it had at last the great invincible, all-decisive weapon. But this criminal nonsense was also shattered when it was learned, in August 1953, that the Soviet Union also had the H-bomb.

Another major military defeat for the Wall Street strategists of world conquest was the failure of their imperialist war in Korea. Although denied at first, it is now admitted by a leading spokesman of the South Korean government, the Ambassador to the United States, that his government began the Korean war. The purpose of the war, obviously, was to be the stepping stone to a greater war for the overthrow of People's China and the conquest of Asia. But this scheme, too, back-fired. It was ruined by the indomitable fighting spirit of the Chinese and North Korean peoples, by the firm stand of the U.S.S.R., and the People's Democracies, by the reluctance of this country's European war "allies," and by the hatred of the great masses of the American people for this aggressive, reactionary war. The Korean war proved conclusively that revolutionary Asia cannot be conquered by reactionary Anglo-American

armed forces.

Of course, the Wall Street warmongers have meanwhile scored some victories in the post-war period, in their general drive for world power. They managed to shoot down the Greek people's revolution; they have, with the help of their allies—the Right-wing Social Democracy, the Vatican and local reaction generally—temporarily slowed down the progress of democracy and Socialism in France and Italy; they have slashed a certain amount of trade with the East; they have largely succeeded in bringing reaction (basically fascist) back into power in West Germany; they have sewed up an alliance with Franco Spain, and, most dangerous of all, they have deeply confused great masses of the American people by lying allegations to the effect that the Soviet Union constitutes a threat to world peace, and by covering up their own war intentions with violent Red-baiting and hypocritical protestations of peaceful intentions.

These "victories" of the Anglo-American war camp are, however, altogether minor in contrast to the basic defeats, as outlined above, that Wall Street and its war alliance have suffered. The grand total of the post-war experience of American imperialism in its drive for world domination is one of definitive failure, and this failure grows more decisive with the passage of each month. The great lesson of the post-World War II period is that American monopoly capital, no matter what it does, cannot possibly reduce

the world to its imperialist sway.

THE "PUTSCHIST" DANGER

The Wall Street monopolists, however, are far from accepting defeat for their malignant program of world mastery. On the contrary, the very setbacks they have suffered serve to spur them on to even greater efforts. A dangerous element of desperation enters more and more into their calculations and activities. They are made reckless by their mounting failures and difficulties. They would cut with a sword the Gordian knot of their insoluble problems.

The first war strategy worked out by American imperialism in its post-World War II drive for world conquest, as we have seen, was for a "preventive war," based upon the atombomb. But when this plan was destroyed by the U.S.S.R. breaking the atombomb "monopoly," the Wall Street warmongers hastily improvised another. This was, as we have also indicated, the building up of a world-wide anti-Soviet war alliance, largely equipped with "conventional" arms. The general idea behind this alliance was that, under American prodding, it would march aggressively into an anti-Soviet war, much in the manner that Germany, Japan, and Italy took the offensive in leading into World War II.

But this offensive was more easily planned than realized. As pointed out above, the peoples of Europe have no taste for Wall Street's projected war. Consequently, the

grand anti-Soviet alliance, which the United States has been to such great pains, fabulous expense to build, wobbles about, full of weaknesses, hesitations, mutual antagonisms, and a growing spirit of neutralism. The weakness of the Anglo-American war alliance was emphasized by the forced ending of the Korean war, which considerably eased world tension and opened up new vistas of world peace.

Confronted by this situation, there is a grave danger that the Wall Street monopolists, frustrated in their war strategy for world conquest, may try, on the basis of a well-planned "putsch," to throw their unwilling alliance, willy-nilly, into war. This action could also, they hope, for the time being at least eliminate the growing nightmare of an economic crisis. The needful "putsch" to begin this war could, of course and as always, be conveniently blamed upon the Russians. Andrew Stevens was altogether correct in warning, in the main report delivered at the recent National Conference of the Party, that, "We must soberly anticipate that American imperialism will undertake even further and still more desperate measures in its frantic effort to cancel out the impact of the Soviet Union's peace initiative and to block any further progress toward peaceful negotiations."

A putschist policy is not a new thing for American imperialism. Faithfully obedient to Wall Street, the Truman Administration was throughout notoriously aggressive in

the deliberate stimulation of civil wars in countries refusing to do its bidding. In the early post-war period, at grave international risk, it definitely tried to provoke armed uprisings in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. A little later on it took charge of the reactionary side in the Greek war, thereby creating an imminent danger of a serious war in South-Central Europe. The Truman Administration was also responsible for the war in Korea, which its puppet Rhee started, at the risk of a great war in Asia. It was ready too, to use the A-bomb and to extend the Korean war into People's China, and would have done so, had it not been stopped by a great worldwide protest against this contemplated outrage.

The Eisenhower-Dulles Administration, facing an ever-more difficult situation, goes even further than Truman did in putschism. Its so-called "liberation program" is nothing else than the systematic instigation of civil wars in countries where Socialist influence is strong or dominant. At the moment, its puppet head of the South Korean government, Syngman Rhee, is insolently preparing, in line with this policy of aggression and with the connivance of the U.S. State Department, to re-open the Korean war and therewith to create the extreme danger of a great war in China.

The most dangerous manifestation so far of the Eisenhower-Dulles putschist policy, however, was the June 17th "demonstration" in East-

ern Germany. This violent uprising, which was organized by American agents, was a ruthless attempt to launch a civil war in Germany. Had this plan succeeded, it would have been virtually impossible to keep the occupying powers in Germany out of the struggle. It might well have suddenly resulted in a general war, which was precisely the aim of the whole movement. To create such war putsches is the definite policy of the Eisenhower Administration, and the ensuing danger is especially great in view of the desperate mood of the Administration and its failures. One of the very worst aspects of the situation is that in this dangerous policy the Administration has the active backing of such labor leaders as Meany and Reuther—note their glowing enthusiasm for the support of the June 17th uprising.

The shocking recent rise of McCarthyism emphasizes the danger that the Eisenhower government, in a desperate effort to cut its way out of its mounting, insoluble difficulties, may try to launch a world war through a putsch. The McCarthyites, above all, are those who are deliberately for America's perpetrating some kind of June 17th or Pearl Harbor against the Soviet Union. It would be the gravest folly to ignore this serious danger.

THE NEED TO ALARM LABOR AND THE PEOPLE

Wall Street imperialism, with all its strength and cunning, is pushing on relentlessly for the accomplish-

ment of its goal of world conquest through another world war. To halt and defeat this war drive, the peace forces in this country—the working class, the Negro people, the poorer farmers, and other peace-loving democratic elements — have many serious tasks. Among these are: a) to bring about a real peace in Korea, in the face of the efforts of Dulles, Rhee, and Company, to re-open the war in that country; b) to keep American warmongers from expanding the war in Indo-China; c) to bring People's China into the United Nations; d) to revive East-West trade; e) to slash the United States' monstrous war budget and to pull back U.S. forces from their aggressive bases all over the world; f) to work out an alternative peace economy to Wall Street's program of keeping the industries going, and its own fabulous profits rolling in, on the basis of the huge munitions production; g) to halt the rearmament and re-nazification of Germany; h) to put a stopper on the McCarthyite war-fascist hysteria now infesting this country; i) to insist upon a policy of top-level negotiations and a five-power pact to replace the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of intensifying international tension and of cultivating a war spirit; j) to orient the United States upon the basis of peaceful co-existence of the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, instead of the present orientation of our Government upon the theory of the inevitability of a third world war. The

situation recently has grown more favorable for the success of the peace forces, and for compelling peaceful negotiations.

While fighting for these and other fundamental individual peace issues, it is also indispensable that the peace forces awaken the peoples, here and abroad, to the sinister putschist danger in Wall Street's war program, especially with the rise of fascist McCarthyism. It has been done before; it might be done again. The possibility of this desperate expedient becomes all the more menacing precisely, as we have seen, because of the basic failure of American imperialist foreign policy. The best protection against such a wild adventure is to awaken the masses to the danger.

The peoples of the world are winning the historic fight to maintain world peace, in the face of the attempts of Wall Street imperialism and its allies, to set the world aflame. This we have seen in our review above of the basic defeats suffered by Anglo-American imperialism during the fears of the "cold war." And now, especially since the big victory of the armistice in Korea, peace sentiment is rising still higher throughout the world. The contemplated war plans of Wall Street can be defeated. But to do this, there must be no underestimation of the desperate recklessness of the reactionaries who are engineering the drive of Anglo-American imperialism for world mastery.