
THE WAR AIMS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

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THE present imperialist war is a high stage in the rapidly developing general crisis of the world capitalist system caused by the sharpening inherent contradictions of capitalism. This general crisis is due to the growing gulf between the producing power and the purchasing ability of the masses; the increasing struggles among the capitalist countries for markets, raw materials and strategic positions; the intensifying class struggle in all countries; and the growing antagonism between the colonial peoples and the imperialist countries. But its historic setting is the epoch of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism. All of the conflicts of the time have their root in the basic flaw of capitalism: the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the socialized method of their operation. But the present war crisis, unlike that of 1914-18, comes into a capitalist world system that has already been sundered by a successful proletarian revolution, and a huge socialist state towers above, casting the shadow of its success across the failure of its neighbors, employing its greater military strength for a policy of peace that is more dangerous than immediate war to its imperialist neighbors' ambitions.

Although the current war has basically the same imperialist character that the World War had, it is affected by the major difference that the economic and political structure of capitalism is now much weaker in relation to the forces making toward socialist revolution than was the case in 1914. The past twenty-five years have greatly aggravated the general crisis of capitalism which set in with the outbreak of the World War; and this aggravation operates profoundly to shape the character of the present war, its political aims as well as its military strategy.

A generation ago world capitalism was already well into its period of decay, which is the period of monopoly-capital dominance of imperialism, although its economy was on the upgrade in a number of countries. At the beginning of this war, however, capitalism is sick and decrepit and displays all the symptoms of collapse throughout, even though with increasing unevenness. The various capitalist countries have been experiencing a more or less chronic economic crisis for ten years and with difficulty have been keeping their industry and agriculture limping along, with such government sustenance as loans, subsidies, housing proj-

ects, armaments programs, and the like—pulmotor treatments that were virtually unknown and unnecessary in 1914. The effect of this weakened economic situation was to deepen enormously all the capitalist contradictions far more than they were in 1914. At the outbreak of the present war political pressure was being generated on an unprecedented scale in various directions, evidenced by intensified exploitation of the workers and farmers through fascism and other forms of reactionary government; a greater repression of the colonial peoples; an increasingly rapid swallowing of the weaker nations by the big capitalist empires; and a sharpening of the imperialist struggles among the capitalist powers for the redivision of the world. Hence, all the problems of capitalism are today vastly more urgent, profound and insoluble than they were twenty-five years ago.

The anti-capitalist forces are very much stronger now than they were at the opening of the World War. The question of socialism is far more burning and actual. In 1914 the Second International, with its mass parties and their supporting trade unions and cooperatives, presented a strong semblance of a powerful force against imperialism. But in fact it had been corroded for years by opportunism, and with the outbreak of the war it collapsed through the treachery of its leaders.

Only the Russian Bolsheviks followed a revolutionary Marxist policy which enabled them to put an end to capitalism in their country.

At the outset of this present war, however, the forces of socialism are obviously much more mature. First, there now exists the great socialist fortress, the Soviet Union, able to withstand any combination of capitalist powers, and a fundamental factor for progress in world politics. Then, there is the growing anti-imperialist revolt throughout the colonial world, marked chiefly by the Chinese war of liberation, the upheaval in India, and the strong national liberation movement in Latin America. Finally, the workers in all the capitalist countries, under pressure of the deepening crisis, are rapidly developing anti-capitalist moods and ideas which at present manifest themselves in an almost universal mass anti-war sentiment and a growing loss of faith in capitalism. In the event of a prolonged war, this sentiment can, under the leadership of the Communist International, develop into powerful struggles against the capitalist system and for socialism.

The present-day greater strength of the revolutionary forces, combined with the greater weakness of capitalism, strikes the heart of the world bourgeoisie with a consuming fear of proletarian revolution. Fear for the very existence of capitalism is the master key to the policies of all the capitalist countries, including the United States, with regard to the present war. When the World War began in 1914, fear of revolution played only a minor part in the calculations of the war-makers. The two groups of warring imperialist powers, knowing well the lick-spittle character of the Social-Democracy, which dominated the

working class of Europe, had little fear of its leading a revolutionary upheaval. It was only towards the end of the war that the fear of revolution became real to the bourgeoisie—with the exhaustion of the capitalist countries and with the Bolshevik Revolution inspiring the war-weary masses to smash the empires of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and to threaten European capitalism.

Thus, because of the debilitated condition of capitalism, the great strength of the socialist forces, and the anti-imperialist role of the powerful Soviet Union, the present war at its very beginning assumes the character, not only of an inter-imperialist conflict but, unlike the World War, of a struggle of world imperialism against the forces of revolution. And the tendency is for the imperialists to make the latter phase their dominant aim in the war. Realizing clearly the grave danger to which their whole system is exposed in this war, the capitalists seek to solve their desperate problems at the expense of the masses and by extinguishing the revolutionary forces by violence. This they are trying to accomplish by clamping down restrictions upon the workers, especially on the Communists, in all capitalist countries; by repressing with an iron fist the insistent demands of the colonial peoples; and, above all, by attempting to transform the imperialist war into a general counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

American War Aims Analyzed

The policy of American finance capital towards the present war is

shaped by the pressure of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, even as is that of all other imperialist countries. It is a policy that bears the same two basic features characteristic of the present-day policy of every imperialist power. That is to say, the United States Government is carrying on, under its own special conditions, a two-phased struggle; first, against rival capitalist states, in order to further its own imperialist interests and to solve its own stubborn economic crisis; and, second, against the international revolutionary forces, in order to save the world capitalist system from revolution, with this second phase tending to become the decisive element in American policy.

The Roosevelt Administration is putting into effect this war policy of Big Business. In doing so it is receiving, in all major essentials, the support of the Republican leaders, as well as that of the dominant forces in Wall Street. The war policy may be stated in these four main aspects:

(a) *The Grab for War Profits:* American finance capital is determined to reap all possible profits from the munitions trade and war-time profiteering generally. Smacking their lips in recollection of the many billions gained in blood money from the sale of munitions during the World War, the capitalists are set to repeat the process in the present war. The Roosevelt Administration, abandoning its New Deal program of pump-priming and its social reform legislation, has agreed in this course with the great capitalists and is now orienting it-

self to achieving industrial prosperity through war orders. This basic shift in economic policy explains Roosevelt's billion dollar budgetary slash of W.P.A. and Federal social services in the face of 10,000,000 unemployed. Further reductions will be made if sufficient war orders materialize.

As our experience in World War days made quite clear, the hunt for war profits is a basic war policy. It leads directly to the making of war loans to the belligerents, to spreading and lengthening the war, and eventually to actual American participation in the conflict. These tendencies are now definitely evident in Roosevelt's foreign policies. Lifting the arms embargo was the first long step towards war engineered by the war-order profiteers. As yet these exploiters have only had a taste of war-order blood money. They are famished for more and, under the pressure of the critical conditions of American industry, they will redouble their efforts to drum up more orders. They will try to sweep aside the Johnson Act and the cash-and-carry provisions of the Neutrality Act, obstacles to extending hugely profitable war loans to the belligerent powers. They will also endeavor, when they deem the time ripe, to take us militarily into the war in order to build up their bloody munitions' profits.

(b) *Militant Imperialist Expansion*: The second basic element in the war-policy of American finance capital, duly executed by Roosevelt and the Republicans, is the redoubled effort to strengthen its imperialist position in various parts of

the world while its great rivals, England, Germany and Japan, are enmeshed in the war. Here again, its internal economic crisis drives it on to make the most strenuous efforts. Seizing upon this favorable situation, American imperialism undoubtedly aims to establish itself as the dominant world power. This determination is manifested in its increased aggressiveness in Latin America, which has resulted in doubling American exports to those countries during the past six months. It has sharpened its policies in the Far East. It is openly and increasingly interfering in European affairs. Roosevelt's unparalleled peace-time military budget is designed to put teeth into this militant imperialism. Already the greater aggressiveness of American imperialism has aroused deep antagonism in Germany, has greatly increased Anglo-American contradictions, has brought Japanese-American relations to a crisis, and has created widespread opposition in Latin America.

(c) *Pro-Ally Support*: The third fundamental of the war policy being advanced by Roosevelt is the extension of active moral and material support to Great Britain and France, the principal war aggressors, in their war against Germany. Roosevelt has avowed his intention of giving the Allied powers all assistance "short of war." Lifting the arms embargo, an unneutral act against Germany, definitely brought this country into the economic phase of the war. Vital support to the Allies is also obligingly extended by our Government through its financial backing of the pound and the

franc, its virtual acceptance of the outrageous British blockade, and its cooperation with Great Britain and France in their attempt to build an anti-Soviet, anti-German front in Scandinavia. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that Roosevelt has already decided to bring this country militarily into the war should the Allies appear to be in serious danger of losing.

American imperialism, of course, wants to block the emergence of a powerful, victorious super-militant Germany; it also wants to share directly in the spoils of war. But the main reason for its assistance to Great Britain, in spite of the sharpening rivalry between American and British imperialism on many fronts, originates in the fear of American capitalists that German victory would shatter the British Empire and thereby dangerously shake the foundations of world capitalism. The British Empire is not without difficulties as it is: India is surging in revolt and is demanding independence, Ireland has declared itself neutral in the war and is pressing its claim for national unity, South Africa has a one-third anti-war minority in its parliament, the people in Canada have not shown the expected enthusiasm for the war, Palestine is in turmoil, the Moslem countries under British rule are restless, Australia's labor movement has voted 80 per cent for peace, and the working masses in England are most distinctly in favor of peace.

The Soviet-Finnish peace treaty has sharpened all these contradictions within the British Empire. A decisive victory by German impe-

rialism could upset the whole dizzy structure and would also bring down with it the satellite imperialisms of France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal. Such a cataclysm would have far-reaching revolutionary consequences for the world capitalist system. American imperialism—the greatest stronghold of world capitalism—fears this disaster deeply and, despite its own desires to weaken and dominate the British Empire, will try by all means to prevent its collapse, even at the price of this country's entry into the war on the side of the Allies. This pro-Ally phase of Roosevelt's policy is, like the phases cited above, a wide road to war.

(d) *The Anti-Soviet Orientation:* The fourth basic aspect of Roosevelt's (big capital's) war policy is this country's warlike attitude toward the Soviet Union. This is the heart of capitalist class unity in the U. S. which they call "national unity." Ever since the war between the Allies and Germany began the United States Government has systematically picked quarrels with the U.S.S.R. This bellicose attitude is exemplified in the Finnish situation by Roosevelt's diplomatic intervention against the U.S.S.R.; by his war loans to Finland, Norway, and Sweden; by his thinly disguised call for volunteers to fight against the Red Army in Finland; by his placing a moral embargo upon exports to the U.S.S.R.; and by the present unprecedented press and radio campaign of anti-Soviet slander and provocation. Roosevelt's anti-Soviet orientation is further manifested in his current attempt to force Japan, not only to share its loot in China

with American imperialism, but to adopt a position of active hostility against the U.S.S.R.

Roosevelt's anti-Soviet orientation comes to a crux in his growing leadership in the world efforts of the imperialists to transform the present war into a general capitalist war against the Soviet Union. What Chamberlain, Daladier and the great capitalists behind them want is to force Hitler, or some puppet successor, to turn Germany's guns against the U.S.S.R. Through a general anti-Soviet war these imperialists hope, not only to satisfy their greedy appetites by carving up the vast and rich territories of the Soviet Union, but to put an end, once and for all, to the menace of socialism by destroying its great fortress, the U.S.S.R. Roosevelt's anti-Soviet orientation is quite in line with this infamous counter-revolutionary plot of Great Britain and France. Needless to add, this policy is packed with war danger for the United States.

In the foregoing analysis we have pointed out briefly the four major aspects of American imperialist war policy. Through them all runs the connecting strand of American imperialism's determination to achieve world domination. Each of the policies described is a road to war, and, if not checkmated by mass opposition, will eventually involve the United States in the military conflict.

These four major points are the key to the American Government's role in any "peace" movement that might be carried through by the imperialists at the present time. The things the American bourgeois

"peace-makers" would have in mind are: to profiteer in one form or another at the expense of the war-torn countries; to further Wall Street's ambitions to establish United States' hegemony over the capitalist world; to preserve world capitalism by preventing the sudden smash-up of the British Empire at the hands of Germany, and to isolate the Soviet Union by lining up the capitalist powers against her.

The Technique of Dragging the United States Into the War

The warmongers not only have a war program, but also a well-developed technique for involving this country in the war. This is necessary because the overwhelming majority of the American people are opposed, and increasingly so, to participation in the war, a fact which has been repeatedly demonstrated by Gallup polls and many other expressions of public opinion. The imperialists are, therefore, trying systematically to confuse and break up this mass opposition to the war. Their pro-war technique is a combination of demagoguery and compulsion, and it is being applied cooperatively by the Roosevelt Administration, the Republican Party, the great bulk of the capitalist press, the reactionary radio commentators, conservative labor leaders, and other spokesmen of American imperialism. The methods they are employing have much in common with the means used to involve the unwilling American people in the World War. Their essentials may be briefly analyzed as follows:

(a) *Sowing Democratic War Illu-*

sions. One of the major ideological weapons now being employed by the warmongers is the widespread and persistent propaganda that Great Britain and France as "democratic" countries are fighting to defend freedom and civilization, and that therefore the United States must support them. This argumentation is based on a gross lie, of course. Great Britain and France are waging their reactionary war for imperialist aims. The last thing the Chamberlains and Daladiers are worried about is the preservation of democracy. Chamberlain's "War Against Hitlerism" slogan has the main purpose of bringing Hitlerism into the service of British imperialism. The American people still vividly recollect and resent deeply the way they were tricked into the World War by Wilson's lying slogans, "Make the world safe for democracy" and "The war to end war." Nevertheless, the people are by no means immune to the similar illusions widely cultivated at the present time, which lead straight towards American participation in the war.

Moreover, the warmongers, in collaboration with spokesmen of British imperialism, seek to reinforce these illusions with propaganda of a "new order of society" via a "United States of Europe" and similar schemes to be established, they say, at the close of the war. In this they are especially aided by the Social-Democratic leaders. All this demagogy, malodorously reminiscent of President Wilson's empty 14 points and his futile League of Nations, is designed to sugar-coat the war for the people. In truth, if the

imperialists are allowed by the masses to dictate the eventual peace, it will be far more predatory than either Versailles or Brest-Litovsk. But if the warmongers can make the people believe in such bright promises of a new world after the war, it will be all the easier for them to weaken popular resistance to the war.

(b) *Neutrality Demagogy.* Knowing full well that the masses in this country are almost unanimously determined to stay out of the war, the imperialist warmongers cover up their pro-war maneuvers with a thick cloak of protestations that they desire to maintain American neutrality. Even their most brazen pro-war activities are carried on in the name of keeping America out of war. Thus, it was with shouts of the need to preserve American neutrality that Congress revoked the arms embargo. And the almost open war measures against the U.S.S.R. in the Finnish situation were also cynically taken under the mask of neutrality. This neutrality demagogy brings back to the American people the stench of the World War—especially since the Lansing papers have revealed recently that although President Wilson was elected in 1916 on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," both he and Lansing had long before resolved that the United States must enter the war and were definitely maneuvering to that end. Despite these clear lessons from the past, however, the present-day neutrality demagogy is a highly dangerous weapon of the warmongers.

(c) *The "Inevitability" of War.* To sap the anti-war sentiments of

the American masses, the warmongers strive to develop a fatalistic attitude that if the war lasts long enough the United States cannot avoid being drawn into it. The aim of this insidious war fatalism, enunciated as a sort of unchallengeable gospel truth, is to undermine mass resistance to the specific steps in the imperialists' war program. Some warmongers are even beginning to talk in terms of "eventually, why not now?" The Social-Democrats, most brazen of warmongers, are openly clamoring for war, especially against the U.S.S.R.

(d) *Peace Trickery.* Nor do American imperialists spare any effort to exploit the overwhelming desire of the masses for peace. Just as the warmongers are loud-mouthed advocates of American "neutrality," so, too, are they ardent champions of world "peace." Myron C. Taylor and Sumner Welles went abroad ostentatiously carrying banners of peace, but in reality they are agents of American imperialism, and their job is to advance its war policies. The American people vividly recall the "peace" activities of Colonel House and other imperialists that did so much to involve us in the World War. Nevertheless, the present "peace" maneuverings of the American Government are highly insidious and full of danger for the masses in this country.

(e) *National Unity.* One of the most sinister maneuvers of the warmongers is being carried out under the slogan of national unity, issued not long ago by President Roosevelt. The reality behind this so-called national unity is that the big capitalists and their henchmen, hav-

ing achieved unity in their war program, are now seeking, with specious pleas of the need to unite the people for peace, to break the war opposition of the masses with the help of the accommodating conservative leaders of the trade unions and other mass organizations. The purpose is to secure the subservience of the toiling masses to the war program of the unified bourgeoisie. The national unity device was used effectively far and wide under various names and forms in all capitalist countries during World War times. Naturally, the imperialists, in their present need, are not overlooking such a potent weapon.

In top capitalist circles this "national unity" for the war aims of finance capital has already been more fully achieved than readily meets the eye. While the American bourgeoisie is sharply divided on many issues of foreign policy, it has found a new unity in the struggle against the socialist revolution, and on the agreement to exclude the masses from participation in settling these issues. It is most significant that the great capitalist press and the Republican Party leaders voice very little criticism of Roosevelt's foreign policies, except in the matter of reciprocal trade agreements. Their attacks upon Roosevelt are mainly on domestic questions of secondary importance: on the third term issue, on how fast and far the New Deal reform measures and pump-priming can be liquidated, etc. The fight between the two bourgeois parties represents rival capitalist groups and political bureaucracies fighting for control, within the common framework of

the imperialist war policy. The Republican Party and Democratic Party leaders, agreed on the essentials of finance capital's war program, are trying to confront the American people in the coming election with a situation where, under a cloud of peace demagogy by both parties, a vote for either party will amount to a vote for war, in that it will prevent a clear expression of the people's desire for peace.

In their attempts to corral organized labor into the treacherous "national unity," the capitalists have by no means repeated the success they had with the help of the Gompers clique during the World War. This is because the workers today are much more advanced politically. Green and other A. F. of L. leaders, many railroad union bureaucrats, and the Hillman group in the C.I.O. are eager enough to promote the pro-war "national unity"; but the great body of trade union leadership and members, especially of the C.I.O., have not accepted it. Roosevelt hopes to overwhelm labor's opposition by forcing the C.I.O. to capitulate to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Altogether, the "national unity" scheme is a very dangerous trap for the workers and other peace forces.

(f) *National Emergency.* Roosevelt has put teeth into his "national unity" slogan by the proclamation of a "limited national emergency." Its meaning is this: Those who do not accept the prospect of being robbed by war profiteers, of having their civil rights curtailed, or of dying on European battlefields to save world capitalism and to advance American imperialist interests—those who

are not deceived by the tricky slogans designed to lure them into supporting the war program of Big Business—are to be compelled to submit to the program by dint of "emergency" repression policies. Preparation for war—that is the significance of the present persecution of the Communist Party and the arrest of Earl Browder and many others of its leaders; the attacks upon the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions under the anti-trust laws; the widespread infringement of civil liberties; the attempts to destroy the Wagner Act, the Wages-and-Hours Act, and other beneficial New Deal legislation; the expansion of the F.B.I. into a budding Gestapo, the granting of a new lease of life to the red-baiting Dies Committee; the formation of the infamous M-Plan of industrial mobilization; and many similar reactionary measures. This sinister repression of popular liberties under the pretext of a national emergency is basically akin to the persecution techniques used during World War times in many countries, including the United States, to break down mass opposition to the war.

The Fight for Peace

To summarize: American imperialism is endeavoring to plunge this country into the maelstrom of war for the same basic reasons as those of British, German and French imperialism—namely, to further its own imperialist interests and to beat down the rising forces of proletarian revolution. To advance these reactionary aims American imperialism has developed a definite war program, the four main

essentials of which are its race for munitions profits, its policies of militant imperialist expansion, its pro-Ally help in the war, and its anti-Soviet orientation. To get the American people to support this war program, American imperialism, with all its tremendous means of influencing public opinion, through the Roosevelt Government, supported by former New Dealers, Republicans, "Socialists," Lovestoneites, Trotskyites (each in his own way), is putting forth an elaborate pro-war technique of deceit and force.

As we have seen, this insidious warwomgongering is very dangerous. In the main, however, despite the unparalleled barrage of lying propaganda to which they have been subjected, the American people are manifestly increasing resistance to the machinations of the warmongers. Among other evidence is the big struggle against the lifting of the arms embargo, a fight by the masses which forced the incorporation of the embarrassing cash-and-carry provisions into the Neutrality Act; the lack of mass response to the Finnish relief collections and the defeat of the imperialists' plan of making the Finnish loan an outright war loan; the forced release of the Detroit prisoners by the Department of Justice; the peace stand of the youth movement; the widespread opposition to Roosevelt's hunger-and-war budget, labor's changed attitude on the question of a third term for Roosevelt; and the workers' present great militancy in strikes, wage and hour movements, organizing campaigns, and other struggles.

Moreover, the anti-war spirit of the masses is becoming constantly more clear-sighted and better organized. Today, instead of such spontaneous, naive movements as that which in the recent past confusedly supported the Ludlow Amendment, we now have such well-organized movements as the "Yanks Are Not Coming" committees in the trade unions, the adoption of strong anti-war positions by the United Mine Workers, the American Youth Congress, and similar actions by many other progressive national and local mass organizations. In the lower ranks of both the Democratic and Republican Parties, too, genuine anti-war elements are beginning to make their voices heard. The growing determination of the masses to keep out of the imperialist war was clearly demonstrated by the recent Gallup poll, which indicated that there is now only about half as much sentiment as there was six months ago in favor of our going into the war on the side of the Allies in case the latter are in danger of defeat.

By a clear-headed and determined mass struggle the United States can be kept out of the war. This fact must be kept always in mind. The overwhelming majority of the American people are firmly opposed to this country joining the slaughter and if this vast mass of popular sentiment is given efficient leadership it can successfully defeat the plans of the warmongers to involve us in the war. But there are great difficulties in the way of such a victory by the peace forces. Among the masses there is not full clarity as to the imperialist character of the

war and there are also dangerous illusions engendered by the peace guise of Roosevelt's policies. Then there is the insidious campaign of demagogic propaganda being put forth by the innumerable mouth-pieces of capitalism, skillfully designed to disguise and make palatable the war moves of American imperialism. There are, too, the slick maneuvers of the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, willing servants of the war-makers. Finally, there are the repressive measures of the Government, and the constant danger of "incidents" deliberately staged to drive the country into the war.

A successful fight to keep America out of the war requires a thoroughgoing and continuous exposure of the imperialist character of the war. Especially, too, must the peace policy of the Soviet Union be made clear to the people. At the same time, every individual policy of the war-makers and each step by which these reactionary elements are seeking to draw the United States deeper into the war must be fought, both ideologically and organizationally. Most important, the fight for peace, to be effective, must be based upon the struggle for the immediate economic and political demands of the masses. The more the masses fight for better wages, shorter hours, work relief, against high prices, the more they will come into conflict with big capital's war program as a whole.

To help the people understand the methods now being used to force them into the war, special efforts must be made to popularize the pertinent lessons of the World

War—the role then played by war orders and war loans; the tricks used by the Government, employers and labor leaders to hogtie labor; the lying neutrality and peace slogans; the glittering promises of post-war utopias made by the war-makers; the organized persecution of anti-war elements by the Government, and all the other methods of hypocrisy and compulsion employed to involve the United States in the World War. Especially must there be no surrender to the fatalistic theory that this country will inevitably be forced to enter the war if it is a long one. The masses must be taught that, on the contrary, the United States can be kept out of the war if a real fight is made toward this end. In all this educational and organizational work the Communist Party carries a heavy responsibility.

American workers and other toilers have everything to lose and nothing to gain by our participation in the present imperialist war. For us to join in the war would mean, not to defend democracy, but to advance the sordid interests of American imperialism in its bid for more profits, world hegemony, and the salvation of the capitalist system. It would result in the butchery of millions of young men; the waste of immeasurable wealth; the sacrifice of precious liberties; and devastating post-war economic crises, with the pauperization of new millions. It would more tightly fasten the clutches of the capitalist parasites upon the United States. Every true national interest of the American people demands that this country keep out of the war.

From a world standpoint it is no less necessary that the United States should keep out of the war. The United States Government, representing as it now does the united will of finance capital, could be, as a belligerent, only a force of reaction. In the World War the United States Government, under cover of democratic hypocrisies, acted in full partnership with the capitalist vultures who formulated the infamous Versailles Treaty. It also did its bit with England, France, Japan, and other capitalist countries, in trying, during 1918-20, to overthrow by military force the newly-born Soviet Republic. This time, because world capitalism is in deeper crisis than in 1914-18, and because the American bourgeoisie has united around the program of its most reactionary wing, the role of the United States Government in the war must necessarily be even more reactionary. Finance capital dreams of making our country a sort of world gendarme of capitalism, seeking to beat down the resurgent progressive and revolutionary forces everywhere, in the colonies and in the belligerent capitalist countries, and to compel their further submission to the imperialist rulers of the decadent capitalist system. The

counter-revolutionary role to which finance capital would subject America in this war is significantly forecast by Roosevelt's present violent attacks against the Soviet Union.

If the United States is to play a constructive democratic peace role internationally, it is necessary to break the hold of finance capital upon the American Government. To achieve this, the masses of workers, farmers and other toilers must organize themselves into a great people's peace front, into a broad farmer-labor party, and thus bring into active play their potentially overwhelming power. The general aims of such a party would be to struggle militantly against the war program of Big Business and eventually to take over the political leadership of this country. The coming national elections will offer the means to make real progress towards this goal of a great peace party. At the same time the elections will provide the Communist Party, campaigning with its own Presidential candidates, with an opportunity to clarify the minds of the masses regarding the war, to organize them in defense of their immediate economic and political interests, and to educate them in the principles of socialism.