

British Markets Now Exploited By Wall Street

American Colossus Replaces Great Britain; Becomes Leading Power in Course of War

By Joseph Hansen

Since the British began their attempt to re-establish domination over Greece, even at the cost of a bloody war, the liberals have stepped up their propaganda to whitewash the role of American imperialism. The liberals have seized on recent demagogic declarations of the U. S. State Department, as proof for their contention that Churchill may be continuing imperialist "power politics" but Roosevelt is "coming clean for democracy."

There is good reason why American imperialism can, on occasion, afford to pay lip service to democracy. With the war, the United States has emerged as the most powerful capitalist power on the globe. Britain, on the other hand, has been immeasurably impoverished and weakened.

Super-wealthy U. S. imperialism, whose program to subjugate Europe is only part of its program to establish its imperial hegemony throughout the world, can afford a certain amount of flexibility in imposing its brutal rule over the peoples. British imperialism, going through desperate paroxysms to hold onto its fast disintegrating empire, must insist that its satellite nations not only set up reactionary puppet regimes as does American imperialism, but must further insist on its "right" to hand-pick those precise puppets who are totally dependent and will remain completely subservient to British imperialism. American imperialism can be more "liberal" than British imperialism only in the same sense that British imperialism was able to be more "liberal" than German imperialism before the last war.

BRITAIN'S DECLINE

Barrons, economic journal of Wall Street, outlines the commercial decline of Britain in its December 4th issue: "According to detailed statistics of Britain's export trade for the past five years, recently made available by the Board of Trade, the value of Britain's exports in 1943 was 51 percent lower than 1938. In the same year, the value of American exports through private commercial channels exceeded that of any year between 1929 and 1940. In reality the comparison is even more favorable for the United States, because British figures include war materials shipped to Allies and friendly neutrals, whereas on the American side of the ledger such shipments are covered by lend-lease. In South America where British figures are clear of ammunition, etc. the value of Britain's exports declined to about three-fifths of the pre-war value while our commercial exports to our southern neighbors in 1943 were 69 percent above the pre-war average. In Argentina, before the war Britain's most important customer in the southern hemisphere, British exports in 1943 fell to less than half the 1938 figure.

"It will not be long, however, before Britain and the industrial nations of Western Europe will be making a desperate bid to recover their former markets. Then, instead of further expansion, the problem of American exporters may well be to hold on to what has been gained during the war."

The London Economist, economic journal of the British capitalists, in its November 18 issue complains that U. S. lend-lease restrictions against British exports during the war have seriously injured the British position in the world market. The Economist threatens darkly that Britain might not be able to make "arrangements" regarding the war against Japan until these restrictions have been lifted.

RAW MATERIALS

Besides commercial markets, the two imperialist powers are likewise struggling over sources of raw materials. U. S. imperialism has broken the former oil monopoly of the British in the Middle East and proposes to set up the oil agreement as a model for a series of new agreements in other fields.

In the struggle for air power, the American imperialists are likewise battering at the British empire. With Wall Street's tremendous preponderance in air power and its capacity to produce planes, the American imperialists, knowing no other power can stand up against them in "free" competition, advance the slogan of freedom of the skies. At the recent air conference held at Chicago, the British, holding a world-encircling belt of bases, fought for protective regulations that would limit the free swoop of the American vulture.

The decline of the British Empire is graphically disclosed again in relative steel producing

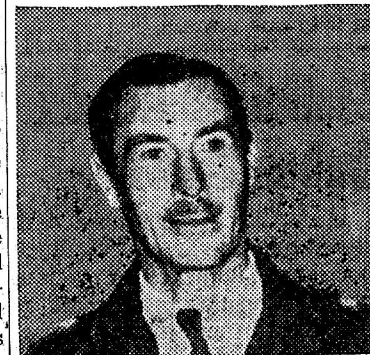
capacity. In 1939, Germany and her satellites had a capacity estimated by Barrons, between 40 and 50 million tons. The entire British Empire in 1939 produced only 17 million tons. U. S. production in 1939 was 52 million tons, rising to 86 million tons by 1942.

The most graphic indication of the shift in power, however, is the decline of British shipping and the rise of American. In fact one of the most significant changes in the whole war is the emergence of the United States as the leading maritime power of the world. Between 70 and 80 percent of the goods of international trade is transported by sea. Whatever power controls the sea lanes can thus dominate the world market, particularly if its industrial plant is also the greatest. England enjoyed this position for 100 years.

STARTLING CHANGE

A few facts will indicate the startling change that has taken place in the last four years. In 1929, year of greatest world trade, total world tonnage shipped was 297 million tons. A world fleet of some 50 million tons carried this trade, working at about two-thirds capacity. Great Britain with a fleet of 15 million tons was the greatest maritime power, carrying 40 percent of world trade as compared to America's 5 percent. Conservative estimates envisage that the end of the war will see Britain, because of sinkings, with a fleet of only 10 million tons despite her receiving 15 to 20 Liberty ships a month as a "loan."

Meanwhile the United States has invested more money in shipping since the beginning of the war "than it has put into govern-



Scobie, British Blood-and-Guts General sent in by Churchill to direct the shooting down of Greek Partisan fighters.

ment-owned war plants, machinery, and equipment, and nearly three-fourths as much as the railroad investment before the war," according to November Fortune magazine. American imperialism by the end of 1945 will have a fleet of 57 million tons, "more shipping than the five leading maritime nations possessed before the war." The U. S. will be able to lay up a reserve fleet for "emergency use" almost as large as the British fleet, and still have more than enough to carry the entire world's trade at the 1929 level. The U. S. is now in position to pick up all the "lifelines" of the British Empire and tie them over night in New York and San Francisco harbors.

This is the new colossal fact in the inter-imperialist struggles. Wall Street can sit back calmly and say to the British: "You have the choice of going to war with America—a war in which you will surely be crushed—or of becoming a satellite to the new mistress of the seas."

One wing of the American imperialists envisages the American merchant marine sweeping the seas clean of other flags. If victorious over Germany and Japan, they plan to strip the former Axis powers of their fleets. They plan to commence "tramp shipping" in competition with the British. Where formerly U. S. ships carried only a small portion of U. S. goods (25 percent in 1943) these imperialists envisage an immediate increase to 70 percent, this percentage to include shipments to new markets wrested from the British. Britain therefore would be forced into murderous competition with her own former satellite maritime nations such as Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark, Greece.

This ruthless imperialist pro-



British troops in streets of Athens attack Greek partisans with guns and tanks as British imperialism seeks to entrench the hated puppet Papandreou Government. These scenes of street fighting disclose the real war aims of Allied imperialism. At Teheran Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill carved up Europe and agreed to put down the European revolution. The British got economic and military bases in Greece as part of the deal.

Stettinius Swears In Wall Street Nominees

By William F. Ward

The sham battle against Roosevelt's nominees to the State Department fizzled out on December 20 when the entire slate was approved by the Senate and sworn into office by Secretary Stettinius.

After making a grandstand play of opposition and even threatening a last-ditch filibuster to prevent the appointments of these Big Business representatives, the liberals led by Senator Pepper of Florida folded up like an accordion, when the White House cracked the whip over their heads.

Roosevelt personally requested his supporters in the Senate to drop their fight against the nominees, his chosen State Department "team." He sent Senator Barkley, just out of the hospital, back to the Senate floor to lead the fight together with Senator Connally of Texas. "Thanks to this pressure, the entire slate was confirmed."

Before collapsing like balloons filled with hot air, the oppositionists had condemned the utterly reactionary character and conduct of Roosevelt's nominees. They pointed out that as ambassador to Tokyo, Grew had hobbled with the Japanese militarists and helped the American oil and scrap iron companies enrich themselves by opposing embargoes on these essential war

materials. Grew continues to support the Mikado as a prop of Japanese capitalism against impending social revolution.

PRO-FRANCO POLICIES

James Dunn has been a leading figure connected with Roosevelt's pro-Franco policies since the days of the Spanish Civil War. Julius Holmes, who will choose the staff of the State Department and foreign service, belongs to that clique of snobs, plutocrats and Social Registerites in which Roosevelt himself feels most at home.

William L. Clayton, world's biggest cotton broker and former member of the Liberty League, whose companies did business with the Nazi and fascist cartels even after the entry of the U. S. into the war, is Assistant Secretary in Charge of Foreign Economic Affairs.

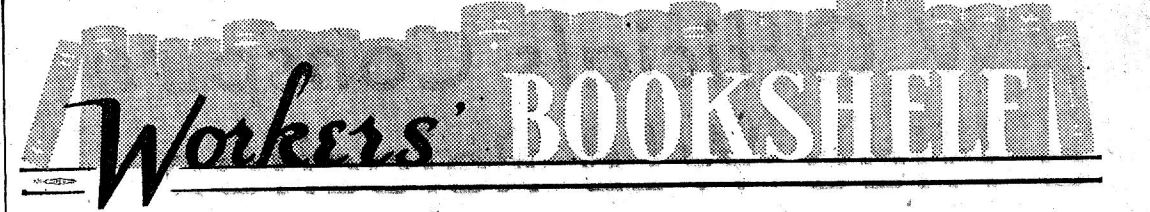
The liberals brought out all these damning facts in the debates—and then at the climax of the struggle, the day before the vote, they heard their master's voice calling them to order. Senators Guffey, Pepper and Chandler, the most outspoken leaders of the opposition, then went to the White House and discussed the matter with Roosevelt. The President, Pepper said, insisted that the nominations be approved at this closing session and stated that, if they were not, he would send the same group back to the new Congress in January.

Pepper and his associates had at first concocted the spurious theory that the President was not responsible for the selection of this Big Business team. This is simply the latest variation of the liberal lie that Roosevelt does not dictate the lines of foreign policy but that all the reactionary actions are put over behind his back by underlings in the State Department. In a speech delivered just before his visit to the White House Pepper declared: "I repeat I do not believe that the President initiated these nominations."

BRUTAL DEMAND

Roosevelt's brutal demand exploded this myth designed to cover up his personal responsibility for the appointments. Thereupon the opposition, like whipped curs, placed their tails between their legs and came to heel. "Hopeless in the face of PM," "the group which had opposed the nominations contented

Churchill's New Front



FASCISM—WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT: a compilation of writings by Leon Trotsky; introduction by E. R. Frank. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 48 pp., 15 cents.

Reporting the blow-up of the farcical Washington trial of American Fascists, the N. Y. Times, organ of the Wall Street money-bags, said in relief, "With practically no lamentations from any source, the mass sedition trial came to an end." Thus, like the military "war against Fascism" which has brought the re-appointment of Fascist officials in Africa, Italy, and even in Germany itself, the "juridical fight" against Fascism by the Roosevelt government has been exposed as a hoax.

How can Fascism be fought, since the capitalist government cannot and will not fight it? A new pamphlet, recently issued by Pioneer Publishers, "Fascism—What It Is, How To Fight It," explains the nature of Fascism, proves the hypocrisy of capitalist "measures" against it, and points to the only way Fascism can be fought and destroyed.

E. R. Frank in an introduction to this pamphlet first written on May 17 states that Trotsky's writings "prove that the present show trial of the Roosevelt administration, far from constituting a fight against Fascism, is merely empty, theatrical bombast." The blowup of the Washington Trial of the Fascists on Dec. 7 is proof of the effectiveness of Marxist analysis and prediction.

Fascism, Leon Trotsky explains, grows out of the insoluble contradictions of decaying capitalism. "The historic function of Fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." The capitalists turn to Fascist brutality not out of choice, but of necessity to preserve their rule. "The sober bourgeoisie," says Trotsky, "does not look very favorably even upon the Fascist mode of resolving its tasks, for the convulsions, although they are brought forth in the interests of bourgeois society, are linked up with dangers to it. Therefore the opposition between Fascism and the bourgeois parties. The big bourgeoisie likes Fascism as little as a man with aching molars to have his teeth pulled." But like the man with a toothache, Big Business inevitably goes to the Mussolinis, Hitlers and Francos for "relief" from the threat of the proletarian revolution.

Zionism Topic At N. Y. Forum

NEW YORK — An eager and attentive audience of forty young people, many of whom were left-wing Zionists, heard Noah Spira speak on "Left-Wing Zionism or Revolutionary Socialism" Friday, December 22 at a regular meeting of the Socialist Youth Forum at the New York School of Social Science.

Comrade Spira analyzed the Zionist movement placing particular emphasis on its left-wing and pointing out that the lines of a Marxist must be class lines, the division of exploited and exploiter, not of assimilationist and nationalist. The speaker, characterizing Zionism as a policy of escape and abstention from the class struggle, stressed the fact that it is only through unity with the proletariat of all races, colors and creeds and of all countries that the Jews can emancipate themselves. A fruitful discussion followed, after which literature was sold and refreshments served.

On December 29 a forum will be held on "Wall Street's Plan of Military Conscription" and on January 5 the topic will be "Is This a War Against Fascism?" All young people interested in the ideas of revolutionary socialism are invited to attend the Socialist Youth Forum held every Friday at 8 P.M. at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

Socialist Youth Forum

FRIDAY, JANUARY 5 - 8 P. M.

Is This a War Against Fascism?
 Hear a Trotskyist analysis of the War

Speaker: Jack Maxwell

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION
 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
 (corner 13th St., between Broadway and Fifth Avenue near Union Square)

Free Admission Refreshments

PARTITO OPERAIO COMUNISTA

Sezione IV Internazionale

DICHIARAZIONE DEL COMITATO CENTRALE

Lavoratori,

La crisi del ministero Bonomi, anche dopo le sue dimissioni, continua nell'andamento politico del paese che caratterizza tutta la situazione non solo dell'Italia ma dell'Europa in guerra.

Qualunque siano gli accordi per la formazione di un nuovo governo, la crisi resterà senza soluzione, perché queste combinazioni di governi ibridi, a base di blocco nazionale-borghese, con la partecipazione dei partiti socialista e comunista, dimostrano mancanza di programma e di principi e nel quadro dell'attuale stato monarchico sono destinati al fallimento.

Noi, come afferma il nostro programma transitorio, dichiariamo che, per uscire da tale situazione, è necessario lasciare ai partiti borghesi l'intera responsabilità di governo, di tutta la politica nazionale ed internazionale, o costituire un governo dei soli partiti socialista e comunista sul loro programma, i quali assumano la piena responsabilità di un ministero che dovrà mantenere le sue promesse ai lavoratori senza inganni o tergiversazioni.

I lavoratori non devono permettere la formazione di governi dei quali non si possono individuare le responsabilità.

Non deve essere permesso ai partiti borghesi di armare la reazione, attraverso i ministri e i vigilare la responsabilità sui partiti socialista e comunista in questo periodo di aggravamento della crisi, di miseria e di fame; né d'altra parte, ai partiti socialista e comunista deve essere oltre consentite di continuare sulla via di inganni, false promesse riversando sui partiti borghesi, ogni responsabilità della comune politica fallimentare collaborazione.

Occorrono precisazioni.

Bisogna finirlo col doppio gioco della collaborazione di classe nei ministeri dove si organizza la reazione e la fame dei lavoratori e con polemiche ed accuse, fuori, sulle diverse stampe, nelle sezioni, nei comitati, contro la reazione « inafferrabile ».

I partiti di massa, incamminati sulla falsa via collaborazionista, con una politica che non risponde ai più elementari interessi dei lavoratori vorrebbero salvarsi ora, dalle gravi responsabilità con l'opporre alle soluzioni della crisi del governo Bonomi, il potere dei comitati di liberazione nazionale, i quali, a loro volta, sono formati dagli stessi sei partiti che corrono al potere e che costituiscono il tessuto di tutta la politica fallimentare dal 25 luglio 1943 ad oggi a fianco della monarchia fascista.

Questa politica ha fatto completamente bancarotta. I comitati di liberazione, solo se diventeranno organi di massa e non fusione dei delegati dei sei partiti, quattro borghesi-monarchici e due socialisti e comunista, potranno, costruire gli organi del potere dalle masse lavoratrici.

Un governo dei partiti socialista e comunista si impone perché rappresenta una necessaria, chiarificazione politica in questo momento per la massa che ha fiducia ancora in questi partiti.

Se questo esperimento fallirà, se non darà gli stessi risultati di un qualunque governo borghese — cosa di cui noi siamo sicuri — la classe operaia avrà fatto un passo in avanti per portarsi su di un piano rivoluzionario di classe contro ogni collaborazione.

Viva la IV Internazionale - Direzione rivoluzionaria mondiale del proletariato.

IL COMITATO CENTRALE

A facsimile of the Manifesto issued by the Workers Communist Party of Italy, section of the 4th International. The Manifesto exposes the treacherous course of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties, and calls for the formation of a Socialist-Communist government as a transitional step in the revolutionary education of the masses.

"The crisis of the Bonomi cabinet," the Manifesto states, "continues in the present political situation, despite two resignations; this situation is characteristic of the whole picture not only in Italy, but in all of Europe at war."

"Whatever may be the agreements for the formation of a new government, the crisis remains unsolved, because these combinations of hybrid governments—basically bourgeois national blocs with the participation of the Socialist and Communist Parties—demonstrate a lack of program and principles, and are destined to fall with the monarchial state itself. . .

"A government of the Socialist and Communist Parties is necessary because it represents an essential political clarification at the present time, for the masses who still have faith in these parties.

"If this experiment fails, if it produces the same results as the bourgeois government—and we know it will—the working class will have made a step forward in raising itself to a revolutionary class position against collaboration.

"Long live the 4th International, the revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat."

On February 20, 1939 at Madison Square Garden, shows a section of the 50,000 workers protesting Fascist provocation. The leaflet issued by the SWP in August 1939, is reproduced, which calls on the workers to protest a scheduled march of the Coughlinites and other Fascists on Union Square. (The Fascists were forced to call off the march).

In action, the Trotskyists thus demonstrated how Fascism can and must be fought.

A COMPILATION

The excerpts from Trotsky's writings in this compilation, are taken from articles, letters and books written over a period of nine years. Included are extracts from a letter to an English com-

rade, from "What Next?", "The Only Road," "Whither France," and from articles published in *The Militant*, *Fourth International* and *American Mercury*. The introduction by E. R. Frank discusses the problem of Fascism in the United States and the significance of the so-called trial of the Fascists in Washington.

The American working class which alone can fight and destroy Fascism in this country, must begin by learning the nature of its enemy. This lucid pamphlet provides this analysis. It should be read by every thinking worker.

Reviewed by Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK FORUM

HEAR A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS

"The Civil War in Greece"

Why Are the Allies Shooting Down the Greek Masses?
 An Expose of the Secret Imperialist Deals at Teheran and Quebec

Why the Allies Fear the Rising European Revolution

Speaker: Joseph Hansen

SUNDAY, JANUARY 7 - 8 P. M.

116 University Place (corner 13th between Broadway and Fifth Avenue.)
 Question Period Refreshments

