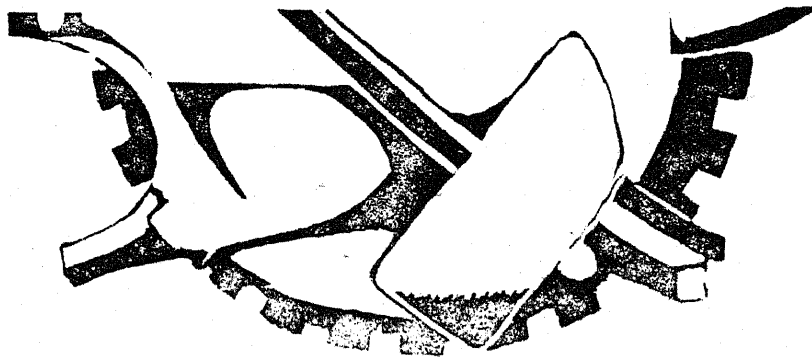


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DEVOTED TO THE THEORY OF MARXISM

Anglo-American Antagonisms
Anglo-American Trade Treaty

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- I - THE HISTORICAL SCOPE OF THE ANTAGONISMS

1. ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS & OTHER NATIONS

The conflict between the United States and Great Britain has existed from the revolutionary war up to the present. And since the world war this antagonism has been intensified on a larger scale than before. Since the world war the Anglo-American antagonism has replaced other inter-imperialist antagonisms as the primary one.

This Anglo-American antagonism is a part of and subordinated aspect of the basic antagonism between world capitalists and the social revolution, i.e., the extension of the October Revolution.

From the revolutionary war onward the Anglo-American antagonism had its different stages of development which we must reveal to understand more fully the historical process. Our approach to this question is the class struggle from the working class point of view.

History informs us that England fought Spain in the 16th century, France and Napoleon in the 19th century, and Germany and the Kaiser in the 20th century, in order to maintain and extend her empire. The navies and military forces of Spain, France and Germany, in order, had to be defeated. The American historians fail to coordinate these struggles with the Anglo-American antagonism.

2. THE ANGLO-SPANISH ANTAGONISM

The first important antagonism for the British, in relation to American history was its relation with Spain. The defeat of the Spanish Armada laid the basis for the main line of march for the colonial development of America. The British victory, together with the successful subordination of the Dutch mercantile class enabled the English to develop the capitalist economy and to extend their colonial empire upon its foundations throughout the world. Without this English victory over Spain, colonization in America would have taken on entirely different patterns.

3. THE ANGLO-FRENCH ANTAGONISM

With the successful elimination of Spain and Holland from the arena as first rate opponents, the 18th century saw the rise of France and its opposition on the continent and for colonial expansion. In this period the Anglo-French antagonism in developing

capitalism overshadowed all other rivalry among the nations of that day. It was upon this setting that the rise of the American mercantile class found strength to cover up its own weakness. Without the utilization of this antagonism between England and France at the time of the revolutionary war of the American colonies the growing mercantile class would not have fared so well.

The economic antagonism between the colonies in America and the British crown laid the basis for the struggle, but the Anglo-French antagonism greatly helped determine the outcome of the wars.

It was the successful utilization of this antagonism in the war of 1776 and 1812 that enabled a weak and inferior exploiting class to defeat the British crown.

4. THE ANGLO-FRENCH ANTAGONISM AND FEUDALISM

In the birth stage of capitalism the fundamental antagonism was between the decaying feudal system and rising capitalism. This antagonism knew no limits in national boundaries, any more than the proletarian revolution. To this basic antagonism was subordinated the Anglo-French antagonism. In fact the Anglo-French antagonism reflected both aspects of the capitalist antagonisms. It represented a European expression of developing capitalism and feudalist shackles, and the struggle among rising capitalist classes within different nations. The American colonies without the tremendous carryover of a feudal background (in spite of the development of slavery in the South) were utilized by France for French interests against British interests, and not because of the French love for the colonies in the revolutionary war.

The revolutionary war and the war of 1812 reveals this Anglo-French antagonism and the feudal-capitalist conflict for supremacy. The events leading up to Waterloo, like the events leading up to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, again left England in a position of domination - but only after the Anglo-French antagonism had helped give birth to the United States.

5. THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Some British propagandists inform the Americans that they inspired the Monroe Doctrine, as a partnership with the United States against the Holy Alliance. This is true. But what these "historians" forgot to tell, and the United States "historians" don't like to tell is the fact that the United States so organized and interpreted and executed the Monroe Doctrine that it became a two-edged sword, against the Holy Alliance (which was fighting England) and against England.

The United States defended the Monroe Doctrine in the early period only where its might enabled such. From 1833 to the Civil War

there were at least a dozen violations of the Monroe Doctrine, primarily by England. And the main fight to enforce the Monroe Doctrine from the Civil War onward has been against the British imperialists. The Anglo-American antagonism in Latin America is a special bloody chapter of wars and counter-revolution, of plunder and murder. In carrying out the Monroe Doctrine for the benefit of the exploiters of the United States the government successfully utilized the Anglo-French antagonism.

6. THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

When the United States bought the Louisiana territory for a song from Napoleon, it was not due to wise Americans and dumb Frenchmen, or the love of the United States by France. Again this was made possible by the Anglo-French antagonism. Napoleon was in need of cash, and felt that in the struggle with England, either England or the United States could take this, so it was better to sell it to an enemy of England. Napoleon's navy vs. the British was nothing to brag about, and at the same time the United States considered taking this empire if she could not buy it.

7. THE ANGLO*GERMAN ANTAGONISM

The revolutions of 1848, and especially the Paris Commune, revealed to the new capitalist exploiters that their real enemies were no longer the landowners, but rather the rising working class. Everywhere the capitalists formed their unholy alliance with the former feudal enemies to fight a greater danger, the danger of Communism.

In this period the rise and expansion capitalism brought in its wake the belated expansion of commodity production and wage labor in Germany. The revolutions and counter-revolutions of 1848 heralded this event and placed Germany in the race, altho late, nevertheless with great advantages. It could profit by the mistakes of the early capitalists, it could make use of its development, it could thereby skip stages.

The Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune marked the beginning of a new threat to British domination. From then on the antagonism, which was formerly with Spain, Holland and France now became the Anglo-German antagonism, which culminated in the first world war of 1914.

It was this new antagonism that the United States so successfully utilized as in the past it took advantage of the Anglo-French antagonism. What is important is not the subjective, conscious utilization of the antagonism by the United States; what is more important is its objective results, often in spite of the policy and the young and blundering American exploiters. The American exploiters had a continent to themselves, tremendous resources, and

upon this background obtained also the fruits of an Anglo-American antagonism.

8. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

One of the outstanding advantages of the Anglo-German antagonism that fell into the lap of the U.S., was the outcome of the Spanish American war. History (not the United States propaganda books) records that at the time Dewey's fleet was sailing to capture Manila, the German navy in the Far East sailed and prepared to attack and prevent the U.S. Navy from obtaining this victory over Spain. But the British commander at Manila informed the German naval forces that if the Germans attacked Dewey they would also have to fight the British fleet.

Today the British propagandists who want to rope America into an alliance present this act as "charity" for Uncle Sam. But in reality the German capitalists desired the Islands for themselves, and the British feared German domination of these Islands in the Far East. To prevent Germany from taking them they were forced to allow the U.S. to have them. The Anglo-German antagonism at the turn of the century is an unwritten chapter of the Spanish American war.

It must be kept in mind that we are not presenting a history of the events related. Instead, we are merely presenting the relation of the antagonisms between England and other nations to the important events of the development of the United States.

9. THE WORLD WAR AND THE ANGLO-GERMAN ANTAGONISM

The basic antagonism of the capitalist mode of production which ends in imperialist wars, culminated in the 1914-17 slaughter. In this blood bath the basic antagonism within the exploiters' camp was between England and Germany. The U.S. started out at the beginning of the war as a second rate imperialist power and ended up after the war as the leading imperialist power. Even though the British fleet defeated the German group, with the help of America, the United States again utilized the friction between England and Germany in such a way that the U.S. "help" to England resulted in the Americans dislodging the British from their world economic position. Again the objective conditions gave the United States this advantage over the Anglo-German antagonism.

10. TRANSFORMATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM

Yesterday the United States took advantage of the Anglo-French and later the Anglo-German antagonism. Today the other imperialist powers are utilizing the Anglo-American antagonism for their own ends. The antagonism between the U.S. and England from the revolutionary war to the world war was acute, but secondary to other inner-capitalist antagonisms; since the world war the Anglo-American

can antagonism has moved into first place of the inner-imperialist antagonisms.

The attempt of England to dominate Europe, thru her ally, France and the League of Nations, a domination to be used against the social revolution and the United States was again and again broken up by the U.S. use of the Dollar and its superior economic position. In the post war period shattered German economy was rebuilt upon the basis of the American Dollar. This was carried thru under the Dawes and Young plans against the extension of the October Revolution and against Great Britain, in an attempt to "organize" Europe to the needs of American imperialism. In these moves the United States over and over again prevented England from obtaining a REAL four-power bloc against the U.S. under British domination.

In Asia, Japanese imperialism conquered Manchuria at the expense of the United States and the Soviet Union in 1931 because British imperialism would not "aid" American imperialism. Stimson took the lead but England refused to follow. Japan utilized the basic antagonism between the British and Americans for her own ends.

Italy conquered Ethiopia later, primarily against British interests. The United States and its Standard Oil refused to cooperate. The Department of Commerce reveals that there was a monthly increase of oil export by a half million barrels each month, to Italy. In November 1934 it jumped to \$1,253,000, and in December to \$2,296,000. In this same period other products from the U.S. to Italy also increased. The Committee of Oil Exports of the League's Boycott stated, "If the United States would have limited its supply Boycott would have been effective." This in spite of the fact that Stalinism continued to supply Italy with oil.

We are dealing with the inner-imperialist antagonisms and later will show that more fundamental, and upon which these antagonisms revolve, is the antagonism between world capitalism and the extension of the October Revolution.

II. GERMANY AND THE ANGLIC-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM

Those who state that Germany will (after Munich) again replace the Anglo-American antagonism are wrong. In spite of the growth and expansion of German imperialism, it can only play a secondary role to the Anglo-American antagonism until the present positions of one or the other of these two leading powers is altered fundamentally. A revolution or imperialist war is necessary for that. Could there develop a German-American antagonism that will replace the Anglo-American antagonism? Or a Japanese-American antagonism to take its place? No. These antagonisms exist but they cannot replace the Anglo-American antagonism with revolutions or wars. Germany and Japan will play a third role in relation to this inner-imperialist antagonism no matter what surface military aspects how struggle may assume.

Germany to replace England in the antagonism with America must of necessity first smash the British fleet, before it attempts to attack the United States.

England is attempting to obtain a four power pact against the U.S. but England is no nearer than before. Germany gained at Munich, not England.

The victories of the German bloc at Munich, and Japan a week later in China, does not lessen the friction between the U.S. and Great Britain; rather these victories intensify the antagonism and their talk of "unity" and "agreements" and the King's visit are merely different forms of struggle, like the Washington and Geneva conferences.

III. ISOLATION, A CLOAK FOR AGGRESSION

12. THE AIM OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Foreign policies are not developed and executed by those in power for the good of humanity, for education and peace. Foreign policies are the means whereby the exploiting capitalist minority of the nation fight for markets and spheres of influence for capital investments, and commodity export. The aim of American imperialism, like all capitalist nations, rests upon this principle of exploitation on a world scale.

The productive forces which come into violent conflict with national boundaries, with the markets, must find room for expansion. Toward this end the U.S. is attempting to "organize" the world to its needs. It must do this to maintain its internal equilibrium; and it must extend its power to accomplish this.

13. THE ECONOMIC MIGHT OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The United States holds the position of economic supremacy because she has dislodged England, but has not yet replaced England politically in world politics. This forces them into conflicts all over the world. But American imperialism is able to conceal its aggressive steps behind its economic might. In present decay capitalism the strong imperialist nations can withstand the disintegration to a far greater extent than the weaker "have-not" imperialist nations, Germany, Italy and Japan. The pressure of the Anglo-American antagonism upon the disintegrating world capitalist system forces aggressive measures by the weaker imperialist nations who do this to hold up their internal decay. Economy of scarcity replaces accumulation on an expanded scale.

14. GENERAL POLICY OF UNITED STATES

There are two groups within the country which advocate opposite foreign policies. One advocates isolation, isolation from all en-

tanglement, and the other advocates cooperation, collective security. Neither school represents the real interest of the American rulers. The real foreign policy has elements of both.

15. ISOLATION

Those who advocate isolation as a cloak for their real objectives have the upper hand. The economic and geographic position of the country enables the ruling group to hide the real aims of its foreign policy in the cloak of "isolation". Just as in order to keep the industrial position of the United States, the ruling group was enabled to hide its war preparation in the past under the cloak of "disarmament".

England long ago recognized that its front line of defense was not the English channel; rather it is the Rhine River. Its foreign policy toward Belgium and France takes this into consideration. The U.S. front line against any European power has before it an ocean. Its defense on this geographic basis can be hidden under the term "isolation". Its economic might, its industrial position, its geographic and military position, all sum up a policy of aggression that can best be formulated by "isolation". This is Senator Borah's position. In the Pacific the situation is different and shows why the United States "isolated" itself from Geneva but inaugurated the Washington Naval Conferences, and in the Latin American area, in the Pacific, and in naval construction is no "isolationist". What concerns the Dollar vs. the Pound has not seen any "isolation". Its position of economic supremacy reveals pressure on the economic field and "isolation" from Geneva.

The refusal to join the League of Nations dominated by the Anglo-French bloc is not isolation, but a necessary weapon against British rivalry. It refuses to join the League and at the same time throws a wrench into every attempt of Britain to "organize" Europe under British hegemony.

This kind of "isolation" like the "disarmament" policy of yesterday is a cloak for aggressive imperialism due to its unique world position. The schools that represent "cooperation" are of two main varieties. The British group which wants a bloc with the US under British hegemony, and the Stalinist opportunist policy of "Collective Security".

16. MAINTAIN PEACE AND THE STATUS QUO

It is often said that the Anglo-Americans should police the world together and maintain peace and the status quo. But facts reveal that both of these countries, altho in agreement on desiring "peace" and the status quo, desire such for opposite ends. They take parallel actions for the status quo AGAINST other imperialists but not FOR the same ends. Both are for peace and the status

quo - against the social revolution. But from there on they part company. England desires the status quo to be able to use her world position to regain her lost economic status. The United States desires the status quo for her position of economic supremacy to enable her to obtain its political counterpart. The U.S. can take the OFFENSIVE from an economic point of view. The "open door" of these two imperialists is the same in form but different in substance.

17. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND THE NAVY

Another important aspect of the United States foreign policy is its policy of the freedom of the seas. This translated into material interests means a powerful country with industry and finance, that has a large overseas trade and investment and must maintain open seas in peace and war to carry on plunder in all parts of the world. The geographic position of the country, with no nation in America able to challenge her supremacy, allows her to dispense with a large STANDING ARMY, and demands a large navy for use throughout the world and for the Pacific, for Latin American waters and for the Atlantic. Now the air forces supplement this and increase its offensive range. The United States Navy is not for DEFENSE primarily. It is BUILT FOR OFFENSIVE ACTION AGAINST OTHER IMPERIALISTS and oppressed peoples of the earth. U.S. military experts have pointed out that no foreign power or group of foreign powers could successfully operate across the seas and stand a chance of successfully landing a large enough force and combatting United States forces. True, they can carry on some skirmishes, but not an offensive.

One of the most important aspects of the United States foreign policy has been the Washington, etc. naval conferences. Likewise, its monetary and trade treaties make up a big share of its offensive foreign policy. The American foreign policy was concretized in naval, monetary, and trade treaties, while the British needs not only expressed themselves in this sphere but also at Geneva and Locarno.

If one can correctly say that the British Empire's life-line runs from England to Gibraltar, Malta, the Grecian Archipelago, the Dardanelles, Palestine, the Suez, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Singapore, and up toward Japan thru Hongkong; it can be said truthfully that America's imperialist policy line runs from the tip of South America to the Islands in Alaska, and then points as a spearhead thru the Philippine Islands toward Asia. From Panama and the west coast of the U.S. and Canada it runs west thru Hawaii, Guam, and the newly acquired Islands, toward Asia.

18. THE NAVAL CONFERENCES AND THE FOREIGN POLICY

The 1921 Washington Naval Conference was an attempt of the United States to consolidate and extend its newly acquired world position.

gained as a result of the war. It was at the same time a partial answer to the League of Nations dominated by the British. The three big Pacific powers agreed to the 5-5-0 ratio. Regardless of the aim of the U.S. representatives, they did not gain their full objectives, and on some important points lost ground to Japan. True, England surrendered the Anglo-Japanese alliance. But the United States renounced the right to fortify the Philippines, Guam, Alaska. AND England renounced the right to extend fortifications to Hongkong. This gave Japan tactical advantages in the Far East and pushed Great Britain back to Singapore and the U.S. to Hawaii.

Military experts point out that IF joint action of England and America is reached they could place an 80% effective blockade against Japanese imperialism from Singapore and Panama. But Japan understood this IF, the Anglo-American antagonism, and proceeded to take steps into Asia and close the door.

The United States obtained THEORETICAL PARITY with Great Britain but no ACTUAL parity. At this conference France wanted to increase her submarines, so England refused to limit her cruisers, as a reply.

The 1927 Coolidge Conference was called to enable the United States to again try her luck, but this conference broke down, with little results. U.S. wanted real parity, but at British expense. But England clearly showed that if the U.S. wanted to transform theoretical parity to real parity she would have to do this in an armaments race and at a big cost to the United States.

Then came the 1930 London Naval Conference and the famous "Escalator Clause". If any other power would build to alarming proportions then the nation affected could invoke the clause and be exempt from the agreement. This was the beginning of the end of the "disarmament" cloak.

When the United States agreed to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, it at the same time put thru the 15 Cruiser Bill. It showed in the concrete what it meant by peace. It was a cloak for war preparations.

In July 1928 England and France signed a naval and military agreement which ended 10 years later, just before the Munich Conference as a new Entente. The London Nation of October 20th, ten years ago, in 1938, stated, "The whole transaction is unintelligible except on the assumption that America has become the hypothetical 'next enemy'..."

After the Japanese seizure of Manchuria and with the Naval Conversations in London in 1934, Japan demanded parity with the two big Pacific naval powers. Today the naval treaties like all treaties are being revealed for what they are worth - just scraps of paper. Roosevelt is proceeding as fast as possible to build a navy second

to none. With relief and depression injections they build up their war machinery. This is an essential step to their plans to organize the world to their own imperialist ends.

III. REGIONAL ASPECTS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTAGONISMS

19. THE CLOSED DOOR

The Monroe doctrine which we have already dealt with is the expression of the protection of United States interests in Latin America. It is the closed door to other imperialist powers. Especially since the turn of the century, when American imperialism really started to move into Latin America on a big scale have the most important struggles with England all over Latin America taken place. History is full of factual material regarding this bloody chapter of Anglo-American relations. The wars and revolutions in South America and Central America cannot be properly understood unless we understand this imperialist conflict.

20. THE OPEN DOOR

Where the American exploiters arrived late they demand the open door policy. The Nine Power Treaty dealing with China is a part of this structure. But Japan now scored some more military victories and hopes to modify or do away with the Open Door in China. She wants a Closed Door for China, the same as the United States has for Latin America.

Even in Asia where the main driving force is Japan, the basic antagonism is existent between the British and American interests. - British actual (and potential) needs and primarily America's potential needs. Because Japan has been able to utilize the Anglo-American antagonism she has made progress in consolidating her position better than before.

The most important market in the world is Asia, and this primarily means China and Russia. This is the need of any and every expanding imperialist power. This is above the need of American imperialism. Its whole imperialist power since the world war has now turned toward Asia as its aim and object. In the past its aim was to move southward and consolidate. The struggle continues there, but has extended to Asia.

This, too, is the aim and object of the Four European powers, once they get their "house" in order, that is, "organize" Europe to their own ends.

The United States to survive, to expand, must make the Pacific an American Lake like it has made the Caribbean. Paul V. McNutt in the Congressional Record, Vol. 83, p. 4569, states that the U.S. should retain the Philippine Islands to maintain its voice in the

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Far East. McArthur, the most capable American general, was sent to the Islands to organize a Philippine army to protect its interests from "attack". If they are "attacked", American imperialism with its naval and air base will "aid" in their "defense" against the "enemies". They could not organize a conscript army to protect American interest, so they organized a conscript army to keep Philippine "independence". This is an important outpost in Asia for American imperialism, toward its mainland goal.

They acquired the strategic Islands from England in the Pacific and participated in the Singapore naval maneuvers as one who "crashed the gates". This in no way signifies more friendly relations as some claim. Rather it is the pressure of the United States that has won objectives at British expense.

The establishment of a permanent Atlantic fleet is another step to protect the "rear" while its main fleet is fight in the west.

We must also point out that there is a distinction between the Parallel Action of England and the United States in Asia, and their rejection of joint action. The question of what kind of a status quo each desires throws light upon this. Joint action would be for the same immediate objectives, but parallel action consists of lines running in different direction for different ends, but which momentarily meet on the surface.

21. THE DOMINIONS

The third important sphere of the Anglo-American antagonism is within the British Empire. Because of the economic and geographic position of America in relation to key Dominions of England it has made great inroads. The Ottawa conference was the British attempt to check the American advance in the Dominions. The Hull Trade Treaty is the beginning of the break-up of the restrictions.

Already Australia and Canada and other possessions look to New York and not London for capital. Already these Dominions have their own representatives in Washington as well as London.

It is no accident that the U.S. Navy visited Australia. Some think this means a closer tie with England. Yes, with Australia against England. In reality it is a move of the U.S. vs. England.

The rise of Japanese imperialism, altho striking heavy blows at the United States, at the same time plays havoc with British interests. One of the contradictions of this development is the position of the Dominions. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc. are forced to look to the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Pacific policy for protection against the "yellow peril". Canada is already an economic colony of the United States. Roosevelt's speech at Toronto in August 1938 revealed further U.S. inroads. America will defend

Canada (but not Britain) because the defense of the Canadian area is the defense of the U.S., just like the "defense of Belgium" is the defense of England. Roosevelt's speech was a blow at the British rulers and their empire.

General Smuts of South Africa more than once stated that the Dominions have stronger material affiliations with the United States than with England. Ramsey MacDonald pointed out that a war between U.S. and England by no means is unthinkable, even the paid propagandists claim otherwise.

America wants to break the shackles of the Ottawa Conference trade Treaty is a first big step in this direction. The Pound-Dollar struggle is another aspect of this fight.

The geographic and economic position of the U.S. gives her the material advantage with the Dominions against the British rulers.

82. EUROPE

In Latin America, Asia, and the Dominions the American policy is aggressive, but the pressure of the four imperialist powers in Europe and their contradictions, to say nothing of the fires of the October Revolution after 1917, make the position of the U.S. more difficult in Europe. There, her policy, in spite of the expenditure, has resulted mainly in negative blows - to prevent England from gaining her objectives. To keep the October Revolution at bay and the British from consummating a real four power bloc - has kept the United States busy at a great expense ever since the world war. "Isolation" from direct participation in European conferences, but always behind-the-scenes role and often a decisive one, which really determined the outcome, was the way America "meddled" in Europe. But this negative aspect of the American policy in Europe is only a PART of the world policy of the American imperialists, and a necessary role toward its world position of conquest.

From the Dawes Plan up until the 1929 crisis the United States used Germany against the British plans. And in the transition until Hitler took power, her role was less effective due to objective conditions, but in no way did England benefit, because the Pound-Dollar struggle took on a new turn. After Hitler took power the utilization of Germany for the moment was terminated. And the U.S. imperialists explored the possibilities of the Soviet Union under opportunist Stalinism. This European difficulty and the Manchurian invasion by Japan led up to the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement, and agreement for, by, and of the United States imperialists, with Stalinism as a pawn.

Her present role in Europe and Asia is dealt with in other articles.

23. THE NEAR EAST

In the Near East and Africa the United States has not yet been able to penetrate to any great extent. Its Liberian adventure with the Negro "Republic" and its attempt to obtain a foothold in Ethiopia and the Near East has resulted in commercial gains, but of a secondary nature. In 1920 the U.S. thru State Secretary Colby sent a sharp note to England and Lord Curzon over the San Remo and Mesopotamian Oil struggle. England obtained the upper hand in the affair and with Palestine, using Zionism as its tool and stirring up friction between the Jews and Arabs, picked the pockets of all. Since the Munich Conference the position of England in Palestine and the Near East is worse and the German-Italian pressure has increased. Into this breach the Roosevelt regime is trying to drive a wedge for its own interests, utilizing the Jewish Palestine question.

In this struggle for the control of the eastern Mediterranean area the United States and its Dollar has an excellent chance of driving a commercial bargain. The struggle is by no means settled and the stakes are large, which at the same time involve the life line of the British Empire and the second gate eastward for Germany.

24. THE ARCTIC REGIONS AND AIRWAYS

The North and South Pole regions for a long time have been considered worthless because of the climate and transportation, but with the development of air transportation and other inventions this has been altered and is rapidly being changed. In the struggle for control of Arctic highways the United States has played an important pioneer role. The advantage for commercial and military purposes has untold possibilities. Altho at present it is still in the pioneer stage its potential importance for imperialism has long ago been recognized by the leading nations. The United States is already well established in both areas.

In regard to airways thruout the world, the struggle for control of the airways has been one of the most important post war struggles among imperialist nations and as yet constitutes a great unwritten chapter of commercial expansion in preparation for the next war. This struggle when written will be more interesting than the Standard-Dutch Shell struggle and will throw new light upon the Anglo-American antagonism. The United States is well organized thru both Americas and with a route to Asia and Australia. Its route to Europe is completed but held up because of British as well as German friction. When the Dollar gets the upper hand, you will see the real commercial development of European and American air traveling.

Point IV, Economic Supremacy and the Decline of American Imperialism, and V, The Social Revolution and Imperialist Antagonisms are yet to be added. - Ed.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE TREATY

The inter-relation of events in all parts of the world under decay capitalism is clearly revealed in the "Peace" of Munich. The capture of Hankow and Canton by Japanese imperialism in its onward march in China; the Jewish-Arabian conflict in Palestine; the pogroms against the Jews in Germany; the French strikes against the Daladier Government; and the signing of the Anglo-American Trade Treaty; are all part of the general repercussions following in the wake of the realignments and shifts taking place.

The signing of the Anglo-American Trade at the time it was, after negotiations for almost two years was no accident and was part of the reply of the United States to the "Peace" of Munich.

British concessions at Munich in relation to Germany forced her to find new avenues for a reply. On the one hand the trade treaty was its attempt to reply to Germany. Likewise from the standpoint of the United States it was also a reply to Germany. But in addition to the Anglo-American "reply" to Germany there was a more important aspect of the British-American relations in the new agreement.

Within the Anglo-American agreement the United States gained at the expense of England. It can be stated that the United States will attempt to use the treaty as a two edged sword against England and Germany.

ECONOMIC MIGHT OF UNITED STATES

The development of American Industries carried with it protective tariffs against England and other countries, while England with its Economic and Financial might in the same period held its traditional policy of free trade. But with the post war developments and the General Strike of 1926 the weak British position in the world arena forced her more into the list of protectionists and tariffs. The American capitalist slowly changed places with England. Morgan and other big capitalists came out for free trade. They were the Financialists of the world and had their own special interests within the capitalist class.

The Hull policy of trade treaties is part of the policy of "controlled" free trade. As Hull has stated the Anglo-American Trade Treaty places a foundation and a roof over the policy. As the strongest economic country and as the leading financial nation the United States figures that an equal chance to all markets with all competitors (where the United States does not already have the closed door) will give the United States the upper hand in the struggle to gain the markets. The might of the Dollar in loans and the lower cost of protection will will accomplish what the others cannot.

Underlying this theory on trade agreements is the same principle advocated in other spheres of US aggressiveness. Equal armament or disarmament and the right of the United States give American Imperialism the key position. Disarmament gives the most powerful industrial countries the advantage of being able to rebuild the fastest when necessary. Monetary agreements placing the Dollar on an "equal" footing with the other currencies (Three power agreement) give the Dollar the key position of penetration because of its gold reserve. The trade treaty has the same effect.

FREE TRADE AND BARTER

One who speaks of Democracy vs. Fascism, one who does not understand that such is not the line of demarcation in the imperialist conflicts, will also have difficulty in understanding that the real distinction is not between free trade and the "fascist" barter system.

The ratio of economic strength and weakness of the imperialist rivals in decay capitalism brings force a different emphasis, but since ALL are part of DECAY capitalism ALL carry out restriction, controlled scarcity, barter, and dumping.

Even with the superior economic position of the United States and all of its advantages in competition in the Western Hemisphere where America has domination, she is doing everything possible to organize trade relations to exclude England, Germany and other countries. In the rest of the world where these nations are trying to close the door to the United States, America fights to keep the door open. The Anglo-American Treaty is a step to open the door to the British Empire.

Since the "Peace of Munich" the propaganda against Germany and the talk of Germany taking the South American markets is in the main a cloak, utilizing Germany to drive against ALL imperialists and primarily the British. No one denies that since Munich Germany has made headway, but not so much that it is threatening the real American control of its spheres.

The Roosevelt strategy is to line up through their labor agents in the workers ranks, the Greens, Lewises, the Browders and Thomases, the working class for its imperialist ends. At the same time the pogroms against the Jews in Germany also serve this propaganda end. On this basis Roosevelt hog-ties the workers for imperialist ends primarily against England, and of course against Germany and Japan. A feat that could not be accomplished by stating truthfully that England in world competition is "our" main enemy.

AFTER OTTAWA

In the whole post war period when the United States continued to follow up its war gains and stole more British markets, the British

had to find some kind of an effective reply. This they attempted in the Ottawa conference which changed the traditional free trade policy to protectionism. The Ottawa agreement was a unification of a system of "self sufficiency" to tie the colonies and the Dominions to England, to keep out United States and other countries, and to give England the advantage in trade at the expense of the Dominions and other countries. Tariffs between England and the colonies were reduced to the disadvantage of all other nations, especially United States trade with the Empire.

The colonies and dominions were at a disadvantage. They had to trade with England, but often they could obtain better bargains in the United States, Germany and Japan. The United States did not rest contented with the Ottawa agreement aimed to keep her out of the Dominions, and slowly but surely she began a process of undermining it. Decay capitalist conditions and the decline of the British Empire played into the hands of the United States.

The trade war of England and the United States continues and under the new agreement will be intensified even though the form has changed. From Ottawa to the Anglo-American Trade Treaty England held to the protection theory, while under the Roosevelt regime they moved toward "controlled" free trade. However, the undermining of the British hold over the Dominions vs. the United States was started under Hoover.

The Anglo-American treaty in this light is a crowning point of a Hull policy while with England it is a right about face. This is a victory for the United States. The value of the treaty cannot be valued merely in bushels of wheat or pairs of shoes. Many American manufacturers who will look at it from this immediate angle will have their stooges in Congress protest; but from the long range standpoint of American imperialism as a whole the United States gained in the treaty over England. The advantages for the key section of the American capitalists, regardless of how the treaty steps on the toes of lesser sections of the American capitalists, are the thing that counts for United States Capitalism as a whole.

The British officials and capitalists do not praise the treaty in the same way that the Americans do, even though they are forced to give lip-service to it, as they were forced by conditions to give lip-service to the "Peace" of Munich.

CANADA A THIRD FORCE

The Anglo-American Treaty can be better understood if one realized that Canada came in as the third power and an equal to the others. United States trade with this Dominion, second to the British Island within the Empire, Canada today, is no more than an Economic colony of American Imperialism. The United States brought in Canada to strengthen America's position against England. Next the United States will take Australia and other Dominions vs. England on this basis.

At Ottawa the Dominion of Canada had to subordinate its interest to the Empire which meant to London. At Washington, and the Anglo-American Trade Treaty Canada does not have to buy from London. Canada has a better bargain with the United States on major commodities and trade relations of the two countries. Also shipping for other British possessions can now be routed through the United States which was not allowed under the Ottawa agreement.

TRADE TREATY PART OF UNITED STATES PLANS.

We pointed out in "Europe after Munich" that the United States had not yet replied to the "peace" and we stated that its reply would be further offensive measures. Its first big step in this direction was the announcement of an armament drive to insure its domination in the Western Hemisphere as a base for further world operations. It then told Japan that the Open Door in China must be continued. Later it beat the drum against Hitler to line up Labor against its MAIN imperialist rivals. Then it signed the Anglo-American Trade Treaty which is a step forward for the United States. Now it proceeds to the Limer conference to further consolidate its position.

The Anglo-American Trade treaty can be said to be the first step toward the Open Door in the British Empire to further economic and financial penetration of American Imperialism.

T R O T S K Y ' S J E S T E R S P E A K S" A G A I N S T " T H E M A R X I S T S

The increased resentment by the Trotskyite membership against the opportunist leadership of the Socialist Workers Party - its support of the Labor Party, bourgeois bills, its revisionist transition program, etc. - has reached such proportions that the Cannon leadership is afraid of large defections to the left. The increased concern with "ultra-leftism", the politically dishonest blasts against the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE and other forces are merely attempts by Trotsky and Cannon to check this movement.

In the December issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL the political clown, Max Schachtman, attempts to joke away all of the little splits from the Trotskyites and the RWL. In lieu of a political argument against the RWL, Schachtman jokes about its "smallness", its splits, etc.

The Trotsky article purposely lumps together the RWL and its Marxian position with the groups we expelled, as well as the other groups we have principle differences with. This is to "educate" the members against the RWL.

The most important fact to consider in this Schachtman criticism of the RWL (as well as the other groups) is that he is unable to make a single political criticism. For 3 years the SWP has avoided such an analysis on the grounds that the "RWL is so small it doesn't warrant any analysis". But when it is known that the Trotsky movement from its very inception has presented to the class a POLITICAL criticism of every expulsion or split in Europe and America, even several much smaller than the RWL - then the above has meaning, and it shows that in confronting the program of the RWL the Trotskyites are bankrupt. That is the reason they try to mix us up with the muddleheads. Trotsky has politically criticized Weisbord, Fields, Vereecken, Sneevliet, Muste, Molinier, Nin, Fersen, Goldman, Vitte and many others, but he and his satellites feared to tackle the RWL.

The reason is obvious. The RWL (then the Left Wing of the Workers Party) correctly predicted - when Cannon and Trotsky were denying it vehemently, that the Trotskyites would join the Socialists. The RWL correctly predicted that when thrown out of the SP, Cannon and Company would move further to the right. It predicted by more than two years that the Trotskyites would support the Labor Party. And meanwhile the RWL has stood firmly by the essential program of the Left Opposition. Compare the SWP position on the question of the Independence of the Party, the War Question, the State, the Road to Power, the question of the Permanent Revolution, the

Chinese revolution and Chiang Kai Shek, etc. etc.- compare the SWP present position with that of the old Left Opposition and you will find vast revisions from the program of the LO. The Trotskyites - as they evolve to the right - must bury their past, just as the Stalinists are doing. To POLITICALLY deal with the R.W.L. program would expose this whole fraud, would show all of the deviations from Marxism. The only effective answer Cannon can find is political buffoonery - poking fun at a number of splits from the R.W.L., etc. But even in this, unfortunately the position of the Trotskyites is exposed.

Let us compare or contrast the splits from the Trotskyites and the R.W.L.:

The splits from the Trotskyites, not counting the important individuals are as follows: the Bordighuist group, the Wiesbord group, the Fields group, the Budenz-Johnson split that joined the Stalinists, the Cohen group that joined the R.W.L., the Muste group, the Becket group that joined the R.W.L., the Joerger group, besides the hundreds of left wingers that went home. This makes a total of 8 splits.

As for the R.W.L. we have expelled the Zack group, the Marlin group, the Mienov group, the Fleming comrades, Eiffel, and the Stamm group. This makes a total of 6. All were expelled as ultra-lefts except the Stamm group. This does not consider individuals - as we have not considered them in the Trotskyites.

Schachtman either has a bad memory or thinks others have. He forgets to mention that when the Left Opposition was still Marxian, the Stalinists used the same argument against the Left Opposition that Schachtman today used against the R.W.L.

The Stalinists poked fun at us because the Left Opposition had so many splits. They pointed out four splits in Greece, three splits in Germany, three splits in Austria and one or two more in every other country. But they too, like Schachtman were unable to deal with the POLITICAL position of the Left Opposition and the political reason why the Left Opposition expelled these groups, Let Trotsky's jester try to treat the R.W.L. the way the Left Opposition demanded that the Stalinists deal with us.

In spite of Schachtman he did raise an important question which he is incapable of answering. How come a small group like the R.W.L. can have so many splits (mentioned above) and survive, keep on its same basic principle line, and continue to recruit, grow and gain more national and international influence? The same could be said about the Trotskyites yesterday when they were Marxists.

Another important aspect and contrast between the Trotskyite splits and our splits is the direction the groups evolved under the powerful external pressure. Our split from the Trotskyites was to the left. Naturally we gathered some ultra-lefts, which we were able to utilize, and which we later got rid of when they would no longer proceed on our program and decisions. We accomplished this by maintaining the same MARXISM PROGRAM we started with.

On the other hand the Trotskyites in fighting us, gathered within their folds right wing elements and the worst kind of opportunists. But unlike the RWL, the Trotskyites were unable to either assimilate or discard this element. This element slowly took over the organization, until now they surround the "old" leaders as Stalin is surrounded. Their program MOVED TO THE RIGHT, while their LEFT splits became more docile. The Trotskyite internal process was more and more the dynamics of a greater influx from the right, and a tighter sealing of the door from the left. It is the same process in all parties and groups that degenerate. To analyze this process the question of the program of the group at each given stage, from the beginning to the present is decisive.

Facts - notcheap puns - reveal that the RWL has maintained and extended its principle line against its splits, but the split-offs have degenerated politically; while the Trotskyites in the same three years (since the formation of the RWL) have CONTINUED TO MOVE TO THE RIGHT, ADOPTING MORE OPPORTUNIST POSITIONS WITH EVERY NEW DEVELOPMENT.

The Revolutionary Workers League as a Marxian organization has confronted three years of tremendous external pressure, of disintegration and defeats in the labor movement; this accounts for the splits; but its internal strength has kept its program crystal clear against these attempted revisions.

This was true yesterday in the main before the Hitler seizure of power, in the Left Opposition, but since then the Trotskyites have revised Marxism on every basic Marxian principle.

Schachtman tries to label the RWL as "Third Period Stalinism". To the Left Opposition Third Period Stalinism politically meant that they were PRINCIPALLY to the right of the Left Opposition while they had ultra-left tactics. A casual examination of the political position of the RWL and the Trotskyites will reveal that we are principally to the LEFT of the Trotskyites. This is more of the jester's fakery that the SWP is compelled to resort to in an attempt to avoid answering OUR POLITICAL LINE.

The Revolutionary Workers League rejects Trotskyism. We object to being labelled Trotskyites by the reformist Stalinists. Trotskyism is centrism. We have principled differences with it. A few of the principled questions involved are: the question of the political and organizational independence of the Marxian organization, the Labor Party, Material aid (which is a FORM of political aid) to the People's Front, support of left bourgeois governments, the Road to Power (in Spain, China, etc.), the Negro question, the trade union question, the unemployed question, Revolutionary defeatism, etc.

Let the Trotskyites try to reply to us politically. We, the Marxists, invite their reply.

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D E G E N E R A T I O N O F T H E " R E V O L T "
G R O U P

An increasing orientation on the Trotskyites marks the political course of the Stamm "Revolt" group, since its establishment as an independent outfit. Its organ has presented an economist line throughout, subordinating political issues to trade union news and presenting political issues from a trade union level. After 8 months the first article on the Trotskyites to appear in the Stamm organ (November issue) is in political essence nothing but capitulation to Trotskyism. Dealing with the latest Trotsky set-up - the "Fourth" International - the Stammites' only criticism is the Trotskyite lack of a mass base and their anti-Stalinist character. Principled differences? None.

This article is even more significant when it is realized that the Stammites, who refuse to enter a class struggle united front of left wing organizations in N.Y. and who concealed the information of Negrete's arrest for months because a "class struggle defense might endanger Negrete's life", find it possible to collaborate full heartedly with the Trotsky opportunists in their "Committee of Individuals", which confines its activity to legalistic manouvering with the State Department.

Growing resentment among the members at the course of the Stamm group and at the pett-bourgeois conduct and villations of decisions by their leader (who can't be brought out to the mid-west to stay) has forced the Stamm outfit to slander as the stock in trade against the R.W.L. Such despicable stuff as their attack in the December "Revolt" against Comrade Okun as a careerist who tried to sell out to Homer Martin (but failed), is worthy of Stalinism. It does not merit a reply, except to state that all the comrades

at the time in Detroit, including Stamm, insisted upon Okun remaining as political organizer of the unit. Furthermore, at the Second Convention of the RWL in December 1937, where the whole question of Detroit work was discussed and settled, the Convention unanimously agreed, Stammites included, that to raise such unfounded accusations in the future would be slanderous factional filth.

It is to be hoped that disgust with the bankrupt cliquism of the Stamm outfit does not drive all its members out of the movement, and that instead they retrace their steps to join the RWL as some have already done.

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