

THE NATURE OF THE COALITION

Earl Browder discusses the fundamentals on which the association of the three leading powers rests. The practical tests whereby we can recognize friends from enemies.

WHEN the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition came into existence it expressed a new sharp turn in world politics. All organs of molding public opinion in Britain and the United States had for years been building a dam of prejudice and misinformation to hold back the flood of demand for unity with the Soviet Union against aggression by the Axis countries. Suddenly the dam was broken, and the coalition came into being, without any large-scale preparation of public opinion.

It was to be expected, therefore, that there should be the greatest confusion and lack of understanding as to the nature of the coalition. What was not to be expected, however, was the tenacity of the anti-Soviet antagonism during two years of war alliance. Crudest, most vulgar, of the misunderstandings of the nature of the coalition is the opinion widely propagated that it is an alliance of convenience, for the moment, of a purely military character, without foundation in any common interests or goals except the purely negative one of defeating the common enemy on the battlefield. This is the view propagated by the American enemies of the coalition, who consider it a mistake which should be cancelled as soon as possible, but who fear openly to speak their mind; they "support" the coalition by denying it any political foundation or lasting value, undermining it therefore, in every indirect way.

Herbert Hoover and like-minded politicians represent this view in its most extreme form in ruling-class circles. Hoover frankly preferred a coalition with Hitler, to destroy the Soviet Union, and even now makes no secret of his program for eventually destroying the Soviet regime.

Closely allied with the Hoover position is that of the Social-Democratic Federation, headed by David Dubinsky, Abe Cahan, and N. Chanin, whose fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union has led them into association with open fascists and anti-Semites. Their position is summed up in the words of N. Chanin, written in January 1942, and endorsed by Dubinsky in April 1943: "The first shot will be fired from free America—and from that shot the Stalin regime, too, will be shot to pieces." This fairly expresses also the attitude of the Norman Thomas Socialists, the Trotskyites, and similar groupings.

This anti-Soviet position, which denies all validity to the coalition, reaches into the Democratic Party and the Roosevelt administration. Not only the Wheelers and Reynolds, who are openly anti-war, take this line. It was most brutally expressed by

William C. Bullitt, in his speech of March 11, 1943, which advanced the thesis that Stalin is a donkey to be manipulated with "carrot and club" in the classical tradition of the donkey-driving profession. It is most insidiously applied in practice by Assistant Secretary of State Adolph Berle, Jr., who openly directs the foreign policy of the *New Leader*, organ of the Social Democrats.

THIS review of the anti-Soviet position of the enemies of the coalition, though brief and inadequate, is necessary as a prelude to any serious examination of the real nature of the coalition. We must keep in mind the most widely spread and stubbornly defended misconception of the coalition if we expect to replace it with a realistic and workable conception.

It is not only anti-Soviet trends, however, which endanger the vitality of the coalition. Anti-British agitation has also revived, gaining a new virulence from the backing of the Luce school of American imperialism, which envisages the United States taking over the British Empire as a receiver in bankruptcy. The anti-British and anti-Soviet trends more and more move not only to ally with each other, but to merge into a single camp. The enemies of the coalition cultivate every divisive influence and idea.

One of the most important manifestations of the awakening of ruling-class circles to the deeper meaning and consequences of the coalition is Walter Lippmann's new book, *U. S. Foreign Policy*. Against all varieties of anti-Soviet and anti-British propaganda, Mr. Lippmann develops the thesis of a long-term alliance between the three great powers as the necessary precondition for victory and any sort of tolerable postwar world. Lippmann prides himself upon his ultra-conservatism and cold realism; he is not one who speaks for himself alone, but rather for a whole circle of the upper bourgeoisie. He is one of the most consistent opponents of socialist trends in the United States. When such persons begin a fundamental reorientation in their world concept, to adjust themselves to long-term cooperative relationships that include the Soviet Union, and place the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition as the central factor determining the reorganization of the world—then we are approaching some understanding of the true nature of the coalition.

It is remarkable that practically all arguments made by Mr. Lippmann for the alliance with the Soviet Union, from the con-

servative point of view of American interests, are arguments which were as valid in 1933 as in 1943. If some glimmering of their truth had penetrated official circles ten years ago, this might have saved the world the enormous costs of the present war.

Mr. Lippmann arrives at his conclusions with the aid of an ideology which I cannot share. The fact that I can agree in the main, and whole-heartedly, with his conclusions is—to quote Mr. Lippmann's own words about Russian-American relations in the past: "an impressive demonstration of how unimportant in the determination of policy is ideology, how compelling is national interest." In the past I, myself, have frequently written in the same sense. On Dec. 3, 1938, for example, I said: "Today, as never before, the fate of the world depends upon the role that will be played by these two greatest powers in the world [the Soviet Union and the United States]; more than ever this depends upon the collaboration of these two powers for their common aims. The Soviet Union and the United States have common problems, common interests, and common enemies. This is the central fact in the new world situation. Upon this foundation it is necessary to find a program of collaboration which can effectively unite these two greatest world powers, a program based upon the full recognition of the national interests of all peoples, and uniting them in a minimum international policy. . . ."

The Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is the recognition, though belated, of the common problems, common interests, and common enemies of the three great powers. It is the beginning of a serious effort to find a common program.

WHILE emphasizing the far-reaching implications and consequences of the coalition, it is not my desire to overestimate the present degree of its realization. Even as the simplest and loosest military coalition, it still awaits its fruition in the large-scale second front in Western Europe which has so long been on the order of the day. No, the coalition is only in process of creation. Each step in its further development must be taken in struggle against the opposition of accumulated prejudices, inertia, and special interest. Just as the birth of this coalition met such great difficulties that a world catastrophe was required to overcome the resistance, so we must expect that its further development will be only through severe struggles.

How stubborn and fanatical is the opposi-

tion to alliance with the Soviet Union I, myself, have had occasion to learn on my own skin. A lifetime of agitation for the establishment of socialism in America left me an inconspicuous and ignored person; but three years of active agitation for a realistic alliance between our country and the Soviet Union on the basis of common national interests made me the target of a campaign of calumny and abuse beyond limits. "Unmitigated gall" was the caption given a cartoon by Rollin Kirby in 1938, syndicated in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, which pictured an unkempt Browder holding up the American and Soviet flags and beckoning for unity between the Kremlin and Washington. Mr. Howard and his kind would have been perfectly content to allow me to agitate for Communism without any protest from them, but when I called for an alliance with the Soviet Union, that was too much, that was "unmitigated gall" which demanded national repudiation. Such violent intolerance is by no means dead, as witness the campaign of calumny against Joseph E. Davies and his film *Mission to Moscow*.

Mr. Lippmann develops a key aspect of the coalition around his descriptive phrase of "nuclear alliance." The triangle of great powers has the peculiar nature that it cannot operate as an alliance *against* other nations, except aggressors, and therefore functions inevitably as a *nucleus* for the gathering of a general society of nations. It is either that or it inevitably breaks up. And it is becoming clearer with every passing day that the breakup of the alliance would doom the world to an indefinite period of wars, that it would cancel not only the independence of nations but the chief fruit of victory over the Axis as well, which is the winning of a prolonged period of peace.

WHAT is the peculiar nature of this coalition that, in contrast with the Axis, prevents it from acting *against* any but aggressor nations? First of all, there is the presence of the Soviet Union. Those who understand that the socialist nature of the Soviet system is an automatic guarantee against any *joint imperialist program*, need no further elucidation. Those who deny that assumption or question it must come to an identical conclusion, however, from simple observation of the facts. British and American rivalry cannot possibly be contained in the coalition unless it is severely curbed; nor could the Soviet Union possibly find its interest in accommodating itself to a joint Anglo-American imperialist partnership. That is an obvious fact to all observers. In that trio of powers there is no possible long-time unity except upon the basis of serious application of the Atlantic Charter, which is a self-denying ordinance, excluding imperialist aims from the joint project, voluntarily adopted *because* it was necessary for that unity.

This negative guarantee of the character of the coalition, that it cannot impose a new imperialist order upon the world, is not, of course, matched by any positive assurance that it will realize the organization of the world for a people's peace. It can conceivably fail to agree and break up, each great power going its own way. It must be taken for granted that agreement will not be easy, in fact will be extremely difficult. There is only one solid reason for expecting the coalition not to break up but to continue to victory and after—that the alternative is an incredible chaos in the world which would strike at the separate national interests, as conceived by their governments, more deeply and immediately than any possible compromise necessary to unity. Not Britain, not the United States, not the Soviet Union, can conceivably bring any immediate stability into the wide world by acting separately, but only in an enduring combination.

THE three leading powers in the United Nations are thus in something of the position of a committee which is locked up until it reaches unanimous agreement. Since failure to reach agreement will bring such heavy penalties, we may expect that however reluctantly and with whatever delays, agreement on the most decisive questions will be reached and in time to avoid the most serious disasters. We are encouraged in the belief that the coalition is a going concern, for war and peace, by the experience of witnessing one by one, even with

blundering and delays, the solution of many knotty problems of the war.

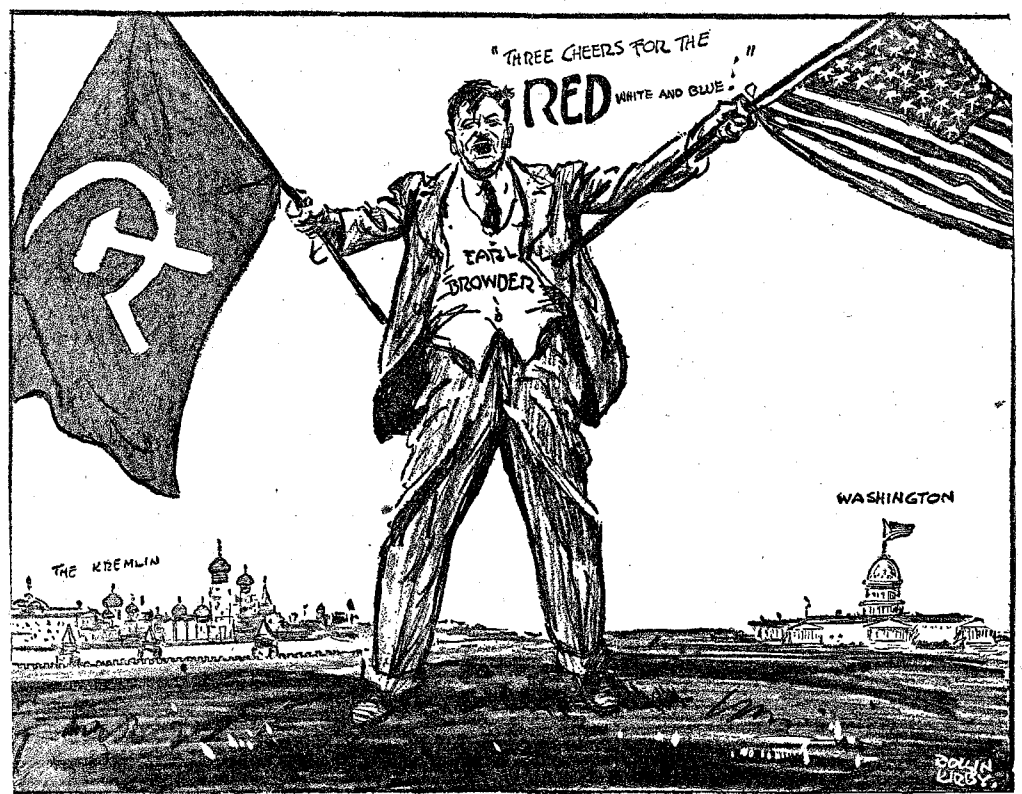
But the coalition will not work automatically. It can be made to work by fighting for it. And nowhere is this truer than in the United States, where we face the greatest threat of the breakup of the coalition.

Unlike Britain and the Soviet Union, the United States has an organized opposition to the coalition which is preparing to bid for power in the 1944 elections, and which is reckless of the consequences of dissolving the coalition.

In the elections of 1940 and 1942, the anti-coalition forces in the United States considerably strengthened their hold on Congress. So much so that today, at the most critical moment of the war, we witness an organized uprising of Congress against the President, against the war program. If the 1944 election continues the trend of the last two Congressional elections, then the coalition may be considered as under sentence of death.

There is no fatality involved, however, in this trend. The last two elections went to the anti-coalition camp by default, because it was united and on the offensive while the coalition forces were apologetic, disunited, and on the defensive. If there is an aggressive and united drive made on behalf of the coalition program, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that an overwhelming majority of the American voters will rally in its support. That is true, however, only on condition that this issue

Unmitigated Gall.



The Scripps-Howard conception (published in 1938) of American leaders who urge closer friendship between this country and the Soviet Union.

is made the dominant one to which everything else is subordinated. If the struggle is allowed to drift into traditional and subsidiary channels, there is no reason to be hopeful of the final outcome.

It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the fate of the coalition is being decided in the United States in 1943. What happens this year will probably already set the trends for the 1944 elections. That is why the fight for the coalition is not a matter of the future, but an immediate one. The masses of the common people must be won to support the coalition, not only as a matter of general sentiment, but in the form of conscious support for those policies which will make the coalition a living thing.

It is sheer hypocrisy, for example, when the *New York Times* formally supports the coalition in words, but in practice opposes the opening of the second front in Europe in 1943, which alone can confirm the foundations of the coalition.

The anti-coalition camp is elaborately maneuvering to obscure the issue, to dissolve the struggle into confusion and chaos without a clear presentation of the main issue; such confusion furnishes them with the best opportunity to win the election. Thus they all speak publicly, in a formal way, in support of the United Nations, or else, like Hoover, keep silent on the question. They are fully willing to concede the shadow of formally kowtowing before the "ideal" of international solidarity, if they thus are able to win the substance of practical sabotage of the policies which alone can make the ideal a reality.

The coalition must be fully understood, in a practical fashion, by the masses of the voters, so that they can know how their leaders really stand on this issue, despite all hypocrisies and evasions. A few simple tests can be applied which will enormously simplify this problem.

Anyone who suggests that the United States Government should deal with Britain or the Soviet Union by "talking tough," or with the "carrot and club" technique of handling a donkey, or with any variation of the idea that the United States is the "real boss"—such a person can be unconditionally identified as a proponent of breaking the coalition and arriving at a negotiated peace with Nazism. *The coalition is an association of equals*, or it is nothing but the most temporary makeshift which will soon disappear.

Anyone who supports the war "in general" and the United Nations as "an ideal," but who finds a thousand reasons for opposing all practical measures of fighting the war, and for sowing suspicions and hostility against our associates in the leading coalition of the United Nations—such a person belongs to the enemy camp, whatever his motives. The coalition is only as strong as the mutual confidence that exists between its members, and "ideals" are but

shadows until they are embodied in practical policies.

The millions of Americans must be armed with such simple and practical tests, by means of which they can begin to separate the sheep from the goats, to know who is really a friend and who is the enemy of the coalition.

Upon an accurate judgment of friends and enemies depends the fate of our country and of the world.

Upon our ability to realize the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, in war and peace, and to develop all its potentialities depends the future progress of mankind.

EARL BROWDER.

House of All Nations

THE Soviet Union is living proof that the problem of minority peoples can be successfully solved. And looking back over the past twenty-six years one cannot but have the deepest admiration for the way separate nations were welded into one unbreakable unit despite differences in social and cultural patterns. That these nations are now parts of a great whole while maintaining their basic individuality is indeed a tribute to the Soviet government. It is a special tribute to Joseph Stalin who in 1923 said in substance that a real federation of states based on the fullest collaboration of all member peoples must be established or the Soviet Union would go down to sorry defeat at the hands of imperialism. Stalin was right. The people believed him and today, under the onslaught of war, the world has an example of what social cooperation can do for a heterogeneous collection of working folk.

Many governments have had similar minority problems and have tried to meet them in different ways. All sorts of techniques have been employed from gradual assimilation to bloody mass extermination. Needless to say, such methods have not succeeded. Czarist Russia, for example, tried to adjust the same people now so happily a part of the Soviet Union. But instead of humane consideration for the rights of men, czarism resorted to cruelty and pillage and failed miserably.

There are certain positive and fundamental concepts that must be accepted if the matter of minorities within a given government are to be properly handled. There must be an equal social and economic base for all people. An end must be put to exploitation and unwholesome competition. The individual cultural differences must be permitted to remain intact provided they do not come into conflict with the interests of the greater body of people.

When Stalin in 1918 suggested that the separate nations should have federal autonomy based on their characteristics as a people he struck a note that was to spell triumph. This regard for human differences is overlooked by the great imperialist powers of the world and has created strife and conflict between different governments.

There is no Jewish problem in the USSR. The determination of the Soviets to have nothing to do with the inhuman practices followed in other countries is expressed in the decree of August 1918, whereby the USSR gave Jews every right and privilege enjoyed by anyone else. During the Czars' regime thousands of Jews lived almost like slaves. Today they have complete social and economic equality.

At no time has there been any attempt to "Russify" all the component peoples of the Soviet Union. This would have meant failure. Where the need was clearly apparent and the people willing, every means possible was employed to make them more useful to themselves and to become fruitful citizens to their communities. Some of the different republics needed more help than others. But the integrity of the individual nation was preserved along with its culture. Nor was its religion, I might add, touched.

Negroes are accorded equal treatment with any other race in the Soviet Union. This is, unfortunately, more than he receives in America. In the USSR peoples of darker skins are completely welcome and are not discriminated against in matters of social relations, business or government. In a word, then, the Soviet Union has set an example of how minorities can be dealt with. In my belief there is no other solution. Great Britain and the United States will have to face this fact during and after the war.

BEN RICHARDSON.

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