

# The Proposed C. P. Changes

"What has happened, then, to the contradictions of capitalism? Is suddenly the best monopoly capitalism (contradiction in terms!) are going to work happily together? Are they? Does that mean that we ACCEPT cartels?" (This is the third of seven questions asked by "One Who Thought That Communists March Breast Forward.")

By Robert Minor

The most important contradictions of capitalism are:

1. The antagonism between labor and capital. We have already dealt with this in the Daily Worker of Feb. 23 and 24. We showed that class struggle is inherent in capitalism itself, that in the capitalist system it is "the immediate driving force of history," and cannot be abolished, whether you wish to or not, as long as capitalism exists.

The full force of the labor movement is being and will be thrown into the struggle for the war and victory in a deliberate alliance with all other forces of the nation, subordinating all other antagonisms to the one consideration of the victory.

The Nazi government depends upon "playing up the contradictions between classes," as Stalin expressed it, within the democratic countries.

The policy of the labor movement under the conditions of this war, and in the perspective for reconstruction, is to use its new enormous strength to set aside and revoke the policy expressed in the playing up of the contradictions between classes.

That is what has "happened" to this contradiction. Are you for it or against it? Everyone must decide his position courageously on this point because it is in practical effect his choice as to which side he is on in the biggest struggle mankind has ever known. The position taken by labor is in the supreme and permanent interest of the most advanced class in modern society, the working class, while at the same time it coincides with the interests of all other classes that wish to preserve the nation. This is a national war.

2. The antagonism between the various financial groups and imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territories, for the redivision of the world.

The inevitability of its leading to war was proven by the war of 1914, and again by the war of 1939. It led to war.

And we would be men blinded with narrow dogmatism, repeating empty abstractions, if we did not see that this antagonism, expressed in war, has brought about a result, as all action brings results. The result it brought it—a changed situation.

By Hitler's extension of the war of 1939 into an effort to conquer Soviet Russia, it became a war no longer confined to its original character as a struggle between financial groups or imperialist powers. From that moment enlightened and democratic civilization itself could not survive except by the collective resistance of all peoples in a peoples' war of national liberation—against German and Japanese imperialism.

This is what has happened to the contradiction of capitalism that is found in the antagonism between various financial groups and imperialist powers. This antagonism continues to be active in, for instance, a fierce rivalry between American and British aviation cor-

porations and others. It continues also in an antagonism between the United States and Great Britain stimulated by rival financial groups. Nevertheless, these antagonisms are held in subordination to the alliance between the United States and England.

But the unity of the coalition is greatly strengthened by the fact that there are no financial groups or imperialist forces in Soviet Russia.

3. The antagonism between the great capitalist powers and the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world, based upon the double exploitation and doubly inhuman oppression of the latter. Concretely, this has to do in the first place with populations aggregating about a thousand millions in Asia. The largest and most decisive section is China, which contains half of these.

The most decisive thing that has happened to the contradictions of capitalism in respect to the half of the world's population included in the category of colonial and semi-colonial exploitation is the assurance that China will come out of the war as a victorious power of 460,000,000 population whose political independence can no longer be subjected to encroachment.

In general, what has happened is the establishment of the certainty that when the Japanese structure is knocked to ruins in Asia, it will no longer be possible for any imperialist power to enforce any of its claims in Asia by making war in any part of Asia.

This alone is one of the great events of history, affecting not only the Asiatic half of the population of the world that has lived from half a century to two centuries in colonial enslavement, but the whole of mankind.

4. In November, 1917, there came into existence the contradiction between the great capitalist states of the world and the socialist state founded in Russia. The antagonism of the capitalist class toward the new socialist state acquired a decisive influence upon the relations between all countries of the world for a quarter of a century. The policy of the "cordon sanitaire" poisoned every relationship of Europe for 25 years and shaped the channel through which the second World War was brought into the world.

You must understand this, or you will fail to see the same corrupting forces working now, especially through the most reactionary press, the Hearst and the "social-democratic" press, and in all labor and Labor Party circles, in a frenzied baiting of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The treaty of Munich was written and the Czechoslovak people delivered to slavery and death by the Chamberlain and Daladier governments of England and France, with the aim of what Hitler calls assuring the "hegemony" of "the European family of nations represented by the strongest state among it" against "the Bolshevik colossus."

The Poland of Colonel Beck was laid naked to the sword of Hitler through the exploitation of the class fears and class prejudices against the socialist state; Rumania was developed into a bawdy house of Nazi political corruption; Finland was converted almost into a bleeding corpse to serve its own conquest by Hitler; France, only lately the greatest military power on earth, was led to break her alliance with Soviet Russia and to disrupt her national unity, and was

enslaved in four weeks with the aid of this class fear and class prejudice; Italy was thrown down into ruins. All of the greatest centers of world civilization, all of the Europe from which modern civilization sprang was converted into a prison camp with all of the populations of all of the most advanced and civilized nations reduced to the slavery of barbarism ago—largely by the exploitation of the class hate and the class fear, the class antagonism stimulated by the medieval beast Hitler.

This contradiction played an enormous role because of its artificial stimulation. This artificial stimulation obscured the most decisive political reality of our generation—the peace and security and the opening of an enormous economic well-being of the world through establishing a way of living together of this new and indestructible socialism with the capitalism that is capable of democratic living.

To summarize:

The contradictions of capitalism of which Mr. "One-Who" speaks have operated with an explosive force, and are now working with an explosive force of extreme violence in the bloodiest and most destructive slaughter the world has ever seen.

But in the course of this war, and as a result of the violent explosion, inevitably there are some changes in the relationships of the various forces involved in these contradictions. The violence and menacing character of the explosion of this war led to the formation and consolidation of the coalition expressed in the Tehran agreement.

The questioner is mistaken if he thinks that the Tehran agreement could only have substance if there were no contradictions of capitalism. It is brought about by the extreme development of those contradictions in this war.

Yes, monopoly capitalists work "together," insofar as that means that the most decisive sections of American and British finance capital are engaged in the effort to win the war.

You may even say they are "working happily together," in the sense of building bigger combinations. They will continue to do so. That is one of the contradictions of capitalism, but it is not the issue here. The issue is the war.

As to whether they are the "best" monopolists, we are not interested in their moral qualities or any standards of virtue except the standard of supporting the war and the war coalition. The most decisive of them in size and strength are supporting the war. That they do so for the reason that any other course would mean their destruction along with the rest of the nation, doesn't alter the fact.

Do we "accept cartels"? We accept all conditions under which the war will be fought and won. We have no illusions that capitalism is to be abolished in this war and none of the illusions of the petty shopkeeper that cartels are going to be abolished while capitalism remains.

The next question, to be answered in Monday's Daily Worker, is: "4. My readings of economic interpretations of the last 10 years led me to the belief that monopoly capitalism brought in fascism, because it couldn't solve the crisis any other way. That fascism was an attempt to keep monopoly capitalism in the saddle. Why then are we to lie down with it?"

Answers  
to  
Questions