

The Proposed Changes In the Communist Organization

By Robert Minor

"Can the Coalition of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union be a strong and lasting one in spite of the differences of social structure between the capitalist countries and the Socialist country?"

This is really not one question but two. The first is:

1. Can the Coalition be strong and lasting?

The answer to this question is: Yes.

The second question is smuggled into the other and cannot truthfully be given the same answer, because it carries with it an unjustified assumption with very grave consequences to our thinking.



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The concealed assumption is that if the Coalition is strong and long-lived, it will be so "in spite of" the inclusion of the socialist state and the big capitalist states in a single system of cooperation. In other words, the assumption is that the inclusion of the socialist and the capitalist states together is a source of weakness to the coalition.

If you grant this assumption, and if you do not get this illusion out of your thinking, you will have no possibility whatever of understanding the present world situation and its post-war development.

Therefore, we dig out and segregate the concealed question:

2. Is the inclusion of the socialist and capitalist states together a source of weakness of the Coalition? The answer to this question is: No.

This "No" is the most decisive reality in the world today. Upon this pivot the whole history of the present half-century turns.

Yet there are people who, with the sincerest desire to get at the truth, are nevertheless answering this question incorrectly. Actuated by a justified belief that the Coalition can possess strength and lasting power, they answer the second question along with the first, saying, "Yes, the coalition is strong in spite of the difference of the social structure of the socialist state from that of the capitalist states."

It is something like the story of the famous question asked by a Philadelphia lawyer who said to a witness:

"Answer yes or no—have you quit beating your wife?"

If you say yes, while claiming that you do not now beat your wife, you also admit that formerly you did beat your wife.

The question of the Coalition is the very best example of the necessity which is so often expressed by the whole Marxist movement—that we do not attempt to find concrete solutions for the problems of the real world in abstract formulations.

As soon as we get the question formulated concretely, the truth begins to throw a light across the affairs of all mankind "for many generations."

For it is not a question of "a" socialist state, in the abstract, existing at some imaginary time under some imaginary circumstances. In the concrete, real world, it is a question of the extremely powerful state which—because it is a socialist state with an enormous socialist economy, with an unbreakable unity and a corresponding military strength—has proven itself to be a part of world economy that cannot be removed or destroyed and a part of the political life of the world which is proven to be indestructible.

And, secondly, it is not a question of "a" capitalist state or some imaginary capitalist states.

It is a very concrete and real United States of America, with half of all the material resources of the world in an extremely highly organized and complex economic system on a capitalist basis, the most powerful machinery of production that ever existed. It is a very concrete and real Great Britain, a colossal world-wide state erected on the same capitalist basis. And these two great capitalist societies exist in a world where certain prerequisites must be found for their survival as capitalist societies.

The first necessity for their survival as capitalist societies is a world market with a stability of states and an absorption capacity very much greater than has ever been found in the world market prior to this war, and particularly not after the war of 1914-18.

People who think in the abstract

have thoughtlessly assumed that the capitalist system of the United States and Great Britain is incompatible with sustained and highly developed economic relations with a socialist state.

But the concrete reality now stands clear before the intelligent men of all countries. It is that the national economies of the great capitalist manufacturing states must decline and collapse in ruins under all circumstances except one. That one is—if, by collaboration with the also very powerful socialist state, it is possible to reestablish a world economic and political collaboration which will not only be able to stabilize the world market but also to transform it into a world market capable of a great expansion.

Three-fourths of the world market is Europe, and half the population of the world lives in Asia. This is the overwhelming bulk of the world market with which the capitalist industrial system of the United States must conduct its business. When the enormous Soviet Union was drawn into the war by the German attack in 1941, inevitably making the war a world war for control of the world market by Germany, and the political control of the world without which under today's conditions there could be no control of the world markets and after the terrific military events that have followed the whole world situation is changed irrevocably.

The irrevocable result is that the strongest element of stability within the enormous European and Asiatic world is the Soviet Union. There can be no serious thought of establishing a world market in which the economy of the United States and Great Britain, on a capitalist basis, can continue to operate, except through the joining together of the organizing and stabilizing capacities of these capitalist states and this socialist state.

Could anyone imagine an idea more nonsensical than that there could be now a stable and lasting coalition that did not include the socialist state together with these great capitalist states? Clearly, the Coalition is strong and is capable of long life not "in spite of" but because of the difference of social composition of the great countries that compose it.

The next question, to be answered in Monday's Daily Worker is:

"What becomes of the theory that wars and revolutions are inevitable?"

4th WAR LOAN

Let's All Back The Attack