

THE C.P.A. STRENGTHENS ITS POLICY

By THE EDITORS

ONE of the surest tests of a political party, Lenin once said, is the attitude it adopts towards its own mistakes. The American Communists are now undergoing this kind of a test. The self-critical examination of the serious errors made by the Communist Political Association, particularly in the past year and a half, is now in full swing and will continue until the national convention of the CPA in New York July 26, 27 and 28. The discussion, which is proceeding in CPA clubs throughout the country and in the pages of the *Daily Worker*, has already indicated overwhelming sentiment in favor of rejecting as a basic revision of Marxism the course originally projected and still defended by Earl Browder which envisaged harmonious postwar cooperation between monopoly capital and labor into the indefinite future.

The CPA National Board initiated the discussion with a draft resolution, the highlights of which were presented in the June 19 *NEW MASSES*. As a result of suggestions by the membership and by the recent meeting of the organization's National Committee, the resolution has now been amended. It will be put into final form by the national convention.

NEW MASSES regards the amended draft resolution, published in the *Daily Worker* of July 2, as a substantial improvement over the original version. Some of the principal changes concern the characterization of American monopoly capital. The first version declared that "with the ending of the war against Nazi Germany, important groupings of American capital, which were opposed to German imperialist world domination, are joining hands with the most reactionary and profascist circles of monopoly capital. . . ." It also spoke of these capitalist groupings as being "today frightened by the democratic consequences of that victory" [over Germany]. It was pointed out by a number of Communists that this formulation continues to foster the illusion that monopoly capital was formerly progressive and only now is turning toward reaction.

The amended resolution discards this idea. It points out that American monopoly capital, in supporting the war against Germany, was actuated solely by the desire to eliminate a dangerous imperialist rival, and that "from the very

inception of the struggle against fascism, American finance capital feared the democratic consequences of defeating Hitler Germany." This explains, the resolution states, why the monopolists fought against collective security in the pre-war days, and why even after the creation of the anti-Hitler coalition, big business continued to dilute its support of the war with all kinds of hesitations and "concessions to the worst enemies of American and world democracy." The resolution cites the policy toward Franco Spain, toward Petain and Darlan, and the anti-Soviet motivation behind the delay in opening the Second Front. The present behavior of the economic royalists, like that of their British counterparts, reveals their alarm "at the strengthened position of world labor, at the democratic advances in Europe and at the upsurge of the national liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries." Hence, the monopolists are trying "to save the remnants of fascism in Germany and the rest of Europe" and "to organize a new *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union. . . ." The resolution cites various political evidences of this trend. It also sharpens the analysis of the role of the trusts and monopolies on the home front.

ANOTHER change in the resolution is a more explicit recognition of the fact that while the basic character of monopoly capital is reactionary, cleavages exist among the capitalists that make possible cooperation with some of them. The resolution points out that "while forging the progressive unity of the nation, labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings and elements who, for one or another reason, desire or endeavor to promote democratic objectives. But in so doing, labor must depend first of all on its own strength and unity, and on its alliance with the true democratic and anti-fascist forces of the nation."

Still another change is a more precise delineation of the approach to the war against Japan. While calling for collaboration with "all democratic forces who favor and support victory over Japanese imperialism," the resolution declares that "labor and the other anti-fascists must take cognizance of the fact that amongst those big business circles who desire military victory over

Japan there are influential forces, including some in the State Department, who are seeking a compromise peace which will preserve the power of the Mikado after the war, at the expense of China and the other Far Eastern peoples, and directed against the Soviet Union." The resolution also warns against those "who plan to use the coming defeat of Japan for imperialist aims, for maintaining a reactionary puppet Kuomintang regime in China, for obtaining American imperialist domination in the Far East."

Most of the immediate program of action in the original resolution is retained without change. In regard to Bretton Woods a clearer formulation is substituted which begins: "Use the Bretton Woods agreement in the interests of the United Nations. . . ." On the granting of long-term loans and credits at low interest rates the stipulation is made that this be "without reactionary interference in the internal affairs of the nations." In that part of the program of action dealing with the servicemen two additional proposals are introduced: substantial increases in the dependency allotments to the families of men in the armed forces, and extension and improvement "of democratic orientation and discussion in the armed forces," with the elimination of all anti-labor and anti-democratic material.

An important change is made on the question of socialism. Instead of a passing reference in a single sentence in the original version, the resolution now contains the statement:

"As class-conscious American workers, as Marxists, we Communists support this program. However, we believe that socialism alone can finally abolish the social evils of capitalist society, including economic insecurity and the danger of fascism and war. But we Communists realize that the majority of the American people do not yet understand that the eventual establishment of socialism in the USA will usher in a new and higher form of democracy and social progress."

In the concluding section, dealing with the CPA's errors, the only significant change is the addition of the following: "In ascertaining the grave responsibility for the opportunist errors and mistakes committed in the recent period,

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the partisans of race hate were barring no holds in their effort to balk an overwhelming majority who sought to preserve the agency after its funds had been wantonly sheared out of the War Agencies Appropriation Bill in the House. Wielding every weapon in the great arsenal of parliamentary devices, they had conducted a shameful battle in which they pushed the agency to the wall against the June 30 deadline of the fiscal year. Nevertheless they have discovered that a point of order can be used for democracy as well as against it. The representatives of the American people who have fought for FEPC made clear their determination not to be thwarted by raising points of order against the rest of the bill to force a reconsideration of the whole matter. Now the poll taxers and their friends are talking "compromise": Give the FEPC half a loaf, or to be exact, a third of its normal year's funds. Starve it *a la* Buchenwald, if you can't manage to kill it outright. But such a "compromise" would actually be defeat. Starvation rations for anti-discrimination can never help us solve the problems that lie ahead. Pressure of the sort that has so far routed the bilboing crew of wreckers can still preserve this vital bastion in the fight for greater democracy in the USA. But the pressure has to be maintained, renewed and increased. The White House, Congress and the Senate must be let know that we the people want not only the temporary agency *now*, but a permanent, able and functioning FEPC as an integral part of our governmental machinery.

Here and There

CHEERS for another decisive victory! The campaign to liberate the Philippines is declared over except for mop-up operations.

• Is UNRRA reviving Hoover methods of fighting political battles with food? The British sponsored rightist government of Greece received 123,000 tons of supplies in May, while the "leftist" governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, with far larger populations, received 36,000, 23,000 and 16,000 tons respectively.

• The fascist "big lie" as practiced in Spain: Franco announced late in 1943 that his "Blue" legionnaires had all been withdrawn from the German armies. Evidence just turned up reveals that they were in the German lines to the very end.

Heirs to Martin Dies

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him! He used to know a Communist out in South Dakota, he said. The fellow used to write to him. But then came the day when he wrote as follows: "Mundt, you are just a louse."

Mundt laughed. It is not easy to make a man like Mundt mad, or to insult him. I asked him if it occurred to him they might investigate fascists. He said, oh, yes, they were investigating them. He for one didn't believe in butting into the affairs of other countries. The Russians could have Communism, and other countries could have fascism if they wanted it, so long as they kept it in their countries. I laughed and asked him if his understanding of fascism was that it could be maintained without making war on other countries. He didn't know, he said. Did he think Argentina hadn't been linked with Germany all along?

"Well, I don't know," he said. "I don't know whether the Communists here are linked with Moscow."

"And do you believe that hoary one about Moscow gold?" I asked.

"Well, I don't know—there's evidence—"

"And it was never brought out?"

"No, it was never brought out," he said. "Of course right now," he said jovially, "it's our gold that's being poured into Moscow, in the lend-lease."

The CPA

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it is necessary to state that while Comrade Browder, who was the foremost leader of the CPA, bears a proportionately greater share of the responsibility than any other individual leader or member, the entire national leadership, and in the first place the National Board, must and does assume a heavy responsibility for these errors."

These are the bare essentials of the principal changes made in the CPA draft resolution. For further insight into the issues involved we recommend William Z. Foster's article in *The Worker* of July 8 and the articles by Eugene Dennis and John Williamson in the July 1 *Worker*. We again invite our own readers to let us have their views.

Readers' Forum

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us as we had plans for you with the company. . . . I'm happy to hear the War De-

partment has changed its policies as they applied to you. I have always felt that you were one person who was really fighting for a principle and carried it through 100 percent. . . . I've often thought that you were so far ahead of the rest of us in your ideas and ideals. . . . You always have put the boys' welfare first in your work and it's the right way to be. . . ."

PFC. JOE SOKOL.

Sokol, before his enlistment in January 1942, was a Communist Party organizer among the coal miners in southeastern Ohio. He was recently awarded a Bronze Star medal for heroism during the Battle of Germany, having seen active service in France and Germany. He is now convalescing in this country from wounds incurred in Alsace, France.—Ed.

Blueberry Pie

TO NEW MASSES: Enclosed is a contribution which fails even to suggest my indebtedness to NEW MASSES. . . .

I consider it deplorable and grossly detrimental to the war-peace effort, paid for in lives lost and extended conflict, that there is such absolute lack of aggressive morale among most men in service, only because of a distortion or lack of clarification of the issues involved. Instead we find "duty-bound" want-to-get-home-to-blueberry-pie soldiers. One does not have to have witnessed it as I have to see how meager this effort is compared to what it would be if the war were known as the crusade for life that it is. The victories of our armies do not disprove this, nor can it be dismissed by sincere apologists of the servicemen who say pie involves the peaceful world all must constantly work for to insure its existence. It does—but most regard pie as pie.

Through NEW MASSES I am now able to go on with a perspective otherwise unattainable. I only regret that all others do not have this basic understanding of the world and their great part in it. It is terribly hard for the individual without it, and the world suffers from his not fully contributing.

I hope to send another donation soon.

PFC. R. T. S.

Quonset Pt., R.I.

Marx and Freud

TO NEW MASSES: Isidor Schneider's clear-cut review of Hoffman's book *Freudianism and The Literary Mind*, shows an earnest need for a truly authoritative left-wing thesis on the similarities and antagonisms between Marxism vs. Freudism. For while these two sciences are not necessarily counter to each other, an exhaustive study detailing why and where the parallelism begins and ends should certainly make an important contribution to analytical thinking.

Potential authors on this exploratory thematic subject please note!

M. DRUCKER.

Bronx, N. Y.