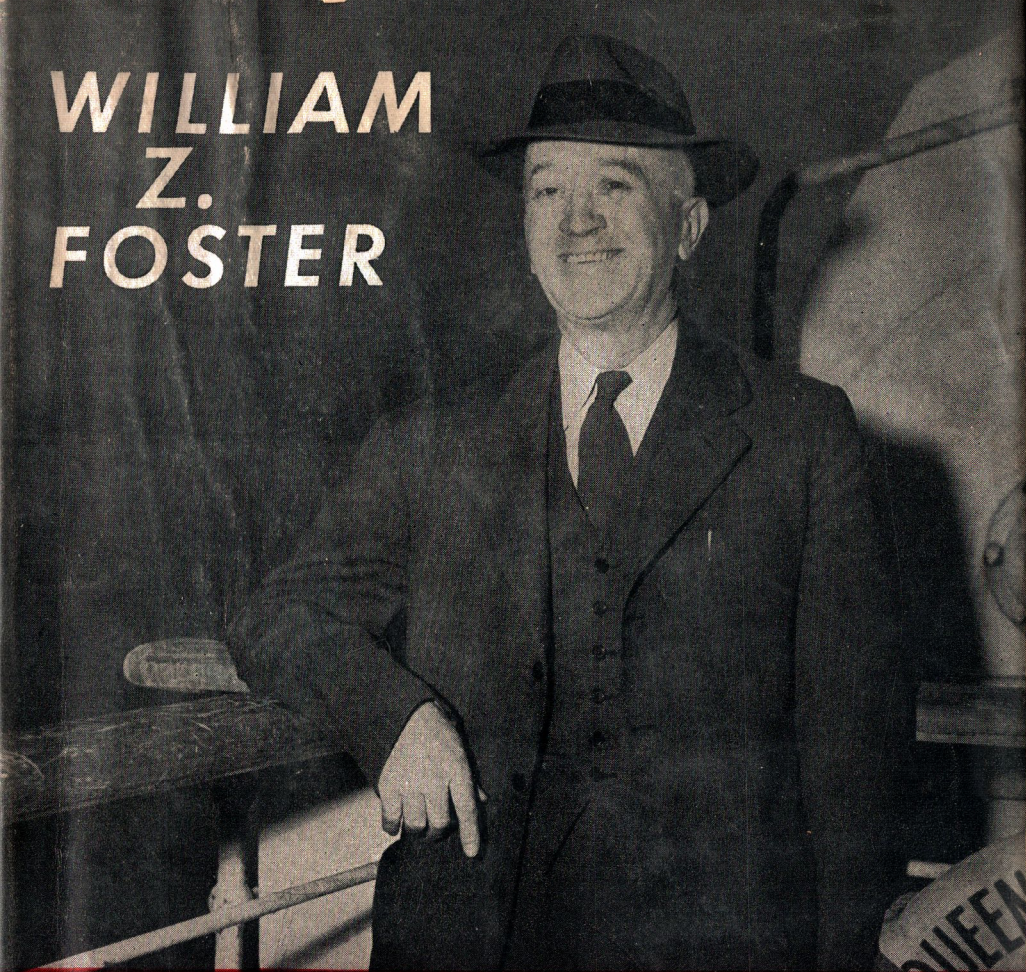


**WILLIAM
Z.
FOSTER**



**THE NEW
EUROPE**

The New Europe

William Z. Foster

Other books by William Z. Foster

AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM

PAGES FROM A WORKER'S LIFE



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209

CONTENTS

1. THE WAR'S DEVASTATION	7
2. THE UPSURGE OF POST-WAR DEMOCRACY	13
3. THE NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS	19
4. THE NEW DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC SYSTEMS	27
5. THE MASS COMMUNIST PARTIES	34
6. THE NEW TRADE UNION MOVEMENT	42
7. COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST POLITICAL UNITY	51
8. THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE	61
9. THE CATHOLICS IN THE NEW DEMOCRACY	66
10. WOMEN, YOUTH AND INTELLECTUALS	73
11. FEDERATING THE PEOPLES	81
12. SOVIET INFLUENCE IN EUROPE	88
13. THE EUROPEAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES	98
14. WHITHER EUROPE?	108
15. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND WALL STREET IMPERIALISM	120

1. The War's Devastation

This book is based on a three months' trip to Europe in the winter and early spring of 1947. I visited England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Trieste, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, in the order named. I had planned also to stop over in Germany, but evidently the American State Department had other ideas on the matter, for the necessary military permit never came through. However, I was able, on the basis of broad and well-posted contacts, to secure a grasp of the situation in Germany, Spain, Austria, and other countries which I did not actually visit.

All the countries I traveled through were heavy sufferers in the war. Poland lost some 6,000,000 and Yugoslavia 1,700,000 in war dead. Only the stupendous war losses of the U.S.S.R. exceeded those of these two lands. Hitler had systematically attempted to butcher and wipe out their general populations. Of the 6,000,000 Jews whom Hitler ruthlessly slaughtered throughout Europe some 3,000,000 were residents of Poland. One of the most interesting personalities I met on my trip was a Polish Jew who miraculously had managed to stay in Warsaw as an underground fighter all through the war, during which time some 350,000 Jews were murdered in that city.

The war damage to the cities and industries in the various countries was very shocking to me. Clearly the property damage was several times as great as in World War I. Many English towns I passed through were badly devastated. In London the worst damage I saw was in the East End, a big area of docks and workshops, where whole sections were bomb-flattened. The center of the city was not much damaged, save in the vicinity of St. Paul's. Many northern

French towns on my route were also destroyed, places like Calais and Boulogne being merely desolate scenes of utterly wrecked homes and factories. That Italy, too, had suffered greatly was very manifest. For this wreckage the Italians can mostly thank Mr. Winston Churchill who, in his anti-Soviet hatred, directed the Allied invasion against Italy in order to check the advance of the Red Army into the Balkans. Belgrade and Sofia each had been about one-third destroyed by Allied bombers. Some Czechs in Prague complained bitterly to me that American bombers had needlessly destroyed the great Skoda works just two weeks before V-E Day, when the plants were no longer in production for the Germans. They saw in this a premeditated blow against a possible left-wing post-war government.

The most terrible destruction I saw anywhere was in Warsaw. This, akin to the ruin in Russian cities, was overwhelming. About 80 per cent of the city of Warsaw had been destroyed, most of it obviously cold-bloodedly and to no military purpose. The destruction was especially complete in Warsaw's big ghetto. There hardly one brick was allowed to remain upon another. Never in my life have I looked out upon a more desolate scene than the hundreds of acres of broken bricks in this district. One could vividly feel the anti-Semitic hatred of Hitlerism expressed in the desolation the fascists had wrought upon the ghetto. That large section of Warsaw, utterly ruined and totally devoid of population, is now called "the desert," and it well deserves the name.

Being a railroad worker, I was particularly interested to note the heavy war damage done to the European transportation system. The railroads, of course, were a major target for both sides during the war. The wide wreckage wrought in this heart of the whole industrial system now provides one of the most serious problems in the great task of reconstruction. Its severity may be judged when it is realized that Italy lost 85 per cent of its locomotives and 81 per cent of its

freight and passenger cars. Italy, generally, was hard hit by the war. Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and other countries in the main path of the war suffered similar losses in their railroad power and rolling stock. As a consequence traveling conditions are very bad, all the trains being jam-packed, with passengers standing for long distances. Many were traveling in box cars. Railroad bridges had been dynamited all along my route and were only then being slowly replaced by new structures. The worst case of this type of destruction was along a ruined Italian railroad between Rome and Florence. This line, a mountain road following a narrow gorge for many miles, traversed scores of bridges and tunnels, all of which had been systematically blown up by the retreating German armies. The whole railroad was being virtually rebuilt, and the train crawled along it painfully at a snail's pace.

Agriculture also very obviously had suffered heavy damages in the war. Not only were villages wiped out wholesale in many parts of Europe, but the fields over large areas had been rendered temporarily useless by mines, trenches, and the like. Especially severe were the huge losses of livestock. What the fascist armies could not eat of the farm animals they drove off or wantonly killed. Thus, to give only one example, Poland lost 70 per cent of her cattle, horses, hogs and sheep. Other countries in the main war zones suffered comparable devastation.

The various nations of Europe are struggling to put their industries into operation again, and generally to repair the immense destruction caused by the war. But the progress is painfully slow in the face of the Herculean task to be accomplished. Generally, however, in the countries I visited, the industries are slowly limping back into operation. In Great Britain, production, according to the government's recent White Paper, is now at about 1938 levels. In France the industries are at present (April 30) working again at the

rate of 90 per cent of pre-war; in Czechoslovakia industrial production has reached 85 per cent of 1938 as against 50 per cent in 1945, and the official figure in Italy shows a difficult recovery to the point of 75 per cent. Austria, on the other hand, has only 30 per cent of pre-war output, while production in Germany ranges from but 30 per cent in the American zone to 70 per cent in the Soviet zone.

There are many figures indicating the recovery to be found in the new democracies. These are striking, considering the wholesale destruction of industrial plants during the war and also the fact that the industries of all the occupied countries were virtually in a state of collapse at the end of the war. But the industrial production problems still facing Europe as a whole are staggering in their immensity. There are tremendous tasks of rehabilitating ruined cities and reconverting shattered industries and railroads, of overcoming acute shortage of supplies in every line of consumers' goods. By and large, even if we leave crippled Germany out of calculation, the industrial system of Europe is still in deep crisis, and this crisis manifests itself by almost universal shortages of manpower, food, coal, and various key raw materials.

Agriculture in the countries I visited is making a slower and more difficult comeback than industry. This is due, among other things, to the widespread ruin of farms and villages, the huge losses of livestock, the acute lack of fertilizer and farm machinery. To make matters worse, the past two years have been ones of exceptional drought over large parts of Europe. Nevertheless, in the new democracies particularly, there is taking place an improvement in agriculture, as well as in industry. However, it is doubtful if, taken as a whole, agricultural production in Europe is yet much more than two-thirds of pre-war. Eugene Varga, the noted Soviet economist, gives a graphic picture of what the basic situation was, in an article in the *New Times*. He says, "The cereal harvest [wheat and rye] in the capitalist countries of Europe which

amounted before the war to an annual total of about 60,000,000 tons declined to 46,000,000 in 1944 and to 31,000,000, or roughly half of the pre-war level, in 1945." Some improvement has been made over this 1945 figure, many official United States estimates of European food production running as high as 75 per cent of pre-war. But the food problem is still a very serious one in nearly every European country. There is real danger of a food crisis and actual starvation in some countries of Central Europe before the 1947 harvest is in.

The general effects of the inadequate industrial and agricultural production are the dangerously low living standards of the masses all over Europe. Prices are sky-high, despite rationing and price controls, and I never quite got over being shocked at the high cost of things. Exchange rates on the dollar in the black market range from two to ten times the official rate of exchange in the several countries. Together with the mass misery and the health damage resulting from extremely bad housing and medical conditions, the people of most of Europe are not getting enough to eat. The average American diet runs to about 3200 calories per day, whereas in many European countries now the diet is not over two-thirds, or even one-half of that amount. In the war-ravaged Balkan countries, food conditions are serious. In Germany, too, it is alleged that the calorie content of a worker's daily diet is sometimes as low as 1200. At the British Empire Communist Conference in London, which I attended, a German fraternal delegate told me that he had more meat in a single meal in England than he had eaten in the previous month in Germany. And at that, the British diet is but a skimpy one.

Deeply reduced living standards, plus the slow rate of industrial and agricultural recovery, the widespread currency inflation and the black marketeering, leave most of the countries of Europe exposed to economic and political crises.

A special danger confronting the economy of Europe is

the prospect of an American economic crisis, which would wreak havoc with the capitalist countries of Europe by further crippling their exports and imports.

One thing that stands out like a sore thumb to an American observer in Europe is the short-sighted and ultra-reactionary economic and political policies that the United States is pursuing towards Europe. These are violating every democratic tradition of our people, as well as running counter to our national interests. It is a fact (although our capitalist writers try to deny it) that the United States grew fabulously rich on the war. We developed our industries enormously; we extended American political and economic penetration widely. Our plain duty, therefore, to our war partners, which is in our interest as well as theirs, is to apply liberally our tremendous industrial and agricultural production to help stricken Europe get back on its feet again. This our government, dominated by the Wall Street bi-partisan coalition, is not doing. American food and loan policies in Europe are entirely inadequate and are fundamentally wrong in principle.

Our policy towards Europe is one of cynical imperialism. It is hindering the economic recovery and democratic advance of Europe and is generating a widespread hatred of the United States. Already anti-American sentiment in Europe is so thick you can cut it with a knife. Vast sections of the war-wracked peoples are convinced that the United States has welched on its war obligations. They feel that our country had as much at stake in the war as theirs did, and that, therefore, just as the United States was obligated to do its full military share to win the war, so also it has a solemn duty to bear equally the resulting post-war burdens. This, obviously, it is not doing. Instead, these people feel the United States, with its far higher standards of living, is letting Europe half starve. And when our government grants loans to the war-stricken countries it insists upon political conditions which menace their democracy and their industrial well-

being—even their national independence. Consequently, in Europe, the great reservoir of mass good will towards America, which Willkie noted upon his famous trip around the world, is fast being dissipated by the reactionary follies of American imperialism. After World War I our government's niggardly economic and reactionary political policies caused the United States to be plastered with the deplorable title of "Uncle Shylock." After World War II we may get an even more derogatory nickname. But the worst thing is that the administration's reactionary imperialist policies, dictated by the Trumans, Tafts, Hoovers, and other agents of Wall Street, will eventually blow up in our faces and wreak economic and political havoc in our own country.

2. The Upsurge of Post-War Democracy

I was particularly interested in studying the means by which the various peoples of Europe are undertaking the task of establishing a democratic peace, in order to be able to repair the damages of the war and to prevent such a vast and barbaric tragedy ever occurring again. And I found that they were facing the fact that capitalism itself is to blame for the present intolerable conditions in the world.

During the past generation the capitalist system of the world, by the natural workings of its exploitative, competitive monopolistic system, has produced two world wars, an unprecedented world-wide economic crisis, the plague of fascism, and a famine embracing over a billion people, not to mention countless other woes. And unless the rapacious capitalists are halted by the democratic world masses, it is as sure as sunup that they will in the future inflict upon humanity even greater wars, tyrannies, and pauperization.

World War I was a cold-blooded struggle among the great powers — Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany,

Austria-Hungary, Italy, Japan and the United States—to redivide the earth to their respective imperialist advantage. The various governments were dominated by powerful capitalists and landlords, and these alone stood to profit from the war. Although the immediate initiative in provoking the war was taken by Germany, all the major powers shared in the war responsibility. World War I was as much a product of the capitalist system as are the payment of stock dividends and the private ownership of industry.

World War II was equally the product of capitalist imperialism. This time the aggressors were fascist Germany, Italy, and Japan, although the big capitalists of Britain, France, and the United States shared heavily in the war guilt because of their pre-war appeasement of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese militarists. What made the war a people's war—even though for a time in its early stages imperialist reactionaries dominated Allied policies—was the fact that because of the ruthless drive of German fascist imperialism the freedom, economic well-being, national independence, and even the physical existence of the attacked peoples were thrown into jeopardy.

In Europe, following the first World War, great masses of the people attacked in a revolutionary way the capitalist system which was responsible for the war. In big uprisings they overthrew the emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria. In Russia they pushed their struggle to the point of overthrowing tsarism and capitalism altogether and of establishing socialism upon one-sixth of the land surface of the earth. Germany and Austria would have taken the same revolutionary path had it not been for the betrayal of the workers by the Social-Democrats, who were then the official leaders of the German working-class economic and political organizations. This action of the Social-Democrats opened the door for Hitler fascism and World War II.

Following World War II, the masses in Europe are again

striking at the root evil that is producing the ever-more disastrous series of devastating world wars, economic crises, and tyrannous governments, namely, the monopoly controlled capitalist system itself. They do not accept the stupid notion, current in some American political circles, to the effect that the capitalist system is a sort of divinely ordained institution which can do no harm, and that the war was caused merely by Hitler and a few other unscrupulous and ambitious men in the fascist countries. Instead, they are trying to abolish the real evil, the capitalist system.

In the aftermath of World War II, however, the masses, in order to cure the social evils that harass them, are pursuing a different political strategy from the revolutionary pattern prevalent after World War I. In many parts of Europe they have set up advanced democracies, which although still capitalist in character are so constituted that the big capitalists and their privately owned enterprise are playing a diminishing economic and political role. This varies in degree from country to country. The major purposes of these new democracies are to destroy the remnants of the fascist regimes, punish the war criminals, break the political power of the monopoly capitalists, reorganize the industrial system, establish higher forms of democracy, and lay the basis for a just, democratic, and lasting world peace. The several new democratic regimes range in programs from hesitating reforms, as in Great Britain, to a systematic advance towards socialism, as in Yugoslavia.

The immediate program of the new democracies deals with the most elementary and pressing needs of the people. The question of improving production as rapidly as possible is everywhere the main task, from Great Britain to Bulgaria. The general strengthening of political democracy is also indissolubly linked with the matter of improved production and raising the living standards of the masses. The French Communist Party, typically, plans as its major immediate

goals: (a) a general increase in production, (b) a revival of democracy, (c) unity of the working class.

However, the reactionary imperialist offensive of the United States in Europe and throughout the world, is writing upon the agenda of all the new democracies several new and urgent tasks, chief among them being the need to protect themselves against the threatening economic crisis in the United States, to fight against the American-stimulated, fascist-like reaction in their countries, to defend their national independence from Wall Street imperialism, and to combat the threat of a third world war that the American atom bomb maniacs are preparing. All these pressures, from within and without, are surely pushing the peoples of Europe, in varying tempos of development, towards the eventual adoption of socialism.

There is a growing understanding among the peoples all over Europe of these elementary facts: (a) that the private profit interests of the big capitalists conflict basically with the interests of the nation; (b) that the big capitalists are the source of the major economic and political evils that modern society is a prey to—industrial stagnation, mass pauperization, political reaction, imperialism and war; and (c) that to abolish these evils the power of the monopolist capitalists must be broken and the people take full command of society's industrial and governmental machine. The various economic and political changes now being made in European countries have the foregoing general purposes in view.

All this goes to show the hollowness of the propaganda of the big American capitalists who, through their hosts of stooges and mouthpieces in politics, the press, the radio, the pulpit, and even in the ranks of organized labor, are flamboyantly boasting of their own patriotism and insolently challenging the patriotism of the Communists. All over Europe the democratic masses of the people are awakening to the anti-social role of these very same monopolists who

sold out their peoples to Hitler. Because of their generally harmful activities, many countries are confiscating their industries and are stripping them of political power. The big financial and industrial kings of America, with their greed at home and imperialism abroad, are just as unpatriotic and anti-social as the traitorous monopolists throughout Europe.

Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and other politically advanced European republics are not socialist regimes. They still have many features of capitalism left. They are new-type people's democracies, in which the power of the big monopolists has been extensively curtailed and democratic control by the broad masses of the people greatly extended.

Wladyslaw Gomulka, general secretary of the Polish Workers Party (Communist), thus describes the character of the regime in his country in a speech in December, 1946:

"Ours is not a country with a typical capitalist system; for our basic branches of industrial production, the banks, and transportation have been nationalized. Ours is not a country with a socialist system; for the non-socialized sector of production occupies a very important plan in our national economy.

"Our democracy has many elements of socialist democracy and also many elements of liberal-bourgeois democracy, just as our economic system has many features of socialist and capitalist economy. Our type of democracy and our social system we have designated People's Democracy."

Speaking of the new popular democracy in Europe, Georgi Dimitrov, Communist Prime Minister of Bulgaria, says:

"The popular democracy is neither socialist nor Soviet. It is the passage of democracy to socialism. It creates the conditions favorable to the development of socialism by a process of struggle and work. Each country will arrive at socialism in its own way. The advantage of the people's democracy is

that this passage (to socialism) is rendered possible without the dictatorship of the proletariat. This possibility is due to the example of the Soviet Union and to the lessons of all the struggles led in the world by the proletariat."

The new democracies in Yugoslavia, Poland, and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe are the result of national democratic revolutions. The essence of this revolution is that the peoples in these countries, during the war, with the potent help of the Red Army, drove out the fascist invaders and also smashed their own big capitalists and landlords who almost unanimously joined the fascists. In these struggles the old states' machinery was destroyed and the peoples built new peoples' governments in their place, as well as nationalizing the basic sectors of the industrial system.

The new people's governments, by the democratic cooperation of all toiling masses, open the door to the peaceful development of socialism in their countries. This does not mean, however, that these peace-minded peoples will not militantly defend their new regimes against any and all armed attempts to overthrow them, as Mikolajczyk's forces in Poland are now discovering. One of the errors made by the former Spanish Republic was in dealing too softly with the Franco fascist opposition which was openly preparing the counter-revolution. This tragic mistake will not be repeated by the new republics. Marshal Tito, head of the Yugoslav People's Republic, in the true spirit of the new democratic movement, stated in *The Communist* of October, 1946:

"If the reactionary gentlemen feel it is a dictatorship when we do not allow the remnants of an insignificant handful of lay and clerical reactionaries to destroy the achievements of our great struggle for liberation, then let them call it a dictatorship. But it is a people's dictatorship, because it represents 96 per cent of the people. The dictatorship of 96 per cent over 4 per cent is, in other words, the most genuine people's democracy."

In the first year of the post-war period the democratic offensive of the various European peoples made a swift advance. The forces of European reaction, defeated and demoralized in the war, were not able to withstand the forward march of the masses. As the Polish leader Gomulka said: "At the moment of the liberation of Poland, state power was simply lying in the street. It was picked up by democracy, which proved itself stronger than reaction." But now this initial situation has changed. European democracy is continuing its advance, but in the face of growing reactionary resistance. Fascist leaders, big capitalists, and reactionary clericals, recovering from their first shock at the loss of the war, are now pooling their strength for a fresh attack upon the people. What makes this reactionary movement far more dangerous is the fact that it is being stimulated and encouraged by Anglo-American imperialism. Without the help of the reactionaries of Great Britain and the United States, particularly the latter, the forces of European reaction would by now be decisively beaten. The present regrouping of reaction in Europe, on the basis of another offensive against democracy and socialism, is greatly sharpening the already critical economic and political situation. In consequence, there are increasingly severe collisions developing. Political storm signals are flying from one end of Europe to the other.

3. The New Democratic Governments

In post-war Europe there are many types of government, ranging from fascist to socialist, and in defeated Germany, of course, there is, as yet, no national government at all. If we leave out the Soviet Union, European governments may be grouped roughly into three general categories:

First, there are the ultra-reactionary and fascist states, with about 72,000,000 people. Of these, Spain and Portugal

(33,417,000) are hangovers from the Axis, and Turkey (19,100,000), is hardly a shade better than fascist. In Austria (7,055,000), the government is controlled by old friends of Hitler, the so-called People's Party. Greece (7,700,000) is another country in which reaction is in the saddle. And Switzerland (4,485,000), which was a front government for Hitler during the war, is still in the hands of reactionaries, the Labor Party, the only party representing the workers in that country, having no seats in the ruling Federal Council of seven members. In Spain and Greece, however, the democratic opposition is so powerful and active as to threaten momentarily the existence of the present governments. All these reactionary regimes have the support of Anglo-American imperialism, and they constitute a dangerous threat to European democracy and world peace.

Second, there are the states in which Social-Democracy plays a large, if not decisive role. These include the Netherlands (8,728,000), Belgium (8,386,000), and the Scandinavian countries (17,000,000), comprising, all told, a population of about 86,000,000. Great Britain (49,000,000) falls within this general category. The characteristic form here is essentially a one-party, Social-Democratic government, as in Britain and Norway. But in all cases the Communist Party plays a big role, and in some instances is part of the government, as in Belgium and Finland (3,805,000), where the Communist Party has four and three seats in the respective Cabinets.

Third, there are numerous new all-democratic coalition governments in Central and Eastern Europe, totaling almost 100,000,000 people. The latter include Yugoslavia (15,700,000), Albania (1,140,000), Bulgaria (7,000,000), Rumania (15,900,000), Hungary (8,900,000), Poland (22,600,000), and Czechoslovakia (12,300,000). France (41,100,000) and Italy (46,000,000) also had similar coalition governments until their splits in the spring of this year.

This list does not include the progressive peoples of Esthonia (1,135,000), Latvia (2,000,000), and Lithuania (2,900,000), who voted themselves into the Soviet Union; nor does it include Germany, which, if given free elections, would surely elect itself a progressive democracy.

The new people's coalition governments are based on the principle of national unity and they are composed of groups of parties, consisting primarily of the workers, the peasants, and urban middle class. They differ widely in degree of progressiveness and strength. Catholic parties play a certain role in these governments. The component classes have a joint interest against the common enemy, monopoly capital. These new governments' democratic effectiveness can be measured by the extent to which they are led by the organized workers.

In France the five-party combination, before the recent break-up of the Cabinet, consisted basically of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and the M.R.P., or the Popular Republican Movement (Catholic), with a couple of smaller groupings. In Italy the democratic bloc of parties, an uneasy alliance, now broken up by de Gasperi's action in going it alone, consisted of Communists, Socialists, and Christian Democrats (Catholic). In Poland the bloc is composed of four parties: Communists, Socialists, Peasants, and Democrats. In Czechoslovakia the government is based on the National Front, which is characterized as "the union of workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia." It consists of six parties, including the two Communist parties (Czech and Slovak), Social-Democratic Party, Czech National Party, Catholic People's Party, and the Slovak Democratic Party. The Fatherland Front of Bulgaria similarly has five parties. Yugoslavia has several parties in its National Liberation Front (differing in number in the various regions) and the same is also true of Hungary and Rumania. In addition to the political parties in these coalitions, the great trade union movements and other people's organizations play

an active and decisive role in the make-up and functioning of the respective governments.

These democratic coalition governments grew out of the war-time resistance movements in the countries occupied by the Axis armies. They are based on a general recognition that the same forces that united to defeat the fascist usurpers and invaders have a vital interest to remain united in order to work out a democratic peace. The attitude of the new democracies regarding the political status of the big capitalist parties varies in the several countries. Generally, as a matter of policy, the old fascist capitalist and landowner political organizations and those groups that collaborated with them have been broken up. In Czechoslovakia, for example, only those parties which took part in the resistance to Hitlerism, or which, at least, did not actively co-operate with the Nazis, are allowed a legal existence.

Everywhere, however, in the new people's democracies, organized political opposition is permitted. Thus, in Poland, one of the most advanced of these coalition governments, the Polish Peasant Party, headed by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, is a legal party, despite the fact that it has been definitely carrying on an armed, underground struggle against the government. In Bulgaria, another highly developed people's government, the opposition in the country's National Assembly consists of 101 representatives as against 364 of the government parties. In the parliaments of Yugoslavia, Rumania, and the other new democracies of Europe there are also substantial opposition groups. And as for France and Italy, the capitalists and their agents brazenly penetrate and function in the Catholic parties, and to a considerable extent also in the Socialist parties. They also have representatives from their own newly organized parties, the Common Man Party (masked fascists) of Italy being one notorious example.

In the new democracies of Europe the various national front governments represent the overwhelming mass of the

peoples. This support manifests itself in electoral majorities ranging from 60 per cent and up. Yugoslavia, the most advanced politically of all these countries, tops the list with a 90 per cent vote for its National Liberation Front parties. One of the Hitlerite "big lies" of the present period is the attempt of reactionary capitalist journalists and politicians to make their peoples believe that the new democratic governments gained and retain their power by undemocratically suppressing the opposition.

The case of Poland refutes this lie demonstratively. As the January 19, 1947, parliamentary elections in that country approached, the capitalist press in the United States and England howled that Mikolajczyk, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, was being persecuted and that, rightfully, his party should poll about 75 per cent of the total vote. But, to the imperialists' dismay, in the elections which unbiased observers characterized as scrupulously free of government interference, the Anglo-American quisling Mikolajczyk polled only six per cent of the votes.

One hears these days a lot of talk about the so-called iron curtain in Europe, and the import of this is that it is a device of the Russians, to hide their "political sins" from the eyes of the world. But the only "iron curtain" in reality has been created by the Anglo-American press and diplomatic circles to obscure from the peoples of the world the vitally important democratic developments now taking place in Central and Eastern Europe, not to mention those in the U.S.S.R.

A marked feature in Europe's new democracy is the strong trend towards one-chamber governments. Most of the peoples concerned recognize that two-chamber governments such as our Senate and House and the British House of Lords and House of Commons are undemocratic. They are a brake on democratic parliaments and do not give free play to the nation's will, as does a single legislative body. Hence, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, and other countries are setting up

the one-chamber type of government. A noteworthy exception is the Yugoslav People's Government, which has two chambers. The additional chamber, however, is not a senate; it is a body made up of representatives of the various peoples who comprise the Yugoslav nation, much on the general principles of the national chamber in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. In France the Communist-Socialist project for a single chamber government was defeated recently in a general referendum, chiefly because of right-wing Socialist sabotage of the vote.

Another striking feature of the new governments is the democratic character of their leading personnel. The government of Poland is characteristic. Of the twenty-three members of the Polish Cabinet there is not one employer or landowner. Thirteen of the ministers have peasant or worker background, eight come from the middle class, and two are intellectuals. Most of these political leaders were partisan fighters and prisoners in fascist concentration camps. American workers, while listening to red-baiters wildly attacking Poland and the other new democracies, will do well to bear in mind the democratic composition of the Polish government, as well as that of its neighbors, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and others, in contrast with the capitalists, corporation lawyers, and rich farmers who overwhelmingly make up our Congress and the Cabinet.

The new democratic governments, particularly those in the heart of Europe, have already accomplished many important tasks. Following the end of the war they have largely broken up the old fascist organizations. They have also proceeded against the fascist war criminals. But in both these instances they have had to face strong opposition, sedulously cultivated by American and British reactionaries.

In the new democratic countries several kings have lost their thrones, in several countries the Church has been separated from the State, civil liberties have been established,

a great impetus has been given to the development of trade unions, co-operatives, and other popular mass organizations, women have been given the vote and with it full economic and political equality, vast new systems of social insurance have been won, and other significant gains achieved.

One of the most beneficent reforms that I noted in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and others of the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe was the fact that private ownership of the press had been abolished. Only political parties, trade unions, co-operatives, cultural movements, and other organizations are now allowed to publish newspapers and other periodicals. To the workers this is a fine arrangement, but to the capitalists it looms as a real outrage. No wonder then that we are hearing so much hysterical shouting against the new democracies by the Hearsts, Howards, McCormicks, Pattersons, Luces, Pews, Cappers, and other American press lords, who arrogantly claim for themselves the autocratic right to shape the opinions of the American people. The radio and the motion pictures, powerful means of public education, have also been widely taken over by the new democratic governments and are no longer instruments for serving the selfish interests of private owners or exploiters.

Let the major achievements of the progressive new Yugoslav government illustrate the general trend in the new democracies. These may be listed briefly as follows:

1. The monarchy was abolished and a republic established. The government, called the Federative People's Republics of Yugoslavia, consists of a national parliament of two houses, one elected by general vote and the other made up of representatives of the six major peoples who constitute the Yugoslav nation. All citizens of eighteen years or older are entitled to vote, and soldiers, even if younger than eighteen, have the franchise.

2. The major industries, financial institutions, transporta-

tion systems, and national resources have been nationalized. The properties of the traitor capitalists have been confiscated, without compensation; capitalists who had no quisling records received compensation. A big co-operative movement, mainly in retail trade, has been built. The privately owned, capitalist sector exists mainly in the lighter industries.

3. The whole financial and industrial machine is now operated according to a national economic plan. An end has been put to privately owned monopolies, cartels, and to so-called free enterprise in the basic economy of the country. The nation is at present working under its first five-year plan.

4. The great landed estates, including the lands of the churches, have been divided up among the peasants. The landowners have received no compensation for their lands. The motto is that the land belongs to its tillers.

5. The Church has been separated from the State and it no longer occupies the privileged financial, educational, and political position that it did in old Yugoslavia. There is complete religious freedom.

6. A great new body of civil liberties has been developed, including the rights to work, to strike, to free speech and assembly, to education, to leisure, to social security, and so forth. Correspondingly, powerful movements of trade unions (1,000,000, or 80 per cent of the workers), of women's organizations, and of the youth have been built up.

7. The old Yugoslav army, dominated by the nobility and other reactionary forces, was completely demolished in the war and a new people's army, the outgrowth of the heroic guerrilla detachments, has been organized.

8. The undemocratic practice of the more powerful Serbian people dominating the smaller ones, a system vigorously enforced formerly by all brands of reactionaries, has now been abolished, and the several peoples live together in friendship and co-operation on the basis of an equality which is guaranteed by the constitution.

The splendid democratic achievements of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, Albania, and Hungary are all the more significant when it is remembered that before the war these countries all had fascist governments and were parts of the infamous *cordon sanitaire* of reactionary states that had been built up by the British-French-American-German imperialists along the western borders of the U.S.S.R. to isolate and to menace that country.

4. The New Democratic Economic Systems

The new economic reorganization in Europe is based upon a growing mass realization that production must be carried on for the benefit of society as a whole and not to swell the profits of a handful of parasitic capitalists who perform no useful role in industry. It is in this general sense that many peoples in Europe are developing an economic system which, by breaking the controls of monopoly, will eventually put a halt to economic crises, bring about full employment, and lead to a planned improvement in the living and cultural standards of the masses.

First, they are nationalizing the banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions. Especially widespread is the movement to take the banks out of private control. Even in countries where the nationalization of industry generally is only in its initial stages, for example, in Great Britain, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries, the major banks are being or have been nationalized. This is a blow at the heart of monopolist reaction, for the most poisonous influence in our economic and political life is the power of a handful of big capitalists to choke our economic system through their financial control, when their profit greed urges them on.

Second, the democratic peoples of Europe are nationalizing the key industries. The general trend is to secure control,

through their democratic governments, of the most important sections of industry — coal, steel, electrical power, textiles, transportation. This movement also varies widely, ranging from Great Britain, which so far has nationalized only 20 per cent of her industry, including coal mining and inland transport, to Czechoslovakia, where 70 per cent of all industry has been nationalized. In the most advanced democracies the tendency is to take all big industry out of the hands of the capitalists and to leave them only the smaller branches. In these countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and so forth, there are three well-marked sectors in industry — the nationalized industries, the co-operatives (found in distribution), and privately owned industry.

Third, the democratic peoples are also putting an end to the great landed estates, long a source of economic stagnation and political reaction. This great agrarian reform characteristically does not take the shape of nationalizing the land, but of dividing the big land-holdings among the poorer peasants. A considerable section of land has also been set aside for experimental state farms. In some cases (Yugoslavia) the church lands have also been thus parceled out, and in other instances (Poland and Czechoslovakia) they have not been divided. This breakup of the great estates has dealt a heavy blow to the feudal, fascist-minded, militaristic Junker class of big landowners, and it has taken place pretty much all through the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe, including the Soviet zone in Germany.

In the several countries there are important differences in the matter of compensation for nationalized property. Great Britain, as usual, furnishes the most conservative example in this respect, what with the tender regard the Labor Government has for capitalist interests. They guaranteed the 17,025 stockholders of the Bank of England 12 per cent dividends for at least twenty years. In the more progressive democracies on the Continent, however, the general policy

(not yet fully applied) regarding compensation goes about like this: The many important industries owned by the Germans are confiscated outright, without compensation, and so also are the plants of native capitalists who collaborated with the Germans. Plants owned by capitalists who did not collaborate (they say there actually are some) are to be paid for at reasonable rates. Industries owned by Allied foreign interests, when nationalized, are subject to negotiated payments. As for the big landed estates, the general rule has been no compensation, although in some instances the Church may be paid for the lands divided among the peasants.

On the basis of the nationalization of the banks and big industry, and of the division of the landed estates, the new democracies are developing planned national economies. These are supplanting the former chaos of capitalist production for profit. The degree of state planning varies widely in the several countries, depending upon the extent of nationalization of industry and the progressive spirit of the government. This usually encompasses wage and price controls, allocation of materials, setting of production schedules, etc. In Great Britain, for example, where only coal and inland transport, so far, have been nationalized, where the vast bulk of industry remains in private hands, the national planning is only of a most general kind. There is a Central Planning Committee in Great Britain which, to a certain extent, harmonizes the sectional plans of government departments. However, J. R. Campbell, in the *Communist Review* (London) of March, 1947, says: "In short, the planning appears to consist of an attempt to reconcile sectional capitalist plans and is not an attempt to get industry to conform to a plan which is worked out by the government." On the other hand, in Yugoslavia, where the key sectors of the economy are all nationalized and where the government is highly progressive, there is being carried out a thoroughgoing five-year plan definitely regulating all indus-

try. Between these extremes are the four-year Monet Plan in France, the two-year plans in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, the three-year plan in Poland, etc. Many of these plans have ambitious production goals, the Bulgarian two-year plan, for example, calling for an over-all increase of 67 per cent over 1938. Practically all of Europe is moving toward a planned economy, to one extent or another. The prestige of "free enterprise," so dear to American exploiters, is now at a very low ebb and is rapidly sinking.

One of the biggest lies of American businessmen is to the effect that by fighting for world "free trade" (that is, free penetration with their goods into other people's countries) they are aiming at world economic freedom. Actually such a "free competition" on a world basis would make the weak and damaged industries of the war-stricken countries helpless in the face of America's powerful trusts. This the people of Europe understand quite well and intend to prevent by their new state-controlled economies, which usually have a decisive control over all questions of export and import trade. This feature of protection of the national economy against destructive American competition is one of the basic reasons why American monopolists make such determined war against the European movement to nationalize finance and industry.

I was especially interested to learn how the democratic governments were controlling the privately owned sectors in their economies and preventing them from upsetting the general economic plans. This control is operated quite simply. It is accomplished by the governments' ability to allocate manpower, finance, raw materials, and transportation facilities to the respective industries, as well as by the taxation system, and other devices. In the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe the capitalists (to the great dismay of our American "free enterprisers") must do what the peoples' governments tell them to do. Otherwise democratic

national planning would be impossible. The British Labor Government undertakes to influence the course of the capitalists by indirect financial and economic pressures upon them; but, in view of the overwhelming weight of privately owned industry in the general British economy, the Labor Government's actual economic control over the individualistic capitalists is seriously limited.

The various national economic plans definitely have for their purpose the improvement of the people's welfare. The Polish Plan of Economic Reconstruction sounds the authentic note when it says, "The chief aim of the Polish economy in the period covered by the plan is the raising of the standard of living of the working masses above the pre-war level." This is the kind of policy that enrages our reactionaries and inflames them against the new democracies that are now developing.

The several national plans set as their goals increases in production that could not possibly be achieved without the new measures of nationalization and democratic government. Let me cite only a few characteristic examples: Poland, which is now working at 75 per cent of pre-war production, aims in three years to increase its per capita production to 150 per cent of that of 1938; it also proposes, in the course of this rapid increase of production, to double the caloric value of the daily diet of its citizens. Czechoslovakia, whose industrial production is now at 85 per cent of pre-war, plans in two years to achieve 110 per cent of 1937 production. Yugoslavia proposes in its five-year industrial plan to establish its heavy industry and to double its general industrial production over pre-war figures. Before the war foreign capital owned 50 per cent of all the industry of Yugoslavia and 80 per cent of its heavy industry. Prime Minister Dimitrov of Bulgaria expressed the spirit of all these democratic production plans when he declared recently that Bulgaria must

and will accomplish in industry during the next ten to fifteen years what it took other nations a century to achieve.

The big capitalist forces in Europe and America are doing whatever they can to hinder the progress of the new democracies. The Communists, on the other hand, are the most ardent fighters for increased production. Especially are the capitalist reactionaries trying to make nationalization and economic planning fail, proceeding upon the theory that if the new democratic governments cannot solve the economic problems and raise general living standards, then sooner or later, these governments must fall. So the capitalists and their political agents are doing their utmost to intensify the various governments' difficulties all along the line. Characteristic was the ill-disguised glee with which the capitalists of Great Britain reacted towards the development last winter of the serious coal crisis in their country. The shortage paralyzed British industry and caused widespread hardships among the half-frozen people. The reactionaries, sensing the widespread popular discontent, thought the time was about ripe to knock out the Labor Government, but their hopes were dashed by the workers' solidarity in meeting the crisis. De Gaulle in France, like reactionaries everywhere else, is also basing his plans upon a hoped-for economic failure by the government.

On the other hand, while the big capitalists are busily sabotaging economic recovery in the new democracies, the workers and peasants are making the most strenuous effort to alleviate the production situation. They are going all out in support of the various economic plans of their respective governments and are courageously enduring the most serious hardships in their lowered living standards.

Despite war devastation, acute shortages of manpower, food, fuel, and raw materials, currency inflation, and organized sabotage by employers, the new democracies are fighting their way through successfully. In Poland, for example, al-

though the war losses were ten times larger during this war than during the one a generation ago, nevertheless the country's rate of economic recovery is twice as fast this time. Czechoslovakia also is about 4 per cent ahead in the first three months' fulfillment of its ambitious two-year plan. Other new democratic countries show similar successes.

It is highly significant that in the new democracies the best gains in production are being made in the nationalized sectors of their industry. This is especially where Communist influence is strongest. The industries owned by the people are proving much more efficient and vigorous than those still under private ownership. The experience in France dramatically demonstrates this fact. Although French industrial production in general now stands at 90 per cent of pre-war, production in the nationalized industries runs far above this national average. Thus, railroad transport, by April 30, had reached 110 per cent, coal 125 per cent, gas 126 per cent, and electricity 130 per cent of pre-war figures. These accomplishments in the French nationalized industries were made before the exclusion of the Communists from the Cabinet.

American reactionaries are very anxious to obscure these successes of democracy and nationalization in Europe. Harold Stassen recently made a trip through the new democracies, presumably studying the economic and political situations, and incidentally bragging in high places about his progressivism. Now that Stassen has returned he sums up what he "learned" by warning the American people to have nothing to do with the "plague of paralysis" brought about by the nationalization of industry and finance. Such misstatements may help Mr. Stassen's presidential aspirations among the big business "free enterprise" friends of the National Association of Manufacturers, but they will not change European realities. In the new democracies of Europe nationalization of the banks and basic industries is proving a success.

5. The Mass Communist Parties

In their powerful democratic advance the peoples of post-war Europe have not only established new types of governments in many countries and given these governments advanced economic and political programs to carry out, but they have also further integrated and reinforced their democracy by developing a whole series of new organizations and democratic currents among their masses. This is one of the most significant aspects of the whole European situation.

The most fundamental of these great new mass movements and democratic organizations are the Communist parties in various countries, from one end of Europe to the other. Their recent growth raises the numerical strength of these parties from ten to fifty times above what they were on the eve of the war. In several instances the Communist parties have become the largest, as well as the strongest, parties in their respective countries. This development, it may be remarked, is part of the widespread growth of Communist parties in other parts of the world, notably in China, Indonesia, Indo-China, and Latin America.

The great Communist parties not only have quantity, but quality of organization. "A party of a new type," Lenin characterized the Communist Party. Their systems of political discussion, discipline, tactics and organization soar high above those of the Social Democratic parties, and, of course, of the bourgeois parties. The Catholic parties of France and Italy, for example, which play such a role in these countries, are more accurately the Catholic Church in politics than parties in the usual sense. Such parties make full use of the Church's religious prestige and organization.

The French Communist Party, with over a million members, is the strongest party in France, and is a typical example of the new growth of great European Communist parties. The Communist Party of Italy, which had 5,000 members

under the Mussolini regime, before the war, now has 2,100,000 in its ranks. It, too, is its country's strongest party. Striking, also, is the splendid, two-sectioned Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has 1,700,000 members, of which 250,000 are in the Communist Party of Slovakia. This whole party is claimed to be proportionately the biggest Communist Party in the world, with some 17 per cent of the total adult population of the nation affiliated to it. Before the war it had 30,000 members. The Workers Party of Poland (Communist) has 700,000 members and, when I was in Poland in April of this year, it was growing at the rate of about 70,000 members per month. Other powerful Communist parties in Europe are those of Bulgaria, 450,000; Yugoslavia, 400,000; Rumania, 500,000; and Hungary, 600,000. In Germany, the United Socialist Party (Communists and Socialists) has a membership of approximately 1,700,000, with another estimated 400,000 Communists in the Western zones of Germany. Belgium has a Communist Party of 100,000; Spain, 60,000; Denmark, 60,000; Finland, 40,000, which are all big increases over their pre-war size. In Great Britain the Communist Party has not experienced any considerable post-war membership growth, but its influence in the trade unions, the co-operative movement, and the Labor Party, is very extensive and growing. The United Press (May 27, 1947), on the basis of recent British by-elections, estimated the British Communist Party's national voting strength at 1,290,000.

The voting strength of the European Communist parties in recent elections has been at the ratio of from two to ten times as large as the respective parties' membership. Thus, the French Communist Party polled 5,696,000 votes in the latest election (November, 1946), or 29.6 per cent of all votes cast. The Italian Communist Party got 4,745,000, or 20 per cent of the total cast in the recent elections for the National Constituent Assembly. The Czechoslovak Communist

Party rolled up a vote of 2,695,658 votes in May, 1946, or 40 per cent of the nation's total. In Finland the Communists polled 24 per cent of the national vote. In Bulgaria the Communist Party received a majority, or 54 per cent of the total vote cast in the elections for the National Assembly.

Naturally, with this heavy support from the voters the respective Communist parties have a very considerable representation in their nations' parliaments and governments. In Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, Communists head the national governments, and in Poland and Hungary, they occupy posts as vice-presidents, or heads of the national assemblies or parliaments. In a dozen countries the Communists have large delegations in parliament, and scores of the most important cities in the new democracies have Communist mayors.

The present Communist organizations in Europe far surpass in extent and quality the existing Socialist parties, in fact, anything ever accomplished by the Social-Democrats, even in their palmiest days. The big Communist parties are now being organizationally consolidated and their members are being intensively taught the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These improvements will vastly enhance the strength and political effectiveness of the parties.

I was particularly interested in the splendid press and general publishing organizations that the Communist parties have built up in the many countries. Thus, the French Communist Party has fourteen dailies totaling 1,500,000 circulation, among them the famous *L'Humanité*, with its 500,000 readers. The party also has 76 weeklies, with about 2,000,000 circulation. The Polish Workers Party (Communist) has nine dailies, with 800,000 circulation, by far the largest of any group of papers in the country. In Italy, the party has fourteen dailies, including *L'Unità*, which, with 500,000 circulation, appears daily in four leading cities. The party also has many other publications. *Rude Pravo*, official daily

organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, with many editions every day, has about 500,000 circulation. This party has four other dailies, eighteen political weeklies, and innumerable journals and bulletins for women, youth, children, peasants, and intellectuals. No party or other group in Czechoslovakia has a press remotely comparable to that of the Communist Party. The party's publishing house, although it has been built entirely during the two years since the country's liberation by the Red Army, is already far larger than any capitalist publishing outfit in all Europe and it is still growing rapidly. In Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Albania, the Communist parties also have an imposing and swiftly expanding press.

The Communist parties everywhere are composed primarily of workers. Thus, typically, the Italian Communist Party has 53 per cent industrial workers in its composition, plus 12 per cent agricultural workers. Indeed, the Communist parties in Europe have such deep roots among the workers that, taken together, they have become incontestably the party of the European working class. The old Social-Democracy no longer holds this enviable position. That the Communists, for example, should be the most decisive leaders of the trade unions is now practically taken for granted over large stretches of Europe, including France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.

I was talking to a trade union leader in Rome about the trade union election returns, which were just then coming in. He said that the Communist trade union policy resolution, one of the six submitted to the membership by the various political groups, was receiving about 62 per cent of all votes cast. He was amazed when I told him that in the United States many trade unions have clauses in their constitutions forbidding Communists the right to hold office in the unions, and also that Congress is now considering legislation to the same effect.

The Communist parties are by no means confined to workers. They are national in their composition, as well as in their political programs. All the democratic forces are heavily represented in the Communist parties—workers, peasants, intellectuals, small tradesmen, women, and youth.

The most brilliant and effective body of statesmen in continental Europe today are the men and women who stand at the head of the mass Communist parties, and who occupy at the same time important government posts. They include such leaders as Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos of France, Palmiro Togliatti of Italy, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Georgi Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Wilhelm Pieck of Germany, Mathias Rakosi of Hungary, Anna Pauker of Rumania, Klement Gottwald of Czechoslovakia, Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland, Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria) of Spain. These Marxists understand far better than any other body of leaders in Europe what ails the capitalist system, and they also know how to pilot their respective peoples safely through these stormy years.

The strong growth of the Communist parties, organizationally and in mass influence, throughout Europe is a decisive demonstration of the democracy, progressivism, and national responsibility of these parties. Deeply trained in Marxism-Leninism, united, disciplined, resolute, flexible, self-sacrificing, and with endless political initiative — the Communists of Europe, like those of other countries elsewhere, have been giving their peoples sound leadership during all these trying years of economic dislocation, fascism and war, as well as in this difficult post-war period of reconstruction. And the peoples have increasingly shown their understanding and appreciation of this fact by the way they have built up the Communist parties and their leadership.

First, the peoples in the European democratic countries remember vividly that it was the Communists who, in the middle thirties when Hitlerism was beginning to take

shape, warned the peoples of the world of the deadly danger of fascism and urged them to unite to crush it in its infancy. During this crucial pre-war period it was the Communists who called upon the democratic nations to combine their forces in an international peace front to stop Hitler and his Axis fellow-criminals. It was the Communists, too, who denounced the betrayal of democracy and civilization at Munich, and thousands of them took up arms in Spain to fight against Hitler's first drive towards world conquest.

Second, the peoples in Europe also know that when the war developed it was the Communists above all others, who understood most clearly what was at stake, and who led the fight in every field against the armed Hitler fascist hordes, even as they are now doing in fascist Spain and Greece. They saw the Red Army smash the fascist armies, and in their own countries in occupied Europe, the people saw Communists in action as the heroic leaders of the underground resistance movements. Incomparably more than any other group, the Communists had well-functioning underground organizations and carried on relentless struggle. They also were the leaders in harmonizing and uniting the efforts of the different parties in the underground. And the Communists paid dearly for this fight, too, in blood, as the peoples well know. The French Communist Party lost 75,000, including many of its best leaders, in the underground fight against the fascist invaders. The Czechoslovak Communist Party lost 25,000 in its similar warfare. And the Communist parties of Poland and other occupied countries also suffered tens of thousands of casualties among their best people in the bitter struggle against fascism. The brave fight of the Yugoslav people, led by Tito, showed the Communists at their best. In Italy the Communists constituted 90 per cent of the political prisoners in Mussolini's jails, the total years spent in jail by 57 members of the Central Committee of the party amounting to four hundred, or nearly eight years

apiece. And as Togliatti said of this long, desperate fight against fascism: "There is no city or village in Italy in which a Communist has not given up his life for his country." In the soul-trying struggle against fascism no party in Europe can show a record comparable to that of the Communists.

Third, the peoples of Europe also know that once the war was won, the Communists, above all others, initiated practical programs to meet the dire problems of the post-war reconstruction. It was the Communists who, bearing in mind the people's joint experience of the middle thirties in Europe, came forward with plans to translate the unity of the resistance movement into the national unity and coalition form of government. It was, moreover, the Communists who were the most ardent advocates of nationalization of the banks and industry, of the division of land and estates among the poorer peasantry, and of the development of planned national economies. And, vitally important, too, it is the Communists now, more than any other force, who are mobilizing and inspiring the workers and the people of Europe to overcome their huge problems of production. If in the nationalized industries important production successes have been won, a very large share of the credit for this must go to the Communists. The greatest achievement in any nationalized industry in Europe, so far as I am aware, is that of the coal miners of France, who are turning out 125 per cent of pre-war production. Here, characteristically, Communist leadership is practically 100 per cent. Also, it was the coal miners' national leader, the Communist Arthur Horner, who rallied the British coal miners to redoubled efforts to meet the deadly coal shortage of last winter. This action also saved the British Labor Government from the serious Tory threat.

Fourth, the peoples of Europe realize that the Communists parties are representative of their nations and that they are patriotic in the highest sense of the word. They are the first in protecting and improving the living standards of the

masses, in developing the domestic economy, and in advancing the progress of their country. They are, at the same time, also the best internationalists, knowing how to protect the national interests of their peoples as a whole in a policy of peaceful collaboration on a world scale with other peace-loving nations. Characteristically and correctly the French Communists call their splendid party, "The Party of France."

In short, during their years of dire stress, when plunged into fascist slavery and war, the peoples of Europe have had consistent major demonstrations of the patriotism, statesmanship, and fighting spirit of the Communists. And not being blinded by such hysterical red-baiting as prevails in the United States, the European peoples have been able to make a rational appraisal of the Communists. The result has been the present vast growth of the Communist parties and of Communist governmental responsibility.

This widespread growth of Communist parties, on the basis of their loyal defense of their country's most vital interests, completely explodes the ridiculous charge of the red-baiters that the Communist parties are some sort of a conspiracy engineered by agents of the Kremlin. The red-baiters will not abandon their charge of "foreign agents," for without this lie they would lose one of the major posts upon which to hang their frail anti-Communist case.

It is only a short while since Hitler and Mussolini started out to fight the "Bolshevik menace." Behind their frantic red-baiting and Jew-baiting lurked plans of imperialist world conquest. And what came of it all? Today 30,000,000 people are dead and Europe lies in ruins as a result of this orgy of blood and tyranny. Hitler and Mussolini have perished. And their foul deeds serve to fertilize the ground for the great post-war growth of Communist organization and political influence all over Europe.

In Italy, I saw a man who dramatically typified this whole historic development. He was Umberto Terracini, Commu-

nist president of the National Constituent Assembly of Italy. This heroic figure served eighteen years in Mussolini's prisons, twelve of them in solitary confinement. But now Mussolini is dead, executed in the streets of Milan by the Italian people, his memory cursed by the masses, while the honored Terracini holds the second highest official position in Italy.

When I saw him, there he was, presiding over Italy's parliament, and in the very same building in which the tyrant Mussolini had once strutted. Never in my life have I seen a more significant figure than this Italian Communist.

Perhaps this story of Terracini and Mussolini should bring home a lesson to those wild capitalist red-baiters in the United States who, akin to the Hitlerites and under the same guise of fighting the "red menace," are setting out once more to conquer the world!

6. The New Trade Union Movement

Trade unions are the backbone of democracy in all capitalist countries. Therefore, when German imperialism, with Hitler as its chief political organizer, started on its offensive to conquer the world, one of its major objectives everywhere was to destroy the trade union movement. The process started in Germany itself. In order to break the resistance of the German workers to fascism the Hitlerites wiped out their labor unions. And in order to weaken the fighting capacity of the conquered peoples, Hitler's armed forces as they advanced, also systematically shattered the labor movement all over Europe. Nothing of the old unions was left anywhere.

Notwithstanding all this ruthlessness, however, the fascists did not succeed in destroying the spirit of trade unionism among the workers, neither in their own Axis states, nor in the democratic countries. For hardly were the Nazi armies defeated when a tremendous growth of trade unionism

took place. This new unionism is as marked a feature in the former fascist countries proper as in the lands which the fascists subjugated. This growth of the unions was accompanied by a resurgence of their press and other union institutions.

But the reborn trade union movement of post-war Europe is not simply a reconstitution upon traditional lines of the old pre-war labor unions, with all their weaknesses and shortcomings. Present-day European unionism has been rebuilt upon a much higher plane. It has a much broader base, is more closely integrated structurally, has a better program, and is more effectively led.

This new labor movement constitutes one of the very greatest post-war democratic achievements of the liberated peoples of Europe. It comprises a vast steel framework of the new democratic regimes set up in various countries.

The new labor movement has a far greater numerical strength than the old unions. Thus, for example, the confederations of labor in France and Italy, each with about 6,000,000 members, are now numerically much stronger than ever before in their history. In Great Britain, the Scandinavian lands, and in other countries of Western Europe, a great stimulus has also been given to the growth of trade unionism. Similarly, the labor movement of Czechoslovakia has been reconstituted on a much broader scale than ever. And the German unions now have 7,500,000 members, mostly in the Soviet zone. But most striking of all of this vital union development is the fact that many countries of Central and Eastern Europe which in the pre-war days were largely fascist or had feudal governments and, therefore, possessed hardly more than mere skeletons of genuine trade unions, now have large and flourishing labor movements. Recent figures present the following picture in these countries, in approximate numbers: Poland, 2,000,000; Yugoslavia, 800,000; Rumania, 1,500,000; Hungary, 1,000,000;

and Bulgaria, 500,000. The unionization of these backward lands is a democratic development of tremendous significance.

The present European labor unions are almost universally industrial unions. Craft unionism is as obsolete in Europe as the dodo bird. Yugoslavia has 26 industrial unions, Czechoslovakia 21, Bulgaria 32, Poland 38, France 39, Italy 52. Moreover, the new unions now embrace large categories of workers formerly almost untouched by unionism. Big inroads have been made into the white collar trades, while women workers form a major section of all the revitalized labor movements. Great progress has also been made among agricultural workers. Thus, in Italy, I was told that no less than two million farm workers are affiliated to the Confederation of Labor. Serious attention has likewise been paid to the youth, with excellent results. Typically, about one-third of the big French C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) is made up of young workers for whom special forms of organization, education, sports, are provided.

The very heart of this whole vast progressive trade union development in Europe is the vital fact that in all the countries the labor movement is united, or practically so. Before the war the problem of trade union unity was a heart-breaking one in many countries. The unions were badly split. In some lands there were not only separate national union centers for each major political grouping, but also many employer-led company unions, Catholic unions, and independent unions. In Poland, for example, there were 343 separate unions and about a dozen distinct trade union centers. In Czechoslovakia the situation was about as bad. This split of the labor movement greatly enfeebled it and lessened its effectiveness. And the inter-union factionalism was so intense that not even the menacing threat of Hitlerism was able to end the fratricidal struggle and bring the discordant unions into national united bodies.

Under the fierce pressure of the Hitlerite occupation of their countries, the trade unions throughout Europe, like the democratic parties and other groupings, finally realized that labor unity was a paramount necessity for their present and future struggles. So as soon as liberation day came in each country the trade union movement began to assume a bigger and broader mass character, it emerged as a unified force. Catholics, Social-Democrats, Communists and non-party groups all combined their forces into single trade union centers made up of unified industrial unions.

The formal basis of this life-giving labor unity were agreements among the various tendencies to base the policies of the labor movement upon the general program of the coalitions of democratic parties and groupings in the several countries. These sane political agreements, plus intelligence in refraining from grab-all scrambles for union posts, did the job. European labor finally became organically united, save for a thin scattering of Catholic unions in one or two countries.

One of the major features of the new trade union movement is the deep and widespread growth of factory committees in the industries all over the Continent. These factory committees are the solid democratic foundations of the labor unions in the shops, mines, factories, farms, and railroads. The authority of the factory committees, like the character of every other phase of the general post-war European democratic development, differs in degree from country to country. In Great Britain, so far as they are organized, these bodies are hardly more than glorified union grievance committees. But in some of the more advanced Continental democracies the shop committees exercise a powerful influence in the factories, including the handling of workers' grievances, supervision over the hiring and firing of workers, application of social insurance and labor laws, organization of production, etc. In Rome I was informed that in Northern

Italy, where the shop committees are especially strong, they survey the employers' income and profits and also indicate what disposition should be made of both.

The new trade unions, like the Communist parties of Europe, have placed the question of increased production as their first order of business. This is indispensable in democratic countries that are war-stricken and half-starved. The unions have taken on the responsibility of putting through their governments' ambitious production plans.

This responsibility for production has radically changed the unions' attitude towards strikes. Europe became an area almost without strikes. This was because the workers have the most vital and direct interest in increasing production. If lately there are the beginnings of strike movements in France and other countries, this is a sure sign of the growing reactionary offensive in Europe. It means that the governments in such cases, hamstrung by reactionary elements, are not as responsive as they once were to the needs of the workers and the nation. Hence, the workers are being gradually forced to resort again to the strike weapon in order to enforce their demands. Incidentally, as the unions have had to take on responsibility for industrial production (in the face of sabotaging employers), the decline of strikes all over Europe, including Great Britain, knocks into a cocked hat the stock A. F. of L. charges that the Soviet trade unions are not genuine labor organizations because they do not carry on big strike movements. It all goes to show that whether in democratic Europe or in the socialist Soviet Union, when unions definitely hold themselves responsible socially for production, when their governments respond to the interests of the people, and when increased production does not merely mean more profits for capitalist employers but real improvements in the workers' standards, then the workers will make very sparing use of the strike, if they employ it at all. This is particularly true in the nationalized industries.

Together with the trade unions' new sense of responsibility for production, which goes hand in hand with the declining role of the employers in big industry, there is also developing in the more advanced democracies a socialist conception of the dignity of labor. Namely, the idea is that the people not only have the right to work, but also the obligation to do so. The new Constitution of Bulgaria thus expresses this attitude: "Every citizen is obliged to work in accordance with his or her strength and ability. Labor is an obligation and a question of honor for every citizen capable of working." Such radical sentiments are, of course, very shocking to parasitic American "free enterprisers," although workers agree readily with them. How outrageous to the capitalist mind it is that people should have to work and support themselves, instead of living off the labor of others.

The revitalized trade unions naturally exercise a tremendous influence in the new European democracies. They are keystones in all the democratic coalitions. The unions are not directly represented, as such, in the government, nor do they undertake to run the industries. They are not Syndicalist in outlook—the early experience of the Soviet workers in these matters provides safeguards against Syndicalist errors. But the trade union influence, nevertheless, pervades every phase of the more advanced governments. Direct trade union representation is to be found in the administrations of the nationalized industries, usually on the basis of about one-third of workers to two-thirds of industrial technicians, and government representatives. Often, in nationalized industries, as in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia, the workers have the right to nominate industrial managers. In Great Britain, where the unions have not yet won such concessions, one of the major demands of the workers to the Labor Government is precisely that the unions be given more representation in the various government's industrial managerial boards. This was one of the basic issues during last winter's coal shortage

situation. All over new Europe the workers, through their trade unions and democratic governments, are on the way to play the decisive role in the control of nationalized industry and the general economy of their countries. All of which, of course, is perfectly dreadful to American monopolists and their political mouthpieces.

The people's victory over fascism and the consequent renaissance of the labor unions in Europe also led to the reconstitution of the trade union movement on a world scale. Even before V-E Day, May 8, 1945, the new World Federation of Trade Unions, comprising 75,000,000 organized workers, was being formed. This great organization of labor includes every important national federation of trade unions in the world, except the American Federation of Labor.

The W.F.T.U. is vastly superior to the old International Federation of Trade Unions in several vital aspects. First, it is a world-wide organization, including in its ranks the very important trade unions of the U.S.S.R., of the new European democracies, and of the many colonial and semi-colonial lands; the I.F.T.U., with one-third as large a membership, was primarily a European organization, and one that excluded the big Soviet trade unions. Second, the W.F.T.U. is a united labor movement, reflecting the new labor unity that is manifesting itself throughout Europe and the world. Communist, Socialist, Catholic and non-party trade unionists all find a place within its ranks; the former I.F.T.U. was made up basically of unions dominated by Social-Democrats. Third, the W.F.T.U., in harmony with the new trends of democracy and in consideration of the various types of unions that compose it, has a broad outlook and an inclusive program of action; the I.F.T.U. was characterized by the narrow policies and sectarian attitudes of Social-Democracy. The formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a buttress of international democracy, was one of the greatest steps

forward ever taken by the working class. It was the climax of a century of struggle for world trade union unity.

Like the new democratic governments, the new European and world trade union movements have plenty of problems and lots of ruthless enemies. They have to struggle in order to live and develop. Especially is this the case now that reaction in Europe, stimulated by Anglo-American imperialism, is regathering its forces and developing its offensive against everything democratic and progressive. Naturally, the first target that the reactionaries attack is the labor movement.

The right-wing European Social-Democrats and capitalist-minded reactionary labor leaders of the A. F. of L. brand are actively fighting against the all-inclusive unity now prevailing in the European labor movement. Many reactionary clericals are following a similar disruptive line. The A. F. of L. leaders take an aggressive position in these splitting activities. They maintain a staff of official agents in Europe, well-heeled with money, whose task it is to demoralize and split the united labor movements on the Continent and to undermine the international solidarity of the workers. Factionalism is developed wherever possible. The American reactionary labor leader Luigi Antonini tried ineffectually to split the Italian trade union movement recently.

The new World Federation of Labor, while a powerful factor in the world fight for peace and democracy, is by no means exercising its full potential strength. This is chiefly because of (a) the equivocal attitude taken towards the W.F.T.U. by the Social-Democratic-led unions of Great Britain; (b) the relatively inactive role of the American C.I.O. in that body, especially since the death of Sidney Hillman, and (c) the hostile attitude of the A. F. of L.

The disruptive labor policies in Europe and elsewhere, initiated by such A. F. of L. leading bureaucrats as Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky, are a direct reflection of the drive of American imperialism. Wall Street, in its bid for Euro-

pean and world power, finds it necessary to weaken the modern united and progressive labor movement and it has ready tools in the top leaders of the A. F. of L., who are just as flamboyant imperialists and Soviet-haters as the biggest Wall Street monopolists themselves. So far, however, the A. F. of L. labor splitters in Europe and their European right-wing Social-Democratic allies, have blunted their arrows on the firm shield of the united labor movement.

Another danger to European labor solidarity and to the W.F.T.U. comes from the widespread union-splitting policies of the Catholic hierarchy. In pre-war days it was the policy of the Vatican to organize separate unions of Catholic workers wherever possible. In a number of countries this policy had a measure of success. Naturally, the consequence was not only the sacrificing of the interests of these workers, but also a weakening of the strength of the labor movement in general. Following the war, however, during the period of the renaissance of the trade unions and when an irresistible spirit of labor unity swept through the ranks of the workers of all religious faiths and political convictions, the Vatican's "labor organizers" had to abandon for the time being their plan for a separate Catholic labor movement, and they had to allow their workers to go into the broad, united labor movement. But now, when European reaction, under Anglo-American leadership, is again raising its head, efforts are being renewed to split the Catholic trade union workers from the general organized mass. France now has a separate Catholic trade union movement of a few hundred thousand, and Belgium also has some Catholic unions. In Italy, too, there is on foot an organized attempt to split Catholic workers from the Confederation of Labor. There are even efforts being made to form a separate Catholic trade union international. But with the prevailing spirit of labor unity in Europe, it is doubtful whether the Vatican's labor "organ-

izers" will have any better success in union splitting than have their reactionary A. F. of L. co-workers.

7. Communist-Socialist Political Unity

As we have seen above, the pressure of war and fascism brought about trade union unity of all major working class groupings in Europe. But the vast tragedy of Hitlerism did not cause the establishment of full European working class political unity. Nevertheless, one of the most important developments in the present great advance of democracy in Europe has been the growth of a considerable degree of cooperation between the various Socialist and Communist parties, the two main political organizations of the working class. This trend toward unity is much more highly advanced in the people's democracies of Central and Eastern Europe than it is in the Western countries.

The tremendous significance of Communist-Socialist cooperation, whether in one united party or by the joint action of two separate parties, may be grasped when it is realized that a solid, free-working Socialist-Communist combination could undoubtedly command a majority of the votes in nearly every country in Europe. Such a majority would be of vast importance both in the daily struggles for immediate demands now and the long-range struggle for socialism.

Throughout the past generation, the split between the Socialist and Communist parties has been a profound source of weakness to the European working class. The split began during the years preceding World War I, with the development of a right and left wing in the old Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International. These two wings eventually broke away from each other over basic differences on the attitude toward the imperialist World War in 1914-1918 and toward the newly born Soviet Union. The opposition

between the factions reached the point of armed struggle, when in 1918 the right-wing Social-Democrats in Germany joined with the capitalist forces and put down by force the attempts of the German working class to establish a socialist government as their Russian brothers had done a year or so before. The Communist International, which crystallized the left elements on a world scale, was born two years later in 1919, under Lenin's leadership.

During the ensuing critical years, when the Hitlerite movement started to take shape in Germany and World War II began to loom in the distance, the Communist parties, both internationally and in the several countries, made repeated proposals for joint action by the two parties to repel the common danger. But the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders would have none of this. They refused to co-operate to save the Spanish Republic, and not even the deadly danger of rising Hitlerism in Germany sufficed to lead them to grasp the invincible weapon of Socialist-Communist collaboration. So the working class and the liberty-loving nations of Europe went down to the most terrible defeat in their history.

During the occupation period of the war, however, the need for joint action of all anti-Hitler forces in the underground struggle was so great that the long-continued, non-co-operative attitude of the right-wing Social-Democratic parties was largely broken down. A considerable measure of co-operation developed between Socialist and Communist parties, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

A big element in producing this solidarity development in middle Europe was the fact that in these occupied countries many of the old-time hard-boiled Social-Democratic leaders had fled before the advance of Hitler's armies (often to the United States), and new and more progressive leaders had taken their places on the firing line and at the helms of the respective Socialist parties. Also, the mass Socialist parties

that sprang up in these countries at the close of the war were largely new organizations and were, therefore, much more responsive to the solidarity trends among the masses than the pre-war, bureaucratically controlled Social-Democratic parties had been. In the Scandinavian countries, in Great Britain, and in the West generally, however, where Social Democracy had been particularly strong before the war and where, either because these countries were not occupied by the Nazis or because the old Social-Democratic leaders were able to keep closer control over their parties, the Socialist-Communist co-operation has been less effective, as we shall see.

During the war and in the reconstruction period following it, the Communists were tireless champions of working-class political unity. They called for united Socialist-Communist action on every front—military, trade union, political. They also proposed the ultimate consolidation of the Socialist and Communist parties into one working class political party. This energetic and timely Communist campaign for unity was fully in line with the sentiments of the masses, and it found a ready response among the proletarian and progressive groups in the Socialist parties, from France to Poland and Bulgaria. The unity movement was furthered by the united underground struggle against Hitler, and also by the later establishment of unified trade union movements and many coalition governments throughout Europe.

In several instances the powerful movement for working class political unity has led to specific agreements between Socialist and Communist parties for immediate co-operative action and for eventual fusion into one party. In this spirit, in August, 1945, the Socialist Party of Italy voted 340,000 to 156,000 for fusion with the Communist Party. The Polish Socialist and Communist parties, in the latter part of 1946, drew up a formal agreement to work jointly in the basis of a commonly agreed-upon program. One of the most significant paragraphs of this Polish agreement reads:

"Without curtailing their own educational activities, both parties shall organize together political courses and party schools for the members of both parties. The detailed forms of co-operation will be settled in common by the headquarters of both parties. Both parties are aiming, through ever increasing co-operation and ideological rapprochement, to achieve full organic unity of the working class parties."

In line with this discussion a joint Socialist-Communist school has been developed in Lodz, the Polish Manchester, which is attended by four hundred members of both parties. Other such schools are contemplated. There have been numerous joint election campaigns and related mass activities carried on by these two friendly parties.

In Italy I saw an interesting example of the new spirit of unity between Communists and Socialists. It was in the National Constituent Assembly, where the deputies of these two parties, instead of sitting separately, as parties usually do, were all together on the extreme left of the parliament chamber. In Poland, too, I saw other evidences of such unity. One such was the election agreement which conceded the Socialists as many seats in the parliament as the Communists, 119, although the latter have much the stronger party. This action by the Communists is typical of Communists all over the world, who make such concessions to co-operating groups, despite the Hitlerite "big lie," repeated by every red-baiter in the world, that Communists are ruthless grabbers of organizational posts.

Similar Communist-Socialist unity movements have taken place in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and, to a lesser extent, in France. In Germany, the unity movement has reached such a high stage that the two parties, in the Soviet zone particularly, have combined forces to form the United Socialist Party of Germany.

The Socialist-Communist unity movement has also had international aspects. Opposing attempts of right-wing Social-

Democrats to resurrect the old Second International on pre-war sectarian and opportunist lines (as exemplified in the London Conference of Social-Democrats in May, 1946), *Narod*, the central organ of the Workers' Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria, stated on July 19, 1946:

"In order to counterbalance the London Conference of May 16, to which only a limited number of parties were invited, the Conference of Socialist parties, which was held April 16 of this year, and at which were represented the Socialist parties of Italy, France, Poland, Austria, Switzerland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and other countries, has especially underlined the necessity, in the event of the creation of the International, to maintain the principle of equality of all the workers and Socialist parties, and to do all that is possible to realize international working class unity; and to secure the affiliation of the working class of the U.S.S.R. to this political International."

Obviously, there is need for a working class world political organization. But this body should not be founded upon the old, narrow lines of the Second International, nor should it be another Communist International. It should include both Communist and Socialist parties, together with democratic peasants' organizations and other progressive groupings. That is, the new International should reflect on a world scale the democratic coalitions of progressive groups which are now so prominent a feature in many European countries. Such an International could exert a tremendous effect on world politics.

Naturally, the forces of capitalist reaction have not allowed this vital Socialist-Communist unity movement to proceed without their vigorous opposition. Indeed, every fascist, every employer, every clerical reactionary, every imperialist in Europe is an inveterate enemy of working class political unity. They have resisted all steps of the Com-

unist and Socialist parties towards uniting, and their dearest wish is to drive a wedge between the two parties.

This attempt to divide the working class is graphically illustrated by American imperialist policy regarding Germany. There our military authorities are avowed enemies of Communist-Socialist united action and organic unity, and they are particularly opponents of the United Socialist Party of Germany. The State Department's general policy of keeping Germany, as a country, split both economically and politically is especially designed to prevent the growth of a strong, unified, national trade union movement and, even more, of a united working class political party. American imperialists know that such working class economic and political unity would lead to the creation of a democratic, socialist Germany, whereas what they are striving for is a puppet German state under Anglo-American domination. The A. F. of L. representatives, now busily trying to split the trade unions and working class parties of Germany and other European (and Latin American) countries, are just so many agents of Wall Street imperialism. Reactionaries of every shade are quite aware that the greatest progressive force all over Europe is working class political unity.

The right-wing Social-Democratic leaders in Europe (and here, too); whose policies always have the uncanny capacity of harmonizing with the interests of the big capitalists, are also inveterate enemies of working class political unity. Thus, wherever they have any strength in the Socialist parties, including considerable minorities in the parties of Central and Eastern Europe, they may be counted upon to resist all tendencies to co-operate with the Communists. They are supported in this line by the scattering of Trotskyites, who are to be found in Socialist parties all over the Continent.

The opportunist Social-Democratic leaders are now definitely undergoing a further ideological degeneration in the direction of accepting capitalist viewpoints. Like Norman

Thomas, David Dubinsky, and other Social-Democrats in the United States, they have thrown Marxism overboard and they openly sneer at it.

In conjunction with their ideological rapprochement to capitalism, the right-wing Social-Democrats also systematically reject alliances with the Communist Party and other left groups and make governmental combinations with the parties of the right. Only under mass pressure, as in the first two years after the war, do they, most unwillingly, accept Communist alliances.

It is their growing anti-Communist line that explains the recent vote of the right-wing Social-Democrats to exclude the Communists from the Ramadier government in France. It was only a few months ago that the Socialist Party voted for Maurice Thorez as premier, representing the largest party in France. The present move to the right by the French Socialist Party leadership, made under the growing pressure of reaction, especially of the United States, tends to prepare the way for the rise of the fascist-like de Gaulle.

It is the same old fatal Social-Democratic strategy that enabled Hitler to put himself at the head of the German state. Thus, in 1932, the opportunist German Social-Democrats, rejecting a proposed anti-Hitler alliance with the Communists, supported the "liberal" Hindenburg and elected him president of Germany. Whereupon he later immediately made Hitler chancellor, and thus fascism came to power. In the Social-Democratic refusal to work with the Communists lurks most serious political dangers.

The rabidly anti-Communist spirit of the old-line Social-Democrats is also illustrated by the attitude of the British Labor Party on this question. For twenty years the opportunist leaders of this party, the Attlees, Morrisons and Bevins, have stubbornly, even violently, rejected the proposals of the British Communist Party for united action and for the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor

Party, even though these proposals have the backing of one-third of the trade union membership of Great Britain.

To what lengths Social-Democrats push such anti-Communist policies is illustrated by the situation in Denmark. In that country the Socialists and Communists together hold a majority of the votes in Parliament; but rather than cooperate with the Communists in a coalition government the Social-Democratic leaders have surrendered control of the government to the reactionaries. Consequently reaction has a free hand and Danish post-war legislation is among the least progressive in Europe. In Italy, a similar road is being followed by opportunist Socialists. Through the instrumentality of the British Labor Party leaders and the Italian-American reactionary labor leader, Luigi Antonini, the right-wing Social-Democrats split the Socialist Party of Italy in two—the left group led by Pietro Nenni and the right headed by Guiseppe Saragat—to prevent it from creating a unified party of Socialists and Communists.

Such disruptive policies, it need hardly be emphasized, are the way to disaster, what with the growing offensive of Anglo-American inspired reaction in Europe. As this reactionary offensive takes on strength, the attacks of the opportunist Social-Democrats upon the new European Communist-Socialist unity increase in intensity. This is true also in such advanced democracies as Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the right wing is still a danger. The relationship between the anti-unity stand of the right Social-Democrats and the interests of reaction is direct and full of sinister significance. Right Social-Democrats, such as Schumacher in Germany and his like in other countries, are nothing more than quislings of Anglo-American imperialism.

During the interval between the two world wars, as we have seen, the feud of the opportunist Social-Democrats against the Communists had catastrophic effects. In addition, the Social-Democrats' many years of anti-Soviet, anti-Com-

munist propaganda demoralized the German working class and rendered it impotent in the face of demagoguery. Similar red-baiting can also do grave damage now to the democratic cause in Europe, with American imperialism on the march for world conquest under the old Hitlerite slogans of fighting against communism.

In former years, before the rise of Hitler, the right-wing Social-Democrats in all countries drew their main ideas and tactics from German Social-Democracy. But now this leadership is being given by the conservative leaders of the British Labor Party. In the vital questions of foreign policy particularly it is Ernest Bevin, the Tory-Labor imperialist, whom Social-Democrats of other countries are following. In line with Bevin's warmongering, right Social-Democrats in many lands have evolved into the most loudmouthed supporters of the get-tough-with-Russia policy, and they clamor for a war against the U.S.S.R. The thoroughly degenerate Social-Democrats in the United States are among the worst examples of this socialist war-shouting.

Whereas the great Communist parties of Europe are united and homogeneous, the Socialist parties, with a sort of political split personality, are everywhere divided ideologically. The right wing, which is strongest in the West, goes on its opportunistic, anti-Communist course and degenerates in the direction of bourgeois liberalism, while the left wing, with its main base in Central and Eastern Europe, tends more and more to agree with the Communists. In Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and other countries in this area, there is a growing acceptance of a common line between the two parties for the maximum possible development of the new people's democracy in Europe, with its coalition governments, nationalization of industry, division of landed estates, planned economy, and full production for use instead of for private profit; with its plans for the most rapid possible improvement in mass living, cultural and

democratic standards; with its firm stand against colonialism and imperialism in all forms; with its policy of friendly collaboration with the Soviet Union and the rest of the nations of the earth in the United Nations, and with its conception of the peaceful establishment of socialism in Europe.

The most dynamic elements in the present-day Socialist parties of Europe are precisely those left forces who want to co-operate with the Communists and to maintain friendly working relations with the U.S.S.R. They not only head the new Socialist parties of Central and Eastern Europe, but they are also represented by strong minority groupings in the Socialist parties farther to the West. Thus, in Italy, when the right wing split the Socialist Party, 67 parliamentary representatives declared themselves for the left orientation while but 48 went with the right. In France, too, when the decisive vote on the question of excluding the Communists from the Ramadier government was taken by the Socialist Party Conference on May 7, the right wing carried its expulsion resolution by the narrow margin of only 2,529 to 2,125. In Great Britain also there is a strong opposition in the Labor Party and its mass following against the opportunist policies of the Labor Government, especially the brazenly imperialist policies of Foreign Minister Bevin. At least one-third of the trade unions, of the co-operative movement, and of the Labor Party parliamentary delegation are more or less in opposition to Bevin.

During the war and its immediate aftermath, as I remarked at the outset, a considerable degree of collaboration has been developed between the Communist and Socialist parties of Europe. But this joint action is by no means complete. The right-wing Social-Democrats, reacting to the pressures of Anglo-American imperialist reaction, are doing their utmost to prevent Communist-Socialist unity and to set the two movements at each other's throats. The outcome of this situation will be of profound international importance; for

Communist-Socialist co-operation is one of the major keys to the further development of the new democracy in Europe.

8. The Worker-Peasant Alliance

One of the most significant and promising features of the present democratic renaissance in Europe is the tremendous part being played in it by the developing co-operation between peasants and workers. In many countries the workers and peasants are going along together with the former giving the main leadership and initiative.

The progressive mood of the peasants is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the great new democratic movement is very strong precisely in countries which are primarily agricultural, namely, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania. But peasant participation in the democratic development is by no means limited to these chiefly agricultural lands; it is also being manifested in the more industrialized countries—France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and others.

American capitalist newspaper writers whose main task, it appears, is to distort current European political events into a justification of the N.A.M.'s campaign for "free enterprise" try to explain away the development of progressive democratic governments, which are primarily based on worker-peasant co-operation, in the predominantly agricultural countries of Central and Eastern Europe by alleging that these governments have been forced upon the peoples by superactive Communists. But this is sheer nonsense. The reality is that the peasants have powerful economic and political interests in the new democracy. In consequence, there is a tremendous spontaneous democratic upheaval all over Europe among the poorer strata of the farming population, which are also finding strong common interests with the workers.

The widespread democratic sentiment now current among the peasants is exemplified by the growth of powerful peasant parties in various parts of the Continent. These parties almost always enter into alliance with the workers' parties. Take Poland as a typical example. There the Peasants Party, which is a progressive organization and a member of the government bloc of democratic parties, is supported by the great bulk of the poorer peasants. One of the recent major political developments in that war-stricken land was precisely the movement of the peasantry away from the conservative Polish Peasant Party, led by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. The comparative strength of the two Polish peasant organizations is made clear by the fact that in the recent national elections (which honest observers quite generally agreed were fair and democratic) the progressive Peasants Party elected 118 deputies to the Parliament, while Mikolajczyk's reactionary Polish Peasant Party won only 28 seats.

Bulgaria is chiefly an agricultural country, eighty per cent of its people making their living directly from farming. Yet this country also has one of the most advanced democratic governments in Europe, based fundamentally on worker-peasant collaboration. To claim that the Bulgarian peasants have been compelled by revolutionary-minded workers to accept the present government is just plain silly. In the recent elections to the Bulgarian National Grand Assembly, for example, of the 4,504,735 qualified voters 3,862,492 of them voted, and ninety per cent of these—a good majority of the peasants—cast their ballots for the parties of the Fatherland Front. In Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and other agricultural countries, powerful democratic political parties and worker alliances are being developed by the peasantry.

All this does not mean to say, however, that the European peasants as a whole are taking a progressive line and making common cause with the workers. This is obviously not the

case. In many countries the Catholic parties and the various other bourgeois parties still have strong bases among the peasantry, especially among those in the middle and upper categories. And everywhere a supreme objective of their reactionary strategy is to drive a wedge between the workers and the peasants. Obviously this constitutes a real danger.

The democratic ferment among the poorer peasants, taking place far and wide in Europe, has its greatest significance precisely in the fact that everywhere it assumes the shape of a co-operative alliance between the peasants and the workers of the respective countries. This worker-peasant co-operation is the very backbone of the entire mass democratic movement in post-war Europe. The importance of the growing realization by the peasants that they have interests in common with the workers, as against the big capitalists and landlords, cannot be exaggerated.

This democratic peasant activity and the growth of the worker-peasant alliance have produced a whole series of agrarian reforms and other developments favorable to the peasants and also to the workers. Chief among these developments was the breaking up of the big landed estates and the division of the land among the poorer peasants. This took place pretty much all over Central and Eastern Europe. This great agrarian reform not only gave the peasants much-needed land, but, hardly less important, it broke the feudal-like power of the landowners and nobility in the countryside. It thus helped to cement the political friendship between the peasants and the workers, because the workers considered the land reform scarcely less important to them than to the peasants; and so they were instrumental in bringing it about.

The new democratic governments in Europe all have progressive agricultural programs, which provide for a big increase of farm output, the modernization of agriculture through new production methods, the development of larger and better supplies of fertilizer and machinery, the progres-

sive regulation of farm prices (in Czechoslovakia, for example, where a Communist is Minister of Agriculture, small farmers are paid higher prices for their products than rich farmers), the protection of the poorer farmers in the tax levies, and the development of education in the countryside.

An important feature of the new European agricultural situation is an intense building of farmer co-operatives. Typically, in Poland the co-operative movement, principally among the peasants, is twenty times as strong today as it was in pre-war days. The new governments are setting up machine and tractor stations, combining the small, medieval, ribbon-like farms into workable units, and otherwise improving the whole fabric of farming. In most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe the peasants do not favor collective farms, and their wishes are being respected. Some of the more advanced governments, however, are carrying on educational work, by precept and example, to teach the peasants the advantages of large-scale farming. In Yugoslavia, I was told, the peasants are beginning to demand collectivization.

Throughout the new democracies the old-time hostilities and suspicions between peasants and workers (which have such deleterious political effects in our own and other countries) are being gradually wiped out. A new fraternal spirit is awakening between the workers in the shops and the tillers of the soil. Brigades of workers often leave the cities to aid the peasants voluntarily in their urgent tasks of repairing machinery, clearing the land of mines left from the war, and harvesting crops. An indication of how widespread this fraternization of workers and peasants has become is given by Bulgaria. In that country last year, no less than 14,000 teams, totaling 1,370,000 people, left the cities for the farms to help the peasants bring in the harvests. In Yugoslavia also, typical of the co-operative trends between workers and peasants, there was the big "Town to Country"

movement of 1946, mechanics from the cities going to the villages and repairing 81,000 agricultural tools.

The highest political expression of the developing worker-peasant solidarity is the support given by the peasantry to the Communist parties. In all the new democracies Communist strength among the peasantry is a marked feature of the political situation, and the Communist parties everywhere pay major attention to farm and peasant problems. In consequence, the Communist parties have a strong following among the peasants, the beginnings of which often date back to the wartime occupation period, when the Communists and the peasants fought side by side in the underground against Hitler's armies.

The Communist parties of many countries have powerful organizations and prestige among the peasants. Speaking of France, the French Communist leader Billoux, says, "In the numerous rural departments where small and medium farming predominates, our Party holds first place." In Italy, the Communist Party has also a very big following among agricultural workers and peasants. In Sicily, which is chiefly a farming country, the Communist Party in the recent elections polled more votes than any other party. In Poland, too, of the 700,000 members in the Polish Workers Party (Communist), 160,000 are peasants. In agricultural Bulgaria, the Communist Party got a majority of all the votes cast in the national elections. In Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party is the strongest single party not only in the cities, but also in the countryside. Indeed, in the recent elections the party polled a higher vote in some rural sections than in the cities. For example, in the capital, Prague, a city of about 1,000,000, the Communist Party candidates received about 38 per cent of the total vote; whereas in many rural areas the Party's vote ran as high as 50 per cent to 60 per cent. The Communist parties all over Europe publish many farm journals, among them several daily papers.

Lenin's fundamental understanding of the peasant question was one of the major facts that put him far above any Socialist theoretician. And one of Lenin's major precepts in this respect was the possibility and necessity of worker-peasant co-operation. This, he declared, could take place under capitalism, in the fight for every-day demands and for the establishment of socialism; this alliance continues even under socialism in the building of the new world. It was this Leninist strategy of worker-peasant co-operation that carried the Russian Revolution to success in 1917, and that has enabled the Soviet Union to withstand every storm it has since had to face. The general question of worker-peasant co-operation is such a vital one that the degree of strength and maturity of the workers' movement in almost any country can be pretty accurately gauged by the extent to which that movement has established good working relations with the farmers. One of the greatest shortcomings of the American trade union movement is its weak connections with the farmers. On the other hand, the widespread collaboration of workers and peasants is a source of strength to present-day European democracy.

9. The Catholics in the New Democracy

In the democratic renaissance in Europe a large part is being played by the Catholic masses. Literally tens of millions of Catholics are working with the other masses, even the most radical politically, in friendly co-operation. This situation has caused considerable modification of Vatican political policy and tactics, especially in the mass phases of the Church's organization. It has also required much intelligence and far-seeing generalship on the part of the Communists and other democratic leaders. The policy of "the extended hand" to the Catholic masses is succeeding.

In pre-war days, the Church tried to isolate Catholic work-

ers and other masses from the organizations, programs, and doctrines of Marxism and democracy. It formed separate Catholic trade unions and organized Catholic political parties wherever it could; it did not permit its following to participate jointly with the non-sectarian labor movement in struggles for even the most urgent economic demands and democratic political reforms. And, of course, it violently polemized against Marxism in all its theoretical and organized forms. This policy seriously split and weakened the people's democratic movement.

The political implications of this line were dramatically illustrated as extensive experiences showed the Church to be moving toward a brand of clerical fascism. Thus, during the war the Vatican consistently demanded a negotiated peace with Hitler, which, had it been carried out under the circumstances, could have resulted only in a major extension of fascism, very probably with a strong clerical tinge. The Vatican, which got along well with Mussolini, also freely displayed its fascist perspective by its defense of Franco in Spain, of Petain in France, and of Dolfuss in Austria.

But the fierce pressure of fascist occupation and war upon the masses, which generated among them powerful currents of democracy and patriotism, compelled the Church to modify both its tactics and its immediate program, at least so far as its direct contact with proletarian and democratic masses was concerned. The Church had to bend before the tremendous democratic storm that has been sweeping over Europe's millions. In consequence, there has grown up a very considerable degree of organized co-operation between the Church masses and the rest of the population.

An early manifestation of this co-operation was seen in the fact that many Catholic priests, as well as individual Church members, fought bravely, along with other groups, in the underground resistance against the fascist invaders—in France, Poland, Italy, and elsewhere. While I was in Rome

I took occasion to ask about this matter. I inquired especially whether or not the well-known Italian motion picture, *Open City*, which deals with the resistance movement and in which the heroes are a Catholic priest and a Communist leader, was authentic. I was told that it was correct.

Another important manifestation of Catholic co-operation with the mass, non-sectarian democratic movement took place in the trade union field after the end of the war. There, as I have indicated in a previous chapter, the Catholic leaders, bowing to the tremendous rank-and-file insistence upon trade union unity, suspended at least temporarily their policy of organizing separate Catholic unions.

Still another major post-war expression of Catholic and non-Catholic co-operation developed in the broad field of politics. This was the unheard-of spectacle of Catholics, Communists, and Socialists all working together in coalition governments, on the basis of advanced democratic programs. Such Catholic-Socialist-Communist collaboration has been expressed particularly in the new democratic bloc governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and previously, in France and Italy.

But the most significant of all the new co-operative attitudes among the Catholic masses is their large-scale entry into the Communist parties of their respective countries. In France, a very considerable number of members in the big mass Communist Party are at the same time adherents of the Catholic Church. The same thing is true of the Communist parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries of Eastern and Central Europe. But most of all it is true of the great Communist Party of Italy, with its more than 2,000,000 members. A huge number of these members, if not actually a big majority of them, are professing Catholics. This situation should dispose of the absurd notion that Catholic workers and peasants are immune to communism.

It is important to re-emphasize that the clerical reaction-

aries merely bent before the democratic pressure; they did not surrender to it. The fact is, they have undertaken to use the new Catholic parties in Europe as brakes upon the broad democratic movement, and especially as a check upon the growth of Communist influence. Such organizations as the Christian Democrats in Italy and the Popular Republican Movement (M.R.P.) of France have proved to be convenient political havens for reactionary forces whose parties were destroyed in the great democratic upsurge following the war. Thus, in a recent number of the *Democratique Nouvelle*, Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, declared that "The M.R.P. hides the hideous face of Petainism." The opposition of such parties has done much to slow up the nationalization of industry (especially in Italy) and the adoption of other major democratic reforms. In Poland, too, the Church, together with the deposed Polish fascist landlords and the agents of American and British imperialism, supported Mikolajczyk and was responsible for the armed attacks of his underground bands against the government.

European capitalism finds itself in a most precarious condition after the great war. First, the very fact of the war exposed capitalism once again as a breeder of war, tyranny, and starvation, thereby causing it to lose much face among the masses; second, the capitalists during the war individually discredited themselves among their peoples by their cold-blooded treason in co-operating with Hitlerism; third, the opportunist Social-Democracy, which saved European capitalism after World War I, is no longer as strong as it used to be. Hence, in view of these special difficulties, on top of the economic crisis, European capitalism is compelled to call upon the Vatican to save it from the democracy of the awakening masses. This explains the unprecedented political activity of the Church hierarchy in Europe following this war, along with American imperialism and general reaction.

With the development of the present reactionary counter-offensive in Europe, which is being stimulated, organized, and led chiefly by American imperialism, the Catholic parties are taking a sharper line of opposition against the satisfaction of the masses' democratic demands, against basic economic and political reforms, and especially against the Communist parties. This attitude is particularly evident in France and Italy. There Catholic parties, with the help of the right-wing Social-Democrats, have excluded the Communists from the coalition governments. Thus they are seeking to push the general political regimes further to the right. There are also increased efforts to split the Catholic workers away from the national federations of labor in France and Italy and to isolate them in separate unions. In Germany, characteristically, the Christian Democrats, the largest single party in the Ruhr district, are openly opposing the British plan of nationalizing the basic industries in that area.

The successes of the Communists and left Social-Democrats in winning the co-operation of great Catholic masses in democratic struggles are largely based upon their making a clear tactical distinction between religion and the Church-in-politics in their political struggles. The clerical reactionaries always try to give a religious content to political questions, as was done in Italy in the recent fight to save the monarchy and prevent the establishment of the republic. At that time they made it look as though the very life of the Church was dependent on saving the monarchy. The Communists, on the other hand, always keep their fight on strictly economic and political grounds. In line with this general policy, the Communist Party does not favor the present widespread anti-clerical campaign in Italy, as this tends to divert the masses' attention from their main economic and political problems. In their efforts to prevent the people from being split by artificially religious quarrels the Communists often have to make difficult compromises. For example, they recently re-

fused to vote against the Christian Democrats' issue of writing the principles of the Lateran Agreement into the new Italian Constitution. Speaking of the refusal of the Italian Communists to make a fighting issue of the Lateran matter, *Newsweek*, May 5, 1947, said that by this tactic the Communists "deprived the Christian Democrats of their most effective anti-Communist weapon—the charge that the Communists fight Christianity."

The new democratic governments, as part of their progressive programs, are cultivating a new and higher conception of religious freedom. This is primarily based on a real separation of church and state. The Catholic masses in Europe are coming to understand that the new democracy, in this and other policies, does not circumscribe or abolish the right to practice their particular religious belief. Hence they no longer fall victim so readily to the long-practiced trick of clerical reactionaries who, in order to defeat democratic reforms, cry out that their religion is about to be destroyed.

The advanced character of some of the new democracies—the fact that some of them are definitely heading towards socialism—is raising fundamental questions of perspective for the Church, in these very countries and all over Europe. For example, in Bulgaria, which is one of the most politically advanced of all the new democracies, the Orthodox Church is adjusting itself to the new socialist perspective of the nation. It appears to be following the line of the Russian Church, depoliticalizing and adapting itself to socialism. It is taking a sympathetic attitude towards the new people's democracy, and this is being reciprocated by the government. The Bulgarian Church has been formally separated from the state. In a recent speech, Georgi Dimitrov, Premier of Bulgaria, said: "Respecting the religious feelings of the faithful, the government will continue to give material

aid to the Church and the clergy until it becomes self-supporting.”

But what about the Roman Catholic Church, faced as it is by a perspective of socialism in several Catholic countries? Will it try to adapt itself to the new situation—for it is practically certain, judging from the Soviet experience, that Catholicism, as a religion, will live over into socialism? As yet, however, there are no signs of such an adaptation on the part of the Church—there is only fierce resistance to most urgent reforms, as well as to the inevitable socialism.

But the Catholic Church, in spite of its apparent rigidity of doctrine and tactics, is a flexible institution. Otherwise it never could have survived for some 1900 years in the midst of a rapidly evolving civilization. The Church, with vast landed estates to conserve, militantly defended the feudal system, but when feudalism was finally pushed from the center of history's stage by a revolutionary capitalism, the Church managed to adjust itself to the new society. Actually the Church has become one of capitalism's main pillars. So much so, in fact, that with its huge vested interests in mind, the Church is now fighting resolutely to save moribund capitalism in the face of advancing socialism. This, too, like its fight for feudalism, is a losing struggle. But it would be contrary to its whole flexible history if the Church, once capitalism's battle is lost and socialism is victorious, does not, with whatever difficulty, adapt itself to the conditions of the new socialist regime. The Greek Orthodox Church, which also defended feudalism and capitalism to the very last ditch, is setting a pattern of adaptation which the Roman Catholic Church will very probably eventually have to follow.

10. Women, Youth, and Intellectuals

The present democratic upsurge affects every phase of European life and every category of the broad masses. In addition to the developments in politics, industry, trade unionism, and agriculture, and among workers, peasants, Catholics, Communists, and Socialists, discussed in previous chapters, there are many other important mass democratic currents now in full flood in Europe. These include movements of war veterans, co-operatives, women, youth, intellectuals, small tradesmen, etc., and they cover such fields as art, literature, science, education, social legislation, and public health.

Obviously, in the present book, it would take us too far afield to describe and analyze all these developments in detail. So I shall confine myself to discussing briefly three important categories: women, youth, and intellectuals. All of these groups were targets of fascist persecution, and now they are all factors in the democratic advance in Europe.

Womankind suffered severe repression under the fascist regime. Hitler and his coworkers held woman to be merely a breeder of workers and soldiers, and an object of pleasure for their warriors. The old reactionary motto, *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (Children, Church, Kitchen), expressed the fate of woman under the rule of the “master race.” The general result was that the women of Europe, in the countries overrun by the Hitler armies, were reduced to a medieval status. Political degradation, enslavement, death, and rape were the lot of millions of women who had the misfortune to find themselves in the path of the fascist barbarian armies.

But the women in the occupied countries did not suffer this misery and persecution unresistingly. They joined with the men in a common effort to drive out the fascist invaders. The history of the resistance movements all over Europe is full of accounts of the heroism of women in the desperate

military struggle of the peoples in the countries enslaved by Hitler. All this constitutes one of the most glorious pages in the whole world history of woman.

Hardly had the war in Europe come to an end when progressive women from all over democratic Europe, in fact from all over the world, came together in Paris, on November 26, 1945, to form a great organization to fight for real and enduring peace. Over 900 delegates from 42 nations were there. Among the many famous women fighters from every corner of the democratic globe was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of the American delegation. At this gathering was born the Women's International Democratic Federation.

This broad, united-front women's organization, like the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, is on a much higher level than similar pre-war international organizations and movements. It bears the characteristic marks of the present period: the assembling of all progressive women under one banner, the extension of the movement into the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the working out of a broad, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist peace program around which every genuine democratic force can unite. The movement now claims the more or less close affiliation of 81,000,000 women in 44 countries, of many religions and democratic political groupings.

Today, as never before, democratic Europe is astir with the activities of great women's movements. Many of these organizations, all of which have sprung up since the end of the war, are very large. Thus, the Democratic Federation of Rumanian Women has 800,000 members, and the Hungarian Women's Democratic Federation, 300,000; there are correspondingly huge women's organizations in Bulgaria with 800,000; Czechoslovakia, 1,500,000; France, 1,000,000; Italy, 1,000,000. This movement is especially emphasized by the vast women's united-front organization of Yugoslavia, with its 3,000,000 members. The latter body

would be equivalent to an organized movement of about 25,000,000 women in the United States.

A fine example of the new type of women's organization is the League of Women in Poland. This body has about 500,000 members, out of a population of 22,600,000, and it is growing very rapidly. It is made up of women of all democratic strata—workers, peasants, intellectuals, and middle classes, and within its ranks are Communists, Socialists, Catholics, and non-party people. This live organization has branches and carries on activities in nearly every city, town, and village in Poland. It is a most active factor in the building of the new, free, democratic Poland.

The women's organizations in liberated Europe fight not only for the demands of the democratic movement in general, but especially for the specific demands of women. They have written progressive legislation into the statute books in every democratic state in Europe. It was largely due to the strong Union of French Women that the women of France, for the first time in their history, won the right to vote. In several other European countries the women also secured the franchise. A large body of legislation in various countries, covering questions of child care, special protection of motherhood, equal rights and equal pay for women in industry, and a host of other subjects, is a result of the new organized activities of European women. And along with this work, women are taking more of a part in government. The national parliaments and city and state councils all over Europe have women members on a scale never before known anywhere, except in the U.S.S.R.

Characteristic of all the groups now participating in the great democratic renaissance in Europe, the women also are rallying in large numbers to the Communist parties of their countries. They are coming to understand, like other categories of the population, that the Communists are the best democrats and the most loyal patriots. Representative

of the strong Communist current among European women is the fact that the Communist Party of Italy, in its official membership report of last year, showed 402,862 women members. This great party has mayors in one-third of the communities in Italy, and of these fifty are women. All the other mass Communist parties of Europe have similar achievements to their credit. It may be added that of the present body of outstanding Communist political leaders in Europe, listed earlier, two are women, Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria) of Spain and Anna Pauker of Rumania.

The youth of Europe are another category of the population which suffered severely at the hands of the Hitler barbarians, not only from death and destruction, but also from ideological corruption. The fascists everywhere concentrated upon winning the youth, and many sections of young people, also in the conquered countries, fell victim to the Hitlerite propaganda. To eliminate this fascist poison from the minds of young people is now one of the big tasks of the youth movement all over Europe. Another serious effect of fascism upon Europe's youth was that millions of young workers, boys and girls, spent several years in armies, concentration camps, and slave factories, and in consequence failed to learn trades and the disciplined habits of workers under normal conditions. To give these young workers a thorough industrial training presents a major problem.

The youth of liberated Europe, like the rest of the masses, has undergone a deep-going political and ideological development. They are taking hold of their own specific needs and their nation's general problems with a profound vigor and understanding. They have built up vast organizations, federated and united-front bodies, embracing young people of every democratic category. They concern themselves with every conceivable interest of youth—industrial training, general education, sports, social activities, and a host of others,

as well as an intense participation in the general struggle of the peoples to build a democratic peace.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth, with headquarters in Paris, was organized at the close of the war in Europe as a result of the tremendous anti-fascist spirit developed in the fight against Hitlerism. It claims a world membership of 46,000,000 young people in 64 countries. Among its larger European sections are Great Britain with 800,000 (including co-operators, young liberals, young conservatives, Communists, Social-Democrats, etc.); Bulgaria, 800,000; Czechoslovakia, 750,000; Finland, 400,000; France, 500,000; Hungary, 600,000; Italy, 800,000; Rumania, 500,000; etc. The variety of youth organizations in these great movements is very wide. The list of Polish youth organizations, for example, is as follows: Peasant Youth Organization, 400,000; Boy and Girl Scouts, 300,000; Fighting Youth (Z.W.M.), 200,000; Socialist Youth (T.U.R.), 100,000; and Democratic Youth, 20,000, making over 1,000,000 in all. Besides the millions of youth in the specific youth organizations throughout Europe, there are millions more organized in the trade unions, political parties, co-operative movements, and so forth, all of which have elaborate youth programs and activities.

It is no surprise that Yugoslavia, which occupies such a prominent position generally in European democracy, stands also in the forefront of the vast youth movement now developing on the Continent. Although a land of only 15,700,000 inhabitants, it has an enormous organized movement of 2,000,000 boys and girls—the People's Youth Organization of Yugoslavia. It is made up of all the democratic currents in the country: workers, peasants, students, Communists, Socialists, and all the religious and national groups.

The Yugoslav youth movement, like that in other advanced democracies, has much of the indomitable spirit of the famous Komsomols (Young Communist League) of

the U.S.S.R., heroes of the Soviet Union's industrialization and of the epic fight against Hitler Germany. The organized youth of Yugoslavia, large numbers of them veterans of the war, are playing a vital part in the rehabilitation of their country. One of their innumerable activities is the building by themselves of a fifty-nine-mile railroad to tap rich coal-mining territory, hitherto isolated. As I was en route from Belgrade to Sofia, I saw young boys and girls by the hundreds, singing patriotic songs and with bands and flying banners, boarding the train on their way to donate their work to the building of their famous Youth Railroad.

Everywhere in Europe, especially the farther east one goes, the evidences of awakening youth are to be felt and seen. The ages of government officials, trade union leaders, and industrial heads are amazingly low. One of the most instructive experiences I had in this respect was in the Rome office of *l'Unitá*, the great Italian Communist daily paper. A meeting was held with the staff to exchange information on the situation in our respective countries. I was amazed at the youth of those assembled. They looked like mere boys and girls; yet here they were running one of the greatest daily papers in Europe. My astonishment was increased when the editor, himself a young man of about 27, said, "Probably you don't realize it, but practically every one of those young people gathered in this room was born and raised under fascism. Not only that, but they were also all members of blackshirt youth organizations, that being compulsory under Mussolini." He was very proud that the fascist dictator, for all his demagoguery, had not captured Italy's youth.

One of the most striking and meaningful democratic developments now taking place in the capitalist world is the strong leftward trend of great numbers of European intellectuals. This is a well-marked phenomenon all over the Continent, from France in the West to Poland and Bulgaria

in the East. This intellectual renaissance embraces all categories of the intelligentsia—poets, novelists, dramatists, artists, scientists, physicians, teachers, engineers, and others. The development is so broad and deep that it takes on the characteristics of a veritable mass movement. It holds within itself tremendous potentialities for the intellectual and political future of Europe and the world.

The basic cause of this highly significant development is a diminishing faith in the capitalist system as such on the part of decisive sections of Europe's trained thinkers and intellectual workers. The two world wars, fascism, and widespread mass pauperization, all of which were direct products of a rotting capitalist system, have not failed to produce a strong anti-capitalist reaction among the honest intellectuals of Europe. In consequence, capitalism on the Continent is suffering serious losses in the ranks of its most effective spokesmen, ideologists, and technical experts.

During the past twenty-five years, officially sponsored capitalist culture has been afflicted with a rotteness spreading throughout Europe. This decay deepened as fascism extended its poisonous influence over the Continent. Capitalist culture reached its depths of degradation with the military victories of Hitlerism when most of the capitalist classes of Europe accepted the fascist ideological poison and the perspective of a fascist world. This tragic situation confronted the intellectuals of the Continent with a future of frustration and sterility. These forces are now reacting against the fascist intellectual corruption and impotence by developing new horizons of democracy and socialism.

In the countries that were overrun by Hitler's hordes, especially those towards the East, the Nazis, with the help of the big employers, landlords, and politicians of the conquered nations, not only tried to stultify and cripple the intellectuals ideologically but they also undertook to wipe them out physically. Hitler deliberately sought to destroy

the trained brains of the peoples whom he subjugated. How ruthless he was in this mass murder campaign against the intellectuals is indicated by the fact that in Poland, of the 18,000 engineers of pre-war days only 8,600 survived the Nazi brain butchers. In the same brutal campaign Czechoslovakia suffered a loss of 60 per cent of its pre-war medical practitioners, besides a general massacre of technicians and intellectuals. Hitler also tried to destroy at the source the conquered peoples' supply of trained intelligence by wiping out many of their leading universities and by reducing the others to mere factories for producing fascist intellectual robots. These terrible experiences have lent special force and direction to the democratic revolt of the intellectuals.

Doubly significant is the fact that the bulk of the rebelling intellectuals are either coming directly into the Communist parties or are placing themselves under these parties' general political and ideological influence. In France, for example, the broad trend of the intellectuals toward communism has startled the capitalists and their apologists. The same general intellectual current toward communism is also to be observed in Italy. But it is in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that the democratic movement of the intellectuals is the most marked. In Poland, typically, 70,000 of the Communist Party's membership of 700,000 are listed as of the intelligentsia. In Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania there are similar large sections of intellectuals in the respective Communist parties. In Czechoslovakia, leading Communists estimated to me that some 80 per cent of the country's creative writers and artists, including the great bulk of the younger generation, are either actual members of the Communist Party or are following its political leadership.

In its early period the Soviet Union had difficult experiences with the intelligentsia, especially the industrial engineers, who for many years were capitalist-minded and actively hostile to the new socialist regime. With this in

mind, I inquired in Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and other advanced democracies, whether or not they were having trouble with the engineers and other technicians in the newly nationalized industries. In every case I was informed that they were having no such trouble; that the vital technical forces, with few exceptions, were supporting the new economic systems with enthusiasm. This cooperative spirit of the technicians is a fact of tremendous importance for the speedy building up of the economies of these countries on the new democratic lines.

For generations past the capitalists of Europe have taken it for granted, as a sort of provision by Heaven, that the general body of the intelligentsia were indissolubly wedded to capitalism and that they could depend upon these forces forever, through thick and thin, to defend their system of exploitation and oppression. But now these same capitalists are having a sad awakening. With their intellectual allies deserting in huge numbers to the cause of democracy and socialism, they are being taught a badly needed lesson. It is a lesson that American big capitalists, with their program of intellectual stagnation and slavery, must and eventually will be taught by the intelligentsia of this country.

11. Federating the Peoples

The national question, now pressing imperatively everywhere for solution, is one of the most urgent and complex problems of our times. The development of capitalism, with its dog-eat-dog system of economics and politics, inexorably produces a discordant medley of states, each seeking to advance its particular interests at the expense of the rest. This chaos of rampant nationalism generates virulent racial and national hatreds, it weaves an involved network of frontiers which snarl up travel and commerce, and it breeds one

international conflict after another. In the present era of monopoly rule this ruthless capitalist nationalism has its worst manifestation in the recurring desperate world wars by the great powers, ever seeking to destroy each other and to establish their imperialist domination over the world.

Monopoly capitalism cannot solve this all-pervading national problem. On the contrary, it grows steadily worse. This is because under monopoly control the strong peoples invariably exploit the weaker ones. The League of Nations failed for this basic reason; it was controlled by Great Britain and France, which used it as an instrument to advance their imperialist schemes, with the resulting fascism and war. The United Nations will go the same tragic way if Anglo-American imperialism is allowed to dominate that body. By the same token, such a regional organization as the Pan-American Union has become an instrument of American imperialist control over the weaker countries of Latin America. And Mr. Churchill's professed United States of Europe could only be a weapon of Anglo-American imperialism against the new democracies and the Soviet Union. Despite all the capitalist world and regional leagues of nations—in fact, largely because of them—national antagonisms are now so acute and destructive as to threaten the very existence of civilization.

The only solution for the great antagonisms among the various countries is the application of Lenin's and Stalin's principles on the national question. These principles are based upon the removal of the exploitation and oppression of weaker nations by the strong—a condition ever present under monopoly control. The following program must be adopted: (a) recognize the right of all peoples to self-determination; (b) establish among the peoples full economic, political, and social equality; (c) inculcate among them the spirit of fraternal collaboration; (d) unite the various nations concerned in one or more co-operative union.

It was the application of these fundamental Leninist-

Stalinist principles in the Soviet Union, where there is no capitalism and hence no imperialism, that enabled forty once mutually antagonistic peoples to live together in peace and harmony. Only these principles, which are at odds with the whole nature of monopoly capitalism, can solve the vexed national question in given areas and on a world scale.

It is one of the greatest achievements of the new democracies, particularly the most advanced countries in Central and Eastern Europe, where the control of monopoly capital has been greatly weakened, that they are proceeding toward the solution of the national question along lines laid down by Lenin and Stalin. In Czechoslovakia, for example, new and more friendly and co-operative relations are being worked out between the Czech and Slovak peoples.

But the most striking developments in this respect are taking place in the Yugoslav People's Republic. Here the half-dozen peoples—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Bosnian-Herzegovinians—are being brought together on a friendly basis that is rapidly doing away with their age-old animosities and quarrels. Their new co-operation is also lending a vigor and strength to the Yugoslav nation as a whole. One of the elementary expressions of this new consolidation of the Yugoslav peoples is the Council of Nationalities. This body, similar to the Soviet of Nationalities in the U.S.S.R., makes up, together with the Federal Council, the national People's Assembly of Yugoslavia. The Council of Nationalities is founded on the principle of equal representation for all six of the chief component peoples. Consequently the Montenegrins, who number only 350,000, have thirty delegates in the Council, or the same number as the Serbs, who total 6,500,000. Two additional very small national groups have twenty and fifteen delegates.

The bi-national, or multi-national character of these states is neither cold nor formal. For one thing, national, racial, and religious persecution has been made a crime. For another,

just as in the Soviet Union, the different peoples are animated by a truly co-operative spirit toward each other. Thus, in Czechoslovakia one of the most striking features of the national economic two-year plan is that it provides for the systematic raising of Slovakia's economic status to the height achieved in the Czech lands, as the economic level of the whole country is being elevated. The same fraternal practices prevail in Yugoslavia, where the central government systematically improves the more backward areas of the country in its general plans of economic and cultural development. This is the fruition of Marshal Tito's famous slogan for the Yugoslav peoples — "Unity and Brotherhood."

One of the important results of these new developments in the national question is that they point the way to a solution of the difficult Jewish problem. To begin with, the outlawing of anti-Semitism, plus the introduction of thousands of Jews into industry as workers, is making it possible for the harassed Jewish people to live in freedom and peace in the democratic countries of Eastern and Central Europe. Moreover, for Palestine itself the principle of a bi-national Arab-Jewish state offers the best practical means for regulating the relations between the two peoples concerned. In such a dual state, as proposed by the Soviet delegate Andrei Gromyko in the United Nations and long advocated by the American Communist Party, the rights of both peoples could be fully protected. As a consequence, the present burning problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine would lose much of its urgency, and a much freer entry of Jews into that country would be possible. In that case, the question of which people had a majority in Palestine would no longer have the decisive importance that it has today, in the struggle between Zionists and Conservative Arabs.

This new type of internationalism prevails not only between the peoples making up individual republics in Europe, but it also profoundly affects the relations among all the

new democratic states as such. Consequently, new and more friendly economic and political relationships are growing among all the Slav states, as well as between them and the U.S.S.R. This is the so-called Slav bloc. But democratic countries like Rumania and Hungary, which are not populated by Slavs, are also developing the same democratic spirit of international friendliness and co-operation with neighboring states. A remarkable feature of this new trend is the wide sentiment prevailing in Bulgaria in favor of merging that country with Yugoslavia. Apparently, and with good reason, the proud Bulgarian people feel positive that, as a part of the Yugoslav Republic, they would be fairly treated by the peoples of their new country to the benefit of all concerned.* Further affiliation movements of this kind may be expected eventually; for such democratic federations provide the individual peoples composing them with far greater political freedom and security, and also guarantee them a faster and more all-around industrial and cultural development than they could possibly achieve if they were struggling along as small, separated nations.

Inasmuch as the new democracies in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania are all animated by the same intelligent approach to the national question as that being put into practice by the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak governments, a new day for peace has dawned in the Balkans and that whole section of Europe. For decades this area was literally a cockpit of wrangling, warring peoples. But from being a danger spot to world peace it is now becoming a solid buttress of international peace. This is a development of vast significance to the whole world. However, weak spots in this general area are Greece, Turkey and Austria. These countries are still controlled by Anglo-American imperialism which, by the use of food, money, and bayonets, is keeping

* Since the above was written, Marshal Tito publicly proposed the unification of the "free Balkan peoples into a strong, monolithic entity."

the old, near-fascist, rabidly nationalist regimes in power. But it is safe to forecast that these three reactionary governments will not be able to stem for long the spirit of democracy and international co-operation that is sweeping over the peoples of the Balkans and Central Europe.

Another tremendous sphere in which the question of applying Leninist-Stalinist principles and policies on the national question is of vital significance is in the case of the great colonial empires. As these empires have their main seats in Europe, one of the most elementary aspects of the general crisis in Europe is precisely the serious weakening, if not the actual rupture, of the ties between these imperial countries and their vast colonies. Thus, India, Burma, Ceylon, and other colonies are now generally revolting against British imperialist domination. Indo-China, Morocco, and Madagascar, French colonies, are in a similar state of anti-imperialist upsurge. And so, too, are the peoples of Indonesia rebelling against Dutch control. These colonial revolts, involving over one-fourth of the human race, are profoundly affecting the economic and political situation in the respective empire countries and, in fact, all of Europe.

The big capitalist and right-wing Social-Democratic statesmen in Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands are trying to handle this tremendous problem by the customary imperialist policies of dividing the rebelling peoples through trickery; repressing their revolts with troops, and compelling them, willy-nilly, to remain enslaved sections of the respective empires. But the Communist parties in all these imperialist countries are fighting for the application of Leninist-Stalinist policies in the national question in the given situations. The substance of these policies is that first the colonial countries must be freed, and then the empire countries must enter into friendly economic and political relations with them on a basis of equality and mutual respect.

This was the manner in which the British Empire Confer-

ence of Communist parties, held while I was in London, faced the question of India and other British colonies. R. Palme Dutt of Great Britain proposed that after freeing the colonies, "the continued association of the British people with the peoples now in the British Empire, if they desire it, can be to our mutual benefit." This was also essentially the policy with which the Communists in France countered the attempt of French reactionaries to shoot down the new Viet Nam Republic in Indo-China. The French Communist Party, with its slogan of "The French Union," is giving the French people a new democratic concept of friendly relations to be established with their erstwhile colonies. And this was the path taken by the Dutch Communist Party in the difficult relations with the Republic of Indonesia.

The democratic, federative handling of the national question now being applied by Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the other new democracies has broader implications even than those already indicated. It also indicates the way in which the thirty or more discordant nations of Europe and nearby continents, when they become imbued with the new democracy, will in the long run overcome their present crippling national chaos and rearrange themselves into a pattern of friendly, co-operating nations. This eventual achievement will initiate an historic advance by Europe into a new epoch of peace and progress. More than this, it is only by the application of such a democratic internationalism that the world, through a democratized United Nations, will finally become united and fit for intelligent human beings to live in.

As Lenin and Stalin long ago pointed out, the modern national state was created under the leadership of the capitalist class of the various peoples, in its efforts to develop and control the national and international market for its own profit. In the main, this coincided historically with the interests of the people of the respective nations. But today the capitalists, who have become big monopolists and imperialists,

no longer represent the interests of their peoples, not even in the most general sense. On the contrary, they not only callously betray the national interest for their private profit, but their great empires and their hodge-podge of jangling small states, which is the highest level they can reach in nation-building, are in themselves a deadly danger and a detriment to further European and world progress.

Consequently, the constructive leadership of the various nations is passing over into the hands of the working class and its democratic allies. They alone now speak and act in the national interest. Only they can solve the tangled national question, as well as the social question in general, and thus start the world towards real unity and peace. And solving the national question, long ago pioneered by the U.S.S.R., is precisely what the new democracies of Europe are doing with their policies of friendly, co-operative federation of the peoples, both within and outside the individual states.

12. Soviet Influence in Europe

Reactionaries in the United States, in order to confuse and frighten the American people into doing their bidding, constantly picture the vast democratic development in Europe as a situation in which the Continent of Europe is about to be devoured by a militantly expansionist Soviet Union. These people and their agents, in a frenzy of excitement, make a three-pronged charge against the U.S.S.R. — that it is actively “imperialist,” that it has already annexed a vast amount of other people’s territory, and that it has created a series of satellite states on its borders, which it is in the process of “absorbing.” On this basis a furious radio and press campaign is being conducted against the so-called Soviet danger in Europe, and wild efforts are being made to whip up a war spirit in the United States. But let us examine these charges:

First, the charges of “red imperialism” against the U.S.S.R. are ridiculous on their face. Imperialism, which is the final stage of capitalism, is the means by which the monopolies and their governments try to solve their internal economic and political difficulties through aggression and war against other countries. A classic example of imperialism in its most naked form was the course of Nazi Germany under Hitler. This was imperialism in its full fascist development. But every other capitalist power dominated by monopolists, the United States included, is also imperialist, the intensity of its expansionist policies at a particular time being determined by its own strength and by the given general economic and political situation. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, by the very nature of its socialist system is fundamentally non-imperialist. The Soviet Union has no capitalism and hence no capitalist monopolists to drive it into policies of oppression and exploitation of other peoples. In consequence, Soviet policy, dictated by the structure of the socialist regime itself, is inevitably one of peace and friendly collaboration with other nations. This fact has been amply demonstrated by the whole history of the U.S.S.R.

Second, the Soviet Union has not gobbled up a “huge area” of neighboring, hitherto independent territories, as the Hearstian Soviet baiters would have us believe. True, it has incorporated some lands on its borders; but the inclusion of the Baltic peoples (Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania), plus Poland east of the Curzon Line, Finnish Karelia, South Sakhalin, western White Russia, and Tannu Tuva, into the U.S.S.R., simply means the voluntary return of territories to that country that were forcibly torn away from it after the war of 1904-05 and after World War I. The plain fact of the situation is that today the U.S.S.R., despite this return of its lost territories, is still 80,000 square miles smaller than the country was forty years ago. The charge of territorial ex-

pansionism, so violently made by reactionaries in the United States, therefore, cannot stand up under investigation.

Third, the charge that the new democracies of Europe are but satellites of the U.S.S.R., deliberately built by that country and in process of being assimilated by it, is equally false. One of the Hitler "big lies" is precisely this insolent attempt by reactionaries of our own and other capitalist countries to reduce the profound and all-pervasive democratic upsurge in Europe to the status of conspiratorial work by an imaginary "Soviet fifth column." The simple truth is that the new democracies are the products of powerful economic, political, and military forces operating in their respective countries. They are also phases of the general crisis of world capitalism. The nationalization of industry and finance, the division of the big landed states, the democratic forms of government in these lands, and the other characteristic features of the new Europe are measures dictated by the urgent necessities of their peoples. They are *not* a "plot" by Russia.

Take France, for example; it is absurd to allege that the big Communist Party, with its more than five and a half million election supporters, the vast development of the General Confederation of Labor and other huge mass movements, and the adoption of much progressive legislation, are all the results of a "Communist plot," engineered by Moscow. And the same thing is true of Poland, or Yugoslavia, or Bulgaria. Or take the case of Great Britain: In that country, the majority of the people, whose main party is the conservative-led Labor Party, definitely voted for an avowed program of socialism. Is that, too, as Churchill and others would have us believe, also the result of a Russian conspiracy, "fifth column" work?

It is well to recall that democracy and socialism are not peculiarly Russian, nor are they some kind of a foreign importation from a mysterious source. For a hundred years our own country, the United States, was a pioneer in establishing

capitalist democracy in its most advanced forms, to the horror of European feudal-minded reactionaries. And as for socialism, its scientific principles were worked out by Marx and Engels seventy-five years before the Soviet Union was born. Socialism has its natural roots in every country in the world, including the United States.

When all this is said—that the charges of "red imperialism" and "Communist fifth columns" are simply propaganda inventions of reactionaries who are mortally afraid of democracy and that socialism is not a Russian "conspiracy" but a century-old world movement—the fact remains, however, that the Soviet Union does enjoy great prestige all over Europe. Men's minds throughout the Continent are definitely influenced by the U.S.S.R. Incontestably this influence is a big factor in the development of the new European democracy. The American people, unless they are to become mere pawns in the hands of such unscrupulous imperialists and warmongers as now infest American political life, have an urgent need to know the sources and character of this widespread Soviet mass influence.

First of all there is the decisive fact that, with the defeat of Nazi Germany, the U.S.S.R. has become far and away the most powerful country on the Continent, both economically and politically. Inevitably, therefore, every important question in Europe is affected by the rise of the influence of the U.S.S.R. Moreover, this influence is all the more marked because of the dynamic quality of the Soviet's socialism.

A major source of U.S.S.R. mass prestige in Europe was the heroic wartime struggle of the Red Army and the Soviet people against the armies of Hitler Germany. In the United States professional Soviet-haters are now seeking desperately to make the American people forget all about the decisive fight of the Soviet Union against the world menace of fascism. Indeed, they even have the insolence to try to imply that the U.S.S.R. was a sort of traitor country in the war. But

the peoples of Europe have not forgotten how the Russians fought. They saw their own countries freed by the Red Army, with ghastly losses in human life, and they know that but for the Russians Hitler would surely have won the war. Consequently, they have a profound respect for, and gratitude to, the country that could do what the Soviet people did during the supreme crisis of the great World War.

Since the war's end, also, the course of world events has been such as to raise farther the prestige of the U.S.S.R. among Europe's toiling millions. For it is not too difficult for these peoples to see that whereas everywhere, be it in China, Spain, Greece, or their own respective countries, the power of Anglo-American imperialism is steadily used on the side of reaction, the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, has been the tireless defender of democracy and peace throughout the United Nations since that body's inception. In fact, the reactionaries in the United States and Great Britain, by their anti-democratic course, are literally compelling the oppressed millions of the earth to look more and more to the U.S.S.R.

Another active force now making for Soviet prestige is the fear on the Continent of an American economic crisis. The peoples all over Europe know (and we here do, too), that American industry is subject to violent economic crises, that one is brewing now, and that such a crisis would have devastating effects on the war-weakened countries. These peoples also know that the Soviet system is immune to such economic crises, and that it suffers from none of the terrific fluctuations that periodically paralyze the industries of America and other countries. Hence, throughout Europe, including Great Britain and France, there is a powerful mass urge to protect themselves against the ravages of the approaching American economic crisis by establishing close trading relations with the sound economy of the U.S.S.R. and the new eastern democracies. Such a situation inevitably enhances Soviet prestige. It does not mean, however, that by developing friendly eco-

conomic relations towards the U.S.S.R. these countries have sacrificed their national independence. Quite the contrary. The Soviet Union is scrupulously careful not to interfere in the internal life of other countries, as its whole history shows. This policy on its part is now being typically evidenced in China. In that country, although the United States is following a line of active economic, political, and even military intervention on behalf of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek, the U.S.S.R. is preserving strict non-interference.

Then, too, there is a strong tendency all over Europe to consider the experience of the U.S.S.R. for guidance in applying the economic reforms in the new democracies, particularly the nationalization of industry and the development of planned economy. Of course these democracies also learn what they can from the United States, especially in industrial techniques. But the U.S.S.R. has a great wealth of experience in the matters of the new democratic reforms, incomparably more, in fact, than any other country in the world. Hence, the trend to study Russian experiences in such connection. Recently Professor E. H. Carr, of the University College of Wales, wrote an informative book, entitled *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*. In this book he gave many instances (very disconcerting to British and American reactionaries) of profound Soviet influences that are in evidence in many phases of life, especially in the fields of economic and political reforms, in the big capitalist countries. Naturally, therefore, with Europe in a democratic upsurge, which is leading to the establishment of socialism in a number of countries, Soviet ideological influence is strong.

Let me cite three examples of this type of Soviet influence. First, in the matter of determining the role of the workers in the management of production: All over the Continent, the peoples, in the control of the nationalized industries, are obviously bearing in mind the fruitful experience of the Russians in this matter. Accordingly, trade unions have been

given a potent voice in the management, but they do not take over completely. The specific management control rests in the hands of the specialized economic organs of the state. Second, in the solution of its complicated question of uniting its several peoples into one government, the Yugoslav Peoples Republic when it established its National Council of Nationalities also obviously adapted the valuable Soviet experience to its specific national situation in this difficult problem. Third, there is at present also a strong tendency to build tractor stations, largely on the Soviet style, in various democracies that are trying to raise their individualized agricultural production to higher levels. Other similar instances could be cited of the utilization of Soviet experience in the case of advanced democratic reforms.

It would be a great mistake, however, to conclude from all this that the new democracies in Europe, especially the more politically advanced ones in the East, are simply copying the institutions of the U.S.S.R. Far from it. Each democracy is developing its economic and political institutions in line with its own special national problems, resources, and traditions. All the new democracies, which are still capitalist in character, differ substantially from each other, and still more radically from the U.S.S.R., which is a socialist country. Many outstanding Communist leaders—among them Gottwald, Togliatti, Dimitrov, Thorez, and others—have called attention to and stressed this fact of the different methods and courses of social development in the various countries. It is absurd to suppose that the U.S.S.R. developed all these patterns for these several countries. In this respect, pointing out some of the major differences in the road to socialism between those taken respectively by the People's Republic of Poland and by the socialist regime in the Soviet Union, Vice-Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka, who is also general secretary of the Polish Workers Party, said in November, 1946:

"The first difference is that the social and political changes

in Russia were effected through a violent revolution; in our country they were achieved in a peaceful way.

"The second difference is that the Soviet Union had to go through the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas in our country there is no such period, and it can be avoided.

"The third difference characterizing the variation in the ways of development of both countries is that the government in the Soviet Union is in the hands of the Council of Delegates, or Soviets, which combine the legislative and executive functions and constitute the socialist form of government, whereas in our country the legislative and executive functions are separated and the government is based on a parliamentary democracy."

Indicating the independent line of development of the new democracies, Mathias Rakosi, Hungarian Communist Party secretary, in his Party's Third Congress said:

"During the last twenty-five years the Communist parties of the world have learned the lesson that there are several paths leading to socialism, yet we cannot secure socialism unless we take the special circumstances of the country in question into consideration. We have learned this lesson, and if we fortify Hungarian democracy, we do not do it out of tactics or in order to attain some secret aim, but out of a profound communist conviction, and we shall do our best in order to fill the frames of this democracy with as much socialist content as possible. This will accelerate the progress which leads humanity to socialism. We also know that whereas socialism draws upon the whole storehouse of international experience, our socialism can only come into being as a result of the development of Hungarian history and of Hungarian economic, political, and social forces. This will be a socialism born on Hungarian soil, adapted to Hungarian circumstances."

Clement Gottwald, the Communist Premier of Czecho-

slovakia, emphasized the same point, when he stated recently:

"We are treading our own road to socialism. We know that this road is longer and more difficult, but the fundamental changes in the Czechoslovak economic and social situation make us confident that we are on the right path."

The various roads to socialism being supported by the Communist parties of Europe indicate the truth of Engels' famous statement, used by Lenin in his controversy with the Kautskys and Bernsteins, that "Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action."

Underlying all the previously indicated sources of Soviet prestige among the masses, including the U.S.S.R.'s war record, its resolute anti-fascist pro-democratic world policy, its reputation for economic stability, and its unchallenged leadership in the matter of political and economic advancement, there is also the general trend of the European masses toward socialism. The peoples of Europe, after a generation of recurring world wars, fascist tyranny, economic crises, and spreading wholesale pauperization, have largely become convinced that monopoly capitalism is dying and that they must look toward the establishment of the higher type of society, socialism. This rapidly developing socialist conviction in Europe naturally makes the toiling masses turn their eyes eastward toward the socialist U.S.S.R. for inspiration rather than toward the moribund monopoly capitalism of the West. History has reached the point where, paradoxically, democratic Europe represents the new world and the United States the old world.

The propaganda of violent threats now being carried on against the U.S.S.R. by capitalist forces in the United States, curiously enough, is based on fear of that country—not fear that the Soviets will attack us, as the Soviet-baiters allege—but fear that the socialist economic system of the U.S.S.R. is fundamentally superior to the prevailing capitalist economic order in the United States. The capitalists of this country and

their mouthpieces and pen pushers, for all their shrieking to the contrary, are not at all sure of the soundness of their economic system. They are observant enough to know that while the United States is openly exposed to shattering economic breakdowns, with their mass unemployment and all the rest of the human tragedies attendant upon cyclical capitalist economic crises, the U.S.S.R. is quite immune to such economic disasters. The Soviet Union, by its very nature, does not and *cannot* have cyclical economic crises and mass unemployment due to overproduction. Our capitalists know this disconcerting fact very well. Moreover, the capitalists of the United States cannot help but see that the capitalist system is lying in ruins all over the world, save in the United States. They see, too, the trend of the peoples towards socialism. They are not fools enough really to believe that the United States can long survive as a prosperous island in a world sea of decadent capitalism. Nor do they actually believe with real conviction that this country, even with all its wealth, can once again breathe the spark of life into obsolescent world capitalism. Hence, a great fear for their privileged position grips their hearts. They respond to this fear by a violent attack upon the new economic system which they see growing in the world. All their shouting about the glories of "free enterprise," in a world that is rapidly turning away from their idolized monopoly capitalism, is in one sense the expression of an American capitalist inferiority complex in the face of the new European democracies and socialism.

Besides this economic fear, the big American capitalists also have a profound political fear. They view with the gravest alarm the rising democratic tide throughout Europe and the world, and they know that the U.S.S.R. is the main bulwark of this new world democracy. They correctly see in this expanding democracy a formidable threat to their perspective of imperialist expansion. In the reactionary spirit of Hitler, therefore, they have embarked upon a crusade to

crush democracy and socialism and to set up reactionary political systems that will conform with their plans for establishing world domination by Wall Street.

13. The European Policy of the United States

The policy of the United States in Europe can be understood only as part of its world program. Violating the interests of the American people, this consists of an attempt to establish Wall Street's imperialist control all over the globe. The American masses are not an imperialist-minded people. So much so that, in the main, great sections of our people do not even realize that our present government, dominated as it is by the trusts and monopolies, the enemies of our people, is imperialist in character. But other nations have little trouble in grasping this fact. Throughout the world it is a matter of common conviction that the big capitalists of the United States, taking advantage of the war-shattered condition of so many other countries and fully conscious of their own great financial, industrial, and military strength, are now pushing our government along an aggressive foreign policy calculated to give them mastery of the earth.

What the Russians, as well as a growing section of European and world democratic opinion, think of Wall Street's foreign policy is indicated by the following very frank criticism of it in the Soviet trade union periodical, *New Times* (October 25, 1946):

"The ruling circles of the United States are always ready to dilate on their responsibilities toward the rest of the world. The policy they have been pursuing since the end of the war would give one the impression that they have been authorized to control the destinies of the whole of mankind. They unceremoniously endeavor to interfere in the affairs of the entire world; they attempt to impose their will upon others

in such matters as the administration of Trieste, navigation on the Danube, the number of Jewish immigrants to be allowed into Palestine, the Soviet-Swedish trade agreement, election procedure in Bulgaria, and the number of parties in Poland. They declare that they are responsible for the political situation in China, for the sterling assets of the British colonies, for the scales of preferential tariffs in the British Empire, and so on and so forth."

Not only in the council halls of the United Nations, but all over the world the agents of our government are aggressively pursuing their plans to force Wall Street's program for a reactionary, imperialist "peace" upon the world. In pursuing this goal, among the grandiose and fantastically impossible schemes they are striving to accomplish are the following: (a) to undermine the strength of the British, French, and Dutch empires and to secure an economic hold upon their colonies and dominions; (b) to reduce the U.S.S.R. to the status of a second-class power; (c) to transform China into a satellite of the United States; (d) to make Japan into a puppet country, economically and politically dependent upon the United States; (e) to tighten American economic, political, and military control over all of Latin America; (f) to turn the Mediterranean Sea into an American lake; (g) to exercise complete domination in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Even at the North and South Poles American forces are also busily at work setting up United States controls. These harmful policies are those of the Hoovers, Tafts, Deweys, and Vandenberges, agents of big business. To carry out these super-ambitious imperialist plans, which far surpass those of any nation in history, the United States government proposes a monster \$16 billion peacetime military budget and is building powerful air, sea, and land forces, with bases scattered all over the world. The United States, bypassing the United Nations, is uni-

laterally trying to force its program through by various means of pressure in many parts of the globe.

One of the grandiose phases of Wall Street world imperialism is to create a reactionary Europe, dominated by the United States. To this end its blows are directed against the new democratic governments. Its target is especially the U.S.S.R., which the reactionary monopolists of Wall Street correctly recognize as the mainstay of European and world democracy. The main allies of American imperialism in this anti-democratic drive in Europe are the British and French imperialists, the big capitalists and landlords in all the countries, the Vatican, the right-wing Social-Democrats, and what remains of Hitler's fascist forces.

Among the specific aims of this formidable reactionary European combination, led by Wall Street's agents, are the following: (a) to create a bloc of reactionary states directed against the U.S.S.R. (expressed most clearly in the United States of Europe scheme); (b) to support actively all reactionary and fascist states—Spain, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Austria, Switzerland; (c) to drive the Communists out of the democratic coalition governments and to push these governments further and further to the right; (d) to force Germany and as many other European states as possible to become economic and political dependencies of the United States; (e) to prevent economic collaboration among the new democracies themselves and between them and the U.S.S.R.; (f) to break up the co-operation between Communists and Socialists, workers and peasants, Catholics and non-Catholics throughout Europe; (g) to undermine and split the great new trade union movement* and the other mass organizations of the people. All these reactionary policies, and more, are being pushed vigorously in various parts of Europe.

* Significantly, in Japan, under General MacArthur's rule, organized labor is split into two national bodies—the National Congress of Industrial Unions and the National Federation of Labor Unions.

Such a program, if successful, would eventually mean a Wall Street-dominated, fascist Europe. For a serious defeat of the European democratic forces would surely head the countries concerned toward fascism. If the Communists can be finally driven out of the governments and their parties weakened, the left Social-Democrats and other democratic elements will then be next to go. A Europe in the hands of big capitalists could be nothing but a fascist Europe, or one rapidly on the way to fascism. That American imperialist policy in Europe points toward fascism should not surprise anyone who understands what the great trusts and their political tools, who are the basis of American imperialism, are trying to accomplish in the United States itself with their attacks upon the Jewish and Negro peoples, their efforts to outlaw the Communist Party, and their attempts to undermine and devitalize the trade union movement.

Among Wall Street imperialism's anti-democratic pressures on Europe there is, first, the use of food reserves for reactionary political purposes. The United States, having grown rich on the war and suffered relatively few war casualties, has a clear obligation to help the war-stricken peoples of Europe to emerge from their semi-famine conditions. Instead, not only are we destroying surplus foods in order to protect high price levels, but our government is doling out food and other life necessities in a manner designed to coerce European peoples into doing the bidding of Wall Street.

It is a matter of common knowledge that, in the distribution of food relief, the agencies of the Truman government are definitely favoring those countries where they can now, or hope eventually to, influence or control the political policies. Thus, UNRRA was abolished upon American insistence, in order to free Wall Street's hands from all international controls and facilitate the shameful practice of using food for political pressure purposes. The outspoken Fiorello H. LaGuardia, former director-general of UNRRA, indig-

nantly stated publicly that determination thus to manipulate relief supplies was the reason for the dissolution of UNRRA. The disgraceful policy of handing out niggardly relief to Europe on a reactionary political basis, while we live in plenty ourselves, is making hosts of enemies for the United States throughout the Continent.

Then there is the pressure exerted through American reconstruction loans to the war-stricken countries. Here again, it is the obligation of the United States, as a partner in the war and as a nation that gained immensely from the war victory, to share with devastated peoples America's war-fattened financial and industrial resources. Not only is this our duty; it would be "good business" as well. Nevertheless, repudiating these obligations and disregarding the generous spirit of the American people, the imperialist-minded men at the head of Congress and the Administration are basing their foreign loan policies on reactionary political and military considerations highly advantageous to Wall Street. They are giving large loans to those countries willing, in one way or another, to make political concessions to the monopolies and the State Department, while those countries that more sturdily defend their democracy and national independence either get smaller loans or none at all.

"U. S. Shuts Off Supplies to Hungary, Pledges Aid to Italy's Anti-Red Rule," shouts the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 3, 1947. This describes in a nutshell our Administration's policy in Europe—opposition to democracy, support for reaction. During the war the United States was the arsenal of democracy; now Wall Street is trying to make it the arsenal of reaction.

In an imperialist spirit, no reconstruction loans have been made to the U.S.S.R., although during the war that country suffered greater property losses than all the rest of the anti-fascist powers put together. Moreover, in order to cripple that country, our State Department, violating the Yalta and

Potsdam agreements, is even striving to prevent the Soviet Union from getting 10 billion dollars in war reparations from Germany, although the latter inflicted property damage of 128 billion dollars on the U.S.S.R. The new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe have also been put under the ban by State Department reactionaries so far as American loans are concerned. On the other hand, big loans of four and two billion dollars respectively were freely granted to Great Britain and France for the definite purpose, as cynically avowed on the floor of Congress, of attempting to stop the progress of European democracy (miscalled "communism"). It is typical, too, of this imperialist financial policy that the French government was hastily granted a further loan of \$250,000,000 by the American-controlled International Bank on the very day that Premier Ramadier excluded the Communists from his cabinet. As a result of this policy, the combined reactionary forces in every country in Europe have as one of their strongest weapons against the new democracy the contention that if a given progressive measure is adopted by the government in question, the Wall Street bankers will not like it and will refuse to grant the country a loan. This is a potent argument among starving populations. Many a democratic proposition has been defeated by this method.

As this book goes to press, a plan for the United States to make a "Continental approach" to the European loan problem is being discussed in and around Congress. The idea is to cover all the countries simultaneously with a huge global financial plan, involving billions of dollars, instead of dealing with them one at a time. But the danger inherent in such a project is that under the present set-up it would be used to bolster reaction. It would be hooked up with the Churchill-Truman so-called United States of Europe scheme in one form or another and thus used as a means to split Europe into two hostile blocs and to fasten Anglo-American imperialist

influence upon the West European countries. It would be an attempt to put Europe into a Wall Street receivership.

Although the reactionary Wall Street food and loan policies have definitely acted as a brake upon the progress of European democracy, nevertheless they have by no means stopped the growth of that democracy. Typically, at the first election held after the anti-Communist loan was granted to France, the Communist Party polled the biggest vote in its history. The Italian people are also vigorously opposing the minority de Gasperi government foisted on them by our State Department's intrigue. Other European peoples have shown a comparable spirit of independence in the face of Wall Street's attempts to coerce them by either withholding or granting food and loans. The imperialist strategists of Wall Street, alarmed at this vigor of European democracy, now feel obliged to adopt even more drastic methods to accomplish their reactionary purposes of defeating the peoples' democratic strivings and turning the clock back in Europe. Hence, they have produced the Truman Doctrine, initiated by the loan of \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey.

The Truman Doctrine, in substance, means the throwing of the gigantic financial, industrial, and military might of the United States government behind European reactionary minorities, even to the point of promoting civil war and undermining world peace. Besides the serious dangers inherent in the arming of a fascist country like Turkey a grave menace is involved in undermining the power and prestige of the United Nations as the United States did by taking the unilateral action of giving military aid to Greece and Turkey. The success of the Truman Doctrine, in its wider implications, would imply the systematic organization of a fascist Europe. Characteristically, the Truman Doctrine has as its slogan the old reactionary watchword of Hitler and Mussolini; that is, to stop the advance of communism. The

Truman Doctrine is the Wall Street counterpart of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact and has no more chance of success.

The promotion of civil war to further the interests of big business is not a new policy for American imperialist adventurers. The history of Latin America has many instances of governments overthrown as a result of Yankee intrigues. In China, too, our policy of supporting the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government (with food, troops, military instructors, warships, and \$1,333,000,000, against the democratic masses of the Chinese people, has definitely produced a civil war in that country—a war which, by the way, is not going too well for the Wall Street puppet, Chiang. In Poland, also, the United States and Great Britain gave active support to the abortive civil war of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's and General Anders' underground bands against the Polish People's Government, a venture which, likewise, has not prospered.

Under the so-called Truman Doctrine, it is proposed that the United States apply in other countries of Europe, too, this civil-war-provoking policy. The Doctrine starts out with our taking sides in the Greek civil war and supporting reaction against the people's democratic forces (who are denounced as "Communists"). Its further development will cause other similar collisions elsewhere. Every fascist, every reactionary throughout Europe, from de Gaulle in France to Mikolajczyk in Poland, knows very well that the more militantly he attacks the coalition democratic government of his country, the better the Wall Street imperialists will like it. More than that, these reactionary adventurers, with the lessons of American policy in China, Spain, Poland, Turkey, and Greece before their eyes, realize that the United States government is prepared, wherever it deems it feasible, to back up even armed struggle of reactionaries against the new democracies. The Truman Doctrine thus places a premium upon civil war. It is already organizing nests of fascist

vipers in various countries and is getting them ready to strike against democracy. It should surprise no one, therefore, to learn that since the Doctrine was first stated by the President on March 22, 1947, the forces of reaction are displaying a new and more dangerous aggressiveness in many parts of democratic Europe. Everywhere they are brazenly basing their plans upon expected political, financial, and even military aid from the United States.

There is also danger of international war inherent in the Truman Doctrine. For, clearly, it is jeopardizing world peace to provoke civil wars in various countries. A civil war in France, for example (and many are talking of such a possibility developing out of the near-fascist de Gaulle movement), might possibly bring about a general conflagration. A civil war in Italy could also be disastrous internationally.

Walter Lippmann, in the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 20, 1947, speaks of the new policy as "the Truman Doctrine, which descends directly from the Fulton [Missouri] speech of Churchill." And Churchill's speech was a war speech. A recent national poll taken by the ultra-conservative Town Meeting of the Air, if its figures may be taken as representative, would indicate that 75 per cent of the American people believe the Truman Doctrine is a policy that leads to war.

The great prestige of Henry Wallace, both here and in Europe, is due mainly to the fact that he voices this profound mass fear of war. The size of Wallace's following in Europe is amazing. Everywhere I went, in Great Britain and all over the Continent, progressive elements looked upon Wallace as the continuer of the Roosevelt peace policies. At the same time these people widely condemned President Truman for having betrayed Roosevelt's whole progressive policy, both foreign and domestic. Wallace, in his fight for peace, is expressing the sentiments of the bulk of the American people.

The masses of the American people are deeply opposed to war, and the peoples of Europe consider all talk of war as sheer madness. But despite this almost universal mass opposition to war, there is still another potential international war danger in the Truman Doctrine in addition to its tendency to provoke civil war in various countries. The American government is in the hands of imperialists, militarists, and would-be world conquerors many of whom look upon a war with the U.S.S.R. as very probable, if not inevitable. Pursuing their get-tough-with-Russia policy, they are consciously organizing in anticipation of such a war. They have the atom-bomb, and the most jingoistic elements among them want to use it. They have a vast military machine which they are constantly strengthening. Their war preparations have gone so far that they are now actually developing three great military air salients pointed directly against the U.S.S.R. One of these salients passes through Canada and over the North Pole; another traverses former Japanese-owned islands in the Western Pacific, and the third goes through the Mediterranean and the Middle East via Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Active military, naval, and air maneuvers are constantly being carried out along all of these air salients. The militarists planned to build two more great air bases, also aimed at the Soviet Union, in Great Britain and China; but the profound anti-war spirit of the British people and the failure (for the imperialists) of the Chinese civil war have knocked these two proposed bases out of their calculations.

Now the danger of war in this situation comes from the possibility that the fascist-minded elements among the Wall Street imperialists and jingoists may become reckless from the pressure of an eventual economic crisis in this country and try to solve this crisis, as Hitler tried, by war. Or, finding themselves strengthened by an election victory in 1948, or realizing that their political use of food and finan-

cial loans and their other pressures are not halting the advance of world democracy, they may try the insane gamble of war. Such capitalist adventurers may seek, in their desperation, to solve by military methods problems they cannot solve by atom-bomb diplomacy. Against such dangers the American people must be on guard.

14. Whither Europe?

What are the economic and political prospects for Europe? What success is there in the work of reconstruction after the war? Especially what progress is there in view of the determination of Wall Street imperialists to create a reactionary, anti-Soviet, American-dominated Europe?

In Chapter 1, I indicated that many of the countries of Europe, despite acute commodity shortages and hunger, are achieving a measure of economic recovery, both industrially and agriculturally. The democratic measures adopted by the various peoples, especially those governments controlled by workers, peasants, and intellectuals, and economic systems involving nationalization of finance and industry, agrarian reform, and national planning, are proving to be successful in reviving industry. Without them conditions in Europe would be far worse than they are. But in the face of the stupendous damage done by the war, and the resistance of the reactionary forces, the way to recovery is very slow and extremely difficult. Huge shortages of the most vital commodities continue to exist; cities still lie in ruins in many parts of Europe; the industries are as yet limping along, often operating far below pre-war production levels; the people are living on dangerously low calorie diets; and the political situations are full of dynamite in many countries. Still, the recovery is at work, and with the most speed precisely in those countries that have been the

boldest in adopting the new democratic measures, economic and political. An American economic crisis, however, would deal European recovery a body blow and increase the present difficulties all along the line.

It is significant that employer reactionary sources are taking a pessimistic attitude toward European recovery, especially those countries where the most pronounced democratic advances have been made. In France, for example, while I was there, a prominent trade union leader publicly called to account a conservative Minister in the government who had deliberately stated that French industry was working at only 70 per cent of the pre-war rate, whereas the correct and well-known figure was 90 per cent. Characteristically, the *New York Times* reflected this employer-bred pessimism when it stated on May 24, 1947, of European countries in general: "In most of them, and especially in those ravaged by war, recovery and reconstruction are not taking place."

While one must recognize that the economic situation in most European countries still remains very bad, nevertheless it is also necessary to understand the purpose behind super-pessimism such as the foregoing. Its aim is to discredit the new economic and political democracy and to prepare the masses ideologically for the return of reaction to power. It may be added that big employers in Europe, as well as their friends in America, buttress their pessimistic conclusions by directly sabotaging the economic plans of the democratic governments wherever and whenever they can.

Europe will not return to "free enterprise" and the rule of the trusts, as the big employers and their mouthpieces here are demanding, but will press forward to still more advanced democratic measures. If American economic help can be given to Europe on this progressive basis, well and good; it will then speed up the general recovery process. But if such help cannot be given, democracy will go on without it. To restore "free enterprise," with all its reactionary impli-

cations, as the United States is trying to do, would be to throw Europe into economic and political chaos. Europe is on the march forward. It will not be driven back by reactionary pressures. The answer to Europe's critical needs is not American money, bayonets, and puppet governments.

Economic reconstruction in Europe is fundamentally a political question. Hence the economic perspectives for the various countries in Europe differ widely and may be gauged pretty much by the extent to which the workers and other democratic forces have secured command of the respective governments and industries. The greater their political control, the better the perspective for a healthy national economic recovery and further development. But wherever the power of monopoly capital remains strong, there the future is full of dark forebodings.

Using this elementary measuring rod, one can safely conclude that the U.S.S.R., the most war-injured country of all, is safely weathering the storm. For there the people are in full political control and their socialist economic system is sound and healthy. The U.S.S.R., frightfully mangled by the war, is having a hard struggle to recover from its losses. But that it will recover and that it will then proceed rapidly on to higher peaks of industrial development than ever before, no one doubts—not even the worst Soviet-haters. The U.S.S.R. is now making rapid progress in carrying out its five-year plan. It will again prove to be immune to an American economic crisis.

The group of democratic countries in Central and Eastern Europe—Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Albania—are also coming slowly out of the crisis. These countries were all heavily damaged by the war, and they are confronted by a host of staggering difficulties. They are also in urgent need of American financial help, but whether or not they get this help they will go ahead successfully. This is because of the democratic ad-

vances they have made in the fields of politics and economics. Their guarantees for the future are, on the one hand, the weakened position of their native monopolists and, on the other, their powerful Communist parties, their other strong mass organizations of the people, their far-reaching economic reorganization, and their democratic governments. In all these countries, in different degree, there are dangerous reactionary political minorities, all of whom are being stimulated to activity by the Truman Doctrine. This will hinder recovery. These countries will be hit, but not disastrously, by the developing American economic crisis.

The countries in Europe which face fundamentally the greatest difficulties are those where monopoly capital remains relatively strong economically and politically. Among such countries are Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany. Here the workers and their democratic allies still face, in varying degrees, the basic task of defeating monopolistic and fascist-minded reaction politically and of securing decisive economic control. Here the economic situations are the most critical. These countries, therefore, will also be most affected by an economic crisis in the United States.

In Great Britain the economic situation is very grave; monopoly capitalism is still strong, and the Labor Government is weak and hesitant. And the Labor Party leaders, at their May, 1947, conference, urged a still slower tempo of advance. This increases the country's danger. Although British industry is now producing at approximately 100 per cent of 1938 levels, economic conditions remain bad. This is due, specifically, to heavy property war losses, and more basically to the general decline of the British Empire as a first class world power. British foreign investments have fallen off greatly as a result of wartime expenditures, prospects for the needed amount of vital exports and imports are dismal, industry is obsolete technologically and requires reconstruction throughout, housing conditions are very bad

and the people are clamoring for new homes, and acute shortages exist in living necessities and key industrial materials of all sorts, especially coal.

The Labor Government, instead of pressing on vigorously with the program of industrial nationalization that the people voted for at the last election and commissioned it to put into effect, hesitates and is afraid to invade boldly the economic realm of big business. Instead, it caters to British monopoly and it also has adopted the dangerous line of a large measure of economic dependence upon the United States. At the present time the Labor Government is meeting its big annual deficits out of the American four billion dollar loan, and many of its leaders are now looking forward to getting a new loan. Large masses, however, oppose such a loan, on the ground that it would jeopardize British independence. Although most of the Labor Party leaders are adjusting themselves to Great Britain falling into the position of junior partner to American imperialism, nevertheless it would be a great mistake simply to write off the British Empire as no longer an important factor in world affairs. Actually American and British interests conflict drastically in many parts of the world, and these contradictions are full of alarming possibilities to Wall Street imperialists.

The conservative economic and political line of the Labor Government plays right into the hands of the Tory opposition. In discussing a recent public opinion poll in Great Britain, a writer in *The Nation*, May 3, 1947, said:

"The proportion of the canvassed sample expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Attlee's personal performance as Prime Minister has risen to 45 per cent and the proportion dissatisfied with the record of the Government in general has increased to 54 per cent."

Clearly these are danger signs. Last winter during the very critical coal shortage, while I was in London, the Tories were actually moving to bring about the downfall of the Labor

Government. They might have succeeded had it not been for the magnificent response of the workers when called upon for more production by the head of the Miners Union, Arthur Horner, a Communist. The defeat of the Labor Government, it need hardly be stated, would have been a disastrous blow to democracy all over Europe.

Great Britain is gradually moving towards a more left, a more progressive Labor Government. Ever-increasing masses of the people consider this essential, in order to meet the present difficult economic and political situation. Great Britain needs a government that will take hold seriously of the job of nationalizing British industry; that will free India, Burma, and Ceylon and enter into friendly economic and political collaboration with them; that will stop tailing behind American imperialism and will more adequately guard its own national independence; that will stop depending economically upon the United States and will enter into economic relations with the U.S.S.R. and other countries with planned economies, without, however, forming a bloc against the U.S.A.; that will abandon Ernest Bevin's present imperialist military commitments in various parts of the world and will embark upon a genuine peace policy; that will take seriously in hand the job of building socialism in Great Britain. In short a government that will give the workers of Britain economic and political control. And we may depend upon it that the British working class will eventually see to it that the Labor Government is reorganized on this basis. The "rebel" movement among the masses behind the Labor Government shows the direction things must take. The main resolution of the recent Congress of the British Communist Party puts the alternatives before Great Britain as follows:

"*Either* to go forward along the path of radical social and economic reorganization, breaking the power of monopoly and building up planned economy, and establishing close cooperation internationally with the Soviet Union, the planned

economies of the new democracies in Europe and the advancing colonial peoples.

"Or to sink to dependence on American monopolist reaction, surrender to the monopolies at home, succumb to economic crisis and depression spreading from America, and be engulfed in war as the outpost and vulnerable advance base of American reaction against democracy."

In France, too, the big capitalists are still strong, with their economic base almost unimpaired. Only in a comparatively few instances were the industries of the Vichyite collaborators with Hitler expropriated. These capitalist elements simply reek with fascism. With the help of reactionary clerical forces and of American and British imperialism, they are sabotaging economic recovery; they are trying to push the government to the right by keeping Communists out and by pressure upon the Social-Democrats and the M.R.P.; they are systematically building up de Gaulle in the hope of a political *coup d'état* that will give them a France fast traveling toward fascism; they want to make France part of the Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc. This is the Truman Doctrine at work in France.

Many millions of Frenchmen hold that the basic answer to this situation is a strong democratic coalition government led by the Communists. They believe that Maurice Thorez should become the Premier of France. As a result of the 1946 elections the Communist Party emerged as the strongest party in France. According to the rules of French political procedure, therefore, this party was entitled to organize the new government. This demand would have been realized had the Social-Democrats backed up their formal agreement with real support. There is no constructive alternative for France except a Communist-led coalition government. Only such a government will be able to curb the fascist-minded monopolists, protect and develop French democracy, make France a positive factor in a democratic Europe,

achieve the maximum tempo of industrial reconstruction, and defend French national independence against the encroachments of aggressive American imperialism. This is the kind of government the French people are eventually going to insist upon, despite efforts of the French big capitalists, the Vatican, British imperialism, and Wall Street.

Italy, also, is a danger spot for democracy in Europe, and for the same general reason that France is—namely, the big capitalists of that country, the real basis of Mussolini's fascist regime, have not yet been decisively defeated politically by the workers and their allies. It is true that after their liberation from German domination the Italian people dealt a heavy blow to reaction by abolishing the monarchy and by defeating the big capitalist parties in the elections. But the capitalists still retain a political base in the Vatican's political organization, the Christian Democratic Party, which polled the largest vote of any party in Italy. There is also the large Common Man Party, a masked fascist party. Moreover, the capitalists can always depend upon the right-wing Social-Democrats for political support. And, of course, there are always the American military authorities, the real rulers of the country, to try to see to it that no political harm befalls these Italian "free enterprisers," Mussolini brand, and also that Italy is given an anti-Soviet orientation.

A major result of this political strength of the Italian big capitalists is that they have been able to protect their industrial base. Outside of the Bank, there has been very little nationalization of finance and industry in Italy and, consequently, still less national economic planning. All this, in turn, militates against the progress of Italian democracy and industrial reconstruction. The existence of political reaction in Italy takes bread from the mouths of the people.

The Italian situation is highly explosive. The extreme right elements are obviously preparing for a coup against Italian democracy in all its forms, with the direct aid and

stimulation of American reactionaries. Here, again, the Truman Doctrine of a reactionary Europe is being applied. The mode of procedure is roughly analogous to that now being tried in France. The first step in the march rightward is to "soften up" the democratic coalition government by ousting the Communists. These maneuvers are being carried on amid the most sycophantic arguments to the effect that the Americans will be pleased thereby and will give Italy money.

But the Italian reactionaries and their Wall Street backers who are pursuing this line are in for a surprise before they get through. The Communist Party of Italy is a very powerful and capably led organization. It holds, together with the left Social-Democrats, the solid leadership of the working class, and it also has far-reaching contacts among the peasantry and various Catholic strata of the population. In the long run this will mean victory for democracy. In Italy, as in Great Britain and France, the political center of the government will be shifted leftward. A democratic coalition can provide a stable, democratic, and progressive government for harassed Italy. Only such a government, too, can bring Italy economic prosperity. Wall Street, with its general strategy of constructing a reactionary Europe, will not succeed in forcing Italy back into the grip of fascism. Millions of Italians have come to accept as inevitable the formation of a coalition government, headed by the Communist leader Togliatti.

Germany is, of course, a major key to the whole European situation, economically and politically. In the fight over formulating a peace treaty for that country, as well as one for Austria, the collision between the forces of democracy and reaction is sharp. United States policy, dictated by Wall Street, is obviously to build an ultra-conservative Germany under American control and with a strong anti-Soviet orientation. This policy fits in with the general reactionary program of Wall Street in Europe.

In Germany the American State Department, in violation of the American people's interest, as well as of the Potsdam and Yalta agreements, is working against every major democratic trend now manifest in the new Europe. It is shielding German big businessmen from war-guilt punishment and is keeping them in positions of economic power; it is opposing the nationalization of the banks and key basic industries; it is against the break-up of the great landed estates, one of the main bases of German reaction; it is moving directly to prevent Communist-Socialist unity; it is maneuvering to prevent the establishment of a strong and united trade union movement in Germany. In short, its political line plainly makes for the establishment of a reactionary Germany, which, under the given circumstances, could only be a Germany full of fascist danger and a breeder of future war.

The danger to democracy in all this should be obvious. Were our State Department willing, it could have secured a progressive settlement of the German question with the U.S.S.R. and the other powers concerned at the recent Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. Such an agreement can be had in the November Conference. But, manifestly, the Hoovers, Dulleses, and Trumans, expressing the desires of reactionary big business, do not want any democratic treaty. What they are striving for is either victory for their reactionary program or a deadlock. Herbert Hoover, whom President Truman has again elevated to the status of a statesman after the American people had retired him to political oblivion, showed what the most reactionary circles of American big businessmen have in mind when he made his proposals for a separate peace with Germany. This pernicious plan would create a reactionary Germany, destroy the United Nations, and divide the world into two hostile camps.

Europe, by and large, is on the march toward a new and higher type of democracy. As a result of the ravages of fascism and war its democratic millions have moved to adopt

a whole series of progressive economic and political measures, which constitute the new Europe. In a number of countries, the peoples are definitely orienting toward socialism. In preceding chapters I have outlined the characteristic features of this new European democracy—including the governmental coalitions of democratic parties, the nationalization of industry and finance, the basic agrarian reforms, the growth of great Communist parties and of Communist-Socialist-Catholic unity, the development of a vast new trade union organization and of other big mass movements, the unfolding of new relationships between the hitherto jangling nations, and the new mass socialist perspectives. Behind these basic developments stand huge majorities of many peoples.

Now Wall Street big business, with a subservient Administration and Congress at its command and in alliance with every category of European reaction, is out to undo all this post-war democratic advance. It aims to put a halt to Europe's progressive orientation and to turn its face backward to the old system of monopoly capitalist control that has produced so much war and fascist tyranny during the past generation. With its vast billions in wealth, Wall Street is determined to reduce Europe to a sort of economic and political dependency of the United States, with new-type puppets (note, for example, de Gaulle in France, de Gasperi in Italy, Petkoff in Bulgaria, and Nagy in Hungary) at the head of the various national governments. It wants to transform Europe into a base for struggle against the U.S.S.R. and into a means to advance its own ambitious plans for world control. All this makes economic recovery more difficult; it threatens Europe with economic collapse and bitter political struggle.

The war-harassed, impoverished millions of Europe will not easily allow their fate to be decided for them by the financial kings in Wall Street. The people did not develop their new democratic governments and programs, and their

new socialist perspectives, simply out of idle whims. These things are bread-and-butter matters of the most urgent character, indispensable for economic recovery and political freedom in the hard logic of the grim post-war situation. And the European peoples will fight for these democratic gains. They cannot be bought off by Wall Street's mess of pottage, nor can they be driven backward by Wall Street's threats.

The reactionary interference by Wall Street in Europe undoubtedly constitutes a real danger to European democracy and a hindrance to its economic recovery. As for European reaction itself, the masses could readily handle that without too much difficulty; but when this reaction is backed and financed by American big capital, then it becomes truly dangerous. Nevertheless, the democratic peoples of Europe will be able to withstand the reactionary threat now coming from the capitalists of the United States. They will not be cowed by the cynical and ruthless Truman Doctrine, with all its implications of organized reaction, civil strife, and war. They know well how to defend their hard-won democracy and national independence.

Poland, it seems to me, in its experience of the past few years, gives lessons that may well dramatize the immediate future of Europe. As I noted in previous chapters, the Polish people had to fight resolutely against long and determined efforts by British and American imperialists to foist reactionary regimes upon their country, first in the shape of the near-fascist Polish London government, and later in the person of the reactionary Mikolajczyk. But the Polish people fought against and beat back these attempts to enslave them politically. In the course of this struggle (and this is the heart of the whole lesson) they were educated, organized, and stimulated into establishing one of the most advanced people's democratic republics in Europe.

In the period opening before us we may expect democratic Europe to follow the general pattern set by Poland in

its fight for national freedom. The struggle of the European peoples to retain their post-war democratic achievements will be difficult, but they will learn a great deal from this experience. And the final outcome is certain. It will be the defeat of Wall Street's imperialist program for Europe, the victory of the new European democracy, and a hastening of the tempo of socialism throughout Europe.

15. The American People and Wall Street Imperialism

The efforts of Wall Street to create a reactionary, American-dominated, anti-Soviet Europe have nothing in common with the welfare of the American people. The great masses in this country are democratic, and it is distinctly to their national interest that there should be a democratic, progressive Europe. Such a Europe would be a strong buttress for economic recovery, world democracy, and international peace. On the contrary, the policies now being followed by our government in Europe can benefit no one but the big trusts in this country and the reactionaries on the Continent. They are the policies of Herbert Hoover.

It is necessary, therefore, that American policy in Europe should be drastically changed. The people of this country should insist that President Truman and the State Department stop bullying and coercing the democratic masses in Europe into doing the bidding of Wall Street monopolists and reactionary minorities in these countries. Europe has a great need for our food supplies, but we should distribute them in a spirit of generosity and democratic fairness. Europe also urgently requires loans from the United States. These should be made on a large scale, but without reactionary political conditions. Such arrangements would prove as beneficial to us as to the war-stricken Europeans. Our govern-

mental agents should also be made to abandon their atom-bomb diplomacy, especially the dangerous, so-called Truman Doctrine of aiding reactionary minorities with funds and war materials. The United States must co-operate with democratic Europe, not try to choke it into submission to American reactionaries.

Along with changing our policy in Europe, we should also change America's foreign policy in general. As I have indicated, the world policy of our government is one of aggressive imperialism. It is a naked attempt of the big monopolists of this country to set up their ruthless rule over the whole torn and shattered world. The big capitalists are dictating the policy of the government. Such Republican figures as Hoover, Dulles, Vandenberg, Dewey, and the like are their major political agents. As for President Truman and the reactionary Democrats closely associated with him, they have violated the mandate given President Roosevelt by the people and have become mere tools of imperialist big business.

In pursuance of the government's general plan to make Wall Street imperialism predominant over the world, the center of American foreign policy today is to "get tough with Russia" and to beat back the rising tide of democracy throughout the world. It is a reactionary imperialist policy which, if unchecked, will lead to war. One thing is very clear: Unless the Truman Doctrine is reversed by mass pressure, it can well lead our country to disaster. The plan, which the more rabid of the militarists are cooking up, of knocking out the U.S.S.R. by a sudden "preventive" atomic war, would be a mad and criminal enterprise. If actually tried, it could only result in a lost war for us and an unprecedented catastrophe for our people and the world. Let Hitler's fate be a warning to Wall Street's would-be world conquerors. The American and Soviet people can live together in harmony in "one world." It is highly significant that the Russians are very confident that there will be no war. In a recent government

document the statement was made that it may now "be considered that peace has been secured for a long period of time." This vital calculation of the Russians is based on the realization: (a) that Soviet policy is unshakably for a democratic world peace; (b) that the war-devastated, war-weary peoples of the capitalist world do not want a war and would not support one; (c) that the American people will bridle their war-mongers and will not permit them to carry through their insane plans for a third world war. The American people can and will share this realistic and healthy peace outlook in spite of all the war shouters in our country.

The foreign policy of the United States should be based on friendly co-operation with the Soviet Union and the new democracies now springing up in various parts of the world. Only this will lay the basis for a strong United Nations. Big Three co-operation, which was the foundation of Roosevelt's successful foreign policy, can be achieved if the American people want it, which they do. Up until now, however, the Wall Street leaders of our government have rejected such a peace policy and have sought literally to dynamite their imperialist program, through the United Nations and by unilateral action, regardless of other peoples' national interests. But this aggressive policy is not succeeding. The peoples of the world are refusing to be bought by Wall Street's money or to be intimidated by Wall Street's atom-bomb diplomacy. Persistence by the State Department along these imperialistic lines is a sure road to national disaster for our country.

In order to develop a democratic and constructive foreign policy the American people must defeat reaction here at home. The great trusts and monopolies now have the federal government in their grip. Their policies of ruthless imperialism abroad are matched by their program of fascist-like reaction in the United States. The two are but phases of one policy. The democratic, anti-fascist masses of the American people—workers, farmers, professionals, Negroes, veterans,

small business people—must be rallied to smash this stranglehold of Wall Street upon our national life.

One of the gravest domestic dangers bred from the rule of Wall Street, now confronting the American people, is the developing economic crisis. Europe is also frightened at this prospect. How soon the crisis will develop in full force is a matter of question, but that it is coming in the near future nearly all responsible economists agree. The outbreak of the crisis is being hastened by the reactionary policies of Congress and the Truman Administration: letting prices soar, keeping wages down, boosting employers' profits, reducing their taxes, and following a reactionary foreign loan policy. All these policies tend to reduce the purchasing power of the masses and to create a glut of unsalable commodities that will eventually paralyze American and capitalist world industry and throw millions of workers out of their jobs. The big capitalists will undoubtedly try to use such a crisis, as Hitler did, by intensifying their preparations for war abroad and fascism at home.

Economic crises will recur periodically and with constantly greater severity as long as the capitalist system lasts—until the American people decide to do away with capitalism and establish socialism, under which system economic crises cannot take place. In the meantime, however, the workers and other democratic masses can do much to ease the blow of the coming cyclical economic crisis. To this end they should defeat the whole complex of low-wage, high-price, high-profit policies of the government. They should also insist that the government assume responsibility for maintaining full employment. They should demand a broad improvement in the unemployment and general social insurance laws, together with the initiation of a substantial national health program. They should fight for the democratic nationalization of the railways and the mining industry, as well as for the public ownership of all local utilities—gas, electricity, water,

telephone, etc. The people must never again permit Wall Street to force upon them a repetition of their tragic experiences in the great economic crisis which began in 1929 and lasted, in varying degree of intensity, for ten years.

A second grave danger now confronting the American people is the fierce drive of the reactionaries against our traditional civil rights. Among the major manifestations of this serious threat are the rise of anti-Semitism in the United States, the outrageous intensification of Negro lynching in the South, the crippling anti-trade union legislation in Congress and in various state legislatures, the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party, and the fierce campaign of red-baiting against everything even mildly politically progressive.

Everywhere I went in Europe democratic-minded people were greatly alarmed at this attack by the big capitalist interests upon American democratic liberties. They sensed the keen danger of fascism in it, for they had seen the same kind of red-baiting in their own countries during the rise of fascism. They saw, too, the direct connection between the reactionary drive of the American monopolies at home and their militant imperialism abroad. They believe the American working class will rally to the defense of its democracy which is now threatened as never before in its history.

One of the greatest lessons American workers have to learn in general is to combat red-baiting. They must understand that red-baiting—the eternal denunciation of everything progressive as a “red” plot and the systematic conjuring up of the “red bogey” upon all occasions—is the Hitler tactic for confusing and demoralizing the popular mind. It is the greatest ideological danger that democracy has to face today. The workers must challenge it boldly and expose its fallacies. They must learn that the attack upon the Communist Party is part and parcel of the attack upon the trade unions, and that the unions cannot be defended without defending the Communist Party. Communists are the main

leaders of the trade unions practically all over Europe. It is stupid to legislate that they cannot hold office in American unions, as Congress and some labor unions have done.

Still another phase of the general reactionary danger in the United States is the vast growth of militarism. This, too, is a matter for alarm in Europe. Never in the history of the United States have there been such a systematic propagation of a jingoistic spirit and the development of so many military plans on the part of the government and the capitalist forces generally. The President's budget proposal to Congress calls for the immense military expenditure of 16 billion dollars per year; drastic legislation is being pushed in Congress to establish universal military training; the Army, Navy, and Air Force are to be combined under one Cabinet head, and the Navy and Air Force, already by far the strongest in the world, are being constantly strengthened; agreements are being worked out with Great Britain, Canada, and Latin America for the standardization of arms under United States control; the manufacture of atom bombs goes on feverishly; the Army and Navy departments are now playing an unprecedented part in shaping foreign policy. United States naval and air bases are being constructed over half the earth; and the press, radio, and other avenues of American public opinion are literally reeking with a spirit of rabid militarism and a fabricated war scare. We can expect all this to grow worse as the economic crisis develops and the bosses need munitions orders to keep their industries going.

All this militarism and war-shouting constitute preparation for the war against the U.S.S.R. which large sections of American reactionaries consider inevitable, and which, in fact, they are deliberately trying to provoke. But it also serves another, more immediately sinister purpose. This is to provide a sort of smoke screen behind which the reactionaries can drive ahead more readily with their plans to fascitize the United States. By crying out from the housetops with

their tremendous propaganda machine that there is imminent danger of war and that the United States must be "prepared," the reactionaries are able to terrorize the population ideologically. Thus they weaken the spontaneous mass opposition not only to the extension of their dangerous militarism, but also to their whole fascist-like program of crippling the labor movement, undermining civil liberties, and forcing lower living standards upon the workers. Hence the fight against red-baiting militarism in the United States, for the outlawing of the atomic bomb, bacteriological bombs, and other mass murder weapons, and for international disarmament, have become "musts" that the labor movement and its democratic allies can ignore only at their peril.

The American people now stand at the most momentous point in their history. Will they strike out upon new paths of democratic development, or will they go down before the attacks of the most powerful and ruthless oligarchy of wealth of all time? The next great battle in this long struggle between the forces of American democracy and reaction will come in the Presidential elections of 1948. In this election fight, now rapidly developing, the main responsibility to defend the people's cause rests with the trade unions.

The trade unions should become clearly aware of the grave dangers of fascist reaction, economic breakdown, aggressive imperialism, and the threat of war that now confronts our country; they should unite their ranks for common action against the monopolist enemy; they should break with their two old capitalist parties and launch a new, anti-fascist, people's party, based on a great coalition of workers, farmers, professionals, Negroes, veterans, and other democratic forces; they should speak and fight in the name of the whole American people.

In order to fulfill their heavy responsibilities in the coming period, the workers and their leaders must begin to realize that American capitalism is cut from the same kind of

cloth as European capitalism and is therefore subject to all its weaknesses and disorders. If capitalism in the United States still seems very strong, this is due to a series of (for it) fortunate circumstances. American capitalism has grown in a great empty continent, rich in natural resources and free of feudal hangovers and many national boundaries. Not the least favorable to its development is the fact that it has not only been spared the ravages of the two world wars, but has actually waxed fat on these wars. During the recent war, for example, American industry expanded by twenty billion dollars' worth, or more than the entire pre-war industrial plant of Germany. Not only that, but all of the United States competitors on the world market have been knocked out. This boom we have been living through is a post-war boom, pure and simple. When that is finished, then economic collapse will be upon us, with all its far-reaching political implications. The ten lean years, 1929 to 1939, teach us this.

It is high time, therefore, that American trade union leaders (and members, too) cease parroting the National Association of Manufacturers' capitalistic slogan of "free enterprise" and begin to think politically for themselves. This emphasizes the burning need for Marxist-Leninist education in labor circles, and it is also a major reason why the American labor movement—the American people, in fact—must have a strong Communist Party.

It is not the task of the American labor movement, upon the basis of the false employer slogan that politics ends at the water's edge, to join with American big business in establishing an imperialist hegemony over the awakening peoples of the rest of the world. On the contrary, labor's role is to recognize the American people's community of interest with the democratic nations of the world and to join harmoniously with them in their march forward against the chief reactionary force in the world today, Wall Street big capital. Organized labor here must commence to think de-

cisively of curbing, and eventually breaking, the power of the monopolies; of nationalizing the banks and key industries; of establishing by democratic action the new type of people's democracy in the United States. As a people we must not try the impossible job of turning back European history. On the contrary, we must see in the new democracies on the Continent the path that we, too, as a people must begin to follow.

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