

Brief summary of the Second International Conference for the United Socialist States of Europe (21–22 June 1947)

Caption: At the Second International Conference for the United Socialist States of Europe, held in Montrouge, Paris, on 21 and 22 June 1947, leaders of socialist parties, trade unionists, pacifists, cooperators, deportees and intellectuals from 14 European countries share their ideas on the establishment of a unified socialist Europe.

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Report of the Second International Conference for the United Socialist States of Europe, Paris, 21 and 22 June, 1947

Conference at Montrouge Saturday morning — 21st June

The Conference opened on Saturday morning, 21st June, at 10 o'clock under the Chairmanship of Bob Edwards (I.L.P.), Chairman of the International Committee for the United Socialist States of Europe.

There were present on the platform:

JOHN MCNAIR, *General Secretary, I.L.P.* (Great Britain).

JEF LAST, *Editor of "De Vlam"* (Holland).

WITTE, *Party Archi-Marxist* (Greece).

GIRONELLA, *International Committee and P.O.U.M.* (Spain).

HENRI FRENAY, *Ex-Minister* (France).

Fourteen European countries were represented by responsible delegates from Socialist Parties, Trade Unionists, Pacifists, Cooperators, Deportees and Intellectuals.

(The list of Delegates appears at the beginning of this booklet.)

The Socialist Mayor of Montrouge, Monsieur Thill, gave a very warm welcome to the assembled delegates.

BOB EDWARDS (I.L.P.), after having thanked M. Thill, declared the Conference open and gave a general outline of the work to be carried through during the two days:

"Our Conference today is of supreme importance. To those who think we shall not succeed in our task we would say 'Look at the actual conditions. Note the changes which have taken place in the world during the last few years.'

"The colonial peoples have commenced their march towards national independence, the first form of liberty...

"The power of capitalism is in decline; the Banks and the key industries in a number of countries have already been taken from the possession of their former owners. The peoples of Europe commence to realise the possibility of, and to demand, a régime based on abundance... Our task is to stimulate and to coordinate all these movements.

"We must first of all erect a barrier against the third world war, which many consider to be inevitable... We are therefore called upon today to lay down the perspective, the possibilities, and the road leading to International Socialism...

"We shall have, in addition, to consider the concrete problems of Germany, which today form the object of the struggle between two great giants outside of Europe, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A... the tragic problems of the peoples of Spain and of Greece... it is our duty to work in order that the movement ends in the triumph of the European working class."

DR. JACQUES ROBIN, General Secretary to the Conference:

"The Agenda calls for the discussion on the text entitled 'The United Socialist States of Europe, the only means of overcoming the economic and social crisis and the only barrier to the third world war'."

(The Text will be found as Appendix No. 1)

"I have been requested by the Committee to submit certain suggestions.

"You have all had this resolution in your hands for several days. The Committee does not look upon this resolution as being definitive, but as a general study scheme which will serve as the basis for a wide discussion. We therefore request Congress not to weigh each word but rather to examine the general basis and to find out whether we can reach agreement on the ideas and principles which are embodied therein.

"In this document we state that the polarisation of the world is developing at an increasing speed every day around the two great blocs: the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The geographical and demographical conditions of these two giants, their economic resources, linked up with the industrial concentration necessitated by the last war, have allowed them to become the centers of two immense organisations.

"But while the U.S.A. maintains the capitalist system, Russia, on the contrary, is based on a bureaucratic and planned economy. Their diverging interests cannot remain long without coming into opposition. Their ideologies carry different flags: Liberty for the U.S.A.; Social Justice for the U.S.S.R. It is easy to prove that opposition exists already between them. This opposition may lead to a third world war.

"In face of this objective situation the immense majority of the participants of this Conference refuse to accept the dilemma which is posed. On the contrary, we think that the normal standard of life in Europe, its historic past, its comprehension of the problems, will allow it, on a sound economic basis, to examine courageously the synthesis between this planned Socialist economy which the United States refuses to accept and the fundamental liberties of mankind which the U.S.S.R. neglects. We do not say a 'Third Bloc'; we would say rather a 'Third Force'. But we insist that this is not in opposition to the two others, but is a result of a synthesis between these two major terms."

Socialism and Liberty

"The aim of our resolution is to show that the organisation of Europe is economically possible, and that the free association with the overseas people (which history has linked to the destiny of this Europe) can lay the first stones of the foundation of a wider world synthesis.

"But on what social and ideological forces can this European synthesis be based?

"For us, there is only one reply: 'International Socialism'. We think that the union of all the workers, ignoring national boundaries is, under existing circumstances, the only criterion of genuine progress in our society, and the only effective barrier which is still possible against atomic war.

"It is therefore necessary, now, to define the concrete perspectives of 1947, the possibilities and the method of action.

"In examining this first method of close enquiry into the principle of the United Socialist States of Europe, we should like the Conference to direct its attention to the hard and concrete problems which exist. We should like all delegates to give a clear response to the following points:

"1. Do the historic conditions of 1947 allow us to include immediately Soviet Russia in this geographical European organisation?

"2. What practical process can we visualise in order to build a "European Socialist" organisation? In a word, should we endeavour to win each European State to Socialism or would certain economic planifications create the centre around which we could build rapidly a Socialist Europe?

"3. Can we still think, after the failures of organisations for world peace which have occurred in the past, that a limitation of national sovereignties will be sufficient? Or should we lay down the formal principle of a federation of peoples and not of governments?"

"Such were the general lines of our thought a few weeks ago. But events move quickly. And this word, Europe, the object of contempt yesterday, is suddenly right in the fashion during the last few days.

"General Marshall proposes on paper a plan for the organisation of Europe. This is a magnificent platform which might allow us to draw attention to the actual stage of the historical process and to use it as a weapon... What is really meant by this offer, and what may be the consequences?"

"We say that this offer may be either an instrument which will have the effect of accentuating the division of Europe into two blocs or the first guarantee of an organisation of world peace.

"We can see already the European governing classes recommencing their old attempts to organise on the European scale. If the Marshall offer is only accepted by those nations which, from day to day are grouping themselves around the American camp, it will simply be a clever manoeuvre for reorganising Europe at the service of America.

"The Marshall offer can only be an instrument of peace if it is accepted without political and economic conditions of dependence — that is to say, if it is utilised by the Europeans themselves as the basis for a planned economy tending towards the raising of the standard of life of the European peoples and not in the interests of the European governing classes.

"Such is the position taken up by the Committee. It is your duty to state clearly your views. I think that the Marshall proposition may present the opportunity for our socialist forces to bring forward their own solutions to these problems. We shall have made an important step if we can establish this point before the Conference has been called by the governments.

"One final word. I am persuaded that the title 'United Socialist States of Europe' will again give rise to controversy. I repeat that we use the word 'State' in its geographical sense. There is no question of giving to this word its habitual political content.

"To conclude, may I express our joy at seeing here so many comrades of the different tendencies of the Socialist movement. This union is symbolic itself. If we are able to speak without using demagogic phrases; if we are prepared seriously to examine practical solutions; then we can hope to give once again to International Socialism its inspiration and its vitality."

ZARAMBA (Poland):

"In this Conference, called on the basis of a United Socialist Europe, it is necessary that the voices of the European countries, where political expression is stifled, be heard: the voices of those countries in the Soviet zone of influence. Soviet Imperialism has imposed Soviet governments on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It is only the military occupation of these countries by the U.S.S.R. which gives to these governments the possibility of maintaining themselves in power.

"All democratic institutions are destroyed. The Soviet Security Police acts with vigour. It is impossible to speak of Socialism. It is not our task here to develop completely the conditions of the struggle for Liberty and Democracy, but it is our duty to draw the practical conclusions and to pose the principle of European unity.

"Today, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Austria constitute simply a defensive rampart for Russia, and do not form part of the European community. It is necessary to dissipate

all equivocation on this subject. We desire to work in the atmosphere of liberty.

"No peoples suffer so much from the actual tearing apart of Europe as those in the zone of Soviet influence. Therefore, it is in these countries that the idea of the United Socialist States of Europe will find the greatest response..."

ALEXANDRE MARC (*General Secretary of the European Federal Union*).

"I bring you fraternal greetings from all the Federal movements of Europe in the place of our Chairman, Dr. Brugmans, who has been called suddenly to Italy.

"I would like to state at the outset that the theses which appear in the documents in your possession in the name of the United Socialist States of Europe are precisely those which we are supporting in the midst of the Federal movement. So far as I am concerned, personally, I have no reserves to make and support them completely.

"We consider, in the actual situation, bearing in mind the shock which appears inevitable (but which we should not consider as inevitable) between the two blocs, American and Russian, there is not a better way of struggling for peace than the constitution of a third force.

"This force is a United Europe, but a Europe united on what base? It is here that the term Socialism can be brought forth in the debate. But we have noticed that this sometimes causes misunderstandings, and I think that the following are the three principle reasons:

"1. Socialism is identified in the minds of many with Socialist parties. I think I shall not hurt the feelings of anyone here if I suggest that many Socialist parties in different countries have deceived the hopes of revolutionaries and the aspirations of the masses. This deception is such that the identification of Socialism with the Socialist parties may paralyse our effort to a certain extent.

"2. The economic and social situation in Europe is such that greater and greater sections of the European population are finding themselves in a state of advanced proletarianisation. But the political conscience of these sections does not necessarily represent the economic process in an absolute degree. These sections are Socialist through their economic and social situation, and equally, because of their inarticulate aspirations. But they are not Socialist in the political affirmation of their ideas. These sections can be influenced by Christian doctrine of which you know now the importance in Europe.

"These sections are sometimes reticent in face of official Socialism for reasons which are partly valuable and partly governed by prejudice. It is for this reason that, in place of the label 'Socialist' we prefer, in the European Federal Union, the term 'a Socialist basis.'

"3. In our Congresses, our work, and our resolutions, we seek to prepare the bases of real socialist action: the Basis of planification (not to be confused with mere Statism), the Basis of the distribution of raw materials, the Basis of the organisation of the important European and worldwide economic functions. This is the socialist basis which we are endeavouring to propagate throughout Europe by means of all the Federal movements which are grouped in the E.F.U. Therefore, an effort such as yours appears to us to be extremely valuable for it is evident to us that our Federal effort will only succeed in so far as it is based upon a coherent economic and socialist doctrine which will allow it to transform Europe into a reality.

"In face of a proposition such as that of General Marshall, what should be our common attitude? We are convinced that the actual governments in the present social régime and in the framework of the existing political conditions are incapable of bringing efficacious assistance to Europe without betraying at the same time certain of those human values which it is our right and our duty to defend."

CHARLES HERNU (*General Secretary of the Workers' Group for the United States of Europe*):

"I bring you the general agreement in principle of our movement. We think that the United Socialist States of Europe cannot be conceived as being directed against Russia, but we should visualise the possibility of her refusing to collaborate. We give you our total agreement on the basic documents proposed."

SIMON WICHENE (*General Secretary of the Confederation of Internees and Political Deportees of the Resistance*).

"I bring you the adhesion and the fraternal greetings of my organisation, which is the French section of the International Union against Racism and which includes the representatives of forty nations.

"All those of us who have suffered in the concentration camps during the terrible and recent war realise that the policy of the two rival blocs may, indeed, put Europe and the world once again to blood and fire. We also realise that it is the economic foundation of our society which prevents us organising peace and wellbeing, while during the war these same countries were capable of organising all the conditions which led to mass murder.

"I am at once a Socialist, an escaped prisoner from the German camps, and a Jew, and I am prepared to place my hand in that of a German because he suffered in the same way as I in the concentration camps.

"We must not, in spite of all the cruelties of Nazism, confuse with the Nazis those who have struggled and who struggle still against those who prepared the ground for Nazism long before it was in power. This is our point of view. This is why we adhere to the movement for a United Socialist States of Europe."

PRUDHOMMEAU (*Journal "Le Libertaire"*).

"We must ask ourselves the following question: 'Why do the masses appear to be indifferent to the creation of a movement which carries nevertheless the most legitimate hopes of the toiling millions of Europe?'

"It is necessary that the conception itself of the word 'State' should be explained. The United Socialist States, yes, but can these States be really united without abdicating their title and their character of a State, and can they be Socialist, that is to say, societies without classes?"

"The word 'Federalism' corresponds to a basic social organisation, and which starts, not from political entities existing today (otherwise, we could say that the United Socialist States of Europe should exist already, as Socialist majorities are at the head of the principal Governments in Europe) as these Governments are divided among themselves by questions which are insoluble within the limits of international democracy, and the Federal reconstruction of Europe and the world is something which must be reconsidered from the base to the summit. The base is the human personality, the individual..."

LANGKEMPER (*Netherlands Socialist Party*):

"It is indispensable that our appeal be heard by technicians and intellectuals. We must show to the former that our solutions are precisely those which would permit them to develop their technical work in the highest possible degree. It is necessary that we work in agreement with our friends of the European Federation. This is not a moment to dissipate our efforts. I bring you our agreement on the general resolution proposed."

GIRONELLA (*P.O.U.M., Spain*):

"The crisis through which we are passing is not only a crisis of the régime; it is a crisis of all Socialist tendencies. We shall not overcome the crisis in Europe without overcoming the Socialist crisis.

"Up to now Europe moved in a certain direction. Certainly it was capitalist and bourgeois, but it was a direction. Socialism represents a revolutionary movement against this bourgeoisie moving towards its decomposition. Today, the decomposition of the governing classes is reaching its limits, but the question we have to answer is whether Socialism will be capable of passing from an opposition movement to a

constructive movement capable of organising the life of Europe itself?

"The second important question for Socialism is to place every organisational problem not on the national plane, but on a greater scale, notably, that which interests us, Europe itself.

"The third important question is to prevent bureaucratic States from substituting themselves to bourgeois States. It is essential that we carry with us in a united movement, the working masses, the technicians, and the intellectuals; otherwise we shall fail.

"Finally, there is this essential point. We represent here at this Congress all Socialist tendencies. This is a sign of strength if we are brave enough to speak frankly and to face up to the real problems."

WILL BALLANTINE (*Executive of the Independent Labour Party*):

"It is absolutely certain that Europe cannot live on the bases which were laid down at Potsdam and at Moscow. There is no reason why Europe should not produce almost everything necessary for current consumption. But this is impossible as long as Europe is divided. Only a planned socialist economy can produce this result.

"In certain parts of Europe there is coal and no iron; in other parts there is iron and no coal. Actually, the whole transport system is completely dislocated. In certain parts there are workers without work; in other parts there are machines which are idle. The solution is simple. Let us link up the raw materials which still exist, with the technicians and the workers in all factories and workshops. If this were done, Europe could satisfy her vital needs from an economic and an industrial point of view. The further great question is the absolute necessity for workers' control of industry.

"The solution which we bring forward is technical control of production by workers and technicians on a planned socialist basis, but on this basis only. Any other solution is illusory."

The End of the Morning Session.

Session of Saturday afternoon — 21st June

Chairman: LUCIEN VAILLANT (Executive Committee of the Seine Federation of the French Socialist Party).

There were present on the platform:

Bob Edwards (*I.L.P.*), *Chairman of the International Committee U.S.S.E.*

Dagnino (*Italian Socialist Party of Workers*).

Leopold (*German Social Democratic Party*).

Marceau Pivert (*French Socialist Party*).

John McNair (*I.L.P.*), *General Secretary*.

Bordes (*Trade Unionist*).

GOLDSCHILD (*French Socialist Party*):

"I think that if the U.S.S.R. will not allow herself to be included in Europe, Europe will be without the U.S.S.R. It does not depend on us whether the U.S.S.R. be included. This depends on her alone. We must insist on the absolute necessity of basing our thoughts on the wider vista of "Overseas Europe." So far as I am concerned, the efforts we are making now interest me particularly as the starting point for the Socialist

United States of the World. Perhaps the real problem is to lay the basis of a World Federation of Peoples.”

TCHAKHOTINE (*General Secretary of the French Confederation of Economic and Social Forces*):

This delegate informed the Conference that his organisation was in complete agreement.

HENRI FRENAY (*Ex-Minister, General Secretary of the Socialism and Liberty Movement*):

"In our atomic era I think that one of the most important problems is to make men understand that national sovereignties, which were necessary at a certain stage in historic evolution, correspond no longer to any necessities of the moment.

"If we persist, at no matter what cost and in spite of all evidence, in believing in the necessity for national sovereignties, let us not be surprised at the inevitable result. It is clear that it is through these national sovereignties that the spirit of nationalism will be able to develop.

"It is this line of thought that our opponents will endeavour to bring forward, that the security of the men and women of each nation resides in the building of a Maginot or Siegfried Line. That they will continue to affirm that military credits are necessary for our defence while actually they have only one result, namely to reduce the living standard of the different peoples. During the epoch in which we live I believe that we should hold fast to the formula, 'Internationalism is a Duty'.

"The second point which appears to me to be of supreme importance is to link up in the same struggle the working-class, which for one hundred years has been the vanguard in the combat, with all the other sections of the community, all technicians who, although they are not proletarians in the narrow sense of the word, have now the same aims, 'Peace, Socialism and Liberty'."

FENNER BROCKWAY (*British Labour Party*):

"There exists in the Labour Party a group of comrades, becoming more and more numerous, which demands that the British Government should have a conception of international policy apart from the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., but, on the contrary, frankly European. We should enter into contact with this group as a means of working out common action. After having examined the very fine document submitted by the Committee I am pleased to give my complete agreement.

"The Marshall offer could easily lead to the colonisation of Europe and become a manoeuvre against the U.S.S.R. If, however, it could be used in connection with a planned socialist economy it would be of very great value.

"But the urgent problems are concrete and cover industrial organisation. We have in Europe almost all the minerals in the Ruhr Basin. It is essential that these minerals be universally distributed, not by the Trusts, but by the European peoples, that these economics be socialised. It is essential that the production from Central Europe be sent to the East, South and North, in order to establish an economic equilibrium.

"Finally, it is necessary to socialise European coal, to completely socialise all minerals and their distribution. This to be effected following the needs of the European populations in order to prevent differences in the standards of life from one country to another.

"In spite of all the hate which we have against oppression, whether it be Nazi, Fascist, Soviet, or any other form of oppression, we must always retain our international mentality.

"We oppose the Russian domination of the Dardanelles; we are in opposition to the American domination of the Panama, and the Anglo-French domination of the Suez.

"The great problem which remains is our relations with our coloured brothers in all the old colonies. No

country has the right to dominate another. We insist on the complete independence of all colonies. We must not forget that it is these colonies that can provide us with the raw materials we need which can give us the possibility of living our lives by our own means in common with them, and of establishing a genuine European economy. On these bases we can hope finally to build the United Socialist States of Europe."

M. LAVAL (*International Communist Party*):

"I bring you fraternal greetings from the International Communist Party, the French Section of the Fourth International. It is not sufficient to state that we are in favour of a United Socialist States of Europe, and to think that they will come into being as a result of our hopes and our desires. The problem should be stated thus:

"Do we want the United States first and Socialism afterwards? Or Socialism first and the United States of Europe after? We think that the solution is to obtain Socialism first.

"We are opposed to all forms of chauvinism, which means also militarism. We must direct our efforts against war credits, against colonisation and against nationalism.

"I appeal for a common front on the basis of anti-militarism, anti-colonisation and, in general, against the governing classes who constitute the real opposition to the coming of the United Socialist States of Europe.

MARCEAU PIVERT (*Seine Federation, French Socialist Party*):

"I would simply like to point out how much progress we have made in our work, in spite of certain weaknesses, since our last Conference; not only by the number of delegations present, but by the analyses and the concrete propositions which have been produced as a result of the collective work which we have to endorse.

"We are all here in an endeavour to overcome the difficulties of the first stage, which meets with all sorts of obstacles and which consists in taking stock of our various ideas and finding the necessary methods of expression which will be clearly understood by the comrades of different countries. These comrades have different origins and different ideologies, but they have all understood the necessity of transforming Europe into a living reality, not Europe in the framework of the old regime, but Socialist Europe.

"This work is extremely difficult and I would like, in passing, to pay my tribute to our British comrades who have already reached the stage which we are on the point of reaching in France today.

"We have already taken an important step forward. Some journalist friends have asked me several questions. I would like to state that we are here as a Conference with the object of seeking the common ideas of our comrades from all over Europe who are conscious of the same dangers. It is therefore in the realm of constructive ideas that we are working and not that of decisions. There has just been a conference at Zurich attended by comrades of the various Socialist parties. This conference took its stand on the internal political point of view of the Socialist parties. We are not at the Zurich conference, neither are we at the Amsterdam conference, which could not pose the problem, as we have posed it, i.e., of the socialisation of European colonies. In addition to this, we are not at a conference where the delegates, from their Parties meet to discuss internal party policy. I think this is sufficiently clear, and I do not ignore the fact that the problem is difficult.

Is our work useless? Not at all! It is precisely the only work possible. There will never be a European Federation if there is not a European socialist revolution. It is only the social revolution which can overcome and destroy the framework of the old national economies.

"Each one of us works in his organisation either on the Trade Union level or ideologically. We all work following our possibilities to attain the end which we have in view.

"So far as the Seine Federation of the Socialist Party is concerned, we associate ourselves in this work. We consider that it is enormously important to have proved that there are in all countries socialist workers, trade unionists, technicians and intellectuals who are capable of living in the same atmosphere and speaking the same language.

"We must take the world as it is and the working-class as it is. We are infinitely more constructive in making this demonstration today in the eyes of all than if we had simply indulged in revolutionary phrases to impose on our fellows. We are modest, but we are sure of our road. We shall go on to the end."

M. LIMON (*Free Lance*):

"The immediate proposition is the Marshall Plan. We have been told of the dangers which it presents. We have been told that there are no political conditions attached to the offer. On what depends the suggestion that there are or are not political conditions attached to it?

"There are here two geographical groups in presence, the U.S.A. and Europe. But the United States is not simply the Washington Government or the diplomats; it is also the workers of the United States. Do you not think that by making an appeal to the American workers, explaining that their policy tends towards a certain imperialist domination of Europe that we might arrive at a useful result?

"According to the statistics given in the Resolution, the material resources of Europe are indeed considerable, and, in figures, greater than those of the U.S.A. But if we divide these resources we shall see that they are not so great as is suggested in the text.

"I note that the official socialist parties have not mandated the members of their parties to be present at such an essentially internationalist conference as this. This means that their mentality is not international.

"Marceau Pivert mentioned, quite rightly, that we must, alas, realise that during the last few years the working class, both in France and the whole of Europe, has shown a certain powerlessness. Do you think, in view of this impotence in a capitalist world in decay, that is to say, in a world where capitalism has no longer the possibilities of continuing and where the working class is powerless to take over its succession, do you think that there will be a vacuum at the end of capitalism until the arrival of socialism? No! History abhors a vacuum, and this vacuum has already been filled in numerous European countries.

"When we ask our good English comrades why they are not in the Labour Party they reply: 'Because the Labour Party as a government has not a programme of constructive socialism in Britain.' Do you think that we can say in France itself, where the State carries out nationalisations, or where the all-powerful State seeks to control or to disorganise the economy, that we are here living in capitalist countries as our fathers knew them before the first world war?

"No, I say that we are in the presence of a new phenomenon of a capitalism incapable of living. This phenomenon is precisely the relation between a capitalism which has become more and more powerless and a socialist government which has not been able to conquer power. In this relationship, a new force has come into being. We have examples in many countries of Europe. It is composed of the political headquarters; the democratic patriots; the trade unions; and the working-class parties.

"This third force is the powerful political state which dominates politics, economics and the social and private life of each individual. The State has become the appendage of certain political headquarters of different social origins and is in accordance with the strength of the forces which existed in the country at the moment of the conquest of power by this third force.

"The official parties allow themselves to be governed by the principle, as a general conception, of the increase of the national power, which has nothing in common either with Socialism or the interests of the workers.

"I draw your attention to the existence of this third danger, which exists even in the socialist parties."

JEF LAST (Editor of "De Vlam," Holland):

"We are living actually in a zoological garden, where each nation is enclosed in a nationalist state. Planned nationalisation is completely contrary to all the interests of men. That which we need is a planned Socialist Europe. It is for this reason that the Netherlands delegation gives its full agreement to the Resolution presented..."

At this moment the Secretariat proposed the following Resolution as a basis of discussion to a General Resolution. It requested all the delegations to give it consideration, to discuss its terms, and to put forward amendments or to advance new points of view.

The Text No. 1 of the General Resolution before its discussion is as follows:

"Following the Conference held at London in February last and in the framework of the decisions which were then taken, the participants of the Conference at Paris for the United Socialist States of Europe, gathered together in the Town Hall of Montrouge the 21st June, 1947, have adopted the following Resolutions. They decide:

"1. To pursue and intensify their action to which the actual events have given an increased justification and urgency.

"2. That Europe cannot be conceived apart from the totality of peoples which belong, historically to its community. Europe has its frontiers on the different seas around her shores and, in present conditions, at the Western limits of the U.S.S.R.

"3. They appeal to the Socialist and Trade Union organisations and to the immense masses who desire the renewal of the economic, political and social structures in the direction traced by historic evolution, to struggle by all means against the outworn and murderous principles of national sovereignty, the generator of hatred, of misery, and of war.

"4. They affirm once more that it is by the transfer of national sovereignties to a Federal government that will be ended the state of political and economic chaos in Europe.

"5. They proclaim their opposition to all forms of State totalitarianism. To bureaucratic nationalisations, they oppose the system of socialisation on a democratic base, placing in the hands of the workers and technicians the control of the organs of economic power.

"6. In view of the offer of assistance to Europe made by General Marshall, they consider that it is as necessary for Europe to receive, as for the U.S.A. to give without the offer being accompanied by any political conditions either avowed or unavowed. Europe, which has no hostility to anyone, will in no case be prepared to serve as an instrument of political hegemony, no matter from whence it comes.

"Face to face with the growing danger of war, they appeal to the peoples of Europe to become conscious of their unity, and to bring to the actual problems the only two solutions which will be effective:

"Politically... European Federalism

"Economically... European Socialism."

The general discussion then continued.

AYME GUERIN (*Socialist Abundance Movement*):

"In view of the text which has just been read we are obliged to make certain rather important reservations.

"In the first place, it is stated that the frontiers of Europe exclude European Soviet Russia. I am not a Stalinist, but I would say that such an exclusion is undoubtedly most dangerous.

I contend that we should invite Soviet Russia. I think that we should go onwards to the United Socialist States of the World. It is World Union which is our ultimate goal. The United Socialist States of Europe can only constitute one provisional stage towards that world unity at which we are aiming.

"Again it is stated that the organs of economic power and the control of industry should be placed in the hands of the workers and the technicians. Once again, I agree with this but only as a particular stage in the process. It is not the workers who are the controllers of the economic régime as the economic régime does not exist for them. It exists for the consumers.

"The only solution which would appear to assure human well-being is a distributive economy of the abundance voluntarily produced by modern progress."

CILIGA (*Yugoslavia*):

"We all agree that Europe has already lost the essential of what it held before 1939, namely, her world-wide hegemony.

"We all agree that we have reached this position because of the political sterility of the national bourgeoisie, but it is not only the responsibility of this bourgeoisie which has been found wanting, it is also the weakness of the proletariat in not bringing forward a constructive political line as against the destructive policy of the bourgeoisie.

"There is perhaps an insufficient clarity in our programme. There is a third point of which we have not yet spoken, which is fundamental and which might prove a danger and prevent our final victory. I refer to the 'defensive' character of our Socialist Europe. Let us not forget that there is a Russian people, who will make their presence felt in the world as a power of the first order; that there is an American people who think that the twentieth century should be the American century.

"If we are all united we are faced with this question: 'Are you prepared to struggle actively for World Union? Should the United Socialist States of Europe influence the other continents? Do these United Socialist States search for a synthesis between the forces of the European peoples and the peoples of Russia and America?' "

JOHN MCNAIR (*General Secretary, I.L.P., Britain*):

"We are pleased to bring you our complete agreement so far as the general text of the Resolution is concerned. We have certain small amendments, mostly formal, which we shall submit to the Secretariat."

LIBERTINI (*Italian Socialist Workers' Party*):

"I am in agreement with the general principle, but I think we should move on to something more concrete. For example, one cannot conceive the United Socialist States of Europe without speaking of the Socialist revolution in the Ruhr... The problem is to examine the coordination of the Socialist movement in Europe and the fundamental policy of the movement for the 'U.S.S.E.' "

LAMBERT (*Workers' Front*):

"For my part, I deny the powerlessness of the working-class. The third force which has been spoken of does not, in fact, exist. It is nothing else than the essence of the capitalist system.

"I defend the rights of the German people. That is to say, the possibility of defining their own destiny and of defending themselves against all imperialist occupation.

"I declare that the French C.G.T. (General Confederation of Workers) is incapable of assuming the task of the construction of the United Socialist States of Europe as long as it is under the control of the Communist Party.

"I defend the right of the colonial peoples to control their own destiny."

SOLANO (*P.O.U.M., Spain*):

"We realise full well to what point Social Democracy has fallen. The crisis is profound. We can endeavour to regroup the vanguards who are desirous of surmounting this crisis.

"It is necessary to lay down a plan of action to assist in this regrouping. A section of the working class still follows the Communist Party, and one of the important steps which we should immediately take is to guide away from the Communist Party those proletarian elements which still follow it. Our position, therefore, is that of opposition to the two blocs and a common front of all those forces which will renew the international proletarian movement."

WITTE (*Party Archi-Marxist, Greece*):

"Several Greek organisations had delegated comrades who should have been present at this Conference. Their visa was refused by the French Government. I give you this information, and at the same time, raise my voice against this tactic so far as our common effort is concerned, an effort for the good of the whole of Europe. The commissions for the study of technical questions and other important questions from a general point of view should be organised to lay the basis of a European Socialist organisation. We declare that we are ready to continue this struggle on Greek territory."

BRUNET (*Federal and Community Circles*):

"One question remains: Can we construct the U.S.S.E. with the satellite States of the U.S.S.R., Poland, Yugoslavia, Balkan States?"

This question remains on the Resolution as it is presented to us. Let us not think that we can, at the present moment at any rate, dissociate these States from the U.S.S.R. herself. There is one important fact to bear in mind. Hitherto it has been the U.S.A. which has been opposed to the organisation of a Europe able to take an independent position. Now, however, the U.S.A. appears to be favourably inclined to the reorganisation of part of a free Europe. This, in consequence, will be of advantage to the Socialist current in Europe.

"In these conditions our task of socialist organisation for the realisation of the U.S.S.E. necessarily becomes preponderant..."

The general discussion then closed.

The Conference Secretary, Jacques Robin, made the following statement:

"The discussion has been long. Often, in spite of the desire expressed this morning, the discussion has strayed from the precise points which we proposed. In spite of the divergences which have appeared it is magnificent and encouraging that the comrades from Greece, Britain, Holland and Italy, the Trade Unionists, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, the Federalists, have been able to express themselves freely on the problems of Socialism.

"We have received a number of amendments to the General Resolution which we submitted. Before reading them to you, may I remind you that this Conference does not propose to produce any dogmatic text. On the contrary, it desires to establish a text which will lay down our general agreement and which may be transformed into a definite constructive arsenal..."

At the request of numerous delegates, on account of the lateness of the hour, the reading of the amendments and the vote thereon was held in abeyance until the morrow at noon.

The session closed at 7.30 p.m.

Appendix No. I.

The United Socialist States of Europe

The only method of overcoming the economic and social crisis and of preventing a Third World War.

[This document, produced by the International Committee of study and action for the United Socialist States of Europe, formed the basis of the preparatory work of the International Conference held in Paris on June 21st and 22nd, 1947. It must not be considered as being definitive but simply as a constructive exchange of views between the Secretariat and the diverse participants at the Conference. The final resolution will be the result of the work of the Conference itself.]

[...]

Chapter III

The United Socialist States of Europe

Programme, Forces, Means

Programme: A Socialist Europe should reconcile a planned economic unification with a social and democratic policy.

1. Socialist measures will differentiate Europe from American Capitalism.

The first task will be to end the chaos of closed national economies by drawing up a plan of production based on the needs of the people which will previously have been ascertained.

The general lines on the European plane would be:

- (a) Complete the agrarian reforms which will definitely supplant the remaining old feudal systems.
- (b) Socialise the production of industrial raw materials, all key industries, and the basic structure of Capitalism.
- (c) Harmonise production and consumption.

Such a European transformation would:

Bring to an end traditional national contradictions. Raise the standard of life of all the European peoples. Allow the organisation of a free association with overseas peoples without fear on their part.

From a practical point of view, in the first stage, the following measures will be necessary:

- (a) The abolition of tariff walls.
- (b) The rationalisation of transport.
- (c) The cancellation of debts between European nations.
- (d) The creation of a European banking system with a standard currency.

2. The principal of liberty will differentiate Europe from Soviet totalitarianism.

(a) The conquests of science and technology offer to mankind the possibility of emancipation from social and economic slavery. But at the same time, the political and economic centralisation necessary to utilise these conquests, threaten to substitute for the old domination a new form of oppression of the Totalitarian State.

(b) Further the economic nationalisations of today have only been realised within the national and capitalist framework of the old Europe. They also threaten, very gravely, human liberties, in the event of their becoming the future structure of totalitarian oppression.

Therefore political democracy should become a genuine social democracy, all the forces of production and consumption should be directed and controlled by the workers themselves, as well as the plans and measures for realising a true Socialist economy.

In effect, only socialisation from below, that is to say, at the point of production, is the decisive factor in the suppression of class domination, without permitting the emergence of a new class. Further, it is a decisive factor in maintaining peace by leaving real economic power, which is the key to peace or war, in the hands of the people themselves.

Therefore, removed as it will be from the old liberal capitalism, and from pseudo-democratic Stalinism, the political and social organisation of the U.S.S.E. will be founded on the following principles:

1. Establishment of a democratic, federated, European organisation.
2. Simplification of administration.
3. Maximum decentralisation of all branches of activity and the taking over by regional authorities of all powers which they are capable of administering, delegating only to central bodies powers which cannot be

exercised regionally.

4. Giving to all European youth the possibilities of technical and university education in the highest degree possible.

It will be necessary to promulgate *a charter of the rights of citizens and European peoples* which will include:

(a) Individual liberty of speech, of the press, of public meetings and of religion.

(b) Liberty for the expression of national traits and characteristics.

Internationalism has nothing in common with anti-nationalism. One cannot ignore or minimise the concrete forms of national culture and traditions. One of the great riches of Europe is the immense diversity of national characteristics. Without national autonomy, other liberties signify little. This liberty, threatened today from all sides, will find its greatest safeguard in a voluntary European federation. Human liberties can only be established and safeguarded by a libertarian and democratic socialist society.

The position of a Socialist Federated Europe vis-à-vis the two blocs:

If, as we have the absolute certitude, the idea of the constitution of the U.S.S.E. meets with a profound response in our continent, it is imperative that this idea does not create any justified hostility in one or the other of the two blocs or the allies which they have in all European countries. If it were otherwise it is probable that the idea would be stifled without even the commencement of material development.

It is thus essential that in the minds and activities of its promoters there should be nothing which will give rise to any suspicions on the part of one or the other of the blocs that the U.S.S.E. would be used or directed against it.

It follows, therefore, that the U.S.S.E should stand forth as an economic, political, ideological, autonomous force, obeying its own laws and desirous of being, not a rampart, but a bridge between the two peoples. It will be by our democratic will that we can take from the U.S.A. any justification of their eventual hostility; it will be by our socialist will that we can arrive at the same result with the U.S.S.R.

Forces:

The idea of European unity is a sold as Europe itself. It is necessary to realise that, at the moment, there are encouraging signs of it being more alive and articulate than ever. At the same time one must not forget the lessons of the past, some of which are as follows:

1. The unity of Europe will not be achieved by force, but only by the willing consent of the peoples of Europe. Napoleon and Hitler both tried the experiment!

2. It will not be forged simply on vague and generous ideas of the type of the Pan-European Union of Kallergi-Briand.

3. It will not be formed on a simple political basis which leaves the oppositions of classes and States. Such is the Federal European Movement based above all on federal aspirations, apart from the economic and social

operations necessary at the base. Such is the United States of Europe Movement proposed by Winston Churchill on the model of the United States of America, and which seeks to organise European bourgeoisie — incapable of maintaining its situation in purely national planes — into a continental framework.

For its establishment a United Europe needs a sociological force, numerically important and politically conscious.

Actually one can see in all European countries the veritable decomposition of the bourgeoisie, the dominant class during recent centuries which supported the Nazi adventure, and which is now endeavouring to regroup its forces. One can also note a proletarianisation of the middle classes and a technical rehabilitation of the workers.

Therefore one is driven to the conclusion that it is the workers, the peasants, the technicians and youth who must be called upon to become the driving force of the struggle which is opening. It is the mass of the workers in the widest sense of the term, who must be called upon to construct the United Socialist States of Europe.

Above all it is of prime importance that this action should be called for from certain organised political organisations in Europe. In the actual state of European parties, it is evident that only the Socialist Parties, Cooperative Parties, and the trade unions can assume this historic task.

How it is that the Socialist Parties, today the leading parties in numerous European countries, have not yet assumed this concrete role of the formation of the U.S.S.E.? This appears to be caused by the following principal reasons:

Their contradictions: Their conception of Socialism is international, but their practice (due to the necessities of political reality) is national.

They represent, traditionally, an opposing force to the bourgeois capitalist society and they have a tendency to maintain this attitude when the imperative needs of today demand that they become a creative force in presence of a crumbling bourgeois capitalist society.

Their weaknesses: They have fallen victims to organic divisions. They are not able to ride themselves of their inferiority complex, vis-à-vis:

(a) The Communist Parties in the various European countries which try to make the workers believe that they represent the spirit of the Russian Revolution while actually they are simply the representatives of a world-wide totalitarian force;

(b) The various official groupings of socialist parties which seek to excuse the lethargy and the lack of dynamism, unfortunately too evident, in all great organised parties.

Their failings: They have often kept to the phraseologies of the past and have not dared to give new thought and reflection to the problems in the reality of their historic setting of today. They have kept to the old methods of work and propaganda, the heritage of their oppositional period. They have not realised that the masses of the workers are waiting for new and practical slogans and concrete ideas which should emanate from a socialist party pledged to the establishment of peace and well-being.

We are convinced that the urgent and practical task of these Socialist Parties is to bring forward a European programme of social transformations and the practical methods of carrying this through.

In fighting for the U.S.S.E. the Socialist Parties of today are fighting for their own existence. The absence of this socialist European policy is certainly one of the principal causes for the emergence in the political field of the two following extremes, completely separated from the Socialist Parties:

1. On the Right the parties, behind which group those who seek only to erect a barrier against Stalinist dictatorship.
2. On the Left the Communist Parties, behind which group those who seek to erect a barrier in defence of the U.S.S.R.

One can conclude by stating that, before the war, the idea of a European Socialist Federation depended upon Socialism, now it is Socialism and all the future of Socialism which depends, in a great measure, on the formation of a European Socialist Federation.

Methods: As we have postulated a Federated Socialist Europe as our goal, we must think and act on the European plane. It is necessary, therefore, to create immediately:

An International Committee of Study and Action for the United Socialist States of Europe, examining permanently the totality of the problems confronting us, acting in liaison with similar committees in the different countries and providing and publishing all the necessary information for widespread distribution.

The National Committee will have as their tasks:

- (1) To bring together all the isolated individuals and forces and all movements and parties which agree with our perspectives and ideals and are prepared to work with us.
- (2) To stimulate and develop through all possible means European public opinion in support of the idea of the United Socialist States of Europe.
- (3) To participate in the work called for by the International Committee.

Such is the first stage to be attained at once and which will open the way to further efforts.

Upon our efforts depends that this vast movement of human thought becomes today a vital fighting force and tomorrow a world-wide reality and the principal guarantee of world peace.