

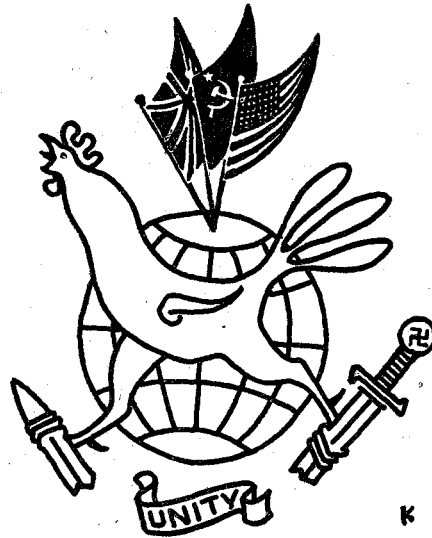
KEYS TO LASTING PEACE

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London, by mail.

WHAT is being demonstrated in these final battles that have now opened is the gigantic power of the democratic nations of the world once they are united in action. If so much has been achieved in the first few weeks of the first combined offensive of the United Nations, even while only a minority of the total Anglo-American forces is yet engaged against the enemy, how much more will be achieved when the entire available offensive strength of Britain and the United States in the West is flung against the beleaguered Nazi armies alongside the hammer blows of the Soviet armies in the East and the rising insurrection of the European peoples? This unity is the earnest of the future. For this unity in action we who have opposed fascism from the first onset have striven through all these years, through the black years of reverses and divisions and denials when its realization seemed to doubters and fainthearts dim and distant and an unattainable dream. Now the dream is coming true. The harvest of the efforts and sacrifices of countless millions through all these years is being reaped. The foulest tyranny the world has known, the greatest menace which has threatened to end all human progress in a world of scientifically organized barbarism and slavery, is in process of being destroyed. These are only the first fruits of the rising democratic and progressive unity of the peoples in action. They hold the promise of more, much more to come, given the maintenance and carrying forward of this unity into the new world.

A new perspective is opening out before the world. These are days of all-out action, when there is small room for long analysis or theoretical disquisitions. It is well not to count on victory over the enemy until the last battle has been fought and the final blow dealt: and not even then; for it will still be necessary to safeguard and consolidate the victory by destroying utterly the foundations of that tyranny which has darkened the world for a decade, so that it shall



never rise again. All the immediate concentration of thought and endeavor must be directed to these final battles and to these tasks of destruction which must precede and create the conditions for the tasks of construction. But it is the distinctive character of the present phase that these final stages of the battle inevitably coincide with the preliminary and crucial preparatory stages of the world after the war. Hence it is no less essential that, in the midst of these final battles, which must occupy the first place in the attention and effort of all, the thought and opinion of the people must be clear, united, and determined on the new tasks of construction before us which are opening out through the present military action.

There is no wall of separation between the ending of the war in Europe and the world after the war. The war conditions will still continue in respect of the struggle against Japanese aggression. The new problems and opportunities arise out of the old—but in a radically altered balance of world relations, in which reaction will have received its heaviest setback of recent times, and the initiative and power to mold events will lie far more strongly with the progressive and popular forces. The outlines of the postwar world will not be settled by paper blueprints drawn up in a

vacuum. They are being settled in present action; and only those who have played their effective part in the present struggle will be in the same proportion able to shape the postwar world. It is the present unity of the peoples in the battle against fascism that is the foundation for subsequent world organization and the hope of the future.

TO A GENERATION which has suffered many disillusionments, and been bruised by many blows and defeats and betrayals between 1918 and 1941, it is not always easy at once to adjust the vision to the new perspective of positive achievement which is opened by the defeat of fascism. There is still widespread scepticism and lack of confidence; the assumption that the future must repeat the past, that the end of a victorious anti-fascist war can only reproduce the end of the imperialist war of a generation ago, and that the prospect must inevitably be one of renewed unemployment and worsened conditions, reaction, and new world conflict. Such assumptions are not only blind to the new opportunities of positive leadership which the workingclass and popular forces can now fulfill, following the defeat of fascism and its allies throughout the world; the indulgence of such assumptions can produce the very outcome they fear. It is necessary radically to change this outlook, which still lingers among the older generation of workers, and to inspire the positive confidence of the working class and the peoples in their own united strength to strike out a new line of advance and, just as they have defeated the anti-Soviet and pro-fascist plotters, established the common alliance with the Soviet Union and are thereby smashing Hitler, so henceforward to maintain and carry forward the initiative and shape increasingly the world future.

This strengthened political leadership which the working class and democratic representatives will be able to fulfill in the new period will be effective to the extent that it takes into account in a realistic and responsible fashion the



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changed conditions, shows the united path forward for the nations which have combined in the present military alliance to combine equally for peace, and tackles the immediate concrete problems which will clamor for solution at the end of the war. The unity which is today defeating fascism must not be disrupted with the defeat of fascism, to revert to the world of 1918-39. On the contrary, it must be strengthened and carried forward into the new period. This unity, this cooperation of the Western democratic nations with the socialist Soviet Union, with the corresponding unity of the popular forces within each country in the struggle against fascism and reaction, which is the basically new feature of the world situation, completely contrary to the character of the whole epoch of 1918-39, is the key to the future; the germ of world cooperation and combined world leadership; the path of progressive social advance.

But this unity at the same time contains within itself a heavy inheritance from the past, of inevitable contradictions arising from existing economic structures and imperialist relations, as well as still unresolved divisions of the workingclass and democratic movement. These contradictions must be frankly faced, and cannot be exorcised by rose-water phrases of harmony and good intentions. But these contradictions must not be allowed to disrupt the unity which has been already achieved, in spite of the

contradictions, and which can be and must be further strengthened. On the contrary, the strengthened unity of the democratic forces, both on the basis of world cooperation of the democratic nations and on the basis of progressive democratic anti-fascist unity within each country, must strive to pursue such policies as will help to counter the disruptive consequences of these contradictions during the period immediately ahead.

THE first task of the present alliance of the United Nations is to defeat the enemy, and to ensure that that defeat is final. This is set out in the terms of the Teheran Declaration for "the destruction of the German forces . . . destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air," together with the accompanying Moscow decisions for the punishment of war criminals and for the suppression of all institutions and organizations established by fascism.

The Teheran agreement comprises two main parts: the first, military, for the joint destruction of the German war machine; and the second, political, for the continuance of the partnership of the three powers in peace and for the organization of world cooperation of democratic nations. These two parts are inseparably associated; the one cannot be isolated from the other. There can be no settlement which leaves the German war machine intact or capable of resto-

ration. This carries very definite consequences for the character of the settlement with Germany, whatever the composition of the government which may succeed Hitler. The lines of such a settlement are still the subject of negotiation between the Allied governments, and will necessarily be affected by the character of the military and political situation at the close of the war. But it is essential that opinion in the United Nations should already be clear and united on the general principles governing such a settlement, which in broad outline have already been indicated by official statements: for this is the indispensable foundation for future world cooperation and democratic security.

THIS is the more important, because there are already signs, with the improvement in the military situation, of moves and maneuvers to undermine this foundation for world peace, and, in the name of this or that abstract principle, whether of supposed national equality, or humanitarian principles, or enlightened economic policy, or deprecation of hatred or revenge, and the like, to salvage the basis of German economic and military power in Europe. These advocates show always more concern with the prospective fate of the fascist criminals than with the actual fate of the millions of their victims. It is not surprising when the reactionary pro-fascists and Munichites, or those sections of monopoly capital which were most closely linked with German monopoly capital and are now concerned to resume their suspended relations with their opposite numbers in Germany, should pursue such maneuvers.

It is more serious when there is confusion on this issue in the labor movement or among the left, not merely among pacifist elements, but among well-meaning, but confused sections who fall into the trap. For, in fact, the pro-fascist policy, which has no direct popular support, has never been able to be put through except with the aid of dangerous or confused sections in the labor movement and among the left. This was the case with Munich; it was the case with the imposition of the Vichy regime in France. Hence the importance of being on guard.

Are there signs of such tendencies in discussion in Britain at present? Unfortunately there are. It is only necessary to refer to the resolution of the seventy M.P.s, mostly Liberal and Labor, opposing the declaration of the government on the Atlantic Charter and Germany; or

the declaration of twenty-three signatories, including the vice-chairman of the Labor Party, published in May, against any territorial weakening of Germany and for the "close organization of the economic life of an integrated Europe"—a declaration in marked opposition to the lines of the official Labor Party Executive statement on the principles of the International Postwar Settlement, published in April, which in relation to the settlement on Germany was in full agreement with government and United Nations policy.

Or we may refer to such typical declarations as that of Mr. Hore-Belisha, M.P., in the parliamentary debate on May 25, referring to the beneficent work of Hitler in "integrating the economy of Europe; he has unified transport, communications, broadcasting, the postal system; should we not use for good what this man had intended for evil?"

Or the similar propaganda for a "United States of Europe" (i.e., Western and Central Europe, or the old Pan-Europe of the Pan-German dream, realized in Hitler's "New Order") freely spread today in the left press. Or the outcry against reparations and the punishment of war criminals. All these are forms of propaganda which, in fact, protect the interests of the maintenance of German domination in Europe and would prepare the basis for renewed German military aggression.

THE measures which the United Nations will require to adopt in relation to Germany must be judged on the basis both of the concrete situation and relation of forces inside Germany, and the necessary steps to destroy the foundations of German fascism and militarism and its reactionary supporters, and also of the position of Germany in Europe, and the steps necessary to undo the effects of the Nazi "New Order" and German domination in Europe, and to prevent the revival of German domination or new aggression.

Much of the confusion which exists among considerable sections of the labor and progressive movement in Britain on this question arises from the "hangover of Versailles," i.e., the memories of the old campaigns of exposure against the Versailles Treaty, which constitute the familiar background of earlier appreciation of international politics among the present dominant generation in the labor movement (the younger generation which grew up in the struggle against fascism are less affected). The situation

and conditions of the Versailles Treaty are transferred to the entirely different situation and conditions today. The Vansittart propaganda, with its racial note, further provokes this kind of reaction.

But 1944 is not 1918. Those who are still living in the past need to awaken to the realities of the present day. The Versailles Treaty was imposed against a democratic Germany, at a time when the popular revolution in Germany had overthrown the old regime, but proved not strong enough to complete its victory or break the basis of power of the old reactionary institutions, Junkerism and militarism, and when the main concern of the western powers was to prevent the development of the German revolution towards socialism or association with the Soviet Union. The Versailles Treaty penalized and discredited German democracy, while at the same time every encouragement was given to German reaction and militarism to rebuild its forces and carry forward its secret arming and formation of illegal armed corps in the name of preserving "law and order." As soon as Nazism conquered in Germany, all the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty were rapidly withdrawn, and free play and assistance given for the rebuilding of German aggressive military power.

Today the situation is basically different. Eleven years of Nazi rule have heavily weakened the forces of the German workingclass and democracy, exterminated tens of thousands of its best leaders, and trained the youth in a brutal militarist-fascist school to become young hooligans and gangsters, completely cut off from any human cultural tradition or outlook. The measure of success with which this has been achieved has been alarmingly shown by the fact that it has

been possible for three years to lead the German people, whose workingclass movement had once been the pride of international socialism, in a bestial openly predatory war against the first socialist state, without serious opposition manifesting itself or being able to impede such aggression. A Marx or an Engels, a Bebel or a Liebknecht, were they living today, would be the first to recognize that this is an unparalleled new situation which the wheel of history has brought in Germany, a victory without limit for the moment of all the forces against which they fought and repeatedly warned, grown now to a hydra menacing the whole world, and requiring unparalleled new measures to deal with that menace.

WHILE we must assist to the utmost every sign of opposition in Germany (as indicated in the line of the Free Germany National Committee), while we must pay tribute to the heroism of every militant anti-fascist fighter in Germany, it is evident to all by the hard logic of experience that the fall of Hitler will now come primarily and directly as a result of the military blows from outside of the anti-fascist coalition, and not as a result of the superior strength of the internal workingclass and democratic forces inside Germany. These forces, we may be confident, will surge forward in the moment of defeat. But they will not have made the defeat. They will not yet have established their capacity to hold in check unaided those violent forces which were crushing them. This is the perspective which must be taken into account in determining the measures necessary following the defeat of Hitler-Germany.

What is the conclusion which inexorably follows from this perspective? The powerful, dangerous and tenacious forces of German reaction, militarism and Nazism, defeated from without, but not from within, will not at once disappear after military defeat. They have already made elaborate and formidable preparations for such a situation. They have further had the successful trial experience of 1918-33 in the methods of carrying forward their organization, even under conditions of supposed disarmament, illegality and democratic victory, in exploiting a confused internal situation and playing on international divisions, jealousies, and rivalries of the victors, or hostility of capitalism and socialism on the international plane, to rebuild their power and renew their aggression. While it would be premature



to endeavor to estimate the type of regime which may immediately succeed to the collapse of Hitler in Germany, it is evident that even an advanced democratic regime would at first be very weak and unstable, and that the workingclass and democratic elements will need time to build up their strength. During this period it would be fatal for the United Nations to base their calculations for the prevention of the renewal of German reactionary domination and military aggression solely on the internal strength of the German workingclass and democracy.

THESSE are the concrete conditions of the fight against fascism which are entirely different in character from the period of the Versailles Treaty, when fascism had not yet come into existence. It is in the light of these considerations that the measures to be carried out in relation to Germany at the end of the war need to be judged. Therefore it is necessary to ensure that United Nations military occupation shall carry through and ensure the complete destruction of the German war machine, the dismantling of war material, the rooting out and extirpation of the Gestapo and Nazi gangs and secret military formations, and the execution of the terms of the settlement. Therefore it is necessary that the punishment of war criminals and destruction of fascist institutions cannot be simply left to the German people, but must be carried through under United Nations control and directly by the wronged peoples of Europe.

In the same way it is necessary that reparation, including labor reparation, for the loot and plunder and economic devastation of Europe be carried out, not merely as a measure of justice and retribution, but in order to ensure that German reaction and the industrialists behind fascism shall not, after military defeat, continue to profit from their plunder and carry forward in new forms their economic domination over an impoverished Europe. Equally it is necessary that whatever territorial changes are required, not merely to cancel Hitler's annexations, but to weak-

en the basis of Prussian domination in Germany and of the domination of Prussia-Germany over Europe, must be carried through in the vital interests of the security and self-determination of all the peoples of Europe who have been over-run by Germany, and thereby also in the interests of the democratic and peaceful development of the German people themselves; and that no arguments of local self-determination can be allowed to stand in the way of this, any more than the same arguments when used by Hitler in relation to the Sudeten Germans as a lever for undermining Czechoslovakia as the bastion of peace in Europe.

It is vital, and of life-and-death importance, that the entire labor movement and all democratic representatives shall be crystal-clear and determined on these issues, shall fight to ensure that these measures are carried out, and shall allow no maneuvers of the right to prevent their fulfillment.

But this is only the first step to complete and consolidate victory over fascism. It has been necessary to dwell first on this essential foundation, because it is the indispensable pre-condition of all the further aims of world organization, reconstruction, and international democratic collaboration. In much of current discussion in many quarters these wider aims of world organization are too often

treated in an abstract fashion and separated from the stern tasks of the destruction of fascism. Hence the importance of emphasizing first and foremost at this moment these destructive tasks, which find expression today in the present battles, still to be carried through to completion.

GIVEN this foundation, the further questions of far wider scope press for attention, which are already outlined in existing decisions and are the subject of present negotiations—the building of the world association of democratic nations, of world security and cooperation for economic reconstruction and the raising of living standards. The problems of the methods and framework of international relations, to combine the freedom and equality of all nations, great and small, with the necessary organization of security on a basis of unified power capable of preventing new aggression, are now the subject of wide discussion and preliminary governmental exchanges. The success of any such measures for international political cooperation are inseparably bound up with the thorny problems of international economic cooperation, requiring to be realized in the new relations of world forces; in a world containing powerfully developed socialist and capitalist economic forms; in a world shrunken and drawn closer by modern technical development and speedier communications; in a world at once of enormously increased productive power, great inequalities of wealth and development in different countries, and urgent needs of the war-devastated countries and regions of backward technical development. Here the success of the International Money Conference at Bretton Woods is of good augury for the possibility of provisional working solutions, despite the sharp contradictions.

These problems, economic and political, are bound up with the necessity of tackling with a bold and fresh approach the issues of the colonial system; and in this connection Gandhi's recent offer affords a golden opportunity for a new beginning in India. Finally, it will be necessary to consider with a fresh approach the problems of the present political perspective in Britain, the path forward of the labor movement and of democratic development, and the method of accomplishment of the social and economic changes which are imperatively demanded by present conditions in this country, no less than by the rising popular consciousness of the need for changes.

