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Excerpts from Bess' Report on her Trip to Europe 1959

Wednesday, July 29, 1939

Dear Rne:

This is the conference report. You have a couple of naieve but hard working representatives and the situation within small groupings are in such a (state) all over Europe that even at a so-called conference it is very difficult to get a hold of a thread to make some sense of their politics. The deeper thought is that they do not have a theory to live by. But what I would want to find in this confusion are some forces who will help to develop a theory from the passions of the European masses with the method of Marxism and Freedom. An Italian edition and an absolute must of a French edition will bring fruit from this conference (. . I will leave London on August 13 . . .)

We have an international connection at great financial expense. Such connections certainly do not weigh heavy with Socialism or Barbarism. Damen, of course is very conscious of international connections and is rather disappointed when his politics do not bring results from such politicos (I do not go out of my way to tell him so). I rather believe that he thinks America is a serious group and when they grow up politically to the stature of the Italians, they will be something, but at present they are still in the economic field of trade unions and have not reached the political field. By the notes, you will see that he said as much about me and Mothe of the French section. Enclosed is Louis' absolutely . . . job of notes of the main talks. (They did not even provide us) with not one professional translator, or even questionable objectivity. It is not from malice, but from ignorance . .

Now, the agenda that Damen proposed that was accepted after a lot of loud talk, mostly between the Italian friends and as far as I could tell, not on any principled issues. Damen proposed:

- Reports by participating friends on the political situation in their country.
- To make the rounds again on the following day. Reporting on the activity and politics in their section.

If you had a week with at least official and circulated reports beforehand, it might have been alright. As it was, there was nothing but talk, with a chance to discuss the "line" of politics pursued by each country, indeed if there was a "line".

3. Establishment of international connections.

My first talk was on the American scene -- the second America, that can't be judged by Republican or Democratic parties. They haven't built a labor party, this has advantages, because they cannot be misled. You must judge the American worker at the point of production in which there is a history from the birth of the C.I.O. until today and that News and Letters recorded that history since 1953 and created from that practice the meaning of Marxism for our time. M&F could not have been without News and Letters. I said

09393

that I was an official Resident Editorial Board representative that is News and Letters recognized international responsibility and sent me to Europe even before this conference was organized and circulated an International Nemo in advance and I will speak on the second point on the agenda. I of course opened with official greetings. And so the first sweaty day ended. It was the worst possible weather for a conference but like old radicals they are always ready for a meeting. I hoped some worker would show up and tell us something about Milan conditions, but I guess that would just be "economics" not politics. On Sunday, a worker from Turin, that is where the Fiat is made, showed up. I asked him if he was going to tell us about conditions there and through an interpreter, I was told that he was not on the agenda.

Well, I did a lot of thinking, what to do on Sunday with my talk. The International-Memo was not translated. Everyone talked (about) what came to their head. No one discussed an information bureau . . . I therefore decided to speak a few minutes in introduction to the International-Memo that had been translated by Radames. He did a very good job. In that way about 40 people heard it and know of its existence. I know that Guilio (commonly known as Gene) will have it translated. Although now that we officially have a "Cetro di Corrispondenza" (that's its name), Damen of C.B. and Aldo Vinazzo of C.A. are its secretaries, the job of the Cetro is to distribute documents between the different sections. To me, the translation into French, English and Italian is the most important.

On finances, Gene suggested that C.A. keep account for three months and to see what it costs (it's of course his organization which has the money to run it). S. or B. said that it would have to officially pass it before officially adhering to the Cetro. It was midnight by then and everyone was glad to go. Somewhere along the line, I said that the Italian C.B. & C.A. have already acted in an international manner by helping to get an Italian edition of M&F. With some life into this Cetro by us, it can certainly contribute to some understanding. Damen closed the meeting by reading a resolution in which he called a minimum for all to stand on. It was the conception of an elite party, par excellance. When finished, Vega finished reading it, (by the way, he was chairman at the end, because the chairman simply gave up. And he was damn good.) Asked whether any wished it discussed and the no's had it. So simple a cetra was voted on . . Workers around Damen to which he wanted the American and French representatives to speak; there started a firey discussion at the conference, because he asked the conference to recess for that meeting. A compromise was reached where I. Mothe, and Damen went to the public meeting while the conference went on. I mention all of these things to show you the lack of organization at the conference. They seem to always get together in conference where a lot of talk takes place with no . . action. Eric told me that a conference like the one I attended took place last year which resulted in a decision to communicate, which never took place. Whether some communication and exchange of material will take place following this discussion, I don't know. Eric was pleased that Damen is one of the secretaries, because he is at least dependable enough to do something. Eric said the best that he can see is that they are helping in the publication of M&F in Italy.

Now the meeting, there were 50-55 workers. Radames was the translator. Damen was pleased with my talk. (In) the little time for discussion and reports of their conditions, that I asked for was: their union does nothing for them since 1943. Two - three different unions represent one shop and not one has done anything for them; not even on wages. The contract has such a low level that the boss pays twice what the contract asks for. The tyranny in the shop is so bad that you are afraid to speak to the worker next to you because unemployment stares them in the face; 1-1/2 to 2 million unemployed. With the language, I could not get what form of struggle workers are carrying on in the plant. Many workers came over to shake my hand and Radames, the intellectual, could not convey to me what they all said at the same time. Radames is the leader in the Genoa local of A.C. from which they are discussing (whether) to break, because he says Gene (Guilio) is all action without theory. To give you a picture of Radames, will just have to wait until I get home. I can only say that his theory is certainly not for the purpose we want it or the proletariat wants. He asked me to come down to Genoa to speak. Damen said it should not be an advertized meeting, but just word of mouth. So on Friday, we went down to Genoa and drove down to an industrial community in Savanna for a meeting of 25-30 people; mixed workers.

Keeping in mind what Damen said about mine and Mothe's speech namely that it is on an economic level. I put my talks in the world and national situation. This is where politics comes from, this is working-class philosophy. Everyone was pleased. Louis took down the following from one serious worker, about 50-55 years old (various questions from different people). (From Louis' notes):

1. In this new Marxian philosophy, is there any place for conquest of political power? 2. How do you expect to take political power in the U.S.; 3. How can you create the platform for (insurrection?) if economic conditions differ in different countries? 4. You are awaiting a signal from the masses. You receive, you don't send signals? 5. Why a new kind of philosophy when this was expressed 100 years ago? 6. Masses of unemployed in Italy -- men from country continually come and put pressure on employed workers, who fear loss of jobs. 7. American strikes lasting 6-9 months. This indicates that they donot effect the American capitalist. American workers don't take part in politics; their living conditions are better. America is made up of decendents of immigrants whose fathers had political ideas. As soon as they touch American soil they die. The Italian worker is socialist minded. Have looked to Russia for freedom. Since Rungary, much sorrow. They remain in the C.P. because they are socialists trying to make it a fighting force. Does the American worker vote and why does he? Is the American worker conscious? of fatherland (patriotism?) In Italy there is no longer patriotism, more thinking internationalism. If there is in America so much pressure on production workers by what means does the capitalist class use to

Love,

Bess Louis