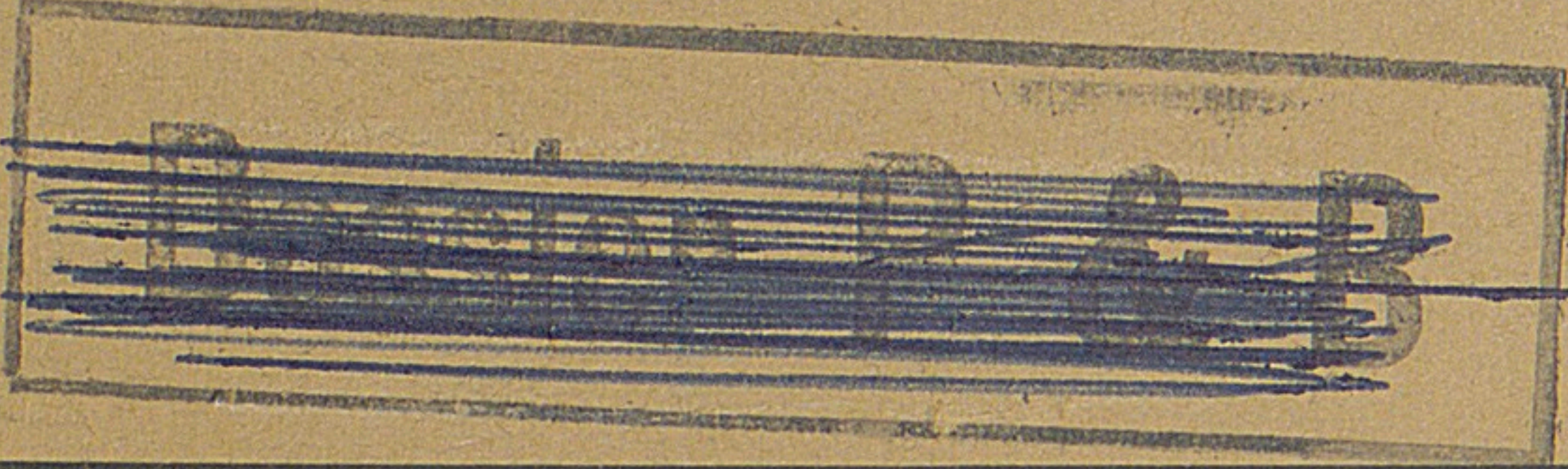


OD. No. 868.

VMM

Naam COMMUNISME IN ENGELAND.

Zie ook:



ACD/O - dossiers bet.
COMMUNISME IN ENGELAND.

Uit		In		Uit		In		Uit		In	
Datum	Aan	Datum	Datum	Aan	Datum	Datum	Aan	Datum	Datum	Aan	Datum
	4A	5/1-21	AUG. 1958		21 AUG. 1958						
		21 APR. 1960		Dis	25 APR. 1960						
		4/3		3 DEC 1960							
	4	4/3		2 ATB							
	4	22/2		DEC 1960							
	4	30/3									
	4	2/4									
	4	13/4									
	4	15/4									
	4	29/4									
	DIS	29/11									
	Joyk.	14/6									
	25/5	3.11									
		5/10									
	B	21-12									
	B	31-1-52									
	B-3	2/9									
	B-3	23/10									
	C	15 JULI 1953									
	SEI	30 AUG. 1957									
		SEP. 1957									

MINUTENBLAD

DOSSIER No. OD 868

NAAM: COMMUNISME IN ENGELAND

- 1 Voor zover van de geagendeerde stukken (in dit OD geborgen) het schutbla
aanwezig was dit bijgevoegd. maart '70.

[Handwritten signature]

T BANK

Speciale instructies aan ACD (Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

ONAFGEDAAN

020 060

CO 140411

020 060

J

Q

Afd./Sectie:

B III d

Dat.:

7/6

Par.:

Achtereenvolgens aan:

KBW t.k.
B t.B.
C t.k.

Interne aanwijzingen A C D.

Verantw. voor
Adm. afdoening:

B

H. ACD. namens deze

Dat.:

8/6

A C D.

Dat.:

Par.:

AFD.	SECTIE	BEHANDELING	AFZ./PAR.	DAT.
KBW		020/4/6		8/6
B	B III	Deelneming van Nederlandse fysici aan het Britse fysiefestival werd nog niet gecontroleerd. 8/6	SB	5.6.52
C		13/6		
KBW		13/6		
KBW		14/6		
KBW		16/6		

*Meen dat is de
Britse Youth Peace
Federation; ook
een Nat. Pers. vwd
in And. gebied.*

DIENSTGEHEIM.

29 Mei 1952.

No. 20520/80 a.

6.536.2
05.44-09.21
30 MEI 1952
ACDI 140411

Van doorgaans welingelichte zijde vernamen wij dat te Wortley Hall (Engeland) van 31 Mei - 2 Juni 1952 een internationaal jeugdcongres zal worden gehouden, waaraan naar schatting vier tot vijfduizend jongeren uit Europa zullen deelnemen.

Dit congres zou onder leiding staan van communisten. Aan bedoeld congres zou tevens deelgenomen worden door studenten, afkomstig uit verschillende landen van Europa w.o. ook Nederland en België.

No. 79.

Alleen verzonden aan B.V.D. (2x).

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD
 (Slechts bij definitieve opberging invullen)
 O N A F G E D A A N

CO 133579 MB 068

01 068

Afd./Sect. *Bev* Dat. *17.4* Par. *4*

Achtereenvolgens aan: *met nadruk ACD I 14/3*

[Handwritten signature]

KP
Kens
B

act/cont 365'52

Interne aanwijzingen ACD IV

Verantw voor }
 adn afdoening } *B*

H.ACD, namens deze
 Dat: *14/3/52 B*

ACD/ Dat. Par.

Afd	Sectie	BEHANDELING	Afd/Par	Dat.
<i>KP</i>		<i>Plr. H. Bev. t.l.; aan bevo. (t.l.) aan B. en C. mede ter beantwoording van de vraag wat bij de KPD. omtrent de deelneming aan dit festival bekend is.</i>	<i>act/B</i>	<i>14/3</i>
<i>KRW</i>		<i>Bij 21 5 HB. B II. B III (zie slot brief B I.)</i>	<i>act 20/3</i>	
<i>MB</i>			<i>SB</i>	<i>24.3.52</i>
<i>B II</i>			<i>MS</i>	<i>21/3'52</i>
<i>B III</i>		<i>Bij B II nog niet bekend over val. deelname</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>24/3</i>
		<i>kg. 4.3/3</i>		<i>44</i>

Co 133579 n.a.v. schr. Buitenl. Zaken 133579 z. CO.

IIId

B 133579

15 APR. 1952

UITGEBEKT

VERTROUWELIJK

In antwoord op Uw schrijven d.d. 7-3-1952, no. 21017-1542 GS, kenmerk DEU/OE, heb ik de eer Uwe Excellentie te berichten, dat dezersijds nog geen gegevens werden ontvangen betreffende de Nederlandse deelname aan het a.s. Festival of British Youth te Wortley Hall.

Zodra mij hiervan berichten bereiken zal ik deze te Uwer kennis brengen.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST ✓

10/4
10/4

Mr. H.W. Felderhof.

Aan Zijne Excellentie
de Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken
te 's-GRAVENHAGE.

(Archief Geheime Stukken)

DA 1072

n.a.v. schr. Buitenl. Zaken 133579 z. 00.

IIId

B 133579

UITGEBEKT

15 APR 1952

VERTROUWELIJK

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d HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST

ly 10/4

10/4

Aan Zijne Excellentie
de Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken
te 's-GR A V E N H A G E.

Mr. H.W. Felderhof.

(Archief Geheime Stukken)

MINISTERIE
VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN
'S-GRAVENHAGE

6.536.2

05.45-09.21

6.15

01.125.7

14 MRT 1952

ACD/133579

VERZOEKE BIJ BEANTWOORDING, KENMERK, ONDERWERP, DATUM EN NUMMER TE VERMELDEN

Kenmerk: DEU/OE

Datum: 7 Maart 1952

Onderwerp: Festival of British Youth.

Nummer: 21017-1542 GS

Bijlage: 1.

GEHEIM.

Dit stuk mag niet worden vernenigd dan met toestemming van het bevoegd gezag. Het is niet verantwoordelijk ald. hoofd

Ik heb de eer U te berichten, dat van Britse zijde de mededeling werd ontvangen, dat in Engeland voorbereidingen worden getroffen voor het houden van een Festival of British Youth te Wortley Hall bij Sheffield van 31 Mei tot 2 Juni a.s. Dit Festival staat geheel onder communistische auspiciën.

Onder de afgevaardigden, die de organisatoren van het Festival verwachten, zijn ook leden van z.g. "Colonial Groups". De meesten van dezen verblijven vermoedelijk reeds in het Verenigd Koninkrijk, doch het is mogelijk dat ook enkele afgevaardigden uit overzeese gebiedsdelen zullen komen, zowel van Engeland als van andere landen. Het moet derhalve niet uitgesloten worden geacht, dat ook afgevaardigden uit Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen aan het Festival zullen deelnemen.

Te Uwer informatie moge ik U hiernevens de tekst van een samenvattend overzicht inzake de communistische propaganda onder de jeugd in het algemeen en het Festival te Wortley Hall in het bijzonder doen toekomen. De hierin vervatte gegevens kunnen vrijelijk worden gebruikt, mits bronvermelding achterwege blijve.

Aangezien de Britse regering gaarne op de hoogte zal worden gesteld van de deelname aan dit Festival vanuit Nederland danwel vanuit Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen, zal ik gaarne van U vernemen wat U hieromtrent wellicht bekend mocht zijn.

Een gelijkkluidend schrijven deed ik aan het Ministerie voor Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen toekomen.

DE MINISTER VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

Voor deze:

Het Hoofd van het Bureau Oost-Europa,

Aan het Hoofd van de
Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst,
Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken,
te

's - G r a v e n h a g e .

[Handwritten signature]

THE COMMUNIST APPEAL TO YOUTH

Among the various targets of the Soviet-controlled Peace Campaign, youth has always been given special attention. For instance, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth held in Moscow in 1949, the tasks of the Federation were defined to include the organisation of "mass demonstrations, youth congresses of peace, oaths to be taken in the cause of peace, joint meetings of working and peasant youth with young soldiers". A directive which appeared in the Cominform journal in November 1949 instructed that "particular attention should be devoted to bringing into the movement of the supporters of peace trade union, women's, youth and other organisations".

Faithfully carrying out its appointed task, the W.F.D.Y. joined with the Soviet-controlled International Union of Students in organising a mass "Youth and Students Festival" in Berlin in the summer of 1951. The President of the W.F.D.Y., Enrico Berlinguer (who was also Chairman of the International Festival Preparatory Committee) stated at the final meeting of the Festival Committee that the success of the Festival should not induce the world's youth to rest on its laurels, but should spur it on to yet greater efforts in the peace struggle; on their return home the young people would have to popularise the Festival, exchange experiences and intensify the campaign for a Five-Power pact. Mr. Bert Pockney, a member of the British delegation to Berlin and secretary of the committee which organised British representation, promised that his delegation would become the best peace partisans in the United Kingdom and would obtain the signatures of all their generation in support of the appeal for a Five-Power pact.

This same Mr. Pockney is now secretary of a new British Youth Festival Committee which, in fulfilment of the promise given at Berlin, is organising a Festival of British Youth at Wortley Hall near Sheffield next Whitsun (31st May, 1st and 2nd June). The Committee has sent to youth organisations in the United Kingdom a memorandum which declares that the aim of the Festival is "to win the young people of Britain for the conception that a lasting peace can be won by their united efforts through the establishment of a Five-Power peace pact." The Festival Committee is a self-appointed body, all of whose members may safely be assumed to be either Communists or fellow-travellers, and it is to be expected that, following the usual Communist practice, the Committee will so manage procedure and representation at the Festival that only pro-Soviet views will be given expression and publicity. A minimum attendance of 4,000 young workers, 500 students and 500 members of "colonial groups" is estimated. Some attendance from abroad is to be arranged but is to consist not of individual delegates, but of groups such as football teams, table-tennis teams and folk dancers. It appears, therefore, that the rally is meant to appeal primarily to British youth rather than attract visitors from abroad.

According to the memorandum, it will be the object of the Festival to "expose the economic effects of the drive to war and to link the struggles (of the young industrial workers) for economic and social progress with the fight to achieve a lasting peace". It is evident from this that the main object of the Communist organisers of the Festival is to weaken the rearmament drive by spreading "peace" propaganda among industrial workers in the United Kingdom, and hence that the target is not simply youth but labour generally. "Colonial groups" (i.e., colonial students and others in the United Kingdom) appear to be an important secondary target.

So far as visitors from abroad are concerned, entry into the United Kingdom may be refused to foreign delegates who are known to be militant Communists. Steps are being taken to ensure that the more important youth organisations, particularly those with international connexions, are aware that the Festival is Communist-run and is part of the Soviet-controlled peace campaign.

It has recently become known that a similar youth congress is to be held in Australia from 15th to 23rd March. The holding of this "Sydney Youth Carnival" was foreshadowed at the meeting in Vienna last November of the World Peace Council, when the Australian delegate, the Rev. Frank Hartley, said that it was proposed to invite to Sydney representatives of cultural and sports movements in various countries as well as representatives of the World Peace Council. The Australian Federal Government has announced that it will ban the entry into Australia of any foreign delegates whose presence might endanger Australian security, and the Minister for Immigration has stated that the Federal Government is under no illusions about the true nature of the Carnival.

The International Union of Students recently issued from its headquarters in Prague a schedule of its future activities. The main points of its programme include effective help to students in colonial and dependent countries and the establishment of international holiday camps in a number of countries including Roumania, Holland, Guatemala, the Lebanon and India.

A further example of the efforts now being made to gain the support of youth for Soviet policies was given at a meeting of the Executive Committee of The W.F.D.Y. in January 1952, at which it was decided that an international conference "in defence of the rights of youth" should be convened during the latter half of 1952 under the slogan "Unite for the realisation of the economic and social demands of youth, for the defence of peace and the strengthening of friendship of friendship among nations".

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

ONAFGEDAAN 868

CO 12648i ✓ OS 068

Lie Stuk. ^{bedr.}
- 3 -

Afd./Sect.: B III Dat.: .1.52 Par.: ~~A~~

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

[Handwritten signature]

(K)

ACD. *ab* Dat.: 8/4/52 Par.: *B*

club/ambitie

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

1. Via Kenna aan HB.
B III 3/1.

acc 2/1/52 B.

2. ~~B III~~ ^{10/3} 7-8-1-52
~~B III~~
~~B III~~ 30/1-52
~~B III~~ 4/1-52
~~B III~~ 14/1 15/1/52 15/1/52
8.15-1-52 ~~B III~~

3. KARA. Zoude u bij Sardine op snellere toezending willen aan-
dringen?
B III 8.1.52

4. Is geschied KARA *12/2*
[Handwritten signature]

RAPPORT:

Van: Ka-Ra

Aan: HB

No.: E/1480

Onderwerp: Engels Maandoverzicht over October 1951.

OP MAART
ASD/ w/o
DAT: 8/9/52
PAR: 

b.15
09.21
4.24
09.21 - 01.153.4
27 DEC. 1951
A D/ 126481

Hierbij gelieve U aan te treffen het Engelse
Maandoverzicht over October 1951, dzz. van
Sardine ontvangen.

Bijlage: 1.

27-12-51,

SECRET

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

October 1951.

1. GENERAL.

During most of October the normal activities of the British Communist Party, and organisations and individuals in sympathy with it, were suspended so that full attention could be given to the General Election.

All ten Communist Party Candidates lost their deposits. In the other constituencies Communists supported the Labour Party. Although the Labour Party would not knowingly accept Communist help, many individual Communists who were not recognised as such were able to give active assistance to the Labour candidates.

2. PEACE.

(a) A session of the World Peace Council is to take place in Vienna 1 - 5 November 1951. This will be attended by British representatives including Professor J.D. BERNAL and Ivor MONTAGU.

(b) The number of signatures to the Petition for a Five Power Peace Pact up to 19 October was stated to be 895,000, of which 630,000 had been received by the British Peace Committee.

(c) A meeting is to be held at the St. Pancras Town Hall on November 18 under the auspices of the British Peace Committee. After speeches prize placques will be presented to the "best workers for peace".

(d) Over 350 local Peace Committees are now affiliated to the British Peace Committee

(e) The Soviet Peace Committee has invited selected authors to pay a visit to Moscow in the near future. It is believed that C. DAY LEWIS of Oxford and Dr. A.E. COPPARD will represent this country.

(f) Authors World Peace Appeal.

More than 350 practising British authors have signed an appeal for a peaceful settlement of international problems. The appeal does not refer to the petition for a Five Power Peace Pact and bears few signs of its Communist sponsorship. Many of those who have signed it, therefore, are probably unaware of its connection with the Communist Peace Campaign.

3. LITERATURE.

(a) The Peoples Press Printing Society Ltd. (P.P.P.S.) which owns and publishes the Daily Worker, held a series of its half yearly meetings in the principal cities in Great Britain on 27 - 29 October. Each meeting was addressed by prominent supporters of the Communist movement. The last of the series and the most important was to be held at the St. Pancras Town Hall on Monday 29 October. At this meeting Arthur HORNER (Communist General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers) and J.R. CAMPBELL (Editor of the Daily Worker) were to speak.

SECRET

(b) The P.P.P.S. has up to now run local District Committees, each with a District Secretary, which were responsible for furthering the interests of the Society by recruiting new shareholders and improving the sales of the Daily Worker. It has recently been decided to disband these committees and to replace them by a Voluntary Daily Worker Organiser in each district. It is not clear whether this arrangement is intended to be permanent.

(c) The Christmas bazaars for 1951 organised by the P.P.P.S. have been announced and it is hoped that through them a sum of £8,500 will be collected. This target is roughly the same as those of the past years, in spite of the fact that the Daily Worker has had to raise £5000 to pay damages awarded to General ANDERS in a recent libel action.

3d.
(d) The National weekly paper of the Young Communist League, "Challenge", has been running at a loss for some months and has accumulated debts amounting to £200. It has been announced that unless these debts can be repaid the paper must close down after the November 3 issue. An appeal for the collection of this sum has been launched. Should it be successful, "Challenge" will resume publication on November 3 (no edition came out on October 27) at an increased cost of 3d. instead of 2d. a copy. Even if these emergency measures solve its immediate problems, the paper can only avoid further serious financial difficulties if its circulation improves.

4. WOMEN.

(a) A delegation of the National Committee for the celebration of International Women's Day is to go to Roumania at the end of October to attend the conference of the Democratic Women of Roumania.

(b) A National Residential School for women cadres of the British Communist Party is to be held at Hastings 12 - 18 January 1952. The syllabus is devoted to a study of "The British Road to Socialism".

5. INDUSTRY.

General
The Metal & Engineering Workers Trade Union International of the World Federation of Trade Unions is to hold from 12 to 17 November 1951 an International Action Week against super-exploitation, speed-up, overtime, accidents, sickness and unemployment. This will be followed by a European International Conference of Workers of the Metal & Engineering Industries either in the first half of December 1951 or in January 1952. The conference will last four days and will be held at Vienna, Prague or Stockholm, probably the last named.

The Action Week and the International Conference proceed from a resolution passed at the Metal & Engineering Workers Trade Union International on 19 May 1951, which denounced the Marshall Plan and the "American" call for increased productivity, speed-up, overtime, etc. Both Action Week and the International Conference will be openly directed against rearmament by the Western nations, and an appeal will be made to all workers regardless of their views. Party members in the industry will be expected to adopt tactics which, while conforming to the general line of the Action Week against super-exploitation and speed-up, will be acceptable to the majority of the workers in their particular factories. At the same time, the particular agitation against super-exploitation is to be linked with the workers' general demands. It is believed that the programme to be adopted by the T.U.I. will amount to the most direct attack yet made on the production of armaments in the West.

In connection with the above, the latest issue of "World Trade Union Movement", organ of the W.F.T.U., advertises a pamphlet entitled "Build International Unity against Speed-up" (32 pages, price 6d.) published by W.F.T.U. Publications Ltd., 41 Kentish Town Road, N.W.1.

6. Two physicists employed by the Medical Research Council, Ian CAMPBELL and Dennis O'CONNOR, recently left the country with their families. Neither of these men had had access to secret information; both of them are Communists, and it is believed that they have gone to work in a Communist country.

*Indien hij reeds
voorhand, roep
mend op kaart.*

7. * Sam ALEXANDER has been expelled from the British Communist Party. He is believed to have obtained several hundred pounds by cashing worthless cheques with other Party members and at some of the Party bookshops. ALEXANDER had been an active Communist for many years, had sat on Middle East Committee of the Party, on the Executive Committee of National Council for Civil Liberties and had concerned himself particularly with Jewish affairs.

30.10.51.

S.T.

14 December 1951.

No. R.V.D. 1181/51 Conf.

CONFIDENTIEEL

Onderwerp: lijst van notoire Engelse Communisten
in bezit van een paspoort.

Verwezen wordt naar dezerzijdse brief Litt.
Y 40-S 2-1016/51 Conf. dd. 23 Juli 1951.

OP KAART
ACD/4B
DAT: 30-1-51
PAR: p.

114571
do 268

B

6.15
09.21-01.14
17 DEC. 1951

Rechtsblad is vernieuwd

ACD/125637

Onder verwijzing naar mijn in
margine vermeld schrijven, deel ik U
mede dat de daarin genoemde George
ALLISON op 11 September 1951 is overle-
den.

*waart
opmerken*

S.T.

AN:

- Hoofd B.V.D.
- Hoofd B.I.D.
- Hoofd Sectie G 2 H.K.G.S.
- Hoofd MARID.
- Hoofd Sectie L 2 L.M.S.

Typ: 10.
Coll.: 10

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

ONAFGEDAAN

CO 12335

00868

00868

afsch. B 12335 v aan reg in (10) 2
o.k. ✓

thee stuk
o.k. ✓

Afd./Sect.: *Breed*

Dat.: *5/12/51*

Par.: *p*

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

[Handwritten signature]

ACD. *4B*

Dat.: *20/3 '51*

Par.: *98*



4/2/51

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

1. Aan KA & KEW aan B

Red. stuk

KA/gel. De H. vord. t. l. / 4/2/51

gel 22/11

ken ?

3-

Red. app. heeft ook plannen in die richting

MB MB

B II 27-11-51

B III 11/11-51

B III d 3.12.51

*9/1.52 notitie van Mars uit
M.A.-bief van Min. President 3. Mil. Verbinding
Comm. der Kon. Noord-Holland; 2. Holland. Gemein-
en Overijssel uit. &*

3. KEW. Heeft H dit met gemen? SB 17.1.52 nu pas 21

Bo

Aan: KARA

Rapport

Van: H.B.

Antwoord:

No.: B 123335

Ond.: Nationale jeugdfestivals

IIIId/4s

UITGEBREKT

Naar aanleiding van het gestelde in Uw rapport no.E 1472 d.d. 19-11-1951 bericht ik U het volgende.

Op 20 Augustus 1951, daags na de beëindiging van het IIIe Wereldjeugdfestival te Berlijn, kwam de Raad van de W.F.D.Y. aldaar bijeen. De in de 14 voorafgaande dagen opgedane ervaringen vormden de grondslag van een aantal besluiten met betrekking tot de lijn welke bij toekomstige acties moest worden gevolgd. Men kwam o.m. tot de conclusie, dat geestelijke massa-manifestaties een probaat middel zijn om het gestelde doel, eenheid der jeugd in de strijd voor de vrede, te bereiken. De aangesloten nationale jeugdorganisaties werden in die zin geïnstrueerd.

Voor Nederland beraadt het A.N.J.V. zich sindsdien om de opgelegde taak uit te voeren (vide schrijven 120346 d.d. 30-10-1951). Gewestelijke Piet van Staveren-appels (Piet van Staveren is de bekende Indonesië-deserteur, die tot 7 jaar gevangenisstraf werd veroordeeld) staan voor eind Januari en begin Februari 1951 op het programma. Plaatsen van samenkomst Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen en Deventer. Voorts zijn er aanwijzingen, dat men van A.N.J.V.-zijde plannen ontwerpt voor een tijdens de Pinksterdagen 1952 te Amsterdam te vieren (nationaal) jeugdfestival. De deelnemers zouden worden ondergebracht in een groot tentenkamp. Nadere gegevens staan nog niet ten dienste.

Mede afgaande op de door Sardine verstrekte gegevens betreffende een soortgelijk voornemen van de communistische jeugd in Engeland, mag worden aangenomen, dat het hier zuiver landelijke manifestaties betreft. Uiteraard bestaat de mogelijkheid, dat over en weer enkele buitenlandse gasten aanwezig zullen zijn.

Ik zou het zeer op prijs stellen te vernemen of er, afgezien van Engeland en Nederland, ook in andere landen plannen voor het houden van soortgelijke, nationale bijeenkomsten bestaan.

(III)

9-1-1951

H.B.

Ev.
00 860

B 123335

UITGEBOEKT

14 JAN. 1952

Nationale jeugdfestivals

VERTROUWELIJK

IIId/63

Hiermede heb ik de eer Uwe Excellentie het volgende te berichten.

Op 20 Augustus 1951, daags na de beëindiging van het IIIe Wereldjeugdfestival te Berlijn, kwam de Raad van de World Federation of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) aldaar bijeen. De in de 14 dagen voorafgaande opgedane ervaringen vormden de grondslag van een aantal besluiten met betrekking tot de lijn welke bij toekomstige acties moest worden gevolgd. Men kwam o.m. tot de conclusie, dat feestelijke massa-manifestaties een probaat middel zijn om het gestelde doel, eenheid der jeugd in de strijd voor de vrede, te bereiken. De aangesloten nationale jeugdorganisaties werden in die zin geïnstrueerd.

Voor Nederland beraadt het Algemeen Nederland Jeugd Verbond (A.N.J.V.) zich sindsdien op uitvoering van de opgelegde taak (vide schrijven no.120346 d.d. 30-10-1951). Gewestelijke "Piet van Staveren-appèls" staan voor eind Januari en begin Februari a.s. op het programma. Plaatsen van samenkomst Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen en Deventer. Voorts zijn er aanwijzingen, dat men van A.N.J.V.-zijde plannen ontwerpt voor een tijdens de Pinksterdagen 1952 te Amsterdam te vieren (nationaal) jeugdfestival. De deelnemers zouden worden ondergebracht in een tentenkamp. Blijkbaar zullen ook in andere Westelijke landen met Pinksteren soortgelijke nationale bijeenkomsten worden gehouden. De mogelijkheid bestaat, dat over en weer enkele buitenlandse gasten aanwezig zullen zijn.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST

[Handwritten signature]
Mr. H. W. Felderhof.

Aan Z.E. de Vice Minister-President,
Minister zonder Portefeuille,
Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken,
te
's-GRAVENHAGE

10 JAN. 1952

9 Januari

52

123335

UITGEBEUKT

00 868

Nationale jeugdfestivals

VERTROUWELIJK

IIIId/5s

Hiermede heb ik de eer U het volgende te berichten.

Op 20 Augustus 1951, daags na de beëindiging van het IIIe Wereldjeugdfestival te Berlijn, kwam de Raad van de World Federation of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) aldaar bijeen. De in de 14 voorafgaande dagen opgedane ervaringen vormden de grondslag van een aantal besluiten met betrekking tot de lijn welke bij toekomstige acties moest worden gevolgd. Men kwam o.m. tot de conclusie, dat feestelijke massa-manifestaties een probaat middel zijn om het gestelde doel, eenheid der jeugd in de strijd voor de vrede, te bereiken. De aangesloten nationale Jeugdorganisaties werden in die zin geïnstrueerd.

Voor Nederland beraadt het Algemeen Nederlands Jeugd Verbond (A.N.J.V.) zich sindsdien op uitvoering van de opgelegde taak (vide schrijven no. 120346 d.d. 30-10-1951). Gewestelijke "Piet van Staveren-appèls" staan voor eind Januari en begin Februari a.s. op het programma. Plaatsen van samenkomst Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen en Deventer. Voorts zijn er aanwijzingen, dat men van A.N.J.V.-zijde plannen ontwerpt voor een tijdens de Pinksterdagen 1952 te Amsterdam te vieren (nationaal) jeugdfestival. De deelnemers zouden worden ondergebracht in een tentenkamp. Blijkbaar zullen ook in andere Westelijke landen met Pinksteren soortgelijke nationale bijeenkomsten worden gehouden. De mogelijkheid bestaat, dat over en weer enkele buitenlandse gasten aanwezig zullen zijn.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST
namens deze:

J. G. Crabbendam

Aan de Heer Commissaris der Koningin,
in de provincie Noord-Holland te HAARLEM,
in de provincie Zuid-Holland te 's-GRAVENHAGE,
in de provincie Groningen te GRONINGEN,
in de provincie Overijssel te ZWOLLE.

10 JAN. 1952

9 Januari.1952

Co.
OW 868

123335

B

UITGEBEUKT

Nationale jeugdfestivals

VERTROUWELIJK

IIIId/5s

Hiermede heb ik de eer U het volgende te berichten.

Op 20 Augustus 1951, daags na de beëindiging van het IIIe Wereldjeugdfestival te Berlijn, kwam de Raad van de World Federation of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) aldaar bijeen. De in de 14 voorafgaande dagen opgedane ervaringen vormden de grondslag van een aantal besluiten met betrekking tot de lijn welke bij toekomstige acties moest worden gevolgd. Men kwam o.m. tot de conclusie, dat feestelijke massamanifestaties een probaat middel zijn om het gestelde doel, eenheid der jeugd in de strijd voor de vrede, te bereiken. De aangesloten nationale jeugdorganisaties werden in die zin geïnstrueerd.

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HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST
namens deze:

Aan de Heer Hoofd Sectie G 2 b,
Hoofdkwartier Generale Staf,
Jan van Nassaustraat 123,
te 's-GR A V E N H A G E

Aan de Heer Hoofd Sectie III M.I.D.,
Lange Vijverberg 8,
te 's-GR A V E N H A G E

Aan de Heer Hoofd Bureau Veiligheid,
Sectie L 2,
Luchtmachtstaf,
Gevers Deynootweg 63, kamer 175,
te S C H E V E N I N G E N.

OP KAART
ACD/413
DAT: 11/11/51
PAR: 48

65362
0515-0921
06384
09.21
223

19 NOV 1951
ACD/123335

Rapport
Van: KA.RA
Aan: KA en H.B.
No.: E 1472
Onderwerp: Jeugd Festival in Engeland.

1. SARDINE bericht ons, dat het door de Communisten beheerste Britse Jeugdfestival Comité voornemens is met Pinksteren 1952 in Engeland een Jeugdfestival te houden.
Het plan een dergelijk Festival te houden is door de Engelse delegatie naar het Wereld Jeugdfestival in Berlijn in Augustus j.l. opgevat.
2. Het Festival zal vermoedelijk in Londen dan wel in een van de grote provinciale hoofdsteden worden gehouden. Het zal vermoedelijk een week duren en pogingen worden aangewend een tienduizend jonge mensen bijeen te krijgen.
3. De organisatoren ontkennen uiteraard, dat het Festival politieke oogmerken zou hebben; het is echter duidelijk, dat het Festival bedoeld is als een zelfde vrede demonstratie, zij het op geringere schaal, als het Festival in Berlijn.
4. Het adres van het Hoofdkwartier van het Engelse Jeugdfestival Comité luidt: Uxbridge Road 174, London W 13. Secretaris is Maurice SCHARTS.
5. SARDINE houdt zich aanbevolen voor mededeling van tekenen, die er op wijzen, dat in Nederland plannen worden voorbereid tot bijwoning van het Festival en t.z.t. tevens voor de namen van de eventuele deelnemers.

19-11-1951.

The Communist Party

6 MONTHS' PERSONAL STUDY PROGRAMME FOR LEADING CADRES. January 1st - June 30th, 1951.

MONTH.	MAIN PROBLEM.	MINIMUM READING.	EXTENDED PROGRAMME.
January.	THE PARTY OF A NEW TYPE.	Short History of C.P.S.U.(B). Chaps. I & II. Lenin: What is to be Done. Chaps. II, III, IV. (L.I.L. & L.S.W., Vol.2) Stalin: Foundations of Leninism, Chap. VIII, The Party (L.I.L. & Leninism).	Add: Lenin's What is to be Done (complete work).
February.	LENIN'S STRATEGY OF UNINTERRUPTED REVOLUTION.	Short History of C.P.S.U.(B). Chaps. III, IV, V. Lenin: Two Tactics of Social Democracy, Chaps. VI, IX, X, XI, XII and postscript. (L.I.L.: L.S.W. Vol.3 and Essentials of Lenin). Stalin: The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists, Section 2 (Leninism).	Add: Lenin: Two Tactics of Social Democracy (complete work).
March.	MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHING ON WAR.	Short History of C.P.S.U.(B.) Chap. VI. Lenin's Lecture on War, War and the Workers, (Little Lenin Library, No.20). Fogliatti (Ercoli): Report to 7th Congress of Communist International (1935). Suslov: Report to November Session of Communist Information Bureau (1949).	Add: Lenin's Imperialism (L.I.L. and L.S.W. Vol.5).
April.	ESTABLISHMENT AND CHARACTER OF DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT.	Short History of C.P.S.U.(B.) Chaps. VI, VIII & IX. Stalin: Foundations of Leninism, Sections 4, 5, 6, 7, (L.I.L. & Leninism). People's Democracy: (short book of extracts from Dimitrov, Bierut, Hilary Minc, etc.	Add: Lenin's State and Revolution (L.I.L. & L.S.W. Vol.7 and Essentials of Lenin Vol.2). Mao Tse-tung: People's Democratic Dictatorship.
May.	SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION.	Short History of C.P.S.U.(B.) Chaps. X, XI. Stalin: Year of Great Change (1929) (Leninism). Stalin: Dizzy with Success (1930) (Leninism). Stalin: New Conditions, New Tasks (1931) (Leninism). Bulganin: Speech on 33rd Anniversary of the October Revolution.	Add: Stalin: Problems of Agrarian Policy in U.S.S.R. (1929) (Leninism). Stalin: Address to Graduates from Red Army Academies (1935) (Leninism). Stalin: Speech at the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites (1935) (Leninism).
JUNE	U.S.S.R. LEADS THE FIGHT FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.	Short History of C.P.S.U.(B.) Chaps. XII and concluding chapter. Stalin: On the Draft, Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (1936) (Leninism). Stalin: Report to 18th Congress of C.P.S.U.(B.) 1938 (Leninism). Stalin: International Character of the October Revolution (Leninism). Re-read: Short History of C.P.S.U.(B) Chap. IV, Section 2. On Dialectical and Historical Materialism.	Add: Bulganin: Speech on 33rd Anniversary of the October Revolution. Speeches and Resolutions of Communist Information Bureau, Nov. 1949. Emile Burns: Gradual Transition from Socialism to Communism in U.S.S.R.

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

~~ONAFGEDAAN~~

CO 114838²

VR

08262

m AD 060.


name op kaart
Steward en Kenton
opleeft

Afd./Sect.: BVVI Dat.: 11/8.514 Par.:

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

~~te bevestigen~~

Perien: contr. staf pleide in zijn
bevel goede nota te nemen.

ACD. 4^e Dat.: 8-2-52 Par.: B. 

3/10/51 B.

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

B ion C.

28/7 Kerem

1. Not: Aangezien het hier een vreedelijk be-
treft dient m.i. de uitsluitende beent-
woordig van de vraag van KARA door
C te geschieden.

Nochtan de bewuste lieden eerder in
Nederlandse extreme kringen zijn opge-
vallen dan zal B hier in allereerste
instantie informatie over hebben
of kunnen krijgen.

M.i. om spoedshalve eerst naar B
Daarna naar C.

gaarne het oordeel van B en C

28/7 Kerem

2 B III

1. 8. 51

M.i. kan beantwoording van KARA-vragen
betreffende vreedelingen ook een taak van B
zijn. Dit contact (in mijn bescheiden) van een

Overname in extremistische kringen blijft altijd mede
ter bestudering van B.

Ik stel derhalve voor dat B, in overleg met C,
eventueel actie neemt en daarna een antwoord
aan KARA richt, dat met het C.O. eerst naar
afdeling C gaat ter kennisgeving en eventueel
aanvulling.

B III 1.8.51

B III 1.8.51

Op 2.8.51 met de Mr. Karsen besproken. B zal
in een nota vertellend wat hier bekend is. Daarna aan C
voor het aanvullen. Dit ware in de toekomst altijd te doen,
onverschillig of nu B of C de eerste aanvullende is
dus ook vice versa

B III 2.8.51

C (Mr. Karsen). Van de beveiliging is bij B, niet bekend.
Bijna de behandeling om te nemen, zoals besproken.

~~B III 5~~. Bijna deze nota af te schrijven met de KARA administratie

B III 3.8.51

CVVI 9/8/51 f

I B

Aan KA/RA

Om kennis betrekking tot en zijn verblijf in Nederland is niet bekend

CVVI 11/8.51

Op 31-8-51 werd aan SARDINE brief CEH/51/516 (bij CO. 114838) geschre-
ven, waarin hem de inhoud van de aantekening van CVVI dd. 11-8-51
op schutblad van CO. 114838 werd medegedeeld. 31-8-51, KA-R.A., H

NOTA
VAN: KA-R.A.

Op 31-8-51 werd aan SARDINE Abrief CEH/51/516 (bij CO. 114838)
geschreven, waarin hem de inhoud van de aantekening van CVVI dd.
11-8-51 op schutblad CO. 114838 werd medegedeeld.

31-8-51, H

*en deze verblijft in recht. niets
overtr. betrekking
behand.*

08.2
09.21-09.23

6.15
09.21-01.12

08.2
09.21-09.1 190

RAPPORT :
Van : KA-RA
Aan : HC
No. : E/1280
ONDERWERP : R. STEWART.

27 JUL 1951
ACD/114838

27-7-51.

OP KAART
ACD/4c
DAT: 8-2-52
PAR: 3

o.k.

1. Sardine bericht ons, dat Robert STEWART, internationaal secretaris van de B.C.P. op 20 Juli j.l. uit Londen vertrok per K.L.M. naar Amsterdam op weg naar Praag. Hij was vergezeld van Lou KENTON, hoofd van "Progressive Tours".

o.k.

2. Sardine vraagt ons of nog iets bijzonders is opgemerkt bij betrokkene's verblijf in Nederland.

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

ONAFGEDAAN

*Kaart aanleggen van Petrolkoker (N)
in o.a. 860.*

*3) Frankenberg o.k. met:
heug beach van h. heren,
overname van de communiteit*

Afd./Sect.: *B III t.* Dat.: *9.8.57* Par.: *ju.*

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

ACD. *44* Dat.: *13/12/57* Par.: *3*

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

1 CVV 4/6 d' 3/7

Duplicaat van stuk no. *114641* gezonden aan *B*
ACD/I. *24/7/57*

2) 5 ppen CVV I 10.51 g. aan B

*3) B III 6/8.57
Notitie aan KARA is uit. 8/8
B III 9.8.57
t. 7.8.57*

Co retour III t

4) CVV nom. 115494 10/8/57

*5) 5 ppen, i.v.m. 115494, door naar B III i.v.m.
stuk 115494. CVV I 14/8.57*

*en brief Den Haag.
B III no. 17-8.57
22/8 not aan KARA en brief Den Haag met s
t. 20.8.57
KARA*

CO *114641*
115494
118722
122135

K ara

act. 6/9/51

Op 6-9-51 werd aan SARDINE brief CEH/51/544 (114641) geschreven, waarin hem de inhoud van het rapport No. 114641 d.d. 22-8-51 van HB aan KA.RA werd doorgegeven. 7-9-51, KA.RA, K.

CVV Hk 24/9/51

~~Go.~~
CVV III - 26-9-51.

Aan Mr. Fossen naar dossier Frankenberg op vraag ✓
CVV I 24/9/51

Conform vers. CVV I. Voorlopig op leggen.

CVV III - 27/9/51. B

CVV Wm 12/135

8/11

Cyrie CVV I 9/11/51 -

CVV III.

Lithobol fenocelt con CD 114641. ✓

Bosser retour aan Mr. Fossen.

CVV III - 9/11/51.

ACD 15/11

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

CO 114641

ONAFGEDAAN

In orig.

DUPLICAAT C.O.

Afd./Sect.:

B

Dat.:

7/8/51

Par.:

BIIIg

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

ACD. 46

Dat.:

13/12/51

Par.:

6

27/12/51

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

B

Aan de hand van dit dupl. CO geen correspondentie voeren
Org. C.O. is in behandeling bij

ACD/I.

26/7/51

B III

28. 7. 51

B III gld 20. 7. 51.
t

28. 51. nota naar filiaal
B. III. c. politiek uit aan KARA. daarna Co. retour
naar in org Co. aan B III g.

CVV (zie orig no) 17/8/51
gen. CVV III - 26-9-51

MINISTERIE VAN JUSTITIE

Afd. Politie
Bur. Kabinet

e 114641
's-Gravenhage, 2 Nov. 1951

Men wordt verzocht bij aanhaling van deze brief dagtekening, afdeling en nummer nauwkeurig te vermelden

No. P 252/51

VERTROUWELIJK

Betreffende:

P.J. Frankenberg

Bericht op brief van:
9 Oct. 1951,
No. 118722.

Aan: het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, Hoofd van de Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst, Javastr. 68 te 's-GRAVENHAGE. t.a.v. Jhr Mr W.J.Th. Serraris.

ew 114641

In antwoord op Uw bovenvermeld schrijven heb ik de eer Uhoogedelgestrengte hierbij te doen toekomen het naturalisatiedossier van P.J. FRANKENBERG, genaturaliseerd bij de Wet van 28 April 1933 (Staatsblad No.239).

Na gemaakt gebruik zal ik het dossier gaarne terugontvangen.

De Minister van Justitie,
Namens deze,
Het Hoofd van het Bureau Kabinet
van de Afdeling Politie,

(Mr J.P.G. Goossen)

06.383

06.333!
09.1.09.23
5 NOV 1951
ACD/122/35

NIET
ACD/ *46*
DAT: *13/12/51*
PAR: *5*

CVV III/J 2+1

Co

CO 114641 (13/11)

MINISTERIE VAN
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's Gravenhage, 15 NOV 1951
Javastraat 68

No. : 122135
Bijl. : 1 dossier

VERTROUWELIJK.

Betr. : P.J. FRANKENBERG

UITGEBORVEN

Onder dankzegging voor de mij verleende inzage,
heb ik de eer UHoogEdelGestrenge het mij bij Uw schrijven
van 2 November 1951 No. P 252/51 toegezonden naturalisatie-
dossier van P.J. FRANKENBERG hierbij weder te doen toekomen.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST,
Voor deze,

Mr K. E. BRESLAU

Aan de HoogEdelGestrenge Heer
Mr J.P.G. Goossen
Hoofd Bureau Kabinet van de
Afdeling Politie van het
Ministerie van Justitie
Raamweg 47
's G r a v e n h a g e . -

MINISTERIE VAN
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's Gravenhage, 11 9 OCT 1951
Javastraat 68

No. : 118722
Bijl.: gene

VERTROUWELIJK.

Betr.: P.J. Frankenberg

UITGEBOKT

Hiermede heb ik de eer UHoogedelgestrenge te verzoeken mij ter inzage te willen doen toekomen het dossier, betrekking hebbende op de verkrijging van het Nederlandschap door naturalisatie van Paul Joseph FRANKENBERG, geboren te Hameln 7 Juni 1892, van origine vermoedelijk Duitser en woonachtig te 's Gravenhage, Emmastraat 39. Betrokkene zou reeds vóór 1940 zijn genaturaliseerd.

Door een vooraanstaand Engelse communist, genaamd Ephraim LESSER, werd in Juli 1951 een bezoek aan FRANKENBERG gebracht.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST,
Voor deze,

Mr K. E. BRESLAU

Aan de Hoogedelgestrenge Heer
Mr J.P.G. Goossen
Hoofd Bureau Kabinet van de
Afdeling Politie van het
Ministerie van Justitie
Raamweg 47
's Gravenhage. -

rappel: 31.10.1951

114641

Don't know

VERTROUWELIJK

Verbinding: No.12

20 September 1951.

Ag.no.1803

Onderwerp: Familie FRANKENBERG. *e*

Datum ontvangst bericht:---

Betrouwbaarheid berichtgever: niet te bepalen.

Waardering bericht: niet te bepalen.

Tevens bericht gezonden aan:---

Medewerkende instanties:---

Ondernomen actie:---

06.383 *6.15*
09.21-01.14
06.391

20 SEP. 1951

ACD/115722

OP-KAART
 ACD/ *115722*
 DA: *1951*
 PAR: *115722*

B.O.S. van 22 Augustus 1951
No.114641 M.v.B.Z.

Naar aanleiding van nevenvermeld schrijven wordt het volgende medegedeeld:

KNV *V*
Paul Joseph FRANKENBERG, geboren te Hamelen (Dld.) 7 Juni 1892, is op 9 September 1930 te Hannover gehuwd met:

KNV *1*
Ilse Berta NATHANSOHN, geboren te Hannover 7 Maart 1906 en woont Emmastraat 39 te 's-Gravenhage.

Uit dit huwelijk zijn twee kinderen geboren, t.w. Werner, geboren te 's-Gravenhage 8 Juli 1931 en Anneliese, geboren te 's-Gravenhage 31 Maart 1933.

FRANKENBERG is op 19 April 1924, komende uit Hannover (Dld.) in het Bevolkingsregister te 's-Gravenhage ingeschreven en heeft sedertdien steeds hier ter stede gewoond. Hij is van Joodse bloede (niet kerkelijk meelevend) en is gedurende de oorlog met zijn gezin ondergedoken geweest.

Hij is directeur van de N.V. "Wifra", groothandel in sportartikelen (gevestigd te Rotterdam).

Hij is reeds vóór 1940 genaturaliseerd.

Een persoon, die goed geïnformeerd is, verklaarde, dat FRANKENBERG veel naar het buitenland gaat om zaken te doen. Hij bemoeit zich helemaal niet met politiek. Hij gaat volkomen op in zijn zaak.

Zijn zoon Werner is medisch student te Utrecht, maar is thans in militaire dienst.

Zijn dochter Annelies studeert aan het Maerlantlyceum aan de Johannes Bildersstraat te 's-Gravenhage.

In de politie-administratie komen de gezinsleden van de familie FRANKENBERG op politiek- en crimineel gebied niet voor. (einde)

5

114641
C

S.T.

7 Augustus 1951.

No. Gr.V.D. 1016/51 Conf.

CONFIDENTIEEL

Bijlagen: een.

Onderwerp: Grenspassage E. LESSER.

Verwezen wordt naar dezerzijds
brief nr. Gr.V.D. 1016/51 dd. 24 Juli 1951.

Co 114641
06.332.21
06.384-09.21 09.21-01.14 6.15

- 8 AUG. 1951
ACD/115494

In vouwe dezès gelieve U aan te treffen een uittreksel uit een veiligheidsrapport opgemaakt door Z, naar de inhoud waarvan kortheidshalve wordt verwezen.

S.T.

NIET O.K.
ACD/ 46
DAT: 23/10/51
PAR: 51

AAN: Hoofd B.V.D.

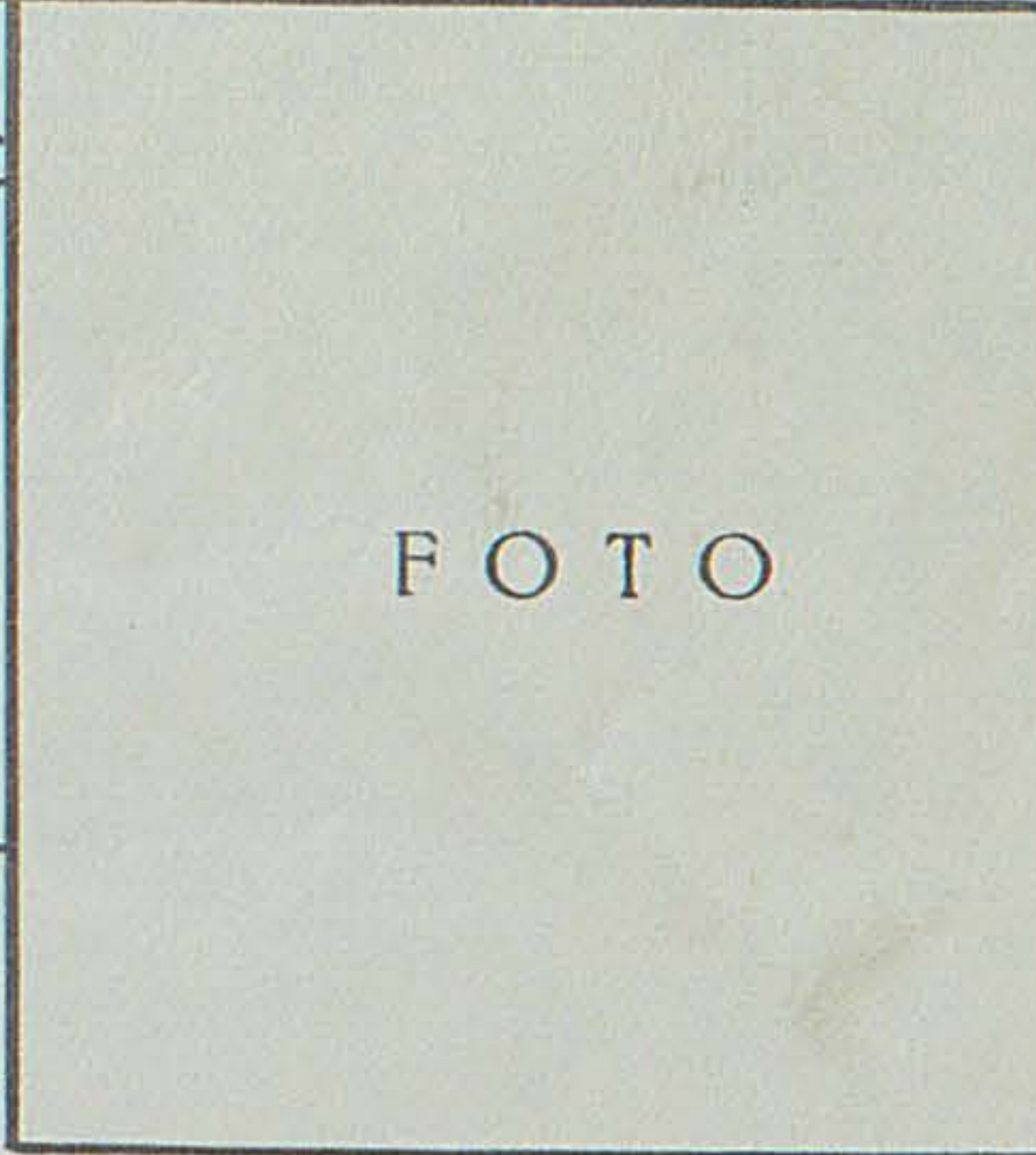
Typ: 10.
Coll.: 16

CONFIDENTIEEL

Nr Doorlaatpost Hoek v. Holland. Exemplaarnr
Datum en uur van ~~verhoor~~ signalering: 29 Juli '51 11.00 uur.
Samenwerking met: gene.
Ondernomen acties: gene.

Ingekomen: 2-8-1951.
St.No.: Gr.V.D. 1016/
51.
Verzonden: 7-8-1951.

Personalia
Naam: LESSER Meisjesnaam:
Voornamen: Ephraim Man/Vrouw
Alias: Ernest Lesser Nr Legit.bew.B.Z.:
Geboorteplaats: Londen datum: 21 Juli 1916
Nationaliteit thans: Britse bij geboorte: Britse
Beroep: Journalist.
Adres: 18 Vivian, Way, Londen.



Reis-
papieren
Soort: Brits pasp. Nr 1419126 geldig tot: 15-9-1954
Uitgegeven te: Londen op: 15-9-1949 door: For. Office.
Ned. visum nr: geldig tot: uitgegeven
te: op: door:
Andere voorkomende visa:
Bijzondere aantekeningen:

Reis
Reden: ~~xxx~~ Terugkeer van bezoek aan vrienden.
UIT Reist van: Den Haag naar: Londen.
Verblijfsadres in Nederland: Fam. FRANKENBERG, Emmastraat 39 DEN HAAG.
Vervoermiddel: Trein en dagboot.

Reis-
gezelschap
Naam: Voornamen: Geb.plaats en datum: Adres:

Be-
ge

Signalement
Lengte: Ogen: Gelaat:
Postuur: Oren: Mond:
Haar: Neus: Gebit:
Bijzondere kentekenen:
Kleding:

Scholing:
Schoolopleiding:
Vakopleiding :
Talenkennis :
Godsdienst :
Politieke richting:

Reden van verhoor/signalering en nadere bijzonderheden: Vooraanstaand Brits communist.

Coll.: lb

N o t a

Voor: CO 114641

Van : CVV

15 NOV 1951

Betr.: P.J. FRANKENBERG

Uittreksel uit naturalisatiedossier.-

FRANKENBERG, Paul Joseph, geboren te Hameln 7 Juni 1892, van origine Duitser, Nederlander door naturalisatie (wet 28.4.'33 S. 239), directeur N.V. "Wifra" (groothandel in sportartikelen) te Rotterdam, woonachtig Den Haag, Emmastraat 39.

Gehuwd met: NATHANSOHN, Ilse Bertha, geboren te Hannover 7 Maart 1906, van origine Duitse, woonachtig aan hetzelfde adres.

Kinderen: 1) Werner, geboren te Den Haag 8 Juni 1931, woonachtig aan hetzelfde adres;
2) Anneliese, geboren te Den Haag 31 Maart 1933, woonachtig aan hetzelfde adres.

a). 4.7.1932 indiening request om naturalisatie (met instemming echtgenote).

Bijlagen: 1. geboortebewijs;
2. trouwbewijs;
3. verklaring van ingezetenschap 's Gravenhage;
4. verklaring verlies Duitse staatsburgerschap (Entlassungsurkunde, Hannover 17.6.1932);
5. bewijs van storting f 400.- Den Haag 2.7.32.

b). Verklaring, dat vóór Juli 1933 woonplaats noch duurzaam verblijf buiten Nederland zullen worden gevestigd.

c). Staat van inlichtingen No. 12392/XVI⁵ dd. 9.9.1932 Politie Den Haag.

Toenmalig beroep: Directeur N.V. Wilson en Frankenberg's Engroshandel te Rotterdam, Schooterboschstraat 26-30. Met een onderbreking van 15 maanden sedert 1919 in Nederland. Had uitsluitend Nederlands personeel in dienst (40 man).

19.4.1924 te 's Gravenhage ingeschreven, komende uit Hannover.

Genoten opleiding: Gymnasium te Hannover;
1 jaar Universiteit Hamburg (na 1918)
handelsopleiding in verschillende zaken te Hamburg, Hannover en Londen

Vader: FRANKENBERG, Siegfried, destijds wonende te Hannover;

Moeder: ISRAËL, Anna, overleden te Hannover in 1927.
Kinderen buiten Paul Joseph: 2 dochters (in Dld.)


Bezocht destijds (1932) jaarlijks de Leipziger Messe. Had omgang met juwelier SCHAAP, Noordeinde.

Inkomsten ± f 7.000.- per jaar.

Woonhuis in eigendom, bezwaard met 1e hypotheek.

Niets ten nadele bekend.

13 November 1951

CVV III. 

Nota
Van: KA.RA

UITGEBOEKT

Op 6-9-51 werd aan SARDINE brief CEH/51/544 (114641) geschreven, waarin hem de inhoud van de notitie van H.B. aan KA.RA No. 114641 d.d. 22-8-51 werd doorgegeven.

7-9-51, K.

NOTITIE

Aan: KARA

Van: H.B.

No. B 114641

Ond.: E.LESSER

IIIId/3s

UITGEBOEKT

In aansluiting op mijn notitie no.114641 d.d. 8-8-1951 kan worden bericht dat Ephraim LESSER, geboren 21 Juli 1951 te Londen, wonende te Londen, 18 Vivian Way, van beroep journalist, op 29 Juli 1951 per boot vanuit Nederland naar Engeland is teruggekeerd.

LESSER bracht in Nederland een bezoek aan vrienden te 's-Gravenhage.

22-8-1951

§ H.B.

III

MINISTERIE VAN
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-Gravenhage, 22 Augustus 1951

No_B 114641

O_o: Fam. FRANKENBERG

IIIIt/3s

UITGEBOEKT

appel 21-11

VERTROUWELIJK

Op 14-7-1951 arriveerde in ons land de Engelse communist Ephraim LESSER, geboren 21-7-1916 te Londen, journalist, wonende aldaar 18 Vivian Way. Hij verklaarde een bezoek te komen brengen aan vrienden en gaf als verblijfsadres op: familie FRANKENBERG, Emmastraat 39 te 's-Gravenhage.

Ik moge U verzoeken mij te willen doen inlichten omtrent de personalia en de politieke antecedenten van de daarvoor in aanmerking komende leden van de familie FRANKENBERG.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST
namens deze:

g

L. van Laere

Aan de Heer
Hoofdcommissaris van Gemeentepolitie
te 's-Gravenhage.

N o t i t i e

n.a.v. schr. van Kon. Mar. 114641 z. Co

Aan: KA-RA
Van: H.B.
Ond.: B 114641
Ond.: E. Lesser

UITGEBOKT

IIIg/h 3

Hiermede kan worden bericht dat Ephraim LESSER, geb. 21.7. 1916 te Londen, wonende te Londen, 18 Vivian Way, van beroep journalist, op 14 Juli 1951 per boot vanuit Engeland in Nederland is aangekomen.

Als reden van de reis werd opgegeven, bezoek aan vrienden.

Lesser is een vooraanstaand Engels communist.

III.

H.B.
8 Augustus 1951

S
Tuy

S.T.

Nr. Gr.V.D. 1016/51.

Bijlagen: een.

Onderwerp: "Grenspassage E. LESSER"

6.15

08.2

09.21 - 08.14

09.21 - 09.1

25 JULI 1951 dl

ACD/ 114641

CONFIDENTIEEL

24 Juli 1951.

OP KWART
ACD/ 46
DAT: 24/7/51
PAR: 5

In vouwe dezès gelieve U aan te treffen een uittreksel uit een veiligheidsrapport opgemaakt door Z, naar de inhoud waarvan korthedshalve wordt verwezen.

S.T.

AAN: Db

Hoofd B.V.D.

Nr Doorlaatpost Hoek v. Holland. Exemplaar nr 1.
Datum en uur van verhoor / signalering: 14 Juli 1951, 19.30 uur
Samenwerking met: I & A. en Opposite number.
Ondernomen acties: Bagage onderzoek.

Personalia	Naam: LESSER / Meisjesnaam:
	Voornamen: Ephraim. Man/Vrouw
	Alias: Ernest LESSER. Nr Legit.bew.B.Z.:
	Geboorteplaats: Londen. datum: 21 Juli 1916.
	Nationaliteit thans: Britse bij geboorte: Britse.
	Beroep: Journalist.
	Adres: 18 Vivian Way, Londen.
Reispapieren	Soort: Brits pasp. Nr 1419126 geldig tot: 15-9-1954
	Uitgegeven te: Londen op: 15-9-1949 door: For. Office.
	Ned. visum nr: geldig tot: uitgegeven
	te: op: door:
Andere voorkomende visa:	
Bijzondere aantekeningen:	
Reis	Reden: Bezoek aan vrienden.
	Reist van: Londen naar: Den Haag.
Uit	Verblijfsadres in Nederland: Fam. FRANKENBERG, Emmastraat 39, Den Haag
Vervoermiddel: dagboot en boottrein.	
Reisgezelschap	Naam: Voornamen: Geb.plaats en datum: Adres:
Bagage	1 koffer met lijfsgoederen.
Signalement	Lengte: ca. 1.70 m Ogen: bruin Gelaat: bruin gebrand.
	Postuur: tenger. Oren: Mond:
	Haar: zwart. Neus: Gebit:
	Bijzondere kentekenen: Joods type.
Kleding: colbertcostuum, blootshoofds.	
Scholing:	Schoolopleiding:
	Vakopleiding:
	Talenkennis:
	Godsdienst:
	Politieke richting: Vooraanstaand Engels communist.



Reden van verhoor/signalering en nadere bijzonderheden:

Mr. GELD P E E L

Adres 695 George-street Sydney
Bestuurslid van Austr. Indon Ass. aanwezig op
oprichtingsvergaderingen (3 Juli '45)
auteur pamflet "Indonesian Introduction"
M.A. Cambridge university.
Lid A.C.P. (propagandist)
Auteur "Brutalities in Nazi Germany" en
"India and Australia".
Ex-onderwijzer South Norwood College London en
Ass. lectures Marburg University Germany,
leeraar in Engels aan Malmo Intern School of
Languages, mind university Sweden en later head-
master christ church Boy's High school, Jubbalpore.
Schreef artikel Hands of Indonesia in Engels
Rep. blad te Fort de Kock "Freedom" (20-10-46)
nam deel aan conferenties van Comm. partijen
te Londen 26-2/3-3-47

Christian and
Surname

PEEL, Mr. G. *Gerald*

Master of Arts.

22-5-45

Sex

Nationality

Birthplace and Date:

Occupation

Dwelling-place

Mentioned in

I *in file II₂₆* *Ph.B.* ✓
SYDNEY *Aust.*

File: "Toestand in Sydney"

Mr. Peel was aanwezig op de vergadering in de Odd Fellows Hall, 149 Pitt Street, Sydney op 30 April, 1945 van het voorloopig comitee van de op te richten Aistralian- Indonesian Association.

Author of: "Indonesian Introduction", April '45.
Taken from the foreword: subj. is M.A. of Cambridge University, England. Is also the author of: "Brutalities in Nazi-Germany", "India and Australia" and other anti-fascist publications.
subj. was formerly a teacher at St. Norwood College, London; asst. lecturer at Harburg University, Germany.

English tutor at Balmō International School of Languages, as well as giving courses in English at Lund University, Sweden, and later Headmaster of one of India's leading European schools, Christ Church Boys' High School, Jubbalpore.

Tendency of his book: reproaching the Dutch of squeezing the Dutch without giving the Indonesians the opportunity to lift themselves up.

Mr. Peel heeft een stuk geschreven in de Tribune, dd, 16 August '45, getiteld onder No. C2. Titel: "Indonesian liberty is our problem." Daarin laat hij uitkomen hoe de Hollanders de Indonesiers altijd gedrukt hebben.

Doc.No.00100 ontvangen dd.15-12-45 van B.K.Batavia. Boek ontvangen van een Indon.staker(Australie): Geen verdere bijzonderheden. *by H. van der Meer*

Overgenomen uit EP8/59760/ZG dd.9.9.-'46 en KA5/59758/G (File Brotherton VI 2). Subj., Convenor of the Publicity Committee, is lid van het bestuur van de Austr. Indon. Ass. te Sydney. Zie rapport. *van Oort*

Consulate General of the Netherlands in Australia KRIA en BIA dd. 9.9.-'46 No. 37/Secr. betr. AIA en KIM (EP8/59760/ZG)(File KRIA en BIA van Afd. Buitenland Sectie I.1): Geen bijzonderheden; zie rapport. *van Oort*

Malaas

6 x PEEL Gerald (Gerald POOL)

Gesl. : M.

Nat. :

Geb.pl.dat. :

Beroep : Propagandist A.C.P.

Woonpl. : 695 George street, Sydney

Genoemd in : Nefis-document no. 845/ZE2: Schrijver van verschillende pamfletten uitgegeven door de A.C.P., o.a. "Indonesian Introduction", van anti-Ned. strekking, verspreid door middel van de sinds Februari j.l. opgeheven Partai Kebangsaan Indonesia, welke in nauw contact stond met de A.C.P. In een te Fort de Kock in het Engelsch verschijnend Rep. blad is onlangs een anti-Ned. artikel van PEEL verschenen, getiteld "Hands off Indonesia".

Subj. is Master of Arts of Cambridge University; hij is onderwijzer geweest aan "South Norwood College" te Londen; hulpleeraar aan de Marburg Universiteit in Duitschland; Engelsch leeraar aan de "Malmo International School of Languages" en de Lund Universiteit in Zweden; later was hij Hoofd van een van de leidende Europeesche scholen in Br.Indië, de "Christ Church Boy High School" te Jabulpore.

Subj. komt voor in het Weekblad "Merdeka" van de Republiek Indonesia van 17 Aug. 1945/
1946 blz. 23 op een photo met onderschrift: Councillor and Convenor of the Publicity Com-
mittee of the Australia-Indonesia-Association, Sydney Branch.

II
Name:

PEEL. Mr. Gerald.-

(VERVOLG)

II.

Nefis H.K. dd.16-4-1947:

De "Bintang Merah" bevat een foto van een groepje deelnemers aan de conferentie van communistische partijen in het Britsche gemeenebest te Londen, 26-2-1947. Hier komt o.a. op voor subject, die volgens de Britsche Intelligence een groot aantal pamfletten in 1945 opstelde t.b.v. de revolutie in Indonesië welke pamfletten door uit Australië terugkeerende Indonesiers naar Java werden medegenomen. *H. Brennan*

AFSCHRIJF.

file Deel
EP8/16477/G.

Sydney, 9 Juli, 1965

CONSULAAT GENERAAL DER NEDERLANDEN

voor het

GEMEENEBEST VAN AUSTRALIE,

Ik heb de eer UHoogEdelGestrenge hiernevens te doen
toekomen een verslag van de oprichtersvergadering van de Austra-
lia-Indonesia Association.

De Consul-Generaal,

(J.B.D.Pennink.)

Den Heere Directeur van de N E F I S.
G.P.O. Box 1386 R.
BRISBANE Q'ld.

OPRICHTERSVERGADERING VAN DE "AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA ASSOCIATION"
 Odd Fellows' Hall, 147-149 Castlereach Street, Sydney.
 Dinsdag, 3 Juli, 1945.

Aanwezig ongeveer 200 pp. w.o. ongeveer 120 Indonesiers, waarvan velen mij bij uiterlijk bekend. De vergadering werd door ondergeteekende bijgewoond tezamen met den Kapt. de Bryun. Andere Nederlanders waren er niet.

Bekende Australiers:

Bishop Cranswick-voorzitter van de Australian Mission Board.
 Prof. Elkin-Hoogleraar in de Anthropology aan de Universiteit te Sydney
 Deze fungeerde als voorzitter;
 Dr. Capell-lector in de Oostersche talen aan de Universiteit te Sydney;
 Miss Warner-voorloopig secretaresse der te vormen vereeniging;
 Mr. Campbell-voorzitter van de Australian-Indian Association;
 Mrs. Byrne-vroeger hostess van de Indonesian Club;
 Mrs. Williams- haar dochter.
 Mr. Goddard- mij onbekend.
 Mrs. Laura Capp- bekende communiste;
 Mr. Guy Anderson- voorzitter van de Labour Trade Union;
 Prof. A.W. Hamilton-Hoogleraar in de Maleische taal aan de Universiteit te Sydney.

Bishop Cranswick was de eerste spreker en stelde Australie voor als de toekomstige redder van Nederlandsch Indie en wees op de wenschelijkheid een uitweg te vinden op de White Australia Policy.

Vervolgens sprak Mr. Guy Anderson, die steun van de Australische trade unions beloofde aan de zusterverenigingen in Nederlandsch Indie.

Daarna Mrs. Goddard, die art. 55 van de UNCIO overeenkomst aanhaalde en aandrang op vrijheid, gelijkheid en broederschap.

Tenslotte las Miss Warner een zestal telegrammen met gelukwensen voor. Zij stelde toen voor dat de Indonesier Doerachman-ons welbekend-het verhandelde in het Maleisch aan zijn landgenooten zou overbrengen. Doerachman las een geprepareerde toespraak voor, die niet anti-Nederland was, de hoop uitsprekende dat spoedige terugkeer naar het Vaderland zou mogelijk blijken na verdrijving van de Japanners, maar geheel niet den inhoud der gehouden toespraken weergaf.

Daarna kwam de discussie, die aanleiding was voor enkele lieden om voor het goed menschelijk recht te pleiten en waarna door een Australier de deportatie van Pande Iroot en Soeprapto werd aangehaald. Een Britsch Indier trok een vergelijking tusschen zijn land en Indie.

Tenslotte de bestuursverkiezing, die geenerlei reactie van Indonesische zijde teweeg bracht. Toen een Australische dame vroeg om den Indonesiers een kans te geven tot Vice-President benoemd te worden, antwoordde de voorzitter, dat dit moeilijk zou zijn omdat de Indonesiers slechts voor korten tijd in Australie zouden verblijven. Daarmede werden de Indonesiers gecoupeerd. Niemand maakte bezwaar.

Met horten en stooten kwam het bestuur tot stand als volgt:

voorzitter; Prof. Elkin.

1e vice-president; Mr. Goddard.

2e vice-voorzitter Mr. Guy Anderson, Mr. Campbell, Dr. Capell.

hon. treasurer; Miss Wells.

hon. secretary; Miss Warner

verdere bestuursleden Mr. Peel, Mrs. North, Mr. Buckley, Mr. Archival. Mrs. Byrne, Miss Reed, Prof. Hamilton.

(ongeveer gelijk aan het voorloopig comitee).
 Deze laatste kwam mij den volgenden dag bezoeken, met de mededeeling, dat hij de benoemin had aanvaard om op de hoogte te blijven. Als dit zijn motief is, dan kan zulks nuttig zijn. Inmiddels zou m.i. ook iemand uit de Nederlandsche gelederen in het bestuur zitting moeten nemen

Na afloop meldden zich vele Indonesiers aan als lid en betaalden hun contributie ad sh.2/6 contant.

Mrs. Capp en Mrs. Byrne onderhielden zich druk met de Indonesiers na afloop.

Sydney, 4 Juli 1945.

A F S C H R I F T .

file Paul
EP8/14460/G.

T16/2563.

17 Mei.

Ten vervolge op mijn brief No. T16/2409 van 10 dezer deel ik U mede dat ik bezoek heb ontvangen van Miss Warner. Deze heeft mij op een handige wijze een voorstelling van de op te richten Australian*Indonesian Association gegeven, welke voorstelling mij bekend is geheel verkeerd te zijn. De lijst van de namen, die ik U verschaftte in mijn brief van 5 dezer, werd door mij met haar doorgenomen en zij raakte eenigszins verlegen over het feit, dat zooveel trade unionists in het bestuur waren verkozen.

Zij heeft mij ook verteld, dat men reeds meetings had gehouden, hetgeen ik wist, en toen ik vroeg of men niet van plan was om Indonesiers te noodigen, zeide zij dat zulks niet noodig was en ook nog niet geschied was. Dit feit is volkomen bezijden de waarheid, gelijk ik U reeds heb geschreven in mijn brief van 5 dezer.

Het is niet noodig verder uit te wijden, om hier vast te stellen dat de op te richten association een onberekenbare factor zal zijn, waarmede de grootste voorzichtigheid geraden is. Miss Warner heeft mij verzocht andermaal met den Lord Mayor te spreken maar indien deze niet bereid zou zijn de openbare oprichtersvergadering in de Town Hall te presideeren, waar de Lord Mayor en het voorloopig bestuur hun vrienden "vrienden" zouden kunnen uitnoodigen, dan zou men tot de oprichting overgaan zonder openbare vergadering.

De Consul Generaal.

(J.B.D.Pennink.)

Den Heere Gouvernements Secretaris
Nederlandsch Indische Regeering
Brisbane.

OVERGENOMEN UIT SUB-DIV.H.K.46. No.845/XE2, 23 Nov. 1946.
File Comm. Contracten Buitenland. ZEER GEHEIM.

S I G N A L E M E N T.
COMMUNISTISCHE PROPAGANDA IN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIE GELEID VAN
UIT AUSTRALIE.

In de Soeloeh Merdeka (Pematang Siantar) van 5 October jl. werd een uitvoerig schrijven gepubliceerd van de "Australian Communist Party" (A.C.P.) aan een der leiders naam niet genoemd) van de Communistische Partij (P.K.I.) Sumatra onder het hoofd: "liever in de gevangenis, dan opnieuw onderworpen", in extenso als bijlage I hierbij overgelegd. De korte inhoud is als volgt.

Sedert in 1939 de Labour regeering aan het bewind is gekomen, heeft de A.C.P. onder leiding van L.L.L.SHARKEY, alles gedaan voor verspreiding van de democratische beginselen, vastgesteld op het 7e congres van de Komintern in 1935.

Toen in Juni 1943 door het Nederlandsch Indische gouvernement een 500 Digoelisten werden overgebracht naar het kamp Cowra (N.S.W.), heeft de A.C.P. direct contact gemaakt met deze personen, en werd de P.M.I. weder opgericht. Met behulp van de A.C.P. werden toen opgericht "Serikat Pelajar Indonesia" (zeeliedenbond) en "Serikat Indonesia Baroe" (Sebar) onder SARDJONO (nu een der groote leiders op Java).

Na de onafhankelijkheids proclamatie werd door de Indonesiers in Australie opgericht het "Komite Indonesia Merdeka" met als leuze: "liever in het gevang dan weder onderworpen."

De arbeiders in Australie hebben dit "Komite Indonesia Merdeka" steeds geholpen en de Voorzitter van de A.C.P., SHARKEY, heeft verklaard voor 100% Indonesia Merdeka "te steunen.

De Australische arbeiders hebben voor bekendmaking van het streven van Indonesia Merdeka in het buitenland gezorgd en demonstratie's opgezet oa. met de leuzen "Soekarno not a Quisling", Soekarno not pro-Jap, but pro-Indonesia."

Wij in Australie hopen, dat de ruzies met andere groepen, alsde Chineezzen tot een einde komen en er meer eenheid komt.

De activiteit van de P.M.I.-sectie's buiten Australie dient gebaseerd te zijn op de volgende richtlijnen:

1. in samenwerking met de A.C.P. verspreiden van de beginselen van MARX en LENIN;
2. oprichten van de arbeidersorganisatie "Sarikat Pelajar Indonesia (Sarpelindo), die semi-officieel lid is van het Australische Verbond van Vakverenigingen (Australian council of trade unions);
3. het "Komite Indonesia Merdeka" is de officieele vertegenwoordiging in Australie van de regeering van de republiek Indonesia.
4. als hulpmiddelen om tot resultaat te komen, zal worden gebruik gemaakt van de "Indonesian Australian Association", "Indonesian Club", Perantaran Bangsa Indonesia" (vereniging van Indonesiers in het Buitenland), "Film Syndicat".

Deze instructie-brief was geteekend door:

- I. GERALD POOL, 695 George street, Sydney.
- II. H.MALANGKAY, secretaris van het "Komite Indonesia Merdeka", 16 Sir John Young Crescent, Sydney.
- III. A.SORONGAN, van de "Serikat Pelajar Indonesia, adres als boven.

Bovenaangehaald instrueerend schrijven was ongedateerd. In Singapore bestaat de Sarikat Pelajaran Indonesia. De afkorting Sarpelindo wordt daar niet gebruikt. Contact met de vereeniging in Australie is niet bekend. Op verschillende plaatsen in Sumatra bestaan zeelieden-bonden, doch onder andere benamingen.

Van de bovengenoemde 3 personen is het volgende bekend:

- I GERALD POOL, tenrechte GERALD PEEL, Master of Arts of Cambridge University, voorheen onderwijzer aan "South Norwood College", London, hulpleeraar aan de Marburg Universiteit (Duitschland). Engelsch leeraar aan de "Malmo International School of Languages", en de Lund Universiteit (Zweden), later Hoofd van een van de leidende Europeesche scholen in Britsch-Indie, de "Christ Church Boys High School" te Jubbulpore. Propagandist van de A.C.P. Schrijver van verschillende pamfletten uitgegeven door de A.C.P., o.a. "Indonesian Introduction" (vide eenige citaten in bijlage II), van anti-Nederlandsche strekking, verspreid door middel van de sedert Februari jl. opgeheven Partai Kebangsaan Indonesia. Weliswaar heeft deze vereeniging dezelfde initialen als de communistische partij Indonesia (P.K.I.) doch officieel was het de Indonesische Nationalistische Partij in Australie. Het nauwe contact met de A.C.P. is echter evident.

Onlangs verscheen van de hand van PEEL wederom een anti-Nederlandsch artikel "Hands of Indonesia" (Free dom van 20/10-'46, een te Fort de Kock in het Engelsch verschijnend republikeinsch blad. (Zie bijlage III).

- II. H.MALANGKAY, Menadonees, ook wel M.H.L.MAILINGKAY, of H.MAILANGKAY, was proviandklerk bij de K.P.M., werd ontslagen wegens herhaalde dienstweigering, na verdacht te zijn van geknoei met alcoholische dranken (levering tegen het verbod in, aan militairen en verduistering). Hij is secretaris van het in Maart jl. onder aandrang van de AC.P. gevormde nieuwe meer communistisch georiënteerde bestuur van het "Komite Indonesia Merdeka" van Sydney. Dit geschiedde met steun van het centrale K.I.M. te Brisbane dat o.l.v. den communist SLAMET staat. MAILANGKAY maakte in October 1945 als lid van de bemanning van een Panameesch schip een reis naar de Philipijnen. Aangezien hij als Indonesisch staker Australie niet kon verlaten, gaf hij zich op als Chineesch onderdaan Mai Ling Kay en werd als zoodanig aangemonsterd. Vermoed wordt, dat deze reis werd gemaakt in opdracht van de A.C.P. Het is niet ondenkbaar, dat het doel was contacten te leggen tusschen de communisten in de Philipijnen en de Indonesische communisten in Australie. Toen de Australische immigratie-autoriteiten, na hem ter verantwoording te hebben geroepen, op het punt stonden hem als illegaal immigrant uit te wijzen, trad hij plotseeling in het huwelijk met een Australische, als gevolg waarvan hem voorloopige verblijfsverguuning werd verleend. MAILINGKAY is zeer fel-anti-Nederlandsch. Hij weigerde repatriatie per "Manoora".

- III. A.SOROGAN, penningmeester van het bovengenoemde, meer

communistiche bestuur van K.I.M. in Sydney.
Eveneens vroeger bij de M.P.M. in dienst en dienstwei-
geraar als schepeling, Javaan, gehuwd met een
Australische, communist en fel anti-Nederlandsch.
Weigerde eveneens repatriatie per "Manoora".

Uit het bovenstaande blijkt voldoende de invloed van
de communistiche partij in Australie op de communistiche
beweging in Sumatra. Uit de instructie moet afgeleid worden,
dat de A.C.P. in deze in de plaats is getreden van de Komin-
tern in Moskou voor de propaganda in Indonesia.

the general
Feb

Nefis-Hoofdkwartier dd. 16 April 1947

De "Bintang Merah" van 1 April bevat een foto van een groepje deelnemers aan de conferentie van communistische partijen uit het geheele Britsche gemeenebest te Londen van 26 Februari tot 3 Maart jl., welke foto is genomen voor het Parlementsgebouw te Londen.

Onder deze deelnemers komen voor Gerald Peel (Australier), die volgens de Br. Intelligence een groot aantal pamfletten in 1945 heeft opgesteld t.b.v. de revolutie in Indonesia en welke pamfletten door uit Australie terugkeerende Indonesiers naar Java werden medegenomen, en voorts ook Jack Henry, secretaris der Communistische Partij van Queensland.

In het bijschrift bij bovengenoemde foto staat vermeld, dat Jack Henry de man is, aan wien door "de partij" de verzorging van den strijd van het Indonesische volk is opgedragen.

Op de foto komen verder nog voor de beide Engelsche communistische Parlementsleden Willy Gallacher en Phil Piratin; de Zuid-Afrikaansche communist du Plessis (secretaris C.P. district Johannesburg); Annibal Escalante, omschreven als de "fraternal delegatie" van Cuba en lid van het Cubaansche Parlement en ten slotte Naidoo, vertegenwoordiger der Britsch Indische arbeiders (mijnen) in Zuid-Afrika.

Nefis-Hoofdkwartier dd.16 April 1947

De "Bintang Merah" van 1 April bevat een foto van een groepje deelnemers aan de conferentie van communistische partijen uit het geheele Britsche gemeenebest te Londen van 26 Februari tot 3 Maart jl., welke foto is genomen voor het Parlementsgebouw te Londen.

Onder deze deelnemers komen voor Gerald Peel (Australier), die volgens de Br. Intelligence een groot aantal pamfletten in 1945 heeft opgesteld t.b.v. de revolutie in Indonesia en welke pamfletten door uit Australie terugkeerende Indonesiers naar Java werden medegenomen, en voorts ook Jack Henry, secretaris der Communistische Partij van Queensland.

In het bijschrift bij bovengenoemde foto staat vermeld, dat Jack Henry de man is, aan wien door "de partij" de verzorging van den strijd van het Indonesische volk is opgedragen.

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BIJLAGE II

"Indonesian Introduction" door Gerald Peel M.A.
Sydney, April 1945.

p.3.

"I have called it "Indonesian Introduction". It pretends to be no more than that. It would have been nice if it could have waited until we had done more work on the subject. But there is an urgency about it. You remember back in 1942 the threat to Australia from the north. The Japs ripped through those island defences north of Australia like scissors through silk. Malaya with a population of about 5 million, the Phillipines with over 16 million, Burma with nearly 15 million, and the Dutch East Indies with about 72 million, all fell so easily before the Japanese invaders. Why?

Because the peoples of these countries were not free. Imagine if these millions had been free peoples in arms; it's obvious that no force the Japanese could have put in the field would have conquered them. But the Japs found peoples before them who had no say in their own destinies. To Indonesians, for instance, the choice seemed one of two imperialist masters, Dutch or Japanese, that was all. Before the invasion far-seeing Indonesian patriots demanded arms with which to fight the Japs, but they were not given arms to defend themselves. Their white overlords feared to mobilise the people of Indonesia for defence. Many of the Indonesians who formed the bulk of Queen Wilhelmina's regular army in the Indies gave up their lives and fought bravely in defence of their fatherland, but they were rankers and all the officers of that army were Dutch. This question of freedom for the peoples of the Pacific affects you and me, every Australian, personally. It is a vital factor in our defence. That was why I thought this booklet urgent."

p.29.

"The question of Indonesian advance is not only an Indonesian question but an Australian one. Low wages and incomes, for colonial workers and farmers, threaten our standards here. The Australian Labour Movement has a very direct interest in Indonesia's struggle for freedom, and the right to organise in Trade Unions and political parties, and plan for a better life.

But it's not only the working-class that is interested in a higher standard for the peoples of the Pacific."

"In order to fully develop our exports to Indonesia, which can mean greater trade for our Australian manufacturing industry and create employment for our people, a sine qua non is a higher standard of living for the Indonesian people, a free Indonesian people, a free Indonesia, able to decide her own economic life, and not subject to the dictates of European monopoly influences.

With the defeat of Japan, and her likely collapse as a major industrial power, Australia can also supply many needs of the Indonesian people formerly supplied by Japanese monopolists."

"There is a certain inconsistency when, while we are fighting a war for democracy, we have in our midst friends and neighbours living in Australia who enjoy no democracy even while they are here, who are manpowered and ordered around by a Government they have had no part in electing and in which they have no confidence. "

file G. Peel
I 26

OVERGENOMEN UIT SUB-DIV. H.K. 46. NO.845/XE2., 23 Nov. '46
File Comm.Contacten Buitenland. ZEER GEHEIM.

BIJLAGE III.

Freedom (24-10-'46.)

"Hands off INDONESIA", samenvatting van een reportage van
"prominent Australian journalist GERALD PEEL, M.A."

Enkele citaten.

"Dutch propaganda is very clever..... willingness to discuss questions of independence with Dr.SOEKARNO and others does not deceive Indonesians who know such discussions in the past.- It is obvious that such talk is playing for time as exemplified by this incident haste to get arms and soldiers to JAVA....."

H.AGOES SALIM told the same correspondent.

We have had Dutch promises 350 years. We would not hesitate even to start a new world war if the Dutch treid to establish themselves....."

file G. Peel

OVERGENOMEN UIT Bk.F.27.

EC6/66370/G.

DAGRAPPORT NO.25.ddo.17-10-46.

POLITIEK.

O.S.(16-10-46). Een uitvoerig schrijven van de "Australian Communist Party" aan een der leiders van de Sumatraan-
sche P.K.I. vormt een aanwijzing, dat vrij nauw
contact tusschen beide organisaties bestaat.-
De brief, die overgenomen is uit een Medanblad
en slechts gedeeltelijk opgenomen werd in dzz.
courantenvertaling) eindigt met enkele adressen
te vermelden, waarmede P.K.I.-leden op Sumatra
zich in verbinding kunnen stellen. o.a.

Australian Communist Party,
Gerald Peel, 695 George Street,
Sydney.-

H.Malanky, Secretaris Comite "Indonesia
Merdeka",
16, Sir John Crescent,
Sydney.-

ONDERWERP; A.I.A. en K. I. M.

Sydney 9 September 1946.

Miss Warner en Miss Warnerford Ann reizen veel rond tusschen
Sudneu en Brisbane voor deze A.I.A.-zaken.
Het bestuur van de A.I.A. te Sydney is las volgt samengesteld:
C. Godhard - President; Communist, businessman te Sydney.
Guy Anderson - Head Trades & Labor Council, Communist
Gerald-Peel Convenor of the Publicity Committee; Commo; auteur van het
pamflet "Indonesian" Introduction" (vide dzz schr. 40/M ddo
17 Aug. a.p.

Miss Enid Hampson - Secretary sind het vertrek van Miss Warner
Councillors van de A.I.A. Sydney Branch zijn;

Mr. Alex Broterton - vide dzz schr nr. 36/Secr.

Soedjadi - gedeserteerde (Mei jl.) t.b.c. patient van het Prinses Ju-
liana Sanatorium.

A. Chang *- van de Chinese Seaman's Union

Moh. Isa Saidi - vide dzz Scheijven van 28/Ts. 31/TS, 35/TS en 36/Secr
Is zeer actief. In Digoel geïnterneerd geweest als l
lid van de Partai Kommunist Indonesia.

Jan Walandouw - vide dzz. schr. nr. 28/TS

A Sorogan - idem

Mrs. Byrnes - vide dzz schr. nr. 150/XC ddo. 14/11/45

Miss I. Wells - ,iss C. Williams * Mrs. & Miss Reid.

Over Brisbane zijn de volgende gegevens mij bekend;

C. Murphy - President; Industrial solicitor

Mr. Greaves - Secretary; schoolteacher

"Very interested" in de A.I.A. aldaar zijn:

Richard H. Boland

Zvoninir - ??

Darvenezia - Communist Joegoslaaf; dentist; President Slovakian
Society in Australia. Zou in Aug. jl. vertrekken
naar de U.S.A. als gedelegeerde voor een "Worldcon-
gress" van Slavische volken.

Max Julius - barrister at Law

Hoofd Bureau Indonesian Affairs

w.g. J.V. de Bruijn.

file of Peel

OVERGENOMEN UIT: EP9/56856/Z.G. 31 TS 7 Sep 1946.

Deesamenstelling van het K.i.m. te Sydney werd reeds gegeven in mijn rapport nr. 28/TS.

Ter aanvulling moge hier nog een opgave volgen van de Australische Communisten met welke bedoelde Indonesiers te Sydney dagelijks dan wel zeer geregeld contact hebben.

- Mr. Ted Roach - Assistant Secretary of the Waterside Workers.
- Miss Mary (ook Molly) Warner - Secretaresse van de Australian Indonesian Association en private secretary van Campbell, een Australisch Communist.
- Mrs. Laura Gapp - Australian Communist van de Australian Civil Rights Defence League.
- Mrs. Byrnes - een Australische communiste, ong. 60 jaar oud, die zich als "moeder" van alle Indonesiers te Sydney beschouwt. Zeer fel anti Nederlandsch. Ook met haar nicht, ong. 20 jaar oud, hebben de Indonesiers geregeld contact.
- Mr. Campbell - bestuurslid van de Australian Indonesian Association en actief A.C.P.lid (vide dzz rapport van de "Esperance Bay" -repatriatie)
- Gerald Peel - Communist der A.C.P. Schrijver van het boekje "Indonesian Introduction" (vide dzz schrijven 40 M dd. 17-8 a.p.) Propagandist der Australian Communist Party. M.A. Cambridge University.

In Brisbane schijnen de contacten met de Indonesiers vooral onderhouden te worden door de Communisten Michael Healy, Secretary of the Waterside Workers en zekeren Mr. Greaves, een onderwijzer.

file G. Peel

7

Een ongeopende brief
zonder afzender.

IN ENG TAAL

Het Indonesische Roode
Kruis,
c/ Het Internationale Roode Kruis
Batavia
Indonesia
Batavia, 28 Maart 1946

Beste Gerald,

Veilig en wel kwamen wij in Batavia aan
maar de toestand in Batavia is zeer slecht.
Het meerendeel van de bevolking in Batavia is bijna naakt,
maar het moreel is nog altijd hoog, maar buiten de stad
leeft het volk in vrede en harmonie, zij ervaren de werke-
lijke vrijheid. (sic.)

Gisteren kregen wij contact met het Internationale
Roode Kruis en dit vertelde ons de mogelijkheid om Roode
Kruis goederen van Australie naar Indie te zenden. Vraag
aan Molly en Mevr. Byrne om oude kleeven te verzamelen en
op te zenden via het Internationale Roode Kruis om de arme
mensen in Indonesie te helpen.

Je krijgt tranen in je oogen wanneer je al de inwo-
ners van Batavia ziet en er geen kans is om hulp te krijgen
van het andere land, maar wij hebben verwachtingen van de
Australische Indonesische Bond. Het zal een grootsche taak
voor de Bond zijn de jonge republiek te steunen.

Morgen gaan Noeshadi en ik naar midden-Java en wij
komen in Batavia terug.

Zeg de jongens om niet naar Indonesie terug te
keeren alvorens de Indonesische Republiek door alle landen
is erkend.

Ik verwacht je antwoord.

Je trouwe vriend

Adres:
AIR MAIL

MAX

Mr. G. Peel
Bante of N.S.W.
Liverpool street
SYDNEY
AUSTRALIA

file G Seal

OVERGENOMEN UIT: "COMMUNIST ORGANISATION AND INDONESIANS IN AUSTRALIA". Agno 14/1/55/EG. File I A3 Nefis Publicaties Australie.

The most fruitful of these efforts is the wide distribution of pamphlets written by GERALD PEEL. He asserts to be a master of Arts of Cambridge University, England, the author of "Brutalities in Nazi Germany", "India and Australia", and other publications (he was also formerly a teacher at South Norwood College, London, and Assistant lecturer at Marburg University, Germany).

In one of these publications, "Indonesian Introduction", published by Current Book Distributors, Sydney, he writes:

"Indonesians call their home "The Emerald Isles".

and

"Australians, if they give more than lipservice to democracy, must help Indonesian friends to their freedom too."

why?

"Because Australia is dependent on Indonesian production for vital needs" ?

and surely because

"Australia can also supply many needs of the Indonesian people....."

"There's a lot in a Name." "The majority of non-indigenous Asiatics are Arabs who are also Mohammedans." "The group of aliens in Indonesia is not large" ?

They work for independence!

"The natives are generally docile in nature."

Docile only before the Japanese conquest?

"The question of Indonesian advance is not only an Indonesian question but an Australian one."

Why?

"The Australian Labour Movement has a very direct interest in Indonesia's struggle for freedom, and the right to organize in Trade Unions and political parties, and plan for a better life."

"But it's not only the working-class that is interested in a higher standard for the peoples of the Pacific."

etc., the tone remains the same.

"The Malayan lingua franca gives them a common language."

" Indonesian Introduction",
boekje geschreven door Gerald Peel, als
document Nr.00100, op afd. V aanwezig.

Melbourne
22/8-45

INDONESIAN INTRODUCTION



**GERALD
PEEL, M.A.**

**WHAT YOU WANT TO KNOW ABOUT THE
DUTCH EAST INDIES**

PRICE SIXPENCE

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

"We have heard much of a White Australia: it is time we heard more of a Brown Pacific." (The Atlantic Charter and the Pacific Races, Rev. J. W. Burton, M.A.)

Since 1942, year of the big Japanese advance, many Pacific refugees have made Australia their home, *among them are Indonesians.* Generally they are a small good looking people, not unlike the Chinese in feature, only with a darker complexion and less protruding cheekbones. Australians have made good friends with them. Some are seamen, others came here from the Dutch concentration camp in New Guinea where they had been interned for political activity. Since they have been here they have played an *important part in the war of liberation*, many have given their lives at sea, others have worked hard for the war effort on land.

Their courteousness, clean living, cheerfulness though exiled many hundreds of miles from their native land, and their good nature have made them *endeared to all who have got to know them.* It is natural that we should wish to learn more about the background, history, and ways of life of these friends of ours. That is one of the reasons for this booklet.

I have called it "Indonesian Introduction." It pretends to be no more than that. It would have been nice if it could have waited until we had done more work on the subject. But there is an urgency about it. You remember back in 1942 the *threat to Australia* from the north. The Japs ripped through those island defences north of Australia like scissors through silk. Malaya with a population of about 5 million, the Philipines with over 16 million, Burma with nearly 15 mil-

lion, and the Dutch East Indies with about 72 million, all fell so easily before the Japanese invaders. Why?

Because the peoples of these countries were not free. Imagine if these millions had been free peoples in arms; it's obvious that no force the Japanese could have put in the field would have conquered them. But the Japs found *peoples before them who had no say in their own destinies*. To Indonesians, for instance, the choice seemed one of two imperialist masters, Dutch or Japanese, that was all. Before the invasion far-seeing Indonesian patriots demanded arms with which to fight the Japs, but *they were not given arms to defend themselves*. Their white overlords feared to mobilise the people of Indonesia for defence. Many of the Indonesians who formed the bulk of Queen Wilhelmina's regular army in the Indies gave up their lives and fought bravely in defence of their fatherland, but they were rankers and all the officers of that army were Dutch. This question of *freedom* for the peoples of the Pacific *affects you and me*, every Australian, personally. It is a vital factor in our defence. That was why I thought this booklet urgent.

GERALD PEEL,

Sydney,

April, 1945.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR.

Mr. Gerald Peel, the author of this pamphlet, is a Master of Arts of Cambridge University, England. He is the author of "Brutalities in Nazi Germany," "India and Australia," and other anti-fascist publications.

Mr. Peel was formerly a teacher at South Norwood College, London; assistant lecturer at Marburg University, Germany; English-tutor at Malmo International School of Languages, as well as giving courses in English at Lund University, Sweden, and later Headmaster of one of India's leading European schools, Christ Church Boys' High School, Jubbulpore.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EMERALD ISLES

"Despair not — something great can be achieved there in the Indies." (Jan Pieterszoon Coen, 1618)

THE name Indonesia was originally coined by a German ethnologist named Bastian. By Indonesia he meant all the islands of the region including Formosa, British Malaya, the Philippines, and Madagascar. By use this name has become more and more restricted to *the Dutch East Indies*. It is in this sense I shall use it in this booklet. This definition of Indonesia incidentally gives it practically the same territory as that of the old Hindu Kingdom of Madjapahit to which I shall later refer.

Unnatural Boundaries

Culturally the people of British Malaya are close to those of the Dutch East Indies. But they have different political problems due to British overlordship, and a different national-problem. In British Malaya, the Malays, though the largest single community, are a minority of the population. In the last census the proportion was: Malays 1,962,021, Chinese 1,709,392, and Indians 624,009 ⁽¹⁾. Malaya is a separate study.

Then, obviously, the British parts of Borneo, and the Portugese part of Timor, properly belong to Indonesia, while the Dutch part of New Guinea does not. But these parts are thinly populated and they more or less balance each other out; so their inclusion in statistics does not affect general arguments,

No Stove No Ice-Box.

Indonesians call their home "The Emerald Isles." Truly, these islands, populated by over 72,000,000 people ⁽²⁾, are among the richest and most beautiful in the world. This is due to the geographical conditions.

The islands have many natural advantages, not the least of which is their climate. Since records have been kept in Batavia the temperature has never been known to rise higher than 90 degrees Fahrenheit or fall lower than 66 degrees. Average temperature in Batavia the year round is about 79 degrees, rising to 80 degrees in the hottest months and dropping to 78 degrees in the coolest months ⁽³⁾. It will be seen that the time of the year makes little difference to the temperature. The higher you go in the hills, of course, the cooler it becomes.

Umbrellas In Demand.

There is a copious rainfall. Humidity is high and the average rainfall in Batavia, capital city of Java, is over 80 inches. In Borneo and Sumatra it is 10 to 12 feet ⁽⁴⁾. Rainy seasons are defined, but there is good rain the year round. This weather makes possible more than one crop a year and big yields.

For administrative purposes the Netherlands Indies is divided into two, Java and the Outer Provinces. With Java is also included Madura, the small island to the north east, divided from Java by a narrow sea channel. Java, 7% of the total area, accounts for 69% of the population. The figures at the 1930 census were: Java 41,718,000, Outer Provinces 19,009,000 ⁽⁵⁾.

Manure From The Mountains.

Java is the most highly organised part of the territory, has the best harbour facilities and is the centre of administration. From the steamy green coastal regions

the island rises in the centre to considerable volcanic heights. The fertility of Java is due to volcanic eruptions which enrich its soil by constant replenishment from ash and mud streams flowing from the mountains. The different soils at varying levels give Java its wide range of agricultural products. Java can boast one of the richest soils in the world. She has also vast riches underneath the earth's surface.

There's A Lot In A Name.

94% of Indonesia's population is rural ⁽⁶⁾. Indonesians are wedded to the soil of their islands. They are a peasant people. The word Indonesia has a magic. It binds the peoples of the islands. A common history, a common fate, and a common struggle against Dutch Imperialism draws them together. The Malayan lingua franca gives them a common language.

The population consists mostly of Malays. There are a few Papuans and negroes in the more remote parts of several islands, also in New Guinea. The 1931 census showed 97.4% of the population to be natives, 2% Chinese, 0.4% Europeans, and 0.2% other non-indigenous Asiatics ⁽⁷⁾. Europeans include Eurasians born in the islands and Indonesians who have acquired Dutch citizenship. The figures for Chinese include many Chinese-Malayan half-bloods and Chinese who have lived in the islands many generations and speak Malay as their mother tongue. The majority of non-indigenous Asiatics are Arabs who are also Mahommedans. It will be seen there is no large alien group in Indonesia.

A Common Language.

Excluding New Guinea, there are eleven main groups of languages in Indonesia ⁽⁸⁾. These eleven are distinct though more or less related languages. There are many

dialect variations within each group. In Java there are three languages, Sundanese in the west, Javanese in the middle and south, and Madurese in the north east. According to the 1930 census the Java people numbered 27,809,000, the Sunda people 8,595,000, and the Madura people 4,306,000 ⁽⁹⁾. Language groups live in contiguous territories. The idea of a confused Tower of Babel would be wrong.

There is a common language for all the islands called *Laag maleisch* or Low Malay. This language originally came from Sumatra. Though Javanese is spoken by many more people as their mother-tongue than Low Malay, the latter can be understood in every island of the archipeligo as well as, with variations, in British Malaya and other parts of the Pacific. It is in this language that newspapers, other than the Dutch ones, are published for all-Indonesian circulation. This is the language of the National Movement of Indonesia.

60,000,000 Muslims.

There is no difficult religious problem in Indonesia. Nearly nine-tenths of the population,—according to the 1930 census, 60,000,000—are Mahommedan. Pagans come next with 3 million, Christians 2 million, and Hindus (confined to Bali), 1½ million ⁽¹⁰⁾. Some whole areas are Christian, for instance the narrow strip at the north of the Celebes, and generally speaking of one denomination only in each territory, due to the policy until recently of separate fields allotted by the Imperialist Government to each denomination to work in.

Added to the wonderful climate, the rich soil, and the mineral resources of Indonesia, is her 72,000,000, of an industrious and skilled peasantry, or peasant stock. Yes, "something great can be achieved there in the Indies."

CHAPTER TWO

QUEEN WILHELMINA'S FATTED CALF

"We know that the day of the exploitation of the resources and the people of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over."
(April 20th, 1943, the late President Roosevelt.)

Idea of the tremendous wealth given the world by Indonesia is contained in the following figures. *Indonesia provides the world with the following portions of its needs, Rubber 40%, tea 19%, cinchona 91%, cocos products 29%, tin 20%, kapok 77%, tow fibres 33%, pepper 92%, sugar 5%, bauxite 80%, oil 2½% ⁽¹¹⁾. Minerals in which she abounds include oil, bauxite, iron ores, coal, tin and to a smaller degree gold and silver. In 1940 Indonesia produced 7,934,000 tons of crude oil, putting her in fifth place among the oil producing countries of the world ⁽¹²⁾. She is the second largest producer of tin in the world, which is mined mainly on the islands of Banka and Billiton off the coast of Sumatra and largely by Chinese labour. Mineral exports make up 29% of the total value of Indonesia's exports ⁽¹³⁾, the rest being agricultural products such as rubber, tea, sugar, cocos products, etc. Exports of manufactured goods are nil.*

Who Gets The Rake Off ?

It goes without saying that the oil wells, the tin mines, and other mineral wealth of the islands do not belong to the natives of Indonesia but to the Dutch and other foreign imperialist combines. What about the agricultural exports ?

69.3% of agricultural exports are produced on estates (which are practically exclusively owned by Dutch and other foreigners), only 39.7% on native farms ⁽¹⁴⁾. In 1938, 99.4% of sugar exported was plantation grown, and 81.9% of tea. Kapok, copra and pepper

were mostly grown on native farms while in the case of cambier and rubber the proportion is about fifty-fifty ⁽¹⁵⁾. But even in regard to the 39.7% of agricultural exports that are grown on native farms it must be realised that the big foreign trading concerns and shipping magnates who have the monopoly, can dictate prices to the farmers, and get the main rake-off.

They Share It Out.

The only real effect Indonesia's part in providing the world with a large portion of its needs has on the Indonesians, is an extra burden on the farmers to provide food for the coolies who work the estates and get the minerals from the earth.

While peasants in Java are advanced in their knowledge of farming methods, those of the Outer Provinces practice a relatively simple agriculture in the vicinity of the large plantations owned by foreigners where commercial crops are produced. *In Sumatra 89% of the land is controlled by the plantations* ⁽¹⁶⁾.

The country which gets the main share of the colossal wealth exported is of course Holland, but other Western Imperialist Powers also import large quantities of raw materials from the Indies.

But Not With Natives.

Some idea of how little Indonesians share in the great wealth of their country is shown by the following figures. Though Europeans are less than 0.5% of the population, they receive 65% of the income which is individually subject to income tax, non-indigenous Asiatics, 2% of the population, receive one-fifth, and natives, 97.5% of the population, receive only one-eighth of this income ⁽¹⁷⁾.

The Dutch Imperialist policy has been to keep Indonesia in place as a producer of raw materials and source of cheap native labour only, with the natives not sharing in the wealth of the land. That is why she has stifled growth of native industry. Only since the 1930's has there been development of industry in Indonesia,—first railways and roads of course, since 1930 some development in metallurgical industry, also light industries

such as native-cigarette factories etc. By 1936 there were still only 1½ million Indonesians out of a population of 70 million working in any kind of industrial work, and of these only about 120,000 were working in large European factories ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Drain Of Wealth.

Perhaps the best method of all to show the drain of wealth from Indonesia to the benefit of the foreign capitalists and detriment of her people, is to compare *export and import figures*. In 1928, imports were Fl. 1,003,492,000, exports Fl. 1,580,488,000. In 1940, imports were Fl. 437,678,000, exports Fl. 881,913,000 ⁽¹⁹⁾. The great decrease in total figures is accounted for in the difference between 1928, during the boom before the depression, and 1940, a year of economic upset, the year Holland fell to the Nazis. It will be noted however that the export surplus has been kept up to nearly the 1928 level in the low year of 1940, viz., Fl. 576,996,000 in 1928, and Fl. 444,235,000 in 1940. In other words the main burden was put on the backs of the Indonesian people in the form of less good things of life while profits were kept up.

A Poor Excuse.

In face of the fact of this tremendous surplus of exports over imports which was sustained right through the depression years, Mr. Preger, Dutch Imperialist apologist in Melbourne, had the hide recently, referring to cuts in the administration's activities for the welfare of the people, to write ⁽²⁰⁾ that during the depression *the financial resources of the country had been inadequate* to maintain all these activities and that "many of them were curtailed and retrenchment took place throughout."

Mr. R. Dixon, assistant-general-secretary of the Australian Communist Party, pointed out in a recent article, ⁽²¹⁾ that in the last year prior to the war, Indonesian exports were around the £225 million mark whereas imports were about £125 million. This meant that Indonesia *with ten times Australia's population imported*

* My italics—G.P.

very little more than this country, for in 1938-39 Australia's imports amounted to £114 million. It can be understood from this how low is the standard of living of the Indonesian worker, and farmer, and people generally, in comparison with ours. The Dutch policy is the same as that of Imperialists the world over:—From them that have to give let it be taken.

Too Many Mouths.

To accentuate this economic unbalance, is a population problem, especially in the rich island of Java. The population of the whole archipelago according to the 1930 census, was 60,727,000 ⁽²²⁾. By 1940 the estimate was 70,000,000 ⁽²³⁾, and by 1942, 72,000,000 ⁽²⁴⁾.

The special population problem however was confined to Java. *Java is one of the most highly-populated countries in the world, coming second only to Belgium.* But while Belgium is a highly industrialised country and therefore able to partly absorb her surplus population for other useful work, the growth of industry in Indonesia has been stifled as is usual in a colonial country with no say in her own affairs.

The 1930 census showed 818 people living to the square mile in Java ⁽²⁵⁾. The official estimate in 1940 was 990 ⁽²⁶⁾. In some areas the density was as high as 4,700 to the square mile ⁽²⁷⁾. To get what this means, compare it with Japan-proper, thickly-populated industrial centre of a mighty empire whose density figure was (1935) 474.3 per square mile ⁽²⁸⁾, or the Outer Provinces of Indonesia with 82.6 per square mile, ⁽²⁹⁾ or Australia with 2 per square mile.

Land Hunger.

The speed of population increase in Java is shown by the following figures. The native population (not including Europeans, Chinese and other non-indigenous Asiatics), was only 4,449,250 in 1815, had risen to

34,428,711 by 1920, to 40,891,093 by 1930 ⁽³⁰⁾, and the official estimate for 1943 was about 50,000,000 ⁽³¹⁾.

When it is remembered that in Java only 6% of the population lives in cities ⁽³²⁾, the land hunger that exists can be imagined. In Java with its 50 million or so inhabitants there are only six cities with a population of more than 100,000, of which Batavia is the largest with 437,433 ⁽³³⁾. Palembang in Sumatra is the only town in the Outer Provinces with more than 100,000 ⁽³⁴⁾.

A Bare Subsistence.

The land under cultivation in Java cannot be increased, as deforestation has already exceeded the danger limit, and further cultivation of virgin country would endanger the water supply. The result of this land-shortage has been, smaller holdings which are uneconomical, and a bare subsistence for the Javanese farmer. In Java (1930) it was estimated that 81% of the natives were getting incomes below 300 florins (about £25 a year) ⁽³⁵⁾. Since then the situation has greatly deteriorated. Where tenancy predominates, as in Central Java and around Batavia, exceptional population pressure has meant that rents rise as high as one-half of the harvest ⁽³⁶⁾.

" . . . it is clear," says an Australian Army Educational course on Indonesia written for the guidance of Australian soldiers in the Pacific ⁽³⁷⁾, "that because of the rapid growth of the native population, the natives on the whole have not shared in the commercial progress of the colony."

There Is Only One Solution.

Nor will they, until the control and economy of their country is in their own hands in a free Indonesia. Dutch schemes of emigration to Sumatra from Java and so on, do not get to the root of the problem. The solution is development of a native industry which can

absorb the surplus agricultural population, a stop to the drain of wealth from the country for which nothing comes in, and raising of the general standards of living of the people, in a free, democratic and prosperous Indonesia.

Present problems will only be solved when Indonesia wins the independence which is her democratic right. Then there will no longer be a 500 million florin surplus of exports over imports, but the wealth of the country should be the same as the wealth of her people, and there will be healthy balanced trade developed with other nations, she supplying our needs, we hers, as equals with equals.

CHAPTER THREE

A SHORT HISTORY BEFORE AND SINCE THE DUTCH

*“ . . . dat duitsche loy verteilt
Dat van onrechtre ghewelt.
Eighindoem es comen. . . ”**

Maerlant, 13th century.

The first outside influence on Indonesia was Hindu influence from India. The first Hindu colonists arrived about the 2nd century A.D. But it wasn't until the 5th century A.D. that Hinduism really entered the archipelago in force, and it didn't spread to Java until the 7th century A.D. Other early invaders of the islands were the Mongols, including Kublai Khan.

The Adat, which still remains the basis of present-day native Law, is said to date back to times even before the first Hindu colonists, but it was *the Hindus who brought the use of iron and writing*, and it was in this early Hindu period that the native alphabet was developed in Java where the standard of culture was highest. Translations of Hindu classics are among the literary works of this time. Hinduism also profoundly influenced Sumatra.

The Arabs Came.

From the end of the 13th century, after the invasion of Kublai Khan, to 1447, year of the Arabian conquest of the island, the famous Javanese Hindu Empire of Madjapahit held sway over the islands. In the Madjapahit period Sivaism and Buddhism were practised side by side within the tolerant framework of Hinduism. Accompanying the expansion of East Indies trade in the

*“ . . . the Dutch law proclaims that property has come from unjust violence”.—G.P.

15th century, Mahommedan migrants, who had arrived much earlier in Sumatra moved southward and eastward to Java and the other islands, and other Mahommedans came in from the north and west. With the Mahommedan migrations began the process of Islamisation. Today, as we have already seen, Islam, while modified by earlier indigenous beliefs, is the prevailing religion of Indonesia and is especially strong in Java. Hinduism survives only in Bali.

From the opening of the 15th century to the arrival of the first white men, Mahommedanism spread very rapidly, and a number of petty Mahommedan states were established. The first Europeans to appear on the scene were the Portugese, though before them Chinese traders had been attracted to the islands, had settled there, and have ever since formed an important trading community in Indonesia.

The Portugese.

The first Portugese arrived in 1509. In 1511 a Portugese company was formed. The main attraction for these first Europeans was the trade in spices, specially nutmeg and mace then much in demand, and they established their first trading centre therefore in the Moluccas. Friction quickly developed between Portugal and Spain over the Indies trade. This rivalry commenced about 1529. A Spanish-Portugese Treaty was signed in 1529, but in 1580 with the annexation of Portugal by Spain, Indies trade became a Spanish monopoly. But not for long. *Holland, a young and more virile bourgeois trading nation than old Spain appeared in the scene.* The first Dutch trading contract with Indonesian natives was signed in 1596.

The Dutch East India Company was first formed in 1602. The first trading station was established at Batavia in 1611. Ever since that date, until the Japanese conquest in 1942, with the exception of a 5 year interregnum, 1811-16, under the British, Indonesia has been under Dutch overlordship.

Company Rule.

The first period, until 1798 when the Dutch Government took over, was a period of Company rule. The Company had been given power, east of the Cape of Good Hope, and west of the Straits of Magellan, to perform acts of sovereignty in the name of the States General of Holland, such as concluding alliances and making contracts with princes and potentates of the east, also sole monopoly in the shipping trade. The Dutch Government retained only a right of control. It was with these great powers that the Company went to work.

The Dutch merchants quickly mastered the regions, and there followed a period of *enormous profits* for them, a period of shameless robbery of wealth from the peoples of these islands only rivalled by the stripping of Bengal carried out by the British East India Company about the same time. On this wholesale spoilation of the East and amassing of big fortunes in the West, was built up the strong bourgeois class whose accumulated wealth made possible the Industrial Revolution in England; and whose accumulated power made possible the French Revolution on the continent and establishment of a bourgeois order in Europe. The great glories of the European architecture, palaces, statues, paintings and other achievements of the 17th and 18th centuries, of baroque and rococo, had as basis the full coffers of a merchant class in London, Amsterdam, and the other trading cities of Europe, got from blitz-spoilation of the native peoples of the East.

Long Live The Queen.

But the Dutch East India Company didn't have everything its own way. There was continuous rivalry between the Dutch and British East India Companies. The Dutch Company got little support from the naval authorities at home. Nor was its only difficulty from outside. In Indonesia itself there were *frequent rebellions* against Company rule, sometimes led by princes who objected to usurping foreigners interfering in their domains, more often spontaneous rebellions of the people

against forced labour imposed by the Dutch. In 1798 however the Company was dissolved and the Dutch Government took over.

After the fall of Holland to Napoleon, the British took the Indies and for five years Raffles, the man who first hoisted the Union Jack at Singapore, was the Governor. Several present-day administrative practices date back to this period.

When the Dutch took over again after Napoleon's defeat, they established their system of *dual administration* by a European civil service, alongside hereditary native officials which is still in operation in general principle today. The 19th century witnessed rapid expansion of Dutch overlordship, not only in the island of Java, main field of the East India Company's activity, but also in the outer islands.

CHAPTER FOUR

DUTCH RECORD

*"In een land miteen beperkte vrijheid is voor Oranje geen plaats."** (Queen) Wilhelmina, 20th century.

And what is the picture of Indonesia today after 350 years of Dutch rule. That is to say what was the picture before the Japs took over. Let us first examine progress to democracy.

Indonesia is governed by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown. *His powers are roughly similar to those a Governor-General had in Australia in the early 19th century.* The Governor-General has an advisory council of not less than four or more than six members, all appointed. In 1942 this council consisted of two Dutch members and two appointed Indonesians, besides the Governor-General and Vice-President ⁽³⁸⁾ ⁽³⁹⁾. The Governor-General is also commander-in-chief of all the armed forces. The Governor-General has almost autocratic powers, though in some executive decisions he needs consent of council.

A Cigar King.

Rule is through the Governor-General, Governors, Dutch Residents, Native Princes and Chiefs. The system consists of direct rule through Dutch officials, and indirect rule through native hereditary princes, side by side. Some of the native princes, such as the Sultan of Deli who gets a bit of dough out of every Sumatran cigar you smoke, are very rich. But generally Indonesian native princes have not got the power or the wealth of their distant cousins, the Indian Princes. Chiefs are just petty hereditary officials in the pay of the Dutch Government.

* "In a land with a limited freedom there's no place for the House of Orange".—G.P.

The old Dutch East India Company dealt mainly with the natives through their chiefs or regents. When the Dutch Government took over, the Dutch Residents began to take over the functions of the regents, but later they tried to revive the status of the regents to the extent of making out of them hereditary officials under constant supervision of Dutch officials. When they opened up the outer provinces however they realised the mistake they had made in weakening the power of the native rulers, and bolstered up a form of native reaction by "*forming native states.*"⁽⁴⁰⁾ "The natives were encouraged to observe their festivals and ceremonials in *traditional* fashion"⁽⁴¹⁾. Today the native states in the outer islands account for 60% of the total area. 253 native princes transferred part of their powers to the Government in the "Short Declaration," 1938⁽⁴²⁾.

Powerless Parliament.

Besides the Governor-General and Council, the Governors, Residents, Princes, Chiefs and other officials, there is a so-called Parliament, Volksraad. This body consists of 60 members made up as follows:—30 Indonesians, 25 Dutch and 5 non-indigenous Asiatics, (Chinese, Arabs etc.) Of these 10 Indonesians, 10 Dutch, and 2 non-native Orientals *are appointed*. The remaining 38 are elected on a very limited franchise, and by an indirect system of election.

This Volksraad meets twice a year, once to discuss the budget, and once besides. It has no power to pass laws. Between sittings there is a committee that acts for it. Its *raison d'être* is given by one authority in these words, it "helped the Government to keep in touch with the wishes of the people"⁽⁴³⁾.

Four Freedoms.

So much for the "democratic" Government of the country. What has been the Imperial attitude to questions of human uplift?

The general attitude to the four freedoms is well shown by the Dutch Government's record as far as religion is concerned. Substantial Government grants are

* My italics—G.P.

given to both Catholic and Protestant Churches which cater for the needs of the Dutch in Indonesia, but no grant is given to the religious bodies of the 60 million Mahommedans.

In relation to missionary work among the natives the Government's attitude has been dictated by material interests. Christian missionaries are not allowed into Hindu Bali. The feudal chiefs who stand for the old order which the Dutch wish to preserve, pointed out to the Government that "*the public order and peace would be endangered by systematic missionary activities*" in Bali⁽⁴⁴⁾. That was enough for the Dutch Imperial Government—no public order, no missionaries.

Bible Banned.

The original blanket-opposition to missionary activity has been modified. The Government impounded the first translation of the New Testament into Javanese because they feared it would be subversive of law and order. Later however the system of separate fields already referred to was introduced, and "The only question the Government now raises when permission to engage in missionary work in any section is sought is whether the undertaking will cause political unrest"⁽⁴⁵⁾.

But some say a benign dictatorship, is better than a bad democracy. Lets look what the Dutch have achieved in 350 years in just one important branch of social service, education. In 1937, 1 in 11 children were attending school⁽⁴⁶⁾. The annual cost of the education system is about £3,250,000 a year, less than 11d. per head of the population⁽⁴⁷⁾. Most of the pupils included in official figures get an education of only a very nominal kind, in primitive schools with unskilled teachers and no facilities. The construction and upkeep of these village schools is paid for by the villagers themselves. Then there are more advanced schools for those who can afford it, up to secondary school standard of the Dutch schools. All such secondary education is carried on in the foreign Dutch tongue. Total pupils recorded in all

schools in 1942 were 2,502,694 of whom 53,000 were Europeans ⁽⁴⁸⁾. Compulsory education is not known in any part of the islands. According to one authority 99% of the population of Indonesia is illiterate ⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Open Door.

The boasted efficiency of the Dutch colonists, let's face up to the reality, is not efficiency in the interest of the people. The natives are poor peasants producing rice, and other food crops such as peanuts, cassava, sweet potatoes; commercial crops for the big Dutch trading monopolies like tea, coffee, kapok, tobacco and pepper; or they are coolies on the Java plantations, or labourers, mainly imported Javanese, in the Outer Provinces on contract and liable to punishments if they break their contract. The capital invested in the Indies on the other hand is foreign capital.

The Dutch have been forced to practice to an extent the "Open Door" policy in Indonesia. For instance capital in estates, while mainly in Dutch hands, is also shared by British, American, Belgian, French and Japanese concerns. This was made necessary by the lesser industrial development in Holland than in other European Imperialist countries; also by the need for powerful allies, who had also a stake in the Indies, with big navies, armies and air forces for defence.

The Philanthropists.

The following figures show the real "philanthropic" motive that dictates Dutch policy in Indonesia.

In 1939, no less than 61% of the total export tonnage was to Holland ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Three-quarters of the capital in the islands is Dutch ⁽⁵¹⁾. The nationality of incoming shipping is as follows, Dutch 46.7% (of which KPM is by far the largest), United Kingdom 30.7%, Japan 9.4% ⁽⁵²⁾. Of incoming coastwise and inter-island shipping the share is, Dutch 79.1%, United Kingdom 11.9%, Japan 2.7% ⁽⁵³⁾. £32 million profit flows every year from the Indies to Holland ⁽⁵⁴⁾.

CHAPTER FIVE INDONESIA AWAKES

"Obviously if the Atlantic Charter is to be made genuinely effective, then the close of the war cannot see the perpetuation of a system whereby 8,000,000 Netherlanders most of them living half the world away, rule and exploit 70,000,000 of the people of these islands." (An Indonesian loyalist, quoted by Hallett Abend, well-known American writer. Ramparts of the Pacific, 1942.)

The National Movement in Indonesia is young, even as colonial national movements go. This is explained by several factors.

Unlike India, there is no developed native Indonesian capitalist class. Development of industry has been backward, the working-class small in numbers. Outside Europeans, Indonesian trade is mainly in the hands of Arabs, Chinese, British Indians etc. Eurasians, treated like Dutchmen by the Dutch, identify themselves with Dutch rule. There is no Eurasian middle-class with anti-imperialistic interests and national aspirations as is the case for instance with the Spanish-speaking Catholic Eurasians of the Phillipines where this class has been prominent in the National Movement against U.S. Imperialism.

The first Indonesian political society, organised in 1908, was called *Boedi Oetomo* (Beautiful Spring). Its founder was a pensioned Indonesian Government doctor. Upper-class Government officials and intellectuals formed the membership. Nevertheless by 1910 it had 10,000 members. Its main activity was furtherance of popular education. Its membership was largely confined to Java and the Javanese.

Russian Example.

About 1910 a more radical movement called *Sarekat Islam* was started in Central Java. The native batik industry was suffering from foreign competition. The leaders of this movement appealed to the masses for support through religious slogans. The first Congress in 1913 still pledged loyalty to Holland. The 1917 conference however declared independence the main

Good material
write plain

objective. This was to be attained if possible by parliamentary means, but Conference made clear that if the peaceful way proved impossible, the Party would know how to offer itself for land and people. Great emphasis was laid on the class struggle.

The Russian Revolution had a profound effect on the peoples of Indonesia, as on all Asia. The eyes of Indonesians looked more and more to the example of Soviet Russia as to a beacon light for their future.

Class Struggle

In 1919 a central Trade Union organisation was established. There followed a wave of strikes, of which the most important were the Semarang-Cheribon tramway strike, the Sumatra East Coast Railway Strike, the Soerabaya printing office strike, the tailors' strike, and finally a strike in that stronghold of European capital, the sugar industry.

In 1920 the Communist Party of Indonesia was formed.

1920-27 witnessed a very rapid growth of communist influence in the islands. Strikes continued, including a strike in the State pawnshops in 1922, and a transport strike in 1923. The Governor-General took drastic measures. He restricted the right of assembly and made it an offence to incite to strike. The main basis of the working-class movement at this time was railway workers and dockworkers, with some support from the plantation workers.

1927 Uprisings

By 1923 the majority of local branches of the Sarekat Islam had communists in the leadership. But in that year, the right-wing inner group on the central executive, the Old Guard, effected a purge. A new society was formed, called the Sarekat Rakyat Merah (Red Proletarian League) with great popular support.

1925 saw a new wave of strikes and lockouts, particularly at Semarang and Soerabaya, and from November 1926 to January 1927 there were violent clashes between nationalist and Government forces in both Java and Sumatra. The outbreak in Java lasted about 6

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Sarekat - Rakyat. (24 Peoples League)*

weeks. Skirmishes and clashes with the police were frequent in early 1927. The last and most serious of these was at Siloengkang where 7 revolutionaries were killed and 2 policemen wounded.

Savage Counter-Measures

Then came the Government counter-offensive. 4,500 Indonesian communists were jailed, and a further 1,308 sent to a concentration camp about 500 miles up the Digoel River in Dutch New Guinea.

Tanah Merah, the name of this concentration camp, has a significance for Indonesians not unlike Oranienburg, Dachau and Buchenwald have for Europeans, or the Andomans for Indians. It was a strange land across the seas, far from their homes. The place was unhealthy. It was surrounded by mosquito-infested swamps and jungle-country inhabited by head-hunting savages. A few of the prisoners managed to escape in 1929, and after incredible trials landed in democratic Australia feeling certain they would find refuge here from their oppressors. But the Scullin Labour Government put them on a ship and packed them back to the Dutch concentration camp.

17 Years In Hell

In 1943, as the Japanese were advancing, the Dutch brought the inmates of this camp, the original number having been inbetweentimes added to by many more to Australia, where they were again interned. It was only after Australian democratic bodies campaigned for their release that those of them who wished to play a part to win the war were released. Since when they have given of their best for the defeat of Japan, and the liberation of the Indonesian people. Some of these men I have met were shut up in this camp for 17 years before coming here. They don't want to be sent back again after victory is won. Many other Indonesians man the ships which play a big role in Pacific campaigns, and many have given their lives in the war.

Trail of Glory

1927 remains a year of glory in the history of Indonesia's struggle. History will show there were mis-

takes, an over-enthusiasm and too optimistic analysis on the part of the leaders, failure to see the main problem of Indonesian freedom as an agrarian one or to recognise the isolation of Indonesia at that time of temporary capitalist stabilisation, therefore wrong slogans. But these pioneers blazed a trail of glory that will not be forgotten. In the period of terror which followed 1927 the Communist Party was yet able to reorganise on a strictly illegal basis, and to learn from the mistakes of 1927.

The Dutch, after removing the leadership of the national movement in the form of the communists, suffered the existence for some time of a bourgeois nationalist party of a more or less reformist character called the "Partai Nasional Indonesia." *The patriotic song "Indonesia Raja."* dates from this time. In 1929 however the Dutch Government banned even this expression of Indonesian national feeling, arrested the leadership, and deported them too to Tanah Merah in New Guinea.

Couldn't Take His Seat

Meanwhile amongst important sections of the Dutch in the Indies there came into being a dangerous political trend. Fascist and semi-Fascist organisations found considerable support. *The Vaaderlandsche Club* was the strongest of these bodies. It had a European membership in Indonesia of many thousands, and defended the principle of inviolability of empire, while attacking the red danger. *Mussert*, Holland's National Socialist leader, also visited Indonesia and formed a branch of his organisation. There was however, for obvious reasons, not much support for his racial view among East Indies Europeans. Thus it will be seen that in pre-war Indonesia fascists were allowed to organise freely, communists were sent to concentration camps. This was how the Dutch East Indies prepared to defend themselves against Japanese aggression.

An Indonesian, *Roestem Effendi*, is a communist member of the 2nd chamber of the States General in Holland, elected by Dutch electors. *Sardjono*, another Indonesian, was elected on the communist ticket to a

seats of Tanah Merah

seat in the Dutch parliament, also by Dutch electors, but he was in an Indonesian jail and has never been allowed to take his seat. *Sardjono* is now working for the war effort in Australia.

New Factors

And what is the picture to-day, as the day of Indonesia's freeing from the Japs draws nearer? To gauge likely future possibilities, some new factors must be taken into account. First, there have been *great shocks* in the course of the war *to Indonesian economy*. When the Germans overran Holland the old economic basis was undermined. Things were just beginning to get going again when the Japanese conquest came, and once again the country's economy suffered severe shocks. After the Japs have been driven out there will have to be a further re-orientation, and some confusion for the people. None of this makes for stability.

But that is not all. The defeat of Holland, and then in Indonesia, has not enhanced Dutch prestige among the people, while the Japanese policy of making the Dutch *burra sahibs wash latrines* in public, and utterly to discredit white rule in every way, has had its effect.

But not only white imperialism has been discredited. The *co-prosperity* talk of the Japanese has been *debunked*. The Japs found some Indonesian nationalists to co-operate with them at first. So bitter was the hatred of these people for the Dutch. But Japan proved incapable of bringing any prosperity to the people. On the contrary they were worse off under the Japanese even than before. Behind the honeyed words of co-prosperity, and Asia for the Asiatics, these new rulers soon showed the mailed fist of Japanese imperialist exploitation and Japanese Fascist brutality. It was clear that *when they said "Asia for the Asiatics" they meant "Asia for Japan."*

They Work for Liberation

"The natives are generally docile in nature," wrote a Japanese about Indonesians before the conquest (55). As a "*master race*" the Jap Imperialists soon got busy in Indonesia, with face-slapping, and all the other delightful attributes of the Jap Fascist stormtrooper. They exploited

the country more savagely than ever, and ruled with an iron hand. Communist-led underground forces organised against the Jap Imperialists from the mountains.

Inside and outside their homeland, Indonesian patriots work for the liberation of their people. That is why Indonesians in Australia work so valorously with the allies to *win the war and return to their homeland*. Communists, nationalists, have not allowed any feelings of resentment to hinder co-operation for victory with the Dutch.

Other factors to be taken into account in estimating future possibilities, are, what is happening in Holland, and the general democratic temper of the people in all countries.

Australia's Duty

There are signs that the Dutch authorities are planning for greater participation by Indonesians in the administration of Indonesia after the war, but within the framework of colonial rule. There is *no sign of any fundamental change to date in official Dutch policy*.

But very different is the voice of the powerful resistance movement inside Holland which is led by the communists. *The Dutch resistance movement declares for Indonesian independence*. For the last 3 years Dutchmen have suffered a colonial status at home similar to that they have imposed on Indonesia for the last 300. What will determine the future for Indonesia is the unity and determination of her own people, in conjunction with the working-class and democratic movement of Holland, and aided and helped by her neighbours in the Pacific and democrats the world over.

We have had it expressly stated that when Japan is beaten Korea shall be free, China will have all territories including the International settlements, returned to her.

The unambiguous declaration of America speeding the final day for independence for the Phillipines undoubtedly did much to strengthen the peoples' resistance to Japanese fascism in these islands. France is also preparing for radical steps towards a freer Indo-China.

Australians, if they give *more than lip-service to democracy*, must help Indonesian friends to their freedom, too.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

"If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world. . . The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole—in all oceans and in all continents." (Mr. Sumner Welles, then Assistant Secretary of State for the U.S.A., in a broadcast, March 30th, 1942.)

The question of Indonesian advance is not only an Indonesian question but *an Australian one*. Low wages and incomes, for colonial workers and farmers, threaten our standards here. The Australian Labour Movement has a very direct interest in Indonesia's struggle for freedom, and the right to organise in Trade Unions and political parties, and plan for a better life.

But it's not only the working-class that is interested in a higher standard for the peoples of the Pacific.

Our Vital Needs

Australia is dependent on Indonesian production for vital needs. *We get nearly all our tea, petrol, oils, kapok and quinine from Indonesia*. Also large supplies of rubber etc.

The trade of Indonesia with other Pacific countries, including Australia, tends to increase. In 1913, the percentage of her total imports which was from Pacific countries was 24.7%; in 1929, 37.4%; in 1934, 42.5% ⁽⁵⁶⁾. It would be to Australia's advantage if this healthy increase should continue.

Richer Indonesians, More Trade

In 1937, while Indonesian exports to Australia totalled 40,401,000 guilders, imports from Australia were only 15,396,000 guilders ⁽⁵⁷⁾. In order to fully

develop our exports to Indonesia, which can mean greater trade for our Australian manufacturing industry and create employment for our people, a sine qua non is a higher standard of living for the Indonesian people, a free Indonesia, able to decide her own economic life, and not subject to the dictates of European monopoly influences.

With the defeat of Japan, and her likely collapse as a major industrial power, Australia can also supply many needs of the Indonesian people formerly supplied by Japanese monopolists. Indonesia's imports from Japan before the war were worth 85,108,000 guilders, her exports to Japan 24,788,000 guilders⁽⁵⁸⁾.

There is a certain inconsistency when, while we are fighting a war for democracy, we have in our midst friends and neighbours living in Australia who enjoy no democracy even while they are here, who are man-powered and ordered around by a Government they have had no part in electing and in which they have no confidence.

Bluntness Suggested

So let's tell our Dutch allies frankly :—

"We don't like seeing people pushed around. *We sympathise with neighbours who are struggling for nationhood* in the same way we had to struggle for ours in Australia in the past. We don't like concentration camp methods, or deportation of patriots to far off lands. That is too much like the convict system we had to fight against so bitterly here.

"Australia, Mr. Dutch Ally," let us say, "wants to trade and have dealings with a free and democratic Indonesia and not with a colony. This concerns us, because it's a matter important to our defence, and to our own future,—as well as the future of the world."

Finis.

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*Read this I will get the pamphlet
and send it if all is well waiting
news from you
Chen*



INDONESIAN LIBERTY X IS OUR PROBLEM X

"Indonesians call their home the Emerald Isles," writes Gerald Peel in his new pamphlet. "These islands, populated by over 72,000,000 people, are among the richest and most beautiful in the world." Yet in 1942 a few Japanese divisions ripped through them "like scissors through silk."

HOW was a population of 72,000,000 overrun in a matter of weeks? People so devoted to their country, with such a vast potential force of resistance?

"Because," says Gerald Peel "the people of these countries were not free . . . the Japs found people before them who had no say in their own destinies.

"To Indonesians, for instance the choice seemed one of two imperialist masters, Dutch or Japanese, that was all.

"Before the invasion far-seeing Indonesian patriots demanded arms with which to fight the Japs, but they were not given arms to defend themselves. Their white overlords feared to mobilise the people of Indonesia for defence."

Past and Future

Indonesian Introduction is an important pamphlet for the present time, because it investigates the past record of the Netherlands East Indies Government, the history of the

native peoples, the economic and political set-up, and arrives at conclusions which must be faced up to now, if we are to have peace in the Pacific after the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

"This question of freedom for the peoples of the Pacific affects you and me, every Australian, personally. It is a vital factor in our defence."

The chapter, Queen Wilhelmina's Fatted Calf, explains just why Dutch vested interests do not want an independent Indonesia. 95.7 per cent. of the population receives one-eighth of the annual income of these islands, while Europeans—less than 0.5 per cent.—get 65 per cent. of the wealth.

Yet these native peoples produce 40 per cent. of the world's rubber, 77 per cent. of its kapok, 80 per cent. of its bauxite, 92 per cent. of its pepper, 91 per cent. of its chinchona, 20 per cent. of its tin and 19 per cent. of its tea.

It is generally known that the natives enjoy little or no liberty, that they lack land, are poverty-ridden, have no proper social services, a backward educational system—but few people have much knowledge of the actual system of government.

Gerald Peel explains this briefly and clearly, tracing also the story of the National Movement, the awakening of the people to ideas of independence, the trade union movement and the savage reprisals of the Dutch Government, the Communist Party of Indonesia which was formed in 1920.

He touches on the 1927 uprisings, as a result of which numerous patriots were gaoled and only released, under pressure from the Australian Labor Movement, after the Japanese invasion when they were brought as prisoners to Australia.

We have a job to do to assist the Indonesians towards democracy, for their own pressing needs and also for our own security.

Indonesian Introductions by Gerald Peel, Current Book Distributors, at all Pioneer Bookshops.—Price 6d.

BUREAU INDONESIAN AFFAIRS

-----81 Kings' Cross Rd.,
-----Belvedere,
PH: FA 1383.

No: 40-M

Sydney, 14 Augustus 1945.-

Onderwerp: Lezing Mr. G. Peel.

Bijlage: 2.-

Ik heb de eer U Hoogedelgestrenge hierbij beleefd aan te bieden een extract van een lezing, die Mr. G. Peel, schrijver van "Introducing Indonesia", welk pamflet ik U doordezen eveneens doe toekomen, Zondag 12 Augustus j.l. 20.00 uur gehouden heeft in het gebouw van de A(ustralian) C(ommunist) P(arty) in North Sydney, 52 Walkerstreet.

Ik bezocht deze lezing tezamen met mijn secretarease, die stenografisch notities maakte van de lezing, verwerkt in nevensgaande bijlage.

Het auditorium bestond uit slechts 14 personen incl. mij zelf; allen behalve ik waren Australiers. Indonesiers waren niet aanwezig. Even voor het begin van de lezing, merkte ik 2 Indonesiers voor het gebouw op, die blijkbaar eveneens van plan waren om de lezing te bezoeken, doch die na met eenige Australische "kameraden" gesproken te hebben, weer verdwenen. Blijkbaar was mijn aanwezigheid de reden daarvan.

De lezing zelf was niet meer dan een extract van Peel's slecht geschreven boekje. Blijkbaar was mijn aanwezigheid wat "embarrasing" voor Mr. Peel, aangezien hij wanneer hij fulmineerde tegen het Hollandsche regiem steeds voorzichtig er achter aan zei: "like the British did in India", blijkbaar om mij als gast niet te veel te kwetsen.

Het debat was typeerend in dien zin, dat duidelijk bleek dat Australische toehoorders alleen geïnteresseerd waren in "our nearest neighbour Indonesia", met betrekking tot de "white Australian Policy" wenschelijk was, welk effect toelating van "coloured labour" op de levensstandaard en de "wages" der Australiers had. In zijn lezing zeide Mr. Peel, om zijn eigen woorden te gebruiken, dat het voor een groot deel "selfish reasons" waren, waarom Australia zich in den toekomst met Indonesische aangelegenheden had te bemoeien in dien zin, dat een lagere levensstandaard, lagere loonen van

Indonesiers concurrentie onmogelijk maakte en de levensstandaard enz. in Australia naar beneden zou drukken. Ik zelf stelde diverse vragen, die blijkbaar niet best in de smaak vielen van het Communistische auditorium, aangezien op een gegeven oogenblik een venijnige dame opstond en aan mij refereerde als: "that gentleman defending the imperialistic point of view". Allereerst den Mr. Peel geattaqueerd op het kinderlijke verhaal van parken in Batavia die alleen voor Hollanders toegankelijk waren. Hij deelde mede het van een Indonesier gehoord te hebben; zelf was hij nooit in Indie geweest. Hem verder gevraagd of hij ook wel eens met Hollanders had gepraat. Hij gaf toe alleen met Indonesiers gesproken te hebben. Hem er op gewezen, dat hij als Master of Arts van Cambridge moest weten, dat voor het vaststellen van feiten noodig was, dat meer dan een bron geraadpleegd moest worden. "I admit that I haven't spoken to any Dutchmen, I don't know but the Indonesians have told me these facts" - was zijn eenige verdediging.

Hem verder iets verteld uit mijn bestuurspraktijk en die van anderen van de z.g. "deadly hatred" van de Indonesiers jegens "the Dutch overlords" waaruit toch wel iets anders blijkt. Resultaat: Mr. Peel met een mond vol tanden.

Hem verder o.a. aangevallen op de z.g. rasdiscriminatie in Indie, die niet bestaat, behalve t.a.v. de grondrechten, die juist in het belang van de Indonesier waren.

Toen ik vertrok en Mr. Peel de hand drukte zeide hij: "Well, we have been crossing our swords" waarop ik antwoordde: "Not at all when I'm crossing swords, there will be some blood and there was not any blood this time".

Resumeerend: een avond, waar ik me kostelijk geamuseerd heb om Mr. Peel, die tenslotte volkomen vastliep in het debat en niet in het minst om de venijnige dame die steeds aan mij refereerde als: "that gentleman defending the imperialistic point of view".

Een uitnodiging van de A.C.P. werd bereid ontvangen tot het bijwonen van een film over Toscanini, blijkbaar om naer kennis te maken met mijn "imperialistic points of view"!

Aan
den Directeur B.B.
Brisbane.-

den Directeur Nefis,
Brisbane.

The Consul-General of
the Netherlands.

Bureau Indonesian Affairs,

/s/ J.V. de BRUYN

kapt. Dr. J.V. de BRUYN

NOTES OF ADDRESS BY MR. G. PEEL
AT MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTY

held at

UNITY CLUB, 52 WALKER STREET,
NORTH SYDNEY

on

SUNDAY, 12TH AUGUST, 1945, AT 8 p.m.

"INDONESIA OUR NEAREST NEIGHBOUR"

In the past Australian foreign policy has been one which tails behind that of London, and still today in Australia we hear very many people talking in terms of the Far East when talking about China and other countries in East Asia, forgetting that we are part of the Far East. Australia is first and foremost a Pacific Nation bound by ties of trade and mutual questions of defence, and so on, to the countries of the South West Pacific and South East Pacific, rather than with those of Europe. For example, India lies on our direct air routes to Europe. - imagine what it would mean if we had a hostile India in that very important strategic position!

It was the gallant resistance of the Chinese people which saved us in Australia from Japanese rule.

We have experienced in the last decade the utilities of the United Australia Party's policy in this country of appeasement to Japan and relying on the British Navy to protect us; also the incorrectness of our Labour Party leaders (particularly Mr. Lang), who in prewar years advocated isolationism, i.e. what was happening in China did not concern us in Australia. This war has brought home to us how very narrowly we missed the fate of our close neighbours, such as China, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc., and yet how little most Australians know about these our nearest neighbours!

How little we know about Chinese and Indian politics! Or the struggles of the "hukbalahap" in the Philippines! Equally important is the struggle against Fascism in the Philippines.

As for Indonesia, our closest neighbour, 72 million people live there - old cultured, civilised people who have been held down by their Dutch conquerors in much the same way as the British have done in India. The Indonesians have suffered what we so narrowly escaped here in Australia, that is Japanese fascist occupation.

Australians have been fighting in Borneo to aid the liberation from the Japanese occupation, and they send letters home telling of atrocities against the natives, who are too weak from malnutrition to even stand. The Japanese have done such things as to sew calves of legs to thighs, so that the natives could not be of use to us! Their treatment of the natives was similar to that meted out in the horror camp at Belsen. Lots of natives were shot in the feet to prevent them from walking - Women were split from head to leg by double-edged swords, and so on.

The Indonesians, who have fought so gallantly in this war, deserve a new deal from the Dutch after this war - if they receive improved treatment we should have something to say about it!

The Japanese crippled able-bodied Indonesians so that they could not work for the Allies.

Will Indonesians get reward and good treatment from N.I.C.A.? They are poorly paid and treated on old imperialistic lines with poor living conditions. Australian soldiers have treated them well.

Java: 52 million of the Indonesians live in Java, the most advanced part of the islands.

Indonesians have fought side by side with our soldiers, and it is our democratic duty to see that the Atlantic Charter applies to these people as much as to the white parts of the world.

Mr. Peel was sitting in Ruscutters' Bay Park one day when an Indonesian said it was good to be in Australia and be able to sit in the park, as in Batavia the parks like these are reserved only for Dutchmen - Indonesians were not allowed access.

Before this war there was no democracy in Indonesia. It was ruled direct from Holland through officials some of whom were Indonesian, some Dutch, and the Indonesians themselves had no say whatsoever in how their country was governed, nor how the wealth of their country was distributed. Those who resisted were executed, deported or jailed. After the 1927 uprisings in Indonesia, which were led by our brother Communist, over 1,500 Indonesians were deported to Tanah Merah in Dutch New Guinea. In the years following many others joined them, not only Communists but members of the nationalist party. When the Japanese advanced in this direction these men were brought to Australia and interned. After protests here they were released and they have worked hard for this country ever since. Some Indonesians spent about 17 years in this concentration camp.

The Dutch are Imperialists and all democratic parties in Indonesia were banned, no free trade unions being allowed there. However, Indonesian Fascists were permitted to organize. Most of the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies belong to the Fatherland Club, a Fascist Party. A Dutch Nazi was allowed to visit the country, hold meetings and organize his party there.

Is this an international matter for Holland and the Indonesian people alone, or does it vitally concern us here in Australia?

We remember how the Japanese cut through all our northern defences in the early part of this war - because the people of those countries were not free they were not armed for their self-defence by their Dutch and British Imperialist masters. If these countries had been free democratic countries, if they had been armed for defence, there would not have been a chance of the Japanese advancing through Burma, Malaya, etc.

We have a right to demand democracy for Indonesia and other colonial lands - we must make this demand whether people talk about our meddling in their affairs or not.

Indonesia provides tremendous wealth to the world - 40% of the world's rubber, 19% of tea, 91% of cinchona, etc. (as mentioned in Mr. Peel's booklet). Australia is almost totally dependant on Indonesia for tea, quinine, etc. The lot of the Indonesians has remained one of terrible poverty - production has been one-sided, there being no industrial development to talk about.

Australians cannot afford to look upon this problem as purely a domestic one, because as long as this condition exists there is a threat to our own living conditions. Australian "big business" already talks about reducing our wages because of competition.

We should support Indonesia's trade union movement. Healthy trade relations are important - Indonesia will need our industrial products as well as clothing, etc.

Dutch authorities are allowing a few of the big European monopolies to have the strangle-hold on Indonesian trade, Australia being pushed right out of the market. Imagine what a market there is for Australian goods with 72 million people, if only these people had the money to purchase! Higher standards of living and higher wages for Indonesians means more trade for Australia.

The present Dutch authorities operating from this country have semi-dictatorial rights over Indonesia, there being little or no change in their attitude. The Dutch for the last three years have suffered under the Nazis what Indonesians have suffered under the Dutch for the last 300 years. Perhaps the Dutch may be more sympathetic as a result. The Communist movement stands for independent Indonesians. The coming Dutch elections may provide a shock to the Dutch, similar to the snock Britain received with the recent English elections.

Indonesians have deadly hatred of their Dutch overlords - they hate everything the Dutchman stands for.

These Dutchmen in this country - bureaucrats - have started "putting the boot" into Indonesian people again. It is very obvious here in Australia. Dutch Shipping Companies bully these Indonesians, who have fought side by side with our forces against the Japanese.

In India, if Britain does not take the easy way she will have the Indian question settled for her in the hard way.

Persistence by Australia in the White Australia Policy is suicidal to our future - our name "stinks" throughout Asia because of it.

The Communist Party says the White Australia Policy must go, in the interests of this country. This has nothing to do with the standard of living conditions.

Mr. Beasley is a White Australia politician. After the Japanese invasion quite a number of Chinese were brought to this country and put to work in Central Australia quarrying mica with the same low coolie rates as in the islands, not award rates of pay. Chinese shipping workers have since obtained slightly better conditions than those of Australian shipyard workers.

Two Indonesians had case against the K.P.M. recently - all the Company had to do was to sack these two men - they did not come under manpower laws here. They were then deported to Hollandia under Dutch armed guards with no right whatever of stating their case or defending their actions. Such cases frequently arise. White Australia Policy is used in conjunction with Dutch Shipping Companies.

Communist Party is not anxious to see large groups of any foreign group come to Australia to break down our living conditions - there should be a quota from each country allowed to come here. Mr. Peel expects other countries to enjoy much happier democratic conditions after this war, and thinks the people will not want to leave their home countries.

We should have much better immigration control. The economic needs of this country require quota system of different countries, based on economic needs and the state of employment in this country. Canada and New Zealand have no "White" policy. There is no need for us to have an insulting White Australia Policy based on racial prejudice.

In conclusion Mr. Peel suggests that in this world of speedy scientific discovery all Australians should learn a lot more about those countries which are our neighbours; be able to approach the question in a friendly and democratic way and learn about their cultures and ways of life. We should try to find out for ourselves what are the democratic forces in each of these countries, and support these forces with all our strength, because democracy goes hand in hand with Peace in the Pacific.

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

CO 114571 - 05868

ONAFGEDAAN

Kaarten met personalia
en pasp. nrs. aanvullen.
alle met voork. namen o.k. onder
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zijn. DB868.

Afd./Sect.: B III Dat.: 14.8.51 Par.: WJL.

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

~~del.~~ ACD. 4B Dat.: 18/9 '51 Par.: J. (R)

lijgworb

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

~~HB~~ U.
~~B II~~
~~B III~~

27.7.51

KARA Y.K.

190 1978
31.7.51

~~ACD II~~: Gaarne naslag namen i.b.v. B III 9-317.51

9.14.8.
B II 17.8.51
14.8.51

KARA.

Kennis genomen.

24/8/51 KARA-H.

J. B.

CONFIDENTIEEL

<u>Namen :</u>	<u>Geboren :</u>	<u>Paspoort No.:</u>	<u>Opm.:</u>
ALLISON, George	1895	131850	
ARNOT, Robert Page	1893	240896	
ATKINSON, Harold	4-6-1912	237149	
BACON, Francis William	28-11-1906	801029	
BERRIDGE, Claude Vernon	1901	105990	
BOND, Ralph Edwin	5-12-1904	129790	
BRADLEY, Benjamin Francis	1898	192149	
BRAMLEY, Edward Frank	1905	423042	
BROWN, Ernest Henry	1892	13058	
BROWN, Isabel (echtgenote b.g.)	1894	318714	
BURNS, Emile Vivian	1889	96478	
CAMPBELL, John Ross	1884	6140	
CARRITT, Gabriel	9-5-1908	4734	
CARRITT, Joan (geb. MCMICHAEL)	8-2-1906	117671	
CLEGG, Arthur Duckering	28-4-1914	221977	
DAVIS, Harry	12-7-1919 te Ontario	4/18843	Canadees
DEANE, James Augustus Bargrave	1921	106941	
DAVIS, Patrick	1898	353215	
DOBB, Maurice Herbert	24-7-1900	144932	
FAGAN, Hymen	1903	144161	
FERGUSON, Aitken	1890	58520	
FERGUSON, Sophie	23-3-1910 in Hongarije	612908	
FRIDMAN, Tolza (vr)	17-3-1907	18831	
GAMMACHER, William	1881	9333	
GARMAN, Douglas Mavin	15-2-1903	293996	
GILES, Granville Charles T. NR	9-5-1891		
GEE, John Edward	15-9-1917	403407	
GOLLAN, John	1911	1258278	
HARBER, Denzil Dean	25-1-1909	51960	
HASTON, James Ritchie	1912	52661	R.C.P. 4e Int.
HEALY, Thomas Gerard	3-12-1913	54803	
HEINSMANN, Margot Claire	18-11-1913	117486	Labour Research Bur.
HENROTTE, Sarah Ann Esther	28-6-1894	353536	
HOLMES, Walter Milton	1892	253473	
HORNER, Frederick John	5-11-1911	112225	
IBBETSON, Harry	3-11-1903		
IVES, George	1902	427150	
KARTUN, Isadore of Derek	9-8-1919	94027	
KENTON, Louis	1-9-1908	589522	
KERRIGAN, Peter	1899	35792	

B

October
16 November

CONFIDENTIEEL

G.M.,

23 Juli 1951.

Litt Y 40 - S 2 - 1016/51 - Confidentieel.

Onderwerp: Lijst van notoire Engelse communisten in bezit van een paspoort.

Bijlage: een.

In vouwe dezès gelieve U aan te treffen een lijst van notoire Engelse communisten, die in het bezit zijn van een paspoort, opgemaakt door Z., naar de inhoud waarvan kortheidshalve wordt verwezen.

De lijst is opgemaakt in samenwerking met een Engelse oppositie number en is samengesteld volgens de laatste bekende gegevens.

S.S.

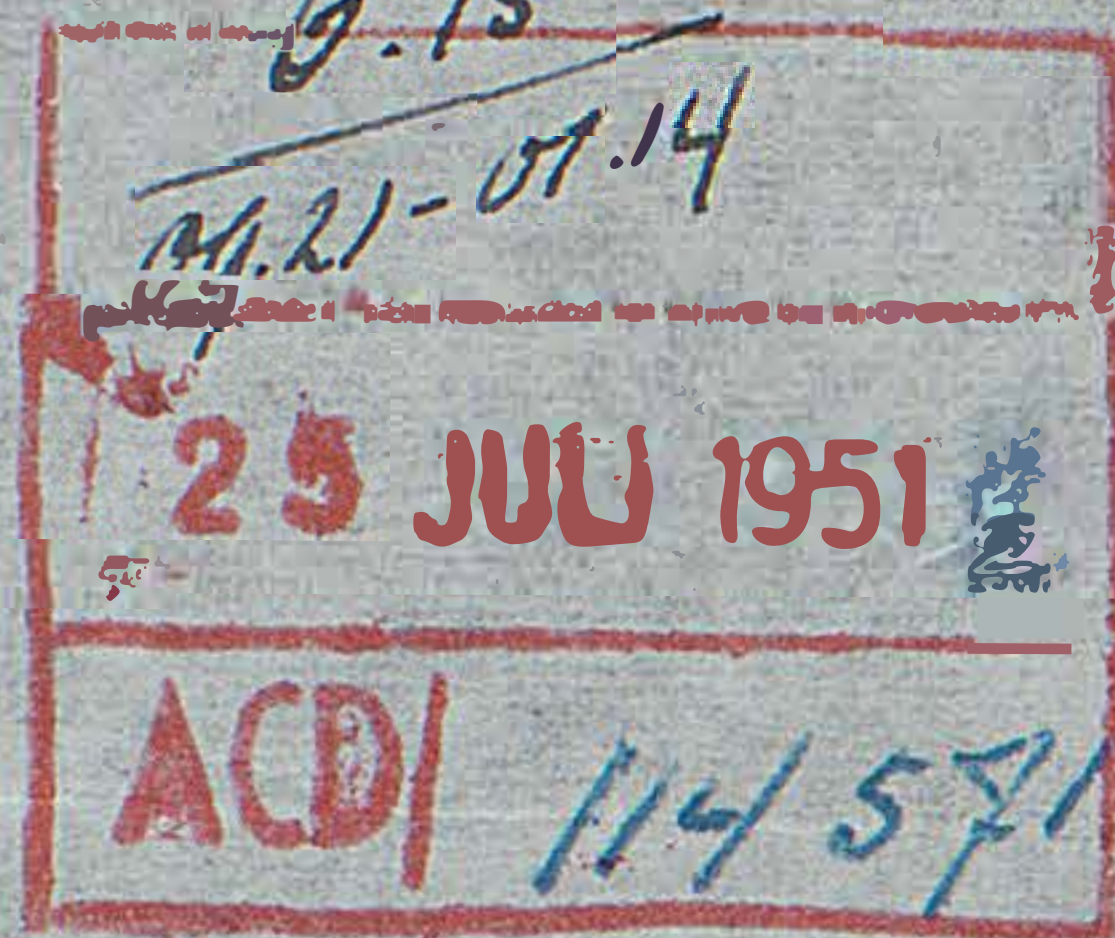
aan Hoofd B.V.D.,

Hoofd B.I.D.,

Hoofd MARID,

Hoofd Sectie L 2 van de Luchtmachtstaf, persoonlijk.

Hoofd G 2 H.K.G.S.



<u>Namen :</u>	<u>Geboren :</u>	<u>Paspoort No.:</u>	<u>Opm.:</u>
LEE, Mildred (geb. KAHN)	1913	6120	Z. Afrikaanse R.C.P. 4e Int
LESSER, Ephraim (Ernest)	21-7-1916 te Londen	1419126	
LEWIS, Betty Eileen McKaig	1-5-1915		
LEWIS, John Owen Wesley	1-2-1889 te Londen	180385	
MACEWAN, Malcolm	24-12-1911		
MAHON, John Augustus	1901	895454	
MAIZELS, Alfred	17-1-1907		
MAIZELS, Edith Joan (geb. SIDLEY)	16-3-1916 te Battersea		
MAKAROFF, Alexander			Australiër
MARTIN, Edith (geb. HAJOS)	1889	196479	
MONTAGU, Ivor Goldsmid Samuel	23-4-1904	843270	
NAHUM, Daniel Roy	25-8-1922 te Manchester	255951, uitgegeven te Cairo op 15-4-1947	
NIVEN, Margaret Barbara	5-1-1896 te Chorlton	88368	
OLORENSHAW, Arthur John	13-10-1893	170840	
OSTROVSEY, Radoslav (al. KORBUT)	1894 in Rusland		Pres. R.A.D.A. Committee
PAGE, Alexander William	1904	61145	
PARSONS, Douglas John Fred.	1900	157141	
PEEL, Gerald Kingsford	16-3-1909		Australiër
PIRATIN, Phil.	15-5-1907 te Mile End	265356	
PIROW, Oswald	1890 in Zuid Afrika	71614	Zuid Afri
POLLARD, Kathleen May	1899	229830	
POLLITT, Harry	22-11-1890	1059367	
PURDY, Murray Gow (al. PURDYSINGH)	25-9-1906 te Kimberley	155359	Indiër
RAVDEN, Max	1913	132501	
REGAN, Tamara Romanova	30-10-1906 te Moskou	977793	
ROBSON, Robert William	1897	18646	
ROLL, Victor	29-7-1911 te Weenen		Oostenrijker
ROTHSTEIN, Andrew	1898	278598	Tass Agency
SMITH, George Arthur	10-3-1916		R.C.P. 4e Int.
SPREIREGEN, Jacob Henryk	1-12-1893 te Warschau	87952	
STEIN, Harry	1-12-1919 te Melbourne	259888	Australiër
STEIN, Norman	1-12-1919	122888	Rus, koerier
TEARSE, Rawling of Roy	24-9-1918	5092	R.C.P. 4e Int.
WEISER, Samuel	18-1-1903	54912	Contact Jood- se communist.
ZAK, William	1906	25127	

SPECIALE INSTRUCTIES AAN ACD,
(Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

ONAFGEDAAN

Misc Co. 114440

868

Waarom dit
zie ook
op 114440.
dupl. v. 114439
op 10/1/52

✓	CO	114439 ✓	} 128862
✓		126776 ✓	
✓		130791 ✓	
WZ			

Afd./Sect.: B III d Dat.: 28.7.51 Par.: f

Interne aanwijzingen ACD.

Handwritten signature/initials

ACD. Dat.: Par.: 

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

HB Attentie voor "in de opgegeven nummers." SB
B II 26.7.50
B III 26.7.51

KARA K.K.

- 3. In verband met de vraag naar de mogelijkheid van andere te
opponeren aan de conclusie van d.d. 19.7.52 KARA (zie nota van
KA-R.A., H dd. 7-8-51.)
HB B II 2-1-52
- 4. B II - 10/1/52 Bij CO 114440 B III
B III 7/1/52

B III d. Met U zich verstaan met KARA te mijn naam

B III d. notitie aan Kara met B III d. 30/1/52
notitie aan Kara dd. 31-1-52

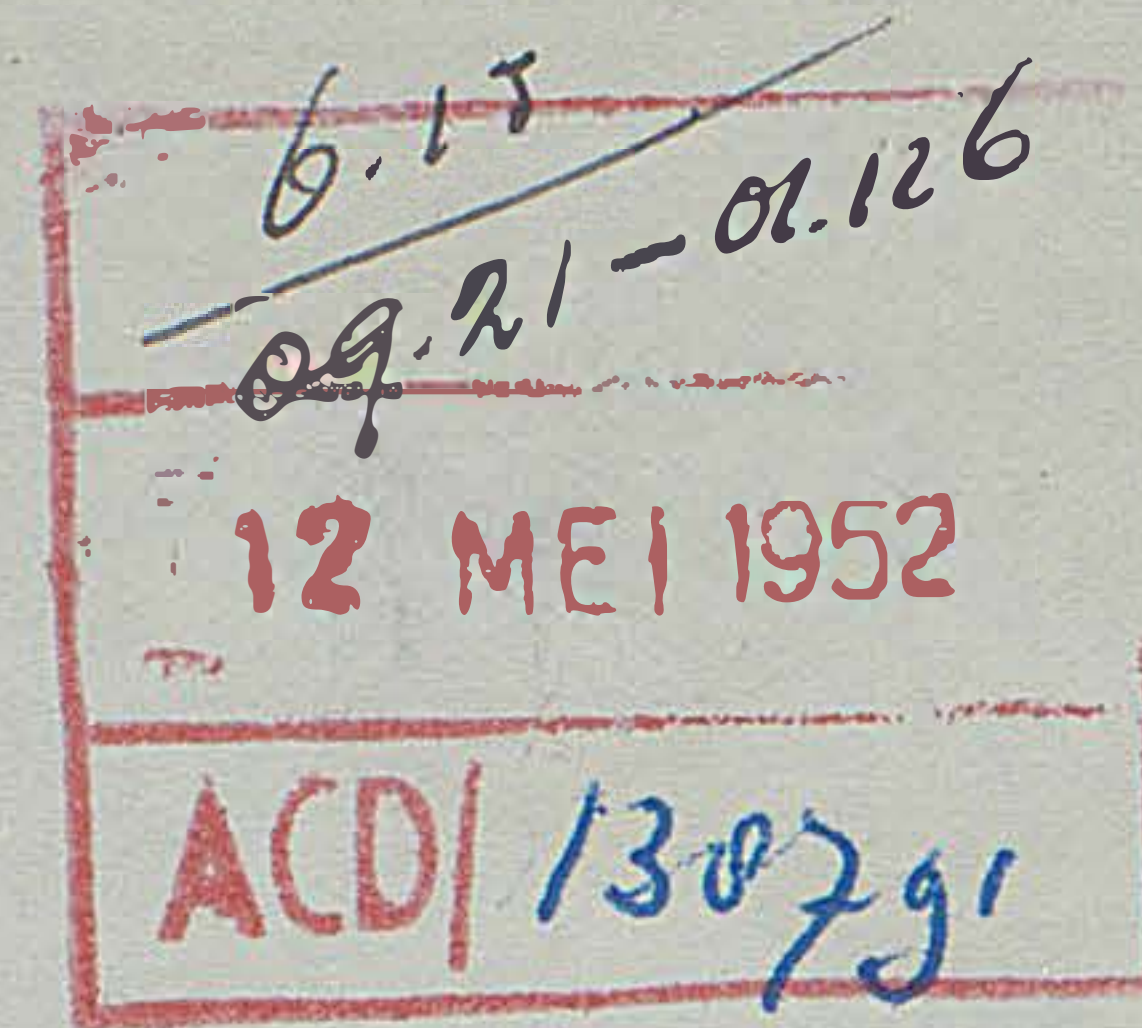
B III (misc Co. 114440)

16.5.52
A.K.

Handwritten notes and initials

RAPPORT:
Van: Ka-Ra
Aan: HB
No.: E/1692

Onderwerp: "British Soviet Friendship Society" en
"The Society for Cultural Relations with
the U.S.S.R."



— 0
In antwoord op Uw nr. 114439 d.d. 31.1.52 doet
Sardine ons bijgaand rapport toekomen betref-
fende de bovengenoemde organisaties.

Bijlage: 1.

7-5-52, H.

The British Soviet Friendship Society and the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. claim to be non-Party associations, but are, in fact, Communist front organisations. Their ostensible aim is to foster cordial relations between the peoples of Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. by the mutual exchange of factual information. Their real aim is to gain mass support in the U.K. for Communist objectives. The method adopted is by propaganda extolling the achievements of the Soviet regime. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the traffic in information is one way, and that no unbiased information about the British people reaches the Soviet people.

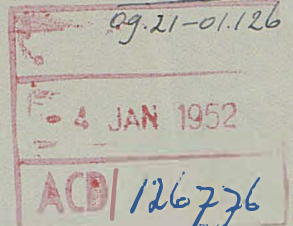
In each of the Societies, Communists hold the key positions. The full-time officials are Communists and the majority of the members of the executive committees are Communist or Communist sympathisers. A large proportion of the rank and file members in each of the Societies are also Communists. At the same time, however, the membership of each Society, particularly of the Society for Cultural Relations, includes a considerable number of persons who are not Communists, but who have been prompted to join the Society through a genuine interest in Soviet culture or through a well meaning desire to penetrate the Iron Curtain. Such persons, if prominent in any walk of life, may be found also among the non-executive officials of the Society, (the Vice-Presidents for instance) where their names help to give the Society the respectable non-Party facade, which its Communist organisers desire.

The main difference between the Society for Cultural Relations and the British Soviet Friendship Society is that the former attracts intellectuals and educated persons by means of the technical facilities, which it provides for the study of Soviet culture. It operates in close collaboration with the Soviet Embassy and takes particular care to conceal its connections with the British Communist Party. The latter Society, The British Soviet Friendship Society, is more popular and more openly political in its appeal.

The present membership of the Society for Cultural Relations is under 2,000 and of the British Soviet Friendship Society, about 8,000.

FOTO
No. 6483

RAPPORT:
Aan: HB (BIV)
No.: E/1517



Onderwerp: Britse comm.mantel- en neven-
organisaties.

VAN: KARRA

1. N.a.v. het van de Marechaussée ontvangen overzicht, opgenomen in CO 114439, en de daarop gevolgde bespreking met B/EV, waarin werd besloten onafhankelijk van de door de Marechaussée verstrekte gegevens, aan Sardine een overzicht te vragen van alle Britse communistische mantel- en nevenorganisaties, bericht Sardine ons thans, dat hij van zijn Directie een teleurstellend antwoord heeft ontvangen.
2. Deze Directie bericht namelijk, dat het aantal organisaties in Engeland, dat gepenetreerd, beïnvloed en gecontroleerd wordt door de communisten zeer groot is, en steeds verandert, en dat de betekenis, die aan die invloed moet worden toegerekend, alleen maar voor een bepaald ogenblik kan worden vastgesteld. De directie is bereid voor een bepaalde organisatie op een bepaald ogenblik een overzicht te geven, zij is echter van mening, dat wanneer zij ons momenteel een volledige lijst zou doen toekomen, deze lijst een valse indruk zou geven en tot foutieve conclusies aanleiding zou kunnen geven.
3. In verband hiermede verdient het m.i. aanbeveling aan Sardine in de volgende maanden stuk voor stuk inlichtingen te vragen over de op de lijst van de Marechaussée voorkomende organisaties.

4-1-2952,

n.a.v. rapport KARA 126776 CO11443

Aan: KARA

van: H.B.

No.: B 114439

IIIId/3V

Ontv.

Rapport

Antwoord

30/6 '52
138791

UITGEBOEKT

Volgens een opgave van 1951 bestaan in Engeland o.a. de communistische mantelorganisaties "British-Soviet Friendship Society" en "Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R."

Ik zou het zeer op prijs stellen van Sardine te vernemen wat het wezenlijke verschil is tussen beide groeperingen.

Gedacht wordt aan aparte verenigingen voor intellectuelen en voor de massa.

(III)

d
KTH

H.B.
31-1-'52

NOTA
VAN: KA-R.A.

UITGEBOKT

Op 7-8-51 werd aan SARDINE brief CEH/51/449 (bij CO. 114439) geschreven, waarbij aan SARDINE werd opgevraagd een lijst van alle Britse Comm. coverorganisaties e.d.
Deze brief werd geschreven in overleg met Hr. Muys.

7-8-51, H

↓
Redoute 11446?

Daarin werd gevraagd om
comm. leiders in vakbeweging.
Verder gaat de belangstelling van
Hr. M. ook niet.

BTM, 29.1.52

CONFIDENTIEEL

G.M.,

23 Juli 1951.

Litt R 40 - S. 2 - 1020/51 - Confidentieel.

Bijlage: een.

Onderwerp: Engelse communistische mantel- en nevenorganisaties.

In vouwe dezes gelieve U aan te treffen een overzicht, opgemaakt door Z., naar de inhoud waarvan korthedshalve wordt verwezen.

Het merendeel der gegevens is verkregen van één der opposite-numbers.

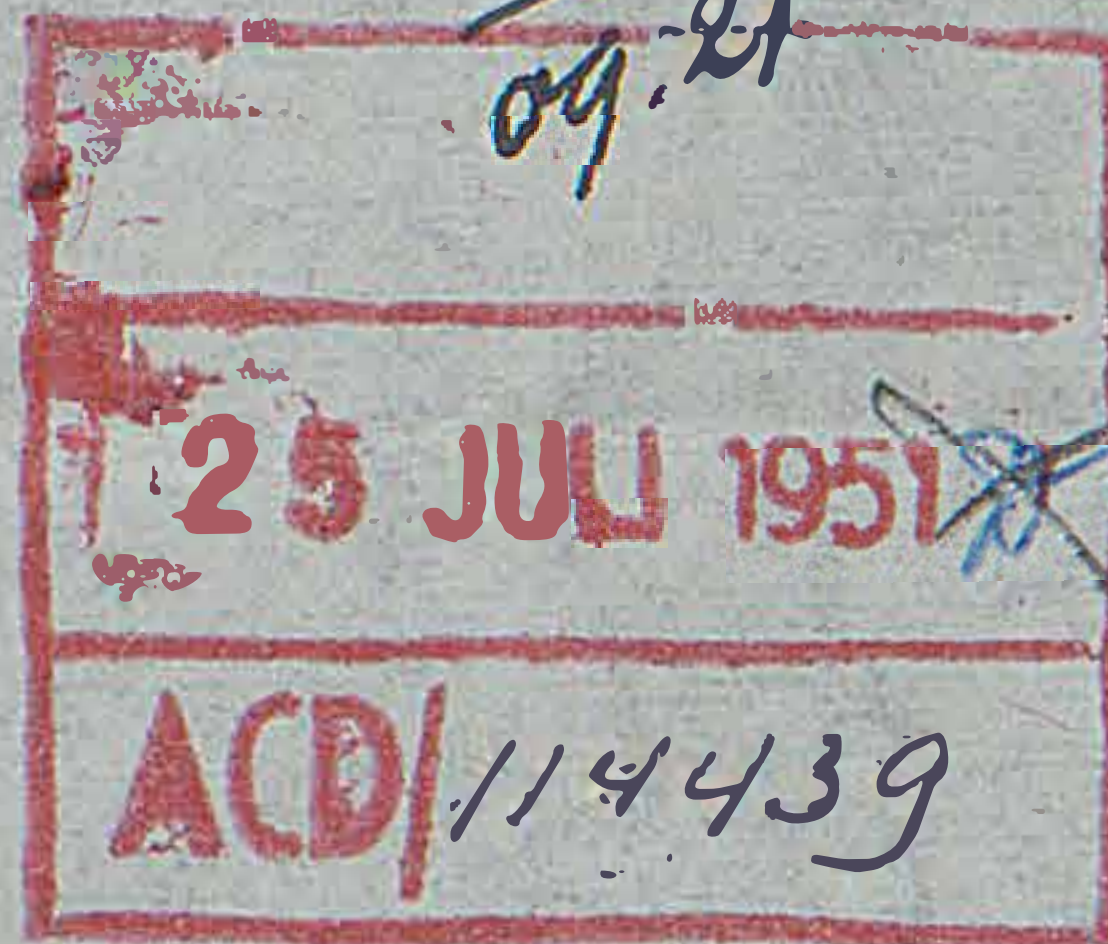
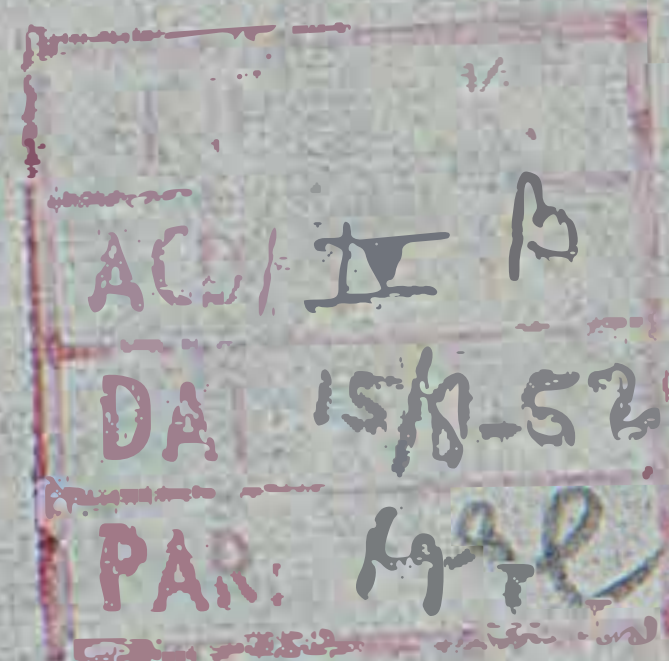
AAN Hoofd B.V.D.,

Hoofd E.I.D.,

Hoofd MARID,

Hoofd L 2 L.M.S. Persoonlijk,

Hoofd G 2 H.K.G.S.



CONFIDENTIAL

oo

ENGELSE KOMMUNISTISCHE HANDEL- u. NEVEN ORGANISATIONEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

46 Westbourne Grove, W.2

Chairman : L.C.WHITE
Secretary : Miss Elizabeth Acland ALLEN
Treasurer : R.F.BRIDGEMAN
Organ : "Civil Liberty" (monthly)

BRITISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

36 Spencer Street, E.C.1

President : Dean of Canterbury
Chairman : Rev. Stanley EVANS
Vice Chairman : Commander Edgar YOUNG
Secretary : William WAINWRIGHT
Treasurer : L.C.WHITE
Organ : "Russia Today" (monthly)

SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.S.R.

14 Kensington Square W 8

President : Sir Charles TREVELYAN Bt P.C.
Chairman : D.N.PRITT, K.C.
Secretary : Miss Judith TODD
Treasurer : Ivor MONTAGU
Organ : "Anglo-Soviet Journal" (quarterly)

BRITAIN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION

15 Half Moon Street, W 1

Chairman : W.J. ELLERBY
Secretary : Jack DRIBBON
Treasurer : Stahley MAYNE
Organ : "Britain-China Friendship News" (monthly)

ARTIST INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

15 Lisle Street W.C.2

Chairman : Beryl SINCLAIR
Secretary : Diana WILLIAMS

BRITISH COUNCIL FOR GERMAN DEMOCRACY

Chairman : Gordon SCHAEFER
Treasurer : J. PLATTS MILLS
Secretary : Dorothy DIAMOND

BRITISH-SZECHOSLOVAK FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

20 Pont Street W 1

Chairman : Dr. Barnett STROSS, M.P.
Secretary : Stephen JOLLY

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY COMMITTEE

174 Uxbridge Road W 12

Chairman : Mrs. Lea HARRING
Vice Chairman : Mrs. Beatrice KING
Treasurer : Miss Stella GALLIFORD
Secretary : Miss Elizabeth A. ALLEN

LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE

89 Chancery Lane W.C.2

President : Compton MACKENZIE O.B.E.
Joint Secretaries : Mrs. Dian PYM
Miss Marion PASCOE
Treasurer : L.J. SOLLY
Organ : "Greek News" (bi-monthly)

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH COUNCIL

174 Uxbridge Road W 12

Secretary : Dorothy HYNDS

THE COMMITTEE FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH BULGARIA

17 Bloomfield Road W 9

Chairman : Commander Edgar P. YOUNG
Secretary : Mrs. Owen KARTUN
Treasurer : Mrs. Betty CASH

BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

President : J.C. CROWTHER
Chairmen : D.N. PRITT and Mrs. Eliz. Acland ALLEN
Treasurer : Thomas A. RUSSELL
Secretary : N.S. DUNCAN JONES

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE ASSOCIATION AND FRIENDS OF REPLY SPAIN

374 Grays Inn Road W.C.1

President : Sam WILD
Vice President : Alan GILCHRIST
Secretary : Mrs. Nancy BRAKE nee GREEN
Organ : "Spain Today" (monthly)

ENGINEERING AND ALLIED TRADES SHOPS STEWARDS NAT. COUNCIL

374 Grays Inn Road W.C.1

Secretary : Les SMITH
Organ : "Metal Worker" (monthly)
Editor : Dave MICHAELSON

LABOUR RESEARCH ~~DEPT~~ DEPARTMENT

2 Soho Square W 1

Chairman : G.H. ELVIN
Secretary : D.J.F. PARSONS
Treasurer : T.W. CYNOC-JONES
Organ : "Labour Research" (monthly)

UNITY THEATRE SOCIETY LTD.

Goldington Street N.W.1

Chairman : Arthur SOUTTER
Secretary : George F. SHARP

WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION

13 Chelsea Embankment S.W.3

President : Okoi ARIKPO
Vice President : J. ABBIAH
Secretary : A.M.A. AKINLOYE
Financial Secretary : N.O. ANNAH
Organ : "WASU Magazine"

UITTREKSEL

Uit : OD 36

Naam: COMMUNISTISCHE CONGRESSEN IN HET BUITENLAND

Voor : OD 868

Naam: COMMUNISME IN ENGELAND.

Ag. nr: 113832

Afz. : (B).D.A./1-067/W.1034 .SPIL. Datum: Juli 1951

Aard van het stuk: Betreft Communisme in het Buitenland

ANGLETERRE

POLITT Harry

CAMPELL

WYNBURN, John, Istanbul 24.X.1902

LAUHLAN, William - comité exécutif PC Grande Bretagne

HALDANE, John, né en 1892

COURSE Jos. A. dlié à Addington.

OD 868

Uitgetr. door: T.G.

Op aanwijzing van: B III t

Datum: 18.1.52

Speciale instructies aan A C D, (Slechts bij definitieve opberging in te vullen).

~~ONAFGEDAAN~~

868

CO BA 112534

117331

868

[Handwritten mark]

Afd./Sect.: B Dat.: 25/9/51 Par.: B.II.g.

Interne aanwijzingen A C D.

[Handwritten mark]

A C D. Dat.: Par.:

9/11/51 *[Handwritten mark]*

Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

~~B.II~~
5.9.51

~~B III~~ 25.9.

ook M.I. 5 kan blijbaan niet alle
aalterhelen maarover openlyk in de
ko. kra geschreven wordt. Een troep voor ons
U

~~B.II~~ 30-10-51

~~B.II~~ 2.9.51
6.9

RAPPORT:

VAN: KA.RA

AAN: H.D.B

NO.: E 1339

ONDERWERP: "The British Road to Socialism"

6.15
21-05.3

4 SEP. 1951

ACD/117331

Naar aanleiding van Uw 112534 d.d. 3-7-51 doet SARDINE ons hierbij toekomen het geschrift "The British Road to Socialism". De door U genoemde "leesprogramma's" zijn helaas niet in het bezit van SARDINE, maar aangehecht is een programma, dat bijzonderheden geeft omtrent een studie van 6 maanden voor de leden van het leidende kader.

De mogelijkheid bestaat dat binnenkort een rapport zal worden samengesteld omtrent het trainingsprogramma en de zomerscholen van de Britse Communistische Partij.

Ingeval dit rapport zal worden samengesteld, wordt ons daarvan 1 exemplaar toegezonden.

3-9-51.

Brochure leent bij D.B

Aan: KARA

Van: H.B.

No. BX 112534

IIIe/4s

UITGEBEKT

Antwoord

2-4

In de Nederlandse uitgave van het Kominform-weekblad van 1 Juni 1951 komt een artikel voor van James KLUGMANN, betreffende de Partijscholing in de C.P. Groot Brittannie. In de Engelse editie werd dit artikel waarschijnlijk gepubliceerd in het nummer van 25-5-1951.

Gemeld wordt, dat in 1951 een "Leesprogramma van zes maanden" voor het leidende partijkader werd uitgegeven en dat een leesprogram voor het midden-kader wordt besproken.

Voorts besloot de Dagelijkse Leiding van de partij tot uitgifte van zes thema's over "The British Road to Socialism".

Tenslotte blijkt, dat sinds October 1950 "nationale scholen voor leidend bedrijfskader" worden gehouden en dat de noodzaak tot uitbreiding van hun aantal wordt bepleit.

Ik verzoek U Sardine te vragen ons over bovenstaande cursussen zo uitvoerig mogelijk te doen inlichten. In geval de "leesprogramma's" worden verspreid in de vorm van brochures of soortgelijke geschriften zal ik daarvan gaarne exemplaren ontvangen. Naast de genoemde 6 thema's bestaat in mijn afdeling belangstelling voor de oorspronkelijke tekst van het nieuwe program "The British Road to Socialism".

In Nederland werden enige tijd geleden eveneens vage geruchten vernomen betreffende scholing van communistisch bedrijfsfunctionarissen, welke echter tot op heden niet werden bevestigd.

Mogelijk zullen Sardine's berichten over de "nationale scholen" tot meer klaarheid over dergelijke activiteit hier te lande bijdragen.

(III)

H.B.

3-7-1951

JK

B III E.k. art. om behouding in de Posten C.P.

B III f. Stel voor Landman te vragen of hij
byzonderheden weet over de cursus voor
bedrijfs leiders; tevens vragen naar de
6 thema's over de British Road?

B III e

Hiervoor werd in een der laatste 1902
feestdagen. Wordt er ook in de kommissieformaat
een artikel aan voorgedragen?

Behalve de 6 thema's wil ik ook graag de tekst
van het nieuwe program zelf.

ook voor de leesprogramma's voor Landman
partij kader en het onmiddellike kader heb ik
belangstelling. Zouden dit een soort brochure
of aangepast proefschrift moeten zijn, ook daarvan
jaarlijkse exemplaren onmiddellijk kader event. by
toezichting. Tevens bedrijfsleiders accord
met bron.

No: 3.- DIENSTGEHEIM.-

OG 060

6.15
07.262-09.21
6.15
09.21
3 Januari 1951.-

Onderwerp: "Richtlijnen Britse
Comm. Partij".-

Bijlagen : één.-

A A N : B.II.-

V A N : W.-

13 JAN. 1951
ACD/100976

Schutblad is vervuld

Mogelijk ten overvloede, gelieve U hierbijgaand aan te treffen een bericht uit de "Gazet van Antwerpen" van Maandag, 1 dezer, inzake bovenvermeld onderwerp, naar de inhoud waarvan ik U moge verwijzen.-

13 II. 6.1.51

Britse kommunisten kregen nieuwe richtlijnen

De «Observer» schrijft, dat het politiek bureau van de Britse kommunistische partij onder haar leden een manifest zou hebben rondgedeeld, dat er helemaal uitziet als een instructie van de kominform en waarbij de leden van de partij worden verzocht wanordelijkheden uit te lokken in alle industrieën, die voor de bewapening werken.

Om goed de aandacht te trekken, luidt, volgens de «Observer» de inleiding van dit manifest, dat «het de ernstigste oproep van de kommunistische partij is, die sedert het einde van de oorlog is gedaan».

Naast de aktie die hen op binnenlands gebied wordt voorgeschreven zouden zij als politiek doel moeten trachten, dat Groot-Brittannië wordt losgemaakt van de Verenigde Staten en dat de te Brussel genomen beslissingen zouden worden gehekelde.

De "GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN"
van Maandag, 1 Januari 1951.-

No.: 86836.
Bijl.: Gene.

's-Gravenhage, 12 Juni 1950.

Betr.: Geheime signalering.

UITGEBEKT
VERTROUWELIJK.

Ik moge U verzoeken op de lijst van geheime signaleringen te plaatsen:

1. Naam: BOWKER
Voornamen: Betty
Geboorteplaats en -datum: ----
Woonplaats, straat en huisnummer: Londen.
Nationaliteit: Engelse
Beroep: ----
2. Grenspassage moet worden doorgemeld: Tijdens kantooruren telefonisch.
3. Signalering gelat langs: zeehavens en luchthavens.
4. De volgende bijzondere behandeling wordt verzocht: Verzoeken na te gaan waarheen betrokkene zich bij binnenkomst in Ned. begeeft.
5. Signalement wordt wel gevraagd.
~~xxxx~~
6. Foto wordt wel gevraagd.
~~xxxx~~
7. Reden van signalering: Relaties met Rusland.
8. Bij uitreis mag buitenland met vermelding van reden van signalering wel worden gewaarschuwd.
~~niet~~
9. Looptijd van de signalering: Onbepaalde tijd.

M.C.

MLO/CVV III/2 + 1

CO 86836

Aan: KA/RA

Van: H.C./CVV III

Betr.: Betty BOWKER

UITGEBODEN

Naar aanleiding van Uw rapport van 6.6.50, No. E 628 betreffende bovengenoemd vrouwspersoon moge ik U berichten, dat tot dusverre niet is gebleken, dat zij hier te lande is geweest.

28 MEI 1951

23 Mei 1951

CVV III

MLO/CVN III/2 + 1

28 MEI 1951
s-Gravenhage, CO 86836
24 Mei 1951

No. : 86836

Betr.: Betty BOWKER

UITGEHOUDT

VERTROUWELIJK

Met betrekking tot mijn verzoek van 12 Juni 1950
No. 86836 om geheime signalering van Betty BOWKER moge ik
U thans berichten, dat betrokkene van de desbetreffende
lijst kan worden afgevoerd.

M.C. 1
4

RAPPORT

Van: KA-R.A.

Aan: Hoofd C en B.

No. E.628.

ONDERWERP: Betty BOWKER.

OP KAART
ACB/ 4c
DAT: 11-6-51
PAR: <u>MM</u>

08.2
09.21-09.1
6.694
09.21-09.21

<u>06.384</u> 09.21
7 JUNI 1950
ACD/ 86836

1. Sardine signaleert ons Betty BOWKER, een Engelse, lid van de "SOCIETY OF CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA" in Londen.
2. Betrokkene vertrekt dezer dagen naar Nederland (den Haag) en is voornemens hier 2 maanden te blijven.
3. Sardine is zeer geïnteresseerd in haar contacten en gedragingen gedurende haar verblijf hier te lande.
4. Het verdient wellicht aanbeveling B IX in te schakelen nadat betrokkene hier te lande gesignaleerd is.

6-6-50.

UITTREKSEL

Uit Maandoverzicht 9

Ag.no.: L.S.406

Voor : OD 868.

00-

868

Harry Pollitt, algemeen secretaris van de Britse Communistische Partij, die op 24 September in Londen het woord voerde n.a.v. het 30-jarig bestaan van zijn partij, wekte eveneens op zich te organiseren in een "reusachtige campagne" tegen de uitbreiding van de militaire dienstplicht.

NOTA

Van: KA-R.A.

Aan: Hoofd B.

No. E.297.

ONDERWERP: C.P.N. propaganda m.b.t. ENGELAND.

Volgno.
31 DEC. 1949
D/76049

31

1. Sardine vraagt ons, of wij wellicht in de laatste tijd iets gemerkt hebben van een wijziging in de CPN. propaganda met betrekking tot ENGELAND.
2. Sardine zou nml. gaarne willen weten of gezien de onlangs plaats gevonden hebbende economische en politieke ontwikkelingen, de CPN.houding t.o.v. ENGELAND zou zijn veranderd, in het bijzonder gezien de toenemende strijd tussen links en rechts als een praeludium vande a.s. verkiezingen
3. Mochten wij hieromtrent iets kunnen mededelen, dan houdt Sardine zich aanbevolen, zo niet, of wij er dan op zouden willen letten.

20-10-49.

↓
21/10/49 bij agenda, orbrong
B.

BTPJ.
28.10.49

No.: 76049

UITGEROEP

Aan: KARA
Van: H.B.

Antwoord op schrijven E 297, dd. 20.10.1949.

1. Een wijziging in de C.P.N.-propaganda met betrekking tot Engeland is niet geconstateerd.
2. De tactiek van de C.P.N. is er bij voortdoring op gericht de regeringspersonen in landen waar de regering mede of uitsluitend uit vertegenwoordigers der socialistische partijen bestaat, ten opzichte van hun partijleden te discrimineren.

De C.P.N. ziet de Engelse politiek en economie, evenals de Nederlandse, Franse etc., tot schade van de werkende klasse aan het kapitalistische systeem van de U.S.A. gekoppeld. Daarbij komt voorts, dat ook Engeland deel uitmaakt van het Atlantisch Pact en het 5-mogendheden verdrag van Brussel en eveneens Marshall-hulp ontvangt, waartegen de C.P.N., ook ten aanzien van Nederland, voortdurend en hardnekkig ageert.

Het feit, dat de huidige Engelse politiek wordt gevoerd door een socialistische regering, is voor de C.P.N. aanleiding, daaraan de conclusie te verbinden, dat deze socialistische regeringspersonen aldus misbruik maken van het door de arbeiders in hen gestelde vertrouwen en dientengevolge verraad plegen.

Met betrekking tot de communistische kritiek ~~op~~ Groot-Brittannië, aan welk land overigens, in verhouding tot de U.S.A. weinig aandacht wordt besteed, kan naar dezerzijds wordt aangenomen weinig verandering verwacht worden, zelfs als de politieke constellatie in Engeland zich mocht wijzigen. Immers zo lang aldaar geen communistische regering is ingesteld, zal de C.P.N. een onwelwillende houding blijven aannemen.


3. Op de ontwikkeling van de hier bedoelde communistische politieke propagand~~e~~ en eventuele wijzigingen daarin ten aanzien van het Verenigd Koninkrijk zal nauwlettend worden toegezien en hierover zo nodig worden bericht.

(III)

H.B., 23.12.1949

5.

868.

Stellingname  Zilliacus
o.k.



FORM 100
NO 868
Trouw
DATE: 3-12-49
143

Ook Zilliacus breekt met Moskou

XV
Konni Zilliacus, onafhankelijk Labour-parlementslid heeft bedankt als lid van het Russisch-gezinde Britse vredescomité. In een brief aan de voorzitter van het comité schrijft Zilliacus, die kortgeleden blijk gegeven heeft van sympathie voor het regiem van Tito, dat hij, ofschoon voorstander blijvend van de gronddoelstellingen van de organisatie, uittreedt vanwege de politiek en de methodes der organisatie.

Het comité, aldus Zilliacus, is met zichzelf in hopeloze tegenspraak gekomen door zich te stellen tegenover de „Anglo-Amerikaanse koude oorlog tegen de Sowjet-Unie en tegen het communisme” en tegelijkertijd „de koude oorlog van Kominform en Sowjet-Unie tegen Joego-Slavië te verdedigen”.

MINISTERIE VAN BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

DIENSTGEHEIM.

BERICHT OP SCHRIJVEN VAN

NR

AFD. O.O. & V.

BETREFFENDE

'S-GRAVENHAGE,

20 April 1949.
11 MEI 1949.
A.D. 61809

MEN GELIEVE BIJ HET ANTWOORD NAUWKEURIG
HET ONDERWERP, DE DAGTEKENING EN HET
NUMMER VAN DIT SCHRIJVEN TE VERMELDEN

De Hoogedelgestrengste Heer
J.G. Crabbendam,
Javastraat 68,
'S-GRAVENHAGE.

Ik moge U hierbij doen toekomen een van
de Ambassadeur te Londen ontvangen schrijven
met bijlagen, betreffende de organisatie en
werkwijze van de communistische partij in
Engeland.

Naar het mij voorkomt verdient het aanbeveling
indien deze gegevens verwerkt zouden kunnen
worden in het maandelijks overzicht van de
C.V.D.

*H wil gaan dit stuk
op 25 mei a.s.
by een brief hebben*

De Chef v.d. Afdeling O.O. en V.,

[Handwritten signature]

bijl.

MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSCHE ZAKEN

Afdeeling Politieke Zaken

No. 23270

Het Ministerie van Buitenlandsche Zaken heeft de eer aan:

De Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken

bijlage dezès ter kennisneming aan te bieden.

's-Gravenhage, 10 Maart 1949

6383-148

Datum 3/3 23270 gerda

FOTO-Bt.Z. No. 12900

AMBASSADE DER NEDERLANDEN LONDEN. #7321 V.K.

No. 1943/463

HEREFORD HOUSE, FLAT 14, 117, PARK STREET, W.1. MAYFAIR 8806.

1 Maart, 1949



Handwritten notes: Jm, N.F., 4/3, 5012

.... x
.... x

Ik heb de eer Uwer Excellentie's aandacht te vestigen op de hiernevens gaande artikelen uit "The Times" van 25 en 26 Februari j.l. waarin de Labour Correspondent van dit blad een overzicht geeft van de organisatie en werkwijze van de Britse Communistische Partij. Deze artikelen schijnen mij bijzonder goed geïnformeerd en zij zijn wellicht van waarde voor degenen die in ons eigen land het oog houden op Communistische ontwikkelingen.

Antw. 25 april

De Ambassadeur,

Handwritten signature

Zijner Excellentie de Heer Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, 's-GRAVENHAGE.

Handwritten notes: Groed... politieke verhouding

C

*Deze artikelen waren al in ons laatste
krantennummer en hebben bij 3 jaar-
overleed. Deze gebroeders van Kimpel 19868
Pag. 15*

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY

I—CHANGING TACTICS IN STRUGGLE FOR POWER

By Our Labour Correspondent

The British Communist Party, admitted by itself to be the weakest link in the chain of Communist parties, will be meeting in London this week-end to consider yet another variation in its line of policy. It is turning, as it did 20 years ago, towards a more open fight against the leadership of the Labour movement, and for the first time since 1941 it is placing its stress on the necessity of struggle in order to obtain power.

This change, like all earlier ones, is a variation on the two principles which Lenin laid down when he helped to bring the British party into existence—that it must work within the Labour movement but against the reformist leaders. In 1920 Lenin, by his condemnation of "sectarianism," which put individual interests or views before unity, brought the squabbling British Marxist groups into one party. At the same time he insisted, by letter, pamphlet, and word of mouth, that they should make use of the Parliamentary machine, work in the trade unions, and seek affiliation to the Labour Party.

Lenin's argument was that it was essential, if the Communists were eventually to be able to seize power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they should build up a mass party of the workers. This could only be done by going where the masses were, in the trade unions and the Labour Party and the co-operatives. At the same time he urged them to do everything in their power to discredit the existing leaders to prepare the way for assuming the leadership themselves.

The second congress of the Third or Communist International (the Comintern) drew up a list of 21 conditions which had to be fulfilled by a party seeking admission. Wherever adherents gained access, they had systematically and mercilessly to denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants, the reformists of every shade. They had systematically to remove from all responsible posts in the Labour movement, in the party organization, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary factions, cooperative societies, municipalities, &c., all reformists and followers of the "centre" and have them replaced by Communists. They had everywhere to create a parallel illegal apparatus which, at the decisive moment, could assist the Party in performing its duty to the revolution. There was the particular necessity of persistent, systematic propaganda in the army, if necessary carried on illegally.

COMMUNIST CELLS

In the trade unions, cooperative societies, and other mass organizations Communists were instructed to create cells, which would constantly denounce the treachery of the "social-patriots" (patriotic leaders of the movement) and the vacillations of the "centre" and be completely subordinate to the party as a whole. They would only be able to do their duty if organized in the most centralized fashion, with an iron discipline akin to military discipline. Periodically the party had itself to be "cleansed" of petty-bourgeois elements. All decisions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the decisions of its executive committee, were to be binding on all affiliated parties.

These conditions were naturally influenced by the fact that the period was still revolutionary in Europe and that much of the experience of the Bolsheviks had been gained in enforced underground and illegal work. The boring from within tactics, however inevitable in an illegal party, seemed indecent in the light of day in a democratic country where there was nothing to stop the party operating freely and independently. In the British Labour movement there was a tradition of loyalty to leaders, even when there was disagreement with them, and against joining an organization with the deliberate intention of discrediting its leadership and making alliances with the hope of disrupting the ally. To the Communists, on the other hand, it was simply a question of finding the best way of freeing the toiling masses from the treachery of leaders who were deceiving them.

The British Communists themselves accepted the policy with difficulty and took even longer to put into effect the doctrine of democratic centralism, so strange to this country. It was not until 1923 that, on the insistence of the Comintern, a plan of reorganization, devised chiefly by Mr. Harry Pollitt and Mr. R. Palme Dutt, was carried through. A number of well-known members left the party in the same period.

The Communists found that Lenin's advice was even more difficult to carry out than to accept. They have never succeeded in becoming anything like a mass party. They applied immediately for affiliation to the Labour Party, but in such uncompromising terms as to invite the rejection they received—and which every subsequent application received until in 1946 an alteration in the Labour Party rules made affiliation impossible. For a time, however, they were able to work through sympathetic Labour Party branches and through affiliated trade unions.

They were rather more successful in the trade unions, where their sympathizers were coordinated through "the minority

movement." The one mass in which they made real progress, however, was that of the unemployed, whom they organized through the National Unemployed Workers Committee movement, led by Mr. Wal Hannington. For many years a large proportion of the membership was among the unemployed.

After the General Strike in 1926 membership of the Communist Party rose from 5,000 to 10,000, but in a year or two the increase had disappeared. There was a movement to the right in the Labour movement generally and Communists found themselves increasingly squeezed out. A new crisis developed in the Communist Party when a minority on the executive, led by Mr. Pollitt and Mr. Dutt, demanded a policy of more open opposition to the official Labour leadership. The dispute was taken in 1927 to the Comintern, who backed the minority, but it was not until 1929 that the issue was solved by a number of changes on the executive and the appointment of Mr. Pollitt to the secretaryship.

Labour leaders were now regularly described as "social Fascists." Even after this, in 1931, Mr. Arthur Horner got into trouble for a right deviation which became known as Hornerism—he appears to have relied too much on official branch leadership in a South Wales miners' strike—and was very severely criticized by the executive. In January, 1930, under pressure from the Comintern, the *Daily Worker* was started.

THE POPULAR FRONT

With the rise of the Nazis, however, there was a renewed trend towards emphasis on united front tactics, and the seventh world congress of the Comintern in 1935 established the policy of the popular front. The party campaigned for anti-fascist unity and succeeded in securing a propaganda alliance with the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist League, led by Sir Stafford Cripps, and associated with the Left Book Club.

Membership began to grow, and rose from 6,500 in 1935 to 17,756 in 1939. Then the declaration of war brought a new crisis to the party. Since they had been campaigning for so long for action to stop the Nazis, a majority of the executive innocently supposed that they would be right in supporting a war to stop them, and they publicly declared their support. Broadcasts from Moscow and the return from Moscow of the British Comintern representative soon showed them that their analysis of the situation had been incorrect. The executive met again a month after war began and decided, with two dissentients, that it was not an anti-Fascist war as they had thought at all, but an imperialist war and therefore to be opposed.

The two dissentients, Mr. Harry Pollitt and Mr. J. R. Campbell, signed retractions shortly afterwards. "I recognize that my action in resisting the carrying out of the line of the Communist Party and the Communist International represented an impermissible infraction of our party discipline and played into the hands of the class enemy, and especially into the hands of the reactionary Labour leaders," wrote Mr. Pollitt. He was removed from the secretaryship. The party proceeded to organize any opposition to the war it could

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find. It fought by-elections. It played a big part in the "People's Convention." The *Daily Worker* was suppressed. Yet in some respects its anti-war campaign seemed half-hearted.

Then Russia was invaded. The party unhesitatingly decided it was an anti-Fascist war after all, and Mr. Pollitt was restored to his position. Even now his first declaration of qualified support for the Government proved incorrect, however, and unqualified support took its place. The party opposed strikes, fought for higher production, insisted on the necessity of national unity. Defence of the Soviet Union overrode all other considerations. In March, 1944, membership reached the peak figure of 47,500.

The formal disbanding of the Comintern in 1943 left the party free of outside control, though still much influenced by the views of the Soviet Union. Their support for the National Government was maintained so long that right up to the General Election of 1945 they were still advocating a coalition government after the election. Their scientific analysis of the situation was no more successful than the unscientific analysis of other people in foreseeing a sweeping Labour victory.

AFTER THE ELECTION

After the election the Communists gave general support to the Government, urging the swift achievement of its programme, advocating increased production and opposing strikes, and in 1946 they made their last vain struggle for affiliation. As the international situation deteriorated, however, they grew more and more critical. The Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan, and the creation of the Communist Information Bureau (the Cominform) were milestones. Though they have not been invited to join the Cominform, they study its pronouncements closely and learn from them.

Now the Communists oppose the Labour Government's economic policy, encourage strikes, and condemn the campaign for increased productivity as a campaign for the speed-up. In the trade unions they have increased the number of official positions in their hands, but their recent open opposition to the policy of the Trades Union Congress has strung the trade union movement to active self-defence. The Communists have members or friends in the scientific and intellectual as well as in the industrial world, and they still have some friends in the Labour Party. Their membership, which had gone down to 38,500 in June, 1947, was reported in March last year to have risen again to 42,500. (All membership figures given in this article are official figures. Dues-paying membership is usually substantially less.)

This week-end the Communist Party will discuss still more open opposition to the leadership of the Labour movement. Lenin's dual policy of seeking support in the industrial and political labour movement, while using every possible means to discredit its leaders, will be carried on another step. Some of the 21 points of the Communist International are no longer in effect, but the principles behind them have not changed.

To be concluded

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY

II—DISCIPLINE AND DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTION

By Our Labour Correspondent

"Parties belonging to the Communist International must be built up on the principle of democratic centralism." This sentence occurs in the twelfth of the 21 points adopted by the second congress of the Comintern in 1920, and "democratic centralism" has remained the main and universal principle of Communist organization ever since. It provides for a combination of the rigid centrally based discipline regarded as necessary for a revolutionary party and some attempt to give the rank and file a share, or at any rate the sense of having a share, in the framing of policy. Mr. Harry Pollitt, the general secretary of the Communist Party in Britain, went so far as to declare at the 1945 Congress that the Communist Party is the most democratically run political organization in the world.

The supreme authority in the British Communist Party is a national congress composed of delegates elected from the 18 district committees and from branches. The Congress elects an executive committee of 36 members which meets monthly and is the responsible body between meetings of the Congress, and the executive committee elects a political committee of about a dozen which meets weekly. This committee consists principally of the members of Parliament and headquarters officials of the party and acts as a kind of inner executive. This group of officials is the dominating power in the party.

There are a number of sub-committees, usually under the chairmanship of the responsible official, and industrial, organization, propaganda, Parliamentary and local government, women's, and international departments. The industrial department has the advice of leading Communists in various industries and professions through advisory committees. A distinctive feature of the party is that below the level of the branch there are party groups not only geographically based on wards or other small areas but also industrial groups composed of members working in a factory, mine, or other undertaking, which used to be known as cells. Because of fear of "victimization," factory groups often work in secret.

VIEWS FROM RUSSIA

Discussion can be carried on until the proper party organ has made a decision. After that, the decision must be carried out unconditionally, even if some members, or lower party organizations, are not in agreement with it. Formerly the highest authorities were the Comintern World Congress and the Comintern executive, and decisions were binding on Communists throughout the world. The Comintern frequently made detailed decisions on the policy of national parties; and the prestige of the Russian party gave its views overwhelming weight in Comintern deliberations. Since 1943, when the Comintern was formally disbanded, Communist policy in Britain has been framed

by the annual conference (in future to be biennial), but due attention is still paid to the general line expressed by Russian spokesmen, and, since 1947, by the Cominform.

Communists are constantly examining and re-examining their policy in the light of changing circumstances and international developments. Reformu-

lations of policy are frequent, and for each of them the procedure is for a long statement to be sent out to all branches some time in advance, and discussion is invited—a method deriving from the days when the Bolsheviks circulated their illegal theses throughout Europe.

The report under discussion this week-end was sent out at the end of December. Since then it has been debated, or should have been debated, by every district and branch, and reports sent to headquarters. The party publication used for this purpose, *World News and Views*, has published many rank-and-file comments on it, some of them highly critical of detail. Possibly additions or amendments may be made to the statement to meet some of the points raised.

Whatever criticism there may be during the period of discussion, however, it is a thousand to one that all the final decisions will be adopted unanimously. This unanimity, though not quite invariable, is not known in any other British organization, political or non-political. It gives the non-Communist spectator at a Communist conference a strange sense that he is among beings of a different kind from himself. The Communist explanation is that all members are agreed on general principles or they would not be members of the party. Moreover a new line does not mean a change in policy, but merely a change in tactics resulting from a scientific analysis of changed conditions. It cannot be good or bad but merely correct or incorrect, and agreement, the Communists argue, is the natural result of thorough discussion.

There is, of course, more in it than that. The national official has something of the unquestioned authority of the scientist as well as the mystic aura of the prophet who interprets the ways of the holy Soviet Union to her disciples. The active worker in district and branch has a local prestige little less great. Moreover, the importance of discipline is instilled into a Communist from the moment he enters the party. Every new recruit is supposed to go through a course of training and education. Great attention is paid to the selection and training of cadres, the material from which active leaders are chosen. Branch secretaries and other officials are elected, but before a nomination is made a superior committee has made a very careful selection, and the voting is normally an endorsement rather than a choice.

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In the same way branch officials can, if necessary, be removed at the suggestion of the district committee. One of the resolutions passed at last year's conference enjoined upon districts "a rapid decision as to the branch secretaries who need replacing by new ones; the systematic combing out of the personnel of the branch for the new secretary; or, if necessary, importation from another branch."

GUIDANCE FROM THE TOP

There are constant discussion and examination of the capacities of officials at all levels, as there are of local and national tactics. It is insisted that all paid officials shall maintain constant touch with the rank and file. A district organizer, for instance, must regularly speak at factory gate meetings. There is constant guidance from the top in party publications and in a weekly letter sent out by the general secretary.

It used to be a rule that in all working class organizations and branches where there were two or more Communists a party "fraction" had to be organized, subordinate to the appropriate party committees. "Nominations for all important positions in the organization are made by the fraction after consultation and agreement with the competent party committee," an old rule book says. "In the same way the party committee can transfer members from fraction to fraction as occasion demands a concentrated effort on any particular organization."

Every question to be decided by the organization or branch in which the fraction is working should be discussed beforehand by the fraction meeting. On every question on which a decision is reached the fraction members must act unitedly and vote solidly in the meeting of the organization in question. Failure to do this constitutes a serious breach of party discipline.

This practice caused particular irritation to trade unions. The rule has disappeared, and the party says that the system was abolished years ago, but Communists in outside organizations still regularly concert their policy and accept advice from the party when necessary. Indeed, a return to the more formal system is now possible, partly in face of the present anti-Communist campaign and partly in retaliation against the increasing activity of Roman Catholics in the trade unions.

In general the system of organization seems admirably designed for a small, closely organized body to act as a nucleus in a revolution, but almost the worst possible, in this country, to achieve the party's main aim—the creation of a mass party based on the factories. It is not surprising that it has completely failed in this objective. Almost every year national statements and resolutions have complained of the failure and urged greater efforts (the statement being discussed this week-end is no exception), but not only has membership never reached 50,000, but the proportion of it in factory groups has always been very small. The comparative failure in the cooperatives has been even more remarkable.

TURNOVER OF MEMBERS

The demands made on the members are considerable, and partly because of that the turnover in membership has always been very high. The difficulty of collecting dues is almost as regular a source of complaint as the failure of their work to create a mass party, and has been particularly great since the war-time

increase in membership. In political action, the failure has been almost complete.

Shortage of money is a constant preoccupation and a limiting factor in all the Communists' activities. They do not admit that they have ever had financial help from abroad. The contribution is 4d. a week (2d. for unemployed). Every quarter 4d. goes to a general election fund; of the remaining 1s. 4d. a month, 4d. goes to the branch, 6d. to the district committee, and 6d. to the executive committee. Frequent levies are also made, particularly on the better-off members. National expenditure in the year 1946-47 was about £35,000.

The strength of the party is in its nucleus of some 50 paid officials and a limited number of active workers (known as "activists"), and in the positions to which some of them and their allies have risen during the past 10 years in the trade unions and in some of the professions. They work indefatigably and for little or no reward—the highest salary paid is £5 10s. a week, plus an allowance of £2 for expenses. The life of the active member is completely absorbed in his Communist faith. It shapes his friendship, fills his spare time; extracts his money, dominates his mind.

The leaders are mostly foundation members, and since 1929 the leadership has remained substantially unchanged. In spite of their continual failure, they are irrepressibly optimistic. Almost every year they observe about them "a revolutionary upsurge of the masses." They know that revolution is coming, as surely now as they knew in 1920, because their analysis of the situation is "scientific."

Concluded

** The first article appeared yesterday.

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DE OGEN GEOPEND

Redacteur Daily Worker breekt met communisme

William Rust, de hoofdredacteur van de „Daily Worker”, het orgaan van de Britse communistische partij, heeft medegedeeld, dat de chef-redacteur van dit blad, Douglas Hyde, ontslag heeft genomen „op grond van politieke meningsverschillen”.

Hyde, die 20 jaar communist is geweest en 5 jaar redacteur van de „Daily Worker”, heeft deze meningsverschillen niet voor zich gehouden. Hij heeft verklaard, met stijgende bezorgdheid de buitenlandse naoorlogse politiek van de Sowjet-Unie te hebben gevolgd en onsteld te zijn over het gebeurde in Tsjechoslowakije.

Het is mij duidelijk geworden, aldus Hyde, dat de beweging, waarvoor ik zo lang heb gevochten en gewerkt, de beginselen van vrijheid en welvoegelijkheid, die zij verklaarde voor te staan, met de voeten treedt. Het werd mij duidelijk, dat het communisme geen geneesmiddel kan bieden voor de uiterst zieke wereld. De gebeurtenissen in Tsjechoslowakije, die mij met afschuw vervullen, vormen een aanwijzing van wat Italië, Frankrijk en zelfs Groot-Brittannië te wachten staat, indien zich daar overeenkomstige omstandigheden mochten voordoen. Hyde is tot de R. Katholieke Kerk overgegaan.

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Van communisme naar katholicisme

De heer Douglas A. Hyde, die vijf jaar redacteur was van de communistische „Daily Worker”, heeft zijn functie neergelegd en is van plan katholiek te worden.

„Het werd mij duidelijk, dat de beweging, waarvoor ik zo lang had gestreden en gewerkt, juist die beginselen van vrijheid en welvoeglijkheid met voeten trad, die zij verklaarde voor te staan,” aldus Hyde.

„De gebeurtenissen in Tsjechoslowakije, een land, dat ondanks zijn Westerse zienwijze en cultuur, de rest van de Balkanlanden heeft moeten volgen, hebben mij met afschuw vervuld. De manier, waarop dit gebeurde, vormt een aanwijzing van wat Italië, Frankrijk en zelfs Groot-Brittannië te wachten staat, mochten dezelfde omstandigheden zich daar voordoen.”

GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY MOVE

Communists and Fascists to be Barred from "Secret" Work

ALTERNATIVE JOBS OR DISMISSAL

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, MONDAY.

Mr. Attlee came to the House of Commons to-day and announced that the Government is to remove from their posts in the Government's service Communists and Fascists who are "employed in connection with the work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State." Suitable alternative employment on "non-secret Government work" will be found for them if it is available, but in the case of "individuals with specialist qualifications" it may not be possible to find them suitable alternative employment and in that case they will be dismissed.

The House had not been prepared for Mr. Attlee's announcement and the Prime Minister was followed with the closest attention as he read it. Their vigorous cheers showed with what satisfaction the Conservatives were hearing of the Government's decision. The Labour members did not give these positive signs of approval, but their very restraint can be taken as proof of assent for they would certainly not have concealed their disapproval.

It was quite evident where the announcement hurt. Half a dozen of those Labour members who live dangerously near the Communist frontier were on their feet at once to question the Prime Minister and, of course, Mr. Gallacher and Mr. Piratin struck the expected attitudes of wrathful indignation and denounced the decision, Mr. Gallacher as "a grovelling surrender to the Tories and the big dollar boys," and Mr. Piratin as an attempt to blacken the Communist party (how the Conservatives laughed).

MR. GALLACHER'S "RED FLAG"

Mr. Gallacher was more original than his colleague. He always makes Mr. Piratin appear rather dull. The member for West Fife believes in being comfortable, and he usually sits with his feet resting on the back of the bench below. It was so to-day. As soon as the full import of what Mr. Attlee was saying dawned on him, he slapped his raised knees and launched weakly into singing the "Red Flag." "Raise the scarlet standard high." That was as far as he got. His voice trailed off into silence at the first shout of "Order" from the Opposition. Mr. Gallacher can entertain, he has plenty of audacity, but he is not built for heroics.

For Mr. Oliver Stanley (welcomed back after his illness with a general cheer) the Government's decision was an "extremely wise precaution."

Mr. Attlee dealt boldly with his hostile questioners. To Mr. Gallacher he replied, "I am very well aware we

have to be very careful with the Communist party. I have not forgotten their attitude in 1939, 1940, and 1941." The Opposition loosed a great cheer at this.

The famous Mr. Platts-Mills walked up the floor at this point and stepped up the gangway to take a seat by Mr. Piratin. He was soon on his feet. He has elegance of dress and manner. In cultivated accents he put an extravagant question to the Prime Minister. Why, he asked, should "the purge" not be applied to Jews and Socialists? "For every reason," retorted Mr. Attlee. "Jews and Socialists have a loyalty to this country. That is not so with many Communists and some 'fellow-travellers.'" This allusion to fellow-travellers in answer to Mr. Platts-Mills brought the House down. Mr. Bevin, it will be remembered, achieved exactly the same effect a few days ago when speaking of fellow-travellers in replying to a question by Mr. Platts-Mills.

AN IDENTIFICATION PROBLEM

Major Ashley Bramall, the Labour member for Bexley, amused the Opposition enormously by urging that the new regulation should be applied by people capable of distinguishing between Socialism and Communism, to which Mr. Attlee answered, again to much Opposition laughter, that he did not think any intelligent person had any difficulty in distinguishing between a Communist and a Socialist. Mr. H. D. Hughes, the Labour member for West Wolverhampton, evidently thinking the question was being treated too flippantly, reminded Mr. Attlee that some members of the present Government were victimised, as he alleged, by secret service agents during the war.

There was a notable intervention from the Conservative benches. Sir Ian Fraser urged that action should be kept within the narrowest limits and confined to security because this was "an unaccustomed and disagreeable course." Mr. Attlee, of course, gave the required assurance that action would only be taken on security grounds. Major Tufton Beamish, the Conservative member for Lewes, proposed a Royal Commission to investigate the activities of the Communist party, but Mr. Attlee replied that he did not think there was any need for a Royal Commission.

Travelling still wider Mr. Henry Strauss suggested that similar action should be taken in the case of bodies not directly controlled by the Government, particularly the B.B.C. Mr. Attlee's answer was that this was a matter for the B.B.C. and that the Government was only concerned with those in the service of the State.

[Mr. Attlee's statement on page 3]

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Fascists barred



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not agree with any of Mr. Gallacher's statements and added: "I am well aware that we have to deal very carefully with the Communist Party. I have not forgotten its attitude in 1939, 1940 and 1941."

Mr. Eric Fletcher (Lab., Islington E.) asked for an assurance that the steps to be taken would be extended to such matters as the telephone service and key telephone exchanges.

Mr. W. J. Brown (Ind. Rugby) asked if the Prime Minister were aware that, reluctant as the public service always had been to contemplate discrimination on political grounds, the vast volume of people in that service recognised that there was a distinction to be drawn between those who accepted—whatever Party they belonged to—the democratic premise of the State in which we lived and those who deliberately rejected this premise.

'Appropriate'

He regarded Mr. Attlee's statement as appropriate. It was much more restrained and gentle than what had been applied by Communist Governments recently—the most recent being Czechoslovakia—to Civil servants who were not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. Attlee agreed with him.

Mr. J. Platts-Mills (Lab., Finsbury) used the word "purge" and asked ironically whether in view of its beginning there was any reason why it should not go on to Jews and Socialists?

"Yes, every reason," replied Mr. Attlee. "Jews and Socialists have a loyalty to this country. That is not so with many Communists and some fellow-travellers."

Mr. F. A. Cobb (Lab., Elland) suggested an impartial tribunal preferably with outside representation.

"No," said Mr. Attlee. "Experienced persons can make a judgment and the Minister concerned must take responsibility for his Department."

Mr. H. G. Strauss (C., English Universities): Will you bear in mind that some of the security considerations which you mentioned will apply also to certain bodies not directly controlled by the Government, such as the B.B.C.

Mr. Attlee: That is the responsibility of the Governors of the B.B.C. I am dealing with those in the service of the State.

Answering other questions, Mr. Attlee said the restriction was confined within very narrow limits and would be enforced on security grounds, and that the Communists were "a small minority both in the Civil Service and elsewhere."

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Pollitt: Decision an insult

MR. HARRY POLLITT, commenting last night on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, on Mr. Attlee's statement said:

"The Prime Minister's statement is an insult to the memory of every anti-Fascist who fought against Fascism, and a repudiation of the principles for which the war was fought.

"It is a foul slander to bracket Communists, who have everywhere been foremost in the fight for their countries' independence, with Fascists, who were everywhere quislings and traitors.

Wrong policy

"The measures the Government proposes to take have nothing to do with safeguarding the security of Britain, which is being so rapidly undermined as a result of the wrong policy of the Government itself, and its unprincipled

alliance with United States imperialism.

"On the contrary, it is a political measure carried out for political ends, to win the approval of the Tory Party and Wall Street.

"We call upon all who seriously believe in political liberty and democracy to protest against this decision of the Government, which may have been expected of a Tory Government, but which violates every principle of the Labour Movement."

Political rights

Mr. L. C. White, general secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, said:

"We have always said that nobody who, in his or her conduct, gives any cause for suspicion as to his or her loyalty, has any right to expect to be employed in any area of the Civil Service where he or she may damage the national interest.

"But that is an entirely different thing from assuming that because

a person genuinely holds a particular political point of view he must be assumed, without any evidence at all, to be liable to act disloyally.

"What we have seen now in Britain is an extension of what has been going on in America for many months, and which has virtually resulted in the exclusion from the [United States] Civil Service of any person known to hold Left-Wing views, regardless of his efficiency and irrespective of whether there was the slightest reason for suspecting his loyalty.

"We would regard this as a serious and dangerous step, which would ultimately lead to the politicalisation of the Civil Service in which a condition of employment under the Government would be that an employee must at least publicly pretend to support Government politics.

"What this would do would be to drive underground something which at the moment is quite open

and above board. Nothing can be more unhealthy or dangerous to the national interests than that should happen."

Miss H. C. Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Women Civil Servants, said that, although her organisation had always been against the introduction of politics in the Civil Service, she thought the Prime Minister's statement was a fair one.

Fascist ban

Sir Oswald Mosley said: "Any inclusion of my supporters in any ban is ridiculous in present circumstances. We have opposed Communism throughout.

"Can all members of the present Government say the same? We were previously under a ban for being too much opposed to Russia while the present Government was allied to that Power.

"The Labour Party should transfer their ban to the fellow travellers in their own ranks."

BAN PUT ON COM FASCISTS

Transfers from security jobs A PRUDENT COURSE, SAYS ATTLEE

By H. R. S. PHILLPOTT, Parliamentary Correspondent

THE Government has decided that no one who is known to be a member of the Communist Party or to be associated with it in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his or her reliability is to be employed in work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State.

The same rule is to govern the employment of those known to be actively associated with Fascist organisations.

Mr. Attlee, making this statement in the Commons last night, emphasised that this action is being taken solely on security grounds.

He recalled that in answer to questions on the transfer or dismissal of certain Government servants he had said there were certain duties of such secrecy that the State was not justified in employing in connection with them anyone whose reliability was in doubt.

Loyalties

"Experience both in this country and elsewhere," said Mr. Attlee, "has shown that membership of, and other forms of continuing association with, the Communist Party may involve the acceptance by the individual of a loyalty which in certain circumstances can be inimical to the State.

"It is not suggested that in matters affecting the security of the State all those who adhere to the Communist Party would allow themselves thus to forget their primary loyalty to the State.

"But there is no way of distinguishing such people from those who, if opportunity offered, would be prepared to endanger the security of the State in the interests of another Power."

Therefore, the Government had reached the conclusion that the step he had announced was the "only prudent course to adopt."

Other jobs

"The State," said the Prime Minister, "is not concerned with the political views, as such, of its servants, and as far as possible alternative employment in the wide range of non-secret Government work will be found for those who are deemed for the reason indicated to be unsuitable for secret work.

"It may, however, happen that it is impossible to find suitable employment elsewhere in the Civil Service for individuals with specialist qualifications, and in such cases there may be no alternative to refusal of employment or dismissal."

Answering Mr. Oliver Stanley, Opposition spokesman, Mr. Attlee said he could not at present give any estimate of the number of people likely to be affected.

Mr. W. Gallacher (Com., W. Fife): Is it not the case that the General Election was fought on the basis that the Tories were the enemies of the working class and that we are now faced with the fact that the Prime Minister is grovelling to the Tories and the big dollar boys of America?

Mr. Attlee replied that he did

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OD. 868

MAJORITY OF LABOUR M.P.s APPROVE

Key positions will be examined ^{OD 868}

THE majority of Labour M.P.s accept the need for the action announced by the Prime Minister. The number of Civil Servants affected is not likely to be large (writes Ernest Jay).

They will include personal secretaries of Ministers who see all confidential documents circulated to, and on behalf of the Cabinet, or hold key positions in the Defence Departments the Ministry of Supply, Home Office and the Foreign Office.

Endangered

Since the Ministry of Supply is responsible for developments of atomic energy, all known Fascists or Communists in that Ministry will be removed from positions in which they could by disclosure of secrets endanger the State.

The B.B.C., I understand, will consider the position in the light of the Prime Minister's statement.

To meet

It, is expected that the whole question will be discussed at a private meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party tomorrow.

George Thomas, Industrial Correspondent, writes:

Mr. Attlee's statement will be considered by the leaders of the Civil Service trade unions at a meeting of the staff side of their Whitley Council early in April.

Mr. A. J. T. Day, chairman of the staff side, said last night that they made representations last May to Sir Edward Bridges, permanent head of the Civil Service.

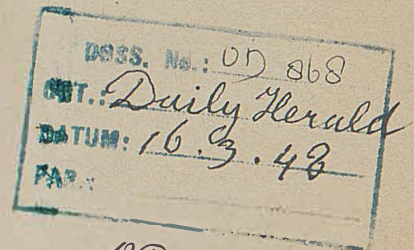
They urged that the continued employment or the posting of an individual to any particular kind of work ought not to be affected by his mere membership of any political Party.

The answer

They also maintained that if his continued employment or posting to a particular kind of work were to be interfered with out of the ordinary course, and not merely because of membership of any political Party, he should be told the reason.

Pending a meeting of his committee he could make no comment on the Prime Minister's statement, which was, in effect, the Government's answer.

He said, however, that the possibility of dismissal did not seem to be very great, for the chances of the Government not being able to find alternative employment of a non-secret character were very slight.



OD. 868

SECURITY MEASURE

0D 868
NEITHER Communists nor Fascists will henceforth be employed as Civil Servants in any work of a secret nature which is vital to the security of the State.

This decision of the Government, announced by Mr. Attlee yesterday, will have the unflinching support of the Labour Movement as a whole.

Our Movement stands for the right of political Parties, however unpopular they may be, to express their opinions with complete freedom. That right is not affected by the Government's decision. Communists and Fascists may continue their propaganda in the most violent terms.

But their policies are directed towards overthrowing the democratic system by which Britain lives. Such people must not be allowed to possess secrets which, if disclosed to other Powers, would impair this country's safety.

Pollitt Protests

Mr. Harry Pollitt, as might be expected, storms against the announcement. He calls it "a repudiation of the principles for which the war was fought."

Mr. Pollitt would do better to avoid mention of "principles" in connection with the Communists' attitude—or rather attitudes—to the war. At first they backed the war effort. Then they denounced it, tried to sabotage it, and clamoured for peace. Then, when Russia was attacked, they switched again to support for the war.

They made it perfectly plain that their allegiance was not to this country, but to Russia. Nor was that surprising: it is the essence of their faith that international Communism should have at all times the first claim on their loyalty. The thoroughly dutiful British Communist is a British citizen only in name.

The Government does not suggest that all Communists would be disloyal to Britain. But, as Mr. Attlee pointed out, "there is no way of distinguishing such people from those who—if opportunity offered—would be prepared to endanger the security of the State in the interests of another Power."

Political Liberty

Mr. Pollitt condemns the decision in the name of "all who seriously believe in political liberty and democracy." Does he think the British people are half-witted to swallow such solemn nonsense when the Communist rape of Czechoslovakia is proceeding before their eyes?

And will he tell us how many anti-Communist Civil Servants are allowed to occupy positions of trust in the defence departments of the Soviet Administration?

The Government's decision is inescapable. It is for Parliament to ensure that it shall not be carried out in a spirit of panic by people who cannot distinguish between a Communist and anybody whose views are to the Left of their own. Mr. Attlee has given the assurance that each case will be judged by persons of experience; that each employee affected will be fully informed of the charge made against him; and that whenever possible alternative Government work of a non-secret nature will be offered.

Given these provisos there can be no reasonable complaint. We think the step which has been taken will be generally welcomed and should astonish nobody, Communists included.

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CRT.: Daily Herald
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0D. 868

The Communists ^{OD 868}

The Prime Minister's announcement yesterday about the employment of Communists in the service of the State is a serious one. It is the imposition of a political test. But it is extremely hard to deny the principle behind the discrimination. There is, unfortunately, ample evidence that many Communists are not to be trusted in confidential relations. They have a dual loyalty — to their own country and to Russia; and no one can be sure that they do not put the second loyalty first. The evidence before the Canadian Royal Commission in 1946 was an appalling revelation of the way in which men and women were ready from political motives to hand over State secrets to a foreign Power. And what happened in Canada has happened in other countries also. It might happen here; and after the way in which Russian agents have acted in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere we cannot be certain that misguided fanatics will not go to any lengths. It is one thing, however, to admit the danger from the disloyalty of Communists and quite another to feel satisfied that a purge of them is being carried out fairly. The hunting of "Reds" is a favourite sport with a certain type of persecuting mind, not always of the most acute order. Anyone who has studied the operations of the Dies Committee and its successor in the United States and of the F.B.I.'s witch-hunting in the American Civil Service must have serious qualms. Some of the activities of our own M.I.5 have not been exactly encouraging to the belief that the desire to root out evil is always accompanied by intelligence and fair-mindedness.

The only condition on which the Government's ruling on the employment of Communists can be acceptable is that the machinery of investigation shall be fair and above board. Nothing is more detestable than political denunciation and the invocation of security reasons to cover up secret acts of the Executive. Ministers should bear in mind that if they give too great headway to a secret police far more than a few Communists may be put at the mercy of a sinister influence. That is why it is important that there should be some machinery of appeal which shall be free from the taint of the secret, irresponsible inquisition. To the average police or military investigator of political offences, here or in America, anyone of radical views runs the risk of being treated as a Communist. We need to be very certain that any purge is operated with common sense and proportion, not with hysterical prejudice. Too many dangers to the general liberties accompany political discrimination that is not most carefully

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OD. 868

COMMUNIST PARTY'S PROTEST

"A Foul Slander" on Anti-Fascists

Mr. Harry Pollitt, commenting on behalf of the executive committee of the Communist party on Mr. Attlee's statement in the House of Commons yesterday on the employment of Communists in Government departments, said:

The Prime Minister's statement on the measures the Government proposes to take against members of the Communist party employed in certain sections of the Civil Service is an insult to the memory of every anti-Fascist who fought against Fascism and a repudiation of the principles for which the war was fought. It is a foul slander to bracket Communists, who have everywhere been foremost in the fight for their countries' independence, with Fascists, who were everywhere quislings and traitors.

The Prime Minister now declares the intention of the Government to try to stem the advance of Communism in Britain by intimidation and victimisation of Communists in the Civil Service, while proposing to find man-power for the undermanned industries by deliberately creating unemployment and driving the unemployed into those industries.

We call the attention of all workers to the fact that no attack has ever yet been made by any Government in Britain on members of the Communist party that was not a prelude to attacks on the workers as a whole. The attack is also an attempt to split one of the most important of the Civil

Service trade unions and to prepare the ground for further attacks upon the democratic rights of trade unionists as a whole.

The measures the Government proposes to take have nothing to do with safeguarding the security of Britain, which is being so rapidly undermined through the wrong policy of the Government itself and its unprincipled alliance with United States imperialism. It is a political measure carried out for political ends to win the approval of the Tory party and Wall Street.

We call upon all who seriously believe in political liberty and democracy to protest against this decision of the Government, which violates every principle of the Labour Government.

"DANGEROUS" STEP

Mr. L. C. White, general secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, commented:

What we have seen now in Britain is an extension of what has been going on in America and which has virtually resulted in the exclusion from the Civil Service of any person who is known to hold Left-wing views, regardless of his efficiency and irrespective of whether there was the slightest reason for suspecting his loyalty.

We would regard this as a serious and dangerous step which would ultimately lead to the politicalisation of the Civil Service, in which a condition of employment under the Government would be that an employee must at least publicly pretend to support Government politics.

BAN ON COMMUNISTS AND FASCISTS

6D 868

Not to be Employed on "Security" Work

People who are known to be members of the Communist party or to be closely associated with it and those who are actively associated with Fascist organisations are not to be employed on work which is vital to the security of the State. This was indicated by the Prime Minister in a statement in the House of Commons yesterday.

"In answer to questions on the transfer or dismissal of certain Government servants," Mr. Attlee stated, "I have said there are certain duties of such secrecy that the State is not justified in employing in connection with them anyone whose reliability is in doubt. Experience both in Britain and elsewhere has shown that membership of, and other forms of continuing association with, the Communist party may involve the acceptance by the individual of a loyalty which in certain circumstances can be inimical to the State.

There were angry cries from both sides of the House when at this point Mr. W. Gallacher (Com.—Fife W.) began to sing the "Red Flag."

When the uproar had died down, Mr. Attlee continued: "It is not suggested that in matters affecting the security of the State all those who adhere to the Communist party would allow themselves thus to forget their primary loyalty to the State. But there is no way of distinguishing such people from those who, if the opportunity offered, would be prepared to endanger the security of the State in the interests of another Power.

"The Government has, therefore, concluded that the only prudent course to adopt is to ensure that no one who is known to be a member of the Communist party, or to be associated with it in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his or her reliability, is employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State. The same rule will govern the employment of those who are known to be actively associated with Fascist organisations. (Cheers.)

"I should like to emphasise that this action is being taken solely on security grounds. The State is not concerned with the political views, as such, of its servants, and as far as possible alternative employment in the wide range of non-secret Government work will be found for those who are deemed for the reason indicated to be unsuitable for secret work. It may, however, happen that it is impossible to find suitable employment elsewhere in the Civil Service for individuals with specialist qualifications, and in such cases there may be no alternative to refusal of employment or dismissal."

"EXTREMELY WISE PRECAUTION"

The Prime Minister told Mr. O. Stanley (Bristol W.), who asked if he could give any estimate of the number of people likely to be covered by "this extremely wise precaution," that he could not give any particular estimate at present.

Mr. W. Gallacher asked, "Is it not the case that the general election was fought on the basis that the Tories were the enemies of the working class—(loud Opposition laughter)—and we are now faced with the fact that the Prime Minister is grovelling to the Tories and the big dollar boys of America? Will the member for Rugby (Mr. W. J. Brown) be taken into the Government as a resurrected Tifus Oates?"

Mr. Attlee replied that he did not agree with any of Mr. Gallacher's statement. "I am well aware we have to deal very carefully with the Communist party," he said. "I have not forgotten its attitude in 1939, 1940, and 1941." (Cheers.)

Asked by Mr. Eric Fletcher (Lab.—Islington E.) if the steps to be taken would extend to the telephone service and key telephone exchanges, the Prime Minister replied, "They will have to extend to everywhere where important secret matters have to be guarded."

Mr. W. J. Brown asked if the Prime Minister was aware that reluctant as the public service always had been to contemplate discrimination on political grounds, the vast body of people in the public service recognised there was a distinction to be drawn between those who accepted, whatever party they belonged to, the democratic premise of the State in which we lived and those who consciously and deliberately rejected this premise, and that they regarded what the Prime Minister had said as appropriate to the present circumstances.

The Prime Minister's statement, added Mr. Brown, was much more restrained and gentle than what had been applied by Communist Governments recently—the most recent being Czechoslovakia—to civil servants who had not been members of the Communist party and had been purged.

Mr. Attlee said he agreed with both parts of Mr. Brown's questions.

In reply to Mr. Platts-Mills (Lab.—Finsbury), who asked whether, in view of the beginning of this purge of Communists, there was any reason why it should not go on to Jews and Socialists, the Prime Minister said: "Yes, every reason, because Jews and Socialists have a loyalty to Britain. That is not so with many Communists and some fellow-travellers." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. E. L. Fleming (C.—Withington): Would you consider extending this very useful purge to those members of the Services who are already engaged on very secret processes?

Mr. Attlee: The general principle covers all those in the service of the State where secrecy is involved.

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ANSWERING CHARGES

Mr. G. H. C. Bing (Lab.—Hornchurch) asked for an assurance that when a man's reliability was in doubt the person would be given the charge made against him and have an opportunity of answering it.

Mr. Attlee: "Yes, certainly. It is an invariable practice in the Civil Service for the charge to be stated and any person affected can have the fullest opportunity of answering it." (The remainder of Mr. Attlee's remarks were inaudible.)

Mr. E. A. Bramall (Lab.—Bexley) asked if Mr. Attlee would give an assurance that the administration of the region was in the hands of people capable of distinguishing between Socialism and Communism. (Loud Opposition laughter.)

Mr. Attlee: "I don't think any intelligent person has any difficulty. (Renewed Opposition laughter.)"

Answering further questions, he said he did not think there was any need for a Royal Commission to investigate the activities of the Communist party and parallel organisations. Ministers concerned must take responsibility for their departments.

Mr. H. G. Strauss (C.—English Universities): Will you consider whether you have said regarding the Civil Service should not apply also to the B.B.C.?

Mr. Attlee: That is obviously the responsibility of the Governors of the B.B.C. I am dealing with those in the service of the State.

When Mr. P. Piratin (Com.—Mile End) asked if the Prime Minister realised his statement would be recognised all over the country by the working classes as a measure of political discrimination against the Communist party in order to blacken the name of the party in the eyes of progressive forces in Britain, the Prime Minister replied, "I think Mr. Piratin is mistaken. I think the workers of Britain are well aware to-day, from events abroad and even here, of what the Communist party stands for." (Cheers.)

He told Sir Ian Fraser (C.—Lonsdale) that he thought he had made it abundantly clear in his statement that this was a restriction confined within very narrow limits and to be enforced on security grounds. In reply to another question he said: "I think the Communists in Britain are a very small minority in the Civil Service as elsewhere."

EXPORT OF WAR MATERIAL

Mr. C. P. Mayhew (Parliamentary Secretary to the Foreign Office) told Mr. T. Beamish (C.—Lewes) that war material of every kind required an export licence under group 17 of the Export Goods Control Order, 1947. Nothing in this group had been or would be included in any trade agreement with a Communist dominated country.

WISE PRECAUTION

THERE will be widespread approval of the Prime Minister's announcement that henceforth "no one who is known to be a member of the Communist party, or associated with it in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his or her reliability, will be employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State." The same disability, Mr. ATTLEE explained, will also apply to "those who are known to be actively associated with Fascist organisations." Only the direst necessity has made such a step palatable in this country, where it has con-

to be generally accepted that political and religious beliefs are the individual citizen's private concern and must not be taken into account in assessing his professional competence. In times of national emergency, it is true, measures have been taken to immobilise those who might be active against the national interest. Such measures were invariably adopted with reluctance and relinquished with relief. In normal times there has been no need to scrutinise the political records of servants of the State because all, however their opinions might differ, accepted the basic assumptions and loyalties on which a democratic society is founded.

If now, unhappily, this is no longer the case, the fault lies with the Communist party, whose record has unmistakably demonstrated that Communists are expected to acknowledge no loyalty except a party one and to make use of free institutions only to destroy freedom. Mr. ATTLEE reminded the House of Commons of the attitude taken by Communists in the years 1939, 1940 and 1941. In that period, when this country was fighting for its life, standing alone against the Nazi menace, Communists, taking their cue from Moscow, opposed the war and did everything in their power to procure a Nazi victory. Their loyalty was not to their own country but to Russia, as was proved by their complete volte face after HITLER's attack on Russia. The same moral is evident in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Russian spy network in Canada. In the post-war years it has been abundantly demonstrated in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, where Communist coups have been engineered against the wishes of the majority.

In these circumstances, as the Prime Minister said with the overwhelming assent of the Government and Opposition benches alike, it is impossible any longer to ignore the fact that "membership of, and other forms of continuing association with, the Communist party may involve the acceptance by the individual of a loyalty which in certain circumstances can be inimical to the State." Communism as it has developed is not so much a political creed as a conspiracy. To ensure that none of the conspirators are in key positions in the service of the State is a difficult, distasteful but necessary undertaking. The necessity has been created by them.

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Leap in the Dark

^{up etc}
THE news that Communists and Fascists are not to be employed in positions vital to the security of this country will strike upon many people with a sense of shock.

The best that can be said for this new measure is that we, along with other democracies in Europe, are being subjected to an ideological war directed from Moscow. And events in Eastern Europe have shown that an ideological war can be won more quickly and more decisively than one in which armed forces are involved.

Mr. Attlee has said that it was not suggested that all those who adhere to the Communist Party would, in their allegiance to a foreign creed, forget their primary loyalty to the United Kingdom. But it is indeed difficult to maintain that men and women whose loyalty is in doubt should be allowed access to secrets which are vital to the security of this country.

Yet Mr. Attlee's bald announcement will be viewed with many misgivings. He who forsakes a principle for the sake of security may find himself with neither principle nor security.

We shall get rid of a few known Communists from official positions. But can anyone deny that whatever danger there may be will come from those Communists who are not known? Is it worth running the serious risk of causing personal injustice just for the sake of slamming the stable door when the Trojan horse may be happily inside?

The power of transfer or dismissal for political reasons, however justified it may be on the grounds that the safety of the society is the supreme law, should not be left to the discretion of individual Ministers. It should lie in judicial hands, and it ought to be subject to the right of appeal.

When such a thing as this has to be done it ought to be hedged about with safeguards. Sometimes Liberty is never so easily lost as when you think you are defending her. The fact that the Communists will use this argument vociferously does not deprive it of its truth. We have been compelled to take a leap in the dark. It would have been wise to try to spread more nets to break the fall.

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„Ongevaarlijke” betrekking voor verraders Britse communisten uit belangrijke functies ontzet Ministeries worden gezuiverd

(Van onze correspondent).

LONDEN, 15 Maart. — Britse communistische ambtenaren en militairen, werkzaam in functies, van waaruit zij de veiligheid van de staat in gevaar kunnen brengen, zullen een andere staatsbetrekking aangeboden krijgen. Deze maatregel werd vanavond door eerste minister Attlee onder grote bijval in het Lagerhuis aangekondigd. Een en ander is van toepassing op: „erkende leden van de communistische partij als wel personen, die in een dusdanig contact met deze partij staan, dat over hun betrouwbaarheid twijfel bestaat”

Niet alleen de ministeries, maar ook leger en vloot, telegraaf- en telefoon-dienst en de laboratoria, waar geheime proefnemingen worden gedaan, zullen op de sleutelposities van politiek onbetrouwbare elementen gezuiverd worden. Om ook verraad van de uiterste rechterzijde uit te sluiten, zullen de voorschriften eveneens van toepassing zijn op actieve leden van nog bestaande fascistische organisaties. De betrokkenen zullen in de gelegenheid gesteld worden, hun zaak te verdedigen indien zij menen ten onrechte verwijderd te zijn.

Geheime leden

De militaire inlichtingendienst van het ministerie van Oorlog en de speciale afdeling van Scotland Yard, die reeds langer dan een jaar over lijsten met namen van geheime leden der communistische partij beschikken, zullen hun medewerking verlenen.

Men neemt aan, dat vooral de volgende departementen van communistische dwarskijkers zullen worden gezuiverd: Buitenlandse Zaken, Binnenlandse Zaken en het ministerie van Bevoorrading, waaronder verscheidene inrichtingen voor atoomonderzoek ressorteren. De respectievelijke ministers zullen alle beslissingen moeten nemen.

Attlee verklaarde niet in staat te zijn mede te delen, hoevelen bij deze „overplaatsing” betrokken zijn. Wel zei hij, dat het aantal communisten, werkzaam in dienst van de staat, slechts gering is.

Incidenten

Nauwelijks was de eerste minister met zijn rede begonnen, die bij haast iedere zin door luide bijvalsbetuigingen werd onderbroken, of één van de twee leden van de communistische fractie, Gallacher, hief het lied „De rode vlag” aan. Het incident werd wijselijk door Attlee genegeerd. Eén van de andere weinige onderbrekingen van linkse zijde kwam van de onlangs uit Tsjechoslowakije teruggekeerde Platts-Mills, één der „crypto-communisten” in de Labourpartij.

Op de vreemde vraag, waarom dezelfde maatregel niet eveneens, indien daar enige reden toe was, toegepast werd op socialisten en Joden, kreeg hij het rake antwoord: „Wel degelijk, als daar enige reden toe zou zijn. Maar Joden en socialisten zijn loyaal ten opzichte van dit land, hetgeen van vele communisten, enkele van mijn partijgenoten daarbij inbegrepen, niet gezegd kan worden.” (Men zal zich herinneren, dat dezer dagen een parlementaire commissie een onderzoek aanving, naar aanleiding van een verklaring, dat 29 Lagerhuisleden als sympathiserend met de communistische partij, staatsgevaarlijk zouden zijn).

De rede van Attlee is overal met enthousiasme ontvangen, al kwam deze zuivering niet onverwacht. Niet alleen door het gebeurde in Tsjechoslowakije is tot deze noodzakelijke maatregel overgegaan. Reeds enige maanden geleden werd door anti-communistische ambtenaren een comité gevormd, om de regering tot de verwijdering van communisten uit de ministeries te bewegen. De eerste stap is thans gezet.

868

Ketterjacht in Engeland

Communistische ambtenaren wordt verzocht „ongevaarlijke” posten te aanvaarden

Vooruitstrevende radio-omroepers ontslagen

Vorige week zijn drie leden van de Engelse radlo-omroep, de B.B.C., ontslagen, omdat zij verdacht werden van „linkse sympathieën”.

Drie geleerden, die verbonden waren aan de laboratoria voor atoom-onderzoek, trof hetzelfde lot, aldus werd gisteren bekend, toen Attlee in het Lagerhuis aankondigde, dat Communisten of van Communistische sympathieën verdachte personen in overheidsdienst verzocht zou worden posten te aanvaarden, die geen „gevaar voor de veiligheid van de staat” opleveren!

Attlee's redevoering werd herhaaldelijk onderbroken. Op een gegeven oogenblik begon de Communistische veteraan Gallagher het bij de Engelse arbeiders zeer geliefde lied „De Rode Vaan” te zingen.

De Labour-afgevaardigde Platts — Mills vroeg de minister-president ironisch of de maatregel ook van toepassing was op socialisten en Joodse staatsburgers.

Attlee verzekerde dat de regering zich niet zou mengen in de politieke overtuigingen van staatsambtenaren, maar dat het hier een zuivere „veiligheids-maatregel” betrof.

Gallagher antwoordde hem, dat de Labour-regering in het stof gaat liggen voor de Tories van Churchill en het Dollarkapitaal

in Amerika, waar het beruchte comité voor on-Amerikaanse activiteit gebruikt wordt, om alle personen, die ook maar enigszins vooruitstrevend denken en alle aanhangers van het socialisme uit het staats-apparaat te weren. De door Attlee aangekondigde maatregel zal in hoofdzaak van toepassing zijn op het leger, de werken aan geheime objecten en het ministerie van buitenlandse zaken.

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ERT.: de Waarheid
den Haag
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B

HOOGVERRAAD IN LAGERHUIS?

29 Leden zouden Russische
spionnage dienen

(Van onze correspondent).

LONDEN, 8 Maart. — „Negen en twintig leden van het Lagerhuis worden van hoogverraad beschuldigd. Zij zouden de dienaren of de geheime agenten zijn van een toekomstige vijand". Er hing een doodse stilte in het Lagerhuis, toen het socialistische lid Bowles vanmiddag deze dramatische woorden uitsprak.

Wat was er gebeurd? Vrijdagavond had een spreker voor de B.B.C., Colm Brogan, verklaard, dat geheime zittingen van het parlement nutteloos zijn, omdat alle geheime zaken, die behandeld worden, onmiddellijk aan de Russen verklapt worden. Later vertelde Brogan aan de „Daily Mail", dat 29 leden van het Lagerhuis in het geheim Rusland steunen. Hij verklaarde niet te geloven, dat de communist Gallacher zich aan zulk een hoogverraad schuldig zou maken.

Dit was een ernstige beschuldiging, die veel stof zal doen opwaaien, nu zij in het Lagerhuis is besproken. Het vorige jaar heeft een Lagerhuislid grote moeilijkheden gehad, omdat hij beweerde, dat zijn collega's geheimen verklapten onder de invloed van sterke drank of voor geld. „Is dit niet een veel ernstiger geval?" vroeg Bowles.

Een commissie zal de kwestie onderzoeken. Als Brogan zijn beschuldiging waar kan maken, wordt dit een geweldig schandaal. Een vooraanstaand conservatief zei vanavond: „In dat geval zouden de socialisten schoon schip moeten maken in de linkervleugel van hun partij, of zij zouden geen schijn van kans hebben de volgende verkiezingen te winnen."

De secretaris-generaal van de Britse communistische partij, Harry Pollitt, heeft van Canada geen toestemming gekregen om de Canadese bodem te betreden en in het Dominion een aantal redevoeringen te houden. Pollitt was voornemens de volgende maand naar Canada te vertrekken. De Canadese regering heeft vorige week besloten haar grenzen voor communisten te sluiten.

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ART. de Volkskrant

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PAB: _____

OD 868

Waarh. Haag

**8000 nieuwe leden voor
Engelse C.P.**

Op het onlangs gehouden partijcongres van de Britse Communistische Partij werd bekend gemaakt, dat sinds October 1947 8000 nieuwe leden werden gewonnen. In deze periode werden bij aanvullende gemeenteraadsverkiezingen twee zetels op Labour veroverd. De invloed van de communisten in de Britse vakverenigingen, die aanzienlijk is, breidt zich eveneens gestadig uit.

Communist Party Twentieth Congress

CONGRESS DISCUSSION

Towards People's Democracy

WE ALL WELCOME, I feel, Comrade Harry Pollitt's pre-Congress Report to the Executive Committee. Many of us particularly welcome the concrete self-criticisms of certain past weaknesses and mistakes; would it be too much to ask for an analysis of the reasons for those weaknesses and mistakes? One of the tasks which Harry Pollitt indicates to the Party is to gain greater understanding of the treacherous role of right-wing Social Democracy (and of their friends-left-wing hangers-on à la Laski and Michael Foot). I feel that a reprint (with an up-to-date preface by the author) of R.P. Dutt's classic, Fascism and Social Revolution, would be an invaluable contribution to this vital educational campaign. The danger, however, has to be guarded against lest the Party's "new line" be interpreted as a "return to Bolshevik insurrection". Nothing further from the truth. As Comrade Togliatti pointed out to the 6th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, the strategy for the whole post-war epoch is directed to the achievement of People's Democracies; these are defined as consisting of (1) the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and middle class, under working class leadership, (2) the active participation by the masses in the administration of the state and of the principal organs of the nation's economy, thus dealing a mortal blow to the twin enemies: monopoly capital and the old bureaucratic and reactionary state apparatus. In order to achieve these aims and to gain the effective leadership of the mass of the people it is obvious that old-fashioned sectarianism must be resolutely discarded.

E. STAINES.

Young B III

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OD 868

Nieuw Nederland

B.T.T. - 08

d.d. 16.1.78

De Communisten in Engeland

Toen de Engelse minister-president, Clement Attlee, onlangs een aanval richtte op de Sovjet-Russische politiek, sprak hij niet in de eerste plaats tot de Engelsen zelf. Er waren er zelfs, die beweerden: Attlee riep Labour en de socialistische partijen de andere landen op tot vorming van de zg. „derde macht” (tussen Amerika en Rusland). Maar dat deze verklaring daarbij een waarschuwing inhield aan het adres van de communisten in Engeland behoeft eigenlijk geen betoog. Sinds enige tijd is er immers in Labour-kringen een actie gaande, om de invloed van deze communisten in de arbeidersorganisaties tegen te gaan. Want deze is niet gering, ook al hebben de communisten slechts twee zetels in het parlement (van de 640) en telt de Communistische Partij Engeland hoogstens 50.000 leden (op de 25 miljoen kiezers).

De Britse aanhangers van Stalins politiek demonstreten echter, evenals hun geestverwanten in andere landen, een voorbeeldige discipline en een concentratie van krachten, waar de rekening gehouden moet worden. Vooral in de oorlogsjaren lieten zij zich niet onbetuigd. Reden waarom zij zich langzaam maar zeker een aantal invloedrijke posities wisten te verwerven in de arbeidersbeweging. En het ligt voor de hand, dat de communisten hun invloed thans in de eerste plaats gebruiken,

om tegen het plan-Marshall te ageren. Zij zijn dan ook best te spreken over het eerste succes der Brits-Russische handelsbesprekingen. En het moet niet als een toevalligheid worden gezien, dat zij juist dezer dagen bekendheid gaven aan een eigen economisch plan, waarin uiteraard de nadruk wordt gelegd op de noodzaak, huns inziens, het leger in te krimpen, en de wenselijkheid van een uitgebreid handelsverdrag met de Sovjet-Unie.

Wat de communistische invloed in de arbeidersbeweging nog betreft, merkte Morgan Philips, de secretaris-generaal van de Labour Party, onlangs op, dat de ze de wezenlijke sterkte van de communisten ver te boven gaat en dat de Trade Union „fundamenteel gezond” was. „Hun macht,” zo zei Morgan Philips, „kan spoedig tot een onbetekenend niveau worden teruggebracht”. Dat de communisten zich gemakkelijk zullen laten verdringen, staat echter lang niet vast. Naar verluidt, zijn zij reeds geruime tijd doende, in de arbeidersbeweging een splitsing te weeg te brengen. Zij trachten een anti-regeringsgezinde stroming in het leven te roepen, welke vooral gebaseerd zou zijn op ontevredenheid ten aanzien van een pro-Amerikaanse politiek. En het kan niet ontkend, dat zij hierbij de wind wel enigszins in de zeilen hebben.

HARRY HOL

DOSS. No.: 07 868
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R. D. D.

Exposes disruptive C.P. elements

By **GEORGE THOMAS**, Industrial Correspondent

A HINT that disruptive elements associated with the Communist Party were active in the recent London hotel strike is given by Mr. Tom Williamson, M.P., in the

"Journal" of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, of which he is general secretary.

In an article dealing with Communist policy in relation to trade unions, he says:

"Our union has been involved in serious difficulties by the action of subversive and disruptive forces, not so much inside the union as outside."

He recalls that an inquiry is proceeding into the circumstances of the Savoy Hotel strike, and adds:

"The National Executive is unanimous in its determination to safeguard the union against disruptive activities, and from all outside interference with the conduct of its affairs."

Mr. Williamson recalls the formation in 1921 of the Red International of Labour Unions, with the declared object of breaking the international Trade Union Movement.

Policy laid down

That body, called by its Russian sponsors the Profintern, was dead but its soul and that of the Comintern went marching on.

The Profintern Congress in Moscow in 1928 laid down this policy to be followed by the various "minority movements" in the various countries:—

Communists should try to extend their influence inside the Trade Union Movement;

They should take action against Social Democrats and the trade union "bureaucrats."

Communists were instructed to foment industrial disorder, to magnify discontent among the workers, to promote unofficial strikes, to wrest control of the union organisation from the responsible elected officials.

"These instructions," says Mr. Williamson, "are still in force, in the spirit if not in the exact letter of the Profintern resolution."

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PAR.:

Communistische nederlaag in Engeland

„Dit land is niet rijp voor de politiek der Kominform”

(Van onze correspondent).

LONDEN, 23 Dec. — De eerste ronde van het offensief van de Britse communisten tegen de socialistische en de regering is met een daverende nederlaag geëindigd. „Engeland is niet rijp voor de politiek van de Kominform, men begrijpt ons niet”, werd vanmiddag van communistische zijde verzekerd.

Zaterdag 12 December, de dag dat het duidelijk werd, dat de conferentie van de Grote Vier haar einde nabij was, legde Pollitt, de leider der communisten zijn reeds beroemde bekenissen af. Zoals Thorez en Togliatti enkele maanden vroeger, zei hij nu, dat hij zich had vergist: zoals de Italiaanse en Fransche regeringen was de Britse slechts een dienares van het Amerikaanse imperialisme. De communisten moesten voortaan hun krachten inspannen om Attlee en zijn mannen dwars te zitten. Het exportprogramma van Engeland was slechts een onderdeel van het plan-Marshall. Het moet mislukken. De communisten zullen voortaan de eersten zijn om loonsverhogingen te vragen en onrust te zaaien in de industrieën. Hij verklaarde de regering de oorlog. Zondag 20 December eiste Pollitt luidruchtig het ontslag van Bevin. Dezelfde dag publiceerde de secretaris van de Labourpartij zijn waarschuwing aan partij en vakbonden tegen de communistische infiltratie. Iedereen in Engeland wist dat Moskou's dienaren nog slechts voor Russische belangen zouden werken.

Toen sloeg Pollitt plotseling een andere toon aan. Hij krabbelde terug. Hij verklaarde ditmaal, dat de communisten steeds vooraan hadden gestaan in de strijd om het land over zijn moeilijkheden heen te helpen. Niemand heeft meer gedaan dan zij in de productieslag. Niet zij, maar de socialistische, zijn de saboteurs door hun onderwerping aan Amerikaanse belangen.

„Maak revolutie”

Stalin kan niet erg tevreden zijn over zijn Britse kameraden. Enkele weken geleden schreef het vroegere Lagerhuislid King Hall een open brief aan de luidruchtige Gallagher, een der twee communisten in het parlement. Wij kunnen u niet dankbaar zijn kameraad, zei King Hall. Uw vrienden in Italië en Frankrijk hebben door hun actie het rijke Washington er van overtuigd, dat onmiddellijke hulp geboden moet worden. Wij in Engeland hebben die hulp even hard nodig. Maar gij zit bij de pakken neer. Gij schreeuwt wel hard in het parlement, maar de dreigende revolutie, die het Amerikaanse congres er toe kan bewegen spoedig met dollars over de brug te komen, ontbreekt in Engeland.

De Britse communisten hebben een

einde willen maken aan deze toestand. Ook zij gingen revolutie prediken. Niet langer wilden zij uitgelachen worden, maar de Engelsen hebben onmiddellijk geantwoord. Sinds de dag, dat Molotof boos wegging uit Londen, nadat hij de ongelukkige Oostenrijkse minister Gruber zijn flessen wijn had teruggestuurd, brengt elke postbestelling de kerstcadeaux van de Britse arbeiders naar het communistische hoofdkwartier. Duizenden hebben hun lidmaatschap van de communistische partij teruggestuurd, nadat Pollitt zijn sabotageprogramma heeft aangekondigd. De revolutie mislukte voordat zij begon.

De dertien

Engeland zal het volgend jaar zijn stakingen hebben, maar het zullen niet de communisten zijn, die hiervoor verantwoordelijkheid dragen, zoals in Frankrijk en Italië. De regering is plotseling wat sterker komen te staan. Dertien socialistische onder leiding van Ziliacus hebben een boodschap naar het Duitse Volkscongres in Berlijn gestuurd. Maar het grootste gedeelte van de linkervleugel der partij is hierover hevig verontwaardigd. Er zijn een ogenblik geruchten geweest, dat Bevin zou aftreden en dat Dalton, die onlangs zijn functie als minister van Financiën heeft neergelegd, hem zou opvolgen. Maar de meesten van Bevin's critici hebben begrepen, dat zij Rusland in de kaart spelen. De dertien vrienden van de Sovjet-Unie hebben 't zwaar te verduren. De linkervleugel van de partij is gesplitst.

Misschien is de tijd niet ver meer, dat de partijleiding zal gaan afrekenen met de vrienden der Sovjet-Unie. Tot nu toe heeft zij het geduldig verdragen, als Ziliacus de socialistische regering beschuldigde, de belangen van de Britse arbeider met voeten te treden, maar Molotof en Pollitt hebben het voor hun vrienden in de Labour partij erg moeilijk gemaakt.

568.

BTTI

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3. 1.

COMMUNISTISCHE AGITATIE IN ENGELAND VERWACHT

*Waarschuwingen van verschillende zijden —
Labour Party voorspelt stakings- en sabotage-
offensief in het voorjaar*

Een aantal vooraanstaande Britten hebben een manifest tegen „totalitaire en politio-
nele staten” gepubliceerd. De ondertekenaars zijn o.a. de conservatieve Peer Lord Brabazon, de filosoof Bertrand Russell, de diplomaat Lord Vansittart, de leider der liberale parlamentsfractie, Clement Davies en drie Labour-parlamentsleden.

Zij betogen, dat communisme, fascisme en nationaal-socialisme loten van dezelfde stam zijn en zij zijn van oordeel, dat het communisme thans reeds sterker in de wereld is dan het fascisme eens was. De Sowjet-Unie heeft volgens het manifest de controle over de atoom-energie onmogelijk gemaakt. Daardoor wordt de wereld ten zeerste bedreigd. De ondertekenaars waarschuwen tegen „de communistische vijfde colonne in Groot-Brittannië”.

Bij monde van haar secretaris-generaal, Morgan Phillips, heeft de Britse Labourpartij haar leden en de leden van vakverbonden en andere nevenorganisaties opgeroepen in de komende maanden weerstand te bieden aan de verwachte communistische sabotage-campagne.

De leiders der Labourpartij verwachten voor de komende lente een nieuw communistisch stakings-offensief en zij geloven, dat er nu ernstige pogingen zullen worden ondernomen om ook Engeland hierin te betrekken.

Zij verwijzen naar de verklaring, die de Britse communistische leider, Harry Pollitt, onlangs heeft afgelegd, waarin hij de steun van zijn partij aan het productieprogramma van de regering opzegde, en vestigen er de aandacht op, dat de communisten in vele Europese landen alle vrijheid onder de voet hebben gelopen en de Engelse socialisten dus waakzaam moeten zijn om te voorkomen, dat zij dat in Engeland eveneens zullen doen.

Pollitt heeft in een rede, die hij gisteravond heeft gehouden, de politiek van Bevin aangevallen en gezegd: „Wij vechten voor een volledige verandering in de samenstelling van de Labourregering, en een deel van deze verandering is de benoeming van een nieuwe minister van buitenlandse zaken.” Bevin, zo zeide hij, is nu de jongste bediende geworden van de taktiek van het verbreken van de eenheid tussen de Grote Drie, welke taktiek van Marshall uitgaat.

Bevin, die groeide in het geven van bevelen en in het wegzagen

van allen, die in gebreke bleven die bevelen uit te voeren, volgt nu zelf alleronderdanigst de instructies van Wallstreet op.

Het volle pond

Van dag
tot dag

De communisten, en zij, die als minderheid in sociaal-democratische partijen met het communisme sympathiseren, kunnen er zich niet over beklagen, dat zij in de pers van het democratische socialisme niet het volle pond krijgen. In de „Daily Herald”, het orgaan van de Engelse Arbeiderspartij, is sedert enkele dagen een uitvoerige discussie gaande met dertien opposanten, die kort geleden een sympathie-betuiwing hebben gericht tot het zg. Duits volkscongres in de Russische sector van Berlijn. Men herinnert zich, dat dit congres gehouden werd op initiatief van de Duitse socialistische eenheidspartij....., een in wezen communistische partij, die geen sociaal-democratische partij naast zich duldt. Deze eenheidspartij heeft indertijd ook een uitnodiging gericht tot de sociaal-democratische partij van dr Schumacher, om aan genoemd volkscongres deel te nemen, welke uitnodiging echter door Schumacher terecht is afgewezen. De bedoeling van dit communistisch volkscongres was door de vier ministers in Londen te worden gehoord over Duitsland, maar noch Bevin, noch Marshall, noch Bidault zijn daarop ingegaan. De enige, die het horen dezer communist enbepleitte, was Molotow

Dertien leden van de Arbeiderspartij hebben tot dit communistisch volkscongres een sympathie-betuiwing gericht, waarop terstond een verklaring is gevolgd van de Lagerhuisfractie der Arbeiderspartij, dat deze dertien, onder leiding van Zilliacus, niet hebben gesproken namens de Britse Arbeiderspartij. De „Daily Herald” zelf noemde de sympathiebetuiging der dertien „onverantwoordelijk”. Tiertegen heeft Zilliacus geprotesteerd en de „Daily Herald” verzocht zijn verweer op te nemen, waaraan de hoofdredactie terstond heeft voldaan. Ook drie andere leden van de groep van dertien hebben gemeend hun grieven tegen de redactie te moeten luchten en ook aan dit verzoek heeft de „Daily Herald” gevolg gegeven. Al hun grieven, ook die van Zilliacus zelf, zijn in de „Daily Herald” opgenomen, voorzien van een

onderschrift der redactie. Democratisch kan het toch waarlijk niet.

Wat de redactie de dertien opposanten verwijt is dit. Zij praten hun sympathie-betuiwing goed met te verwijzen naar de noodzakelijkheid van eenheid onder de arbeiders ter bestrijding van fascistisch en nationaal-socialistisch gevaar. De redactie van de Herald is zich van dit gevaar bewust, maar vraagt, hoe de dertien het kunnen goedkeuren, dat in de Russische zone de sociaal-democratische partij is verboden, ofschoon toch uit de jongste verkiezingen in de Britse zone en zelfs in de Russische zone van Berlijn is gebleken, dat daar de sociaal-democraten de communisten verre de baas zijn. In de Britse zone behaalden de sociaal-democraten 11 miljoen tegen de communisten 2 miljoen stemmen.

De redactie van de Herald verwijst de groep van dertien met Zilliacus aan het hoofd naar het jongste congres van de Britse communistische partij, waar Pollitt, de leider der Britse communisten, in opdracht van Moscou schuld heeft bekend. Hij heeft verklaard berouw te hebben van zijn steun aan de Arbeidersregering en niet tijdig genoeg te hebben ingezien, dat de regering van Attlee en Bevin „in dienst staat van het Amerikaanse imperialisme”. Deze regering dient zo spoedig mogelijk vervangen te worden door een regering van links, d.w.z. door een communistische regering en het middel bij uitnemendheid daartoe is het saboteren van de productie-verhoging, waartoe de Arbeidersregering de Britse arbeiders aanspoort. „Productieverhoging is niet in het voordeel van Engeland of van het Engelse volk, maar wordt ondergeschikt gemaakt aan het doel der Amerikaanse politiek.” De „Daily Herald” vraagt de dertien in alle openhartigheid, of het behoorlijk is een sympathie-betuiwing te sturen aan hen, die het werk der Britse Arbeidersregering openlijk saboteren.

De praktijk is in Engeland gelukkig, dat de mijnwerkers zich van dit communistisch parool niets hebben aangetrokken. Integendeel. De productiecijfers in de Engelse steenkolenmijnen zijn nog nooit zo hoog geweest als de laatste weken en nu reeds mag worden geconstateerd, dat het doel der regering: 200 miljoen ton steenkool per jaar, in 1947 is bereikt en zelfs overschreden. Sir Stafford Cripps heeft Donderdag kunnen meedelen, dat de exportcijfers voor steenkool, staal, textiel en landbouwmachines alleszins bemoedigend zijn.

Daar moet ons verarmde werelddeel het van hebben. Sabotage tegen de Mofen was een heldendaad, Sabotage tegen het socialisme is een misdad.

DRES. No. *DD 868*
CRT.: *De Waerheid*
DATUM: *19-12-47*
PAR.: *B.*

DD 868

Hewlett Johnson

*wijst aanval van aarts-
bisschop af*

Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, de aartsbisschop van Canterbury heeft een verklaring gepubliceerd, waarin hij er op wijst, dat noch hijzelf, noch de kerk van Engeland verantwoordelijk is voor de daden en uitingen van Dr. Hewlett Johnson, de 73-jarige deken van Canterbury. Volgens dr. Fisher strekt het ambtsterrein van Johnson, die bekend staat als een verdediger van de Sowjet-Unie en van de staten van Oost-Europa, zich niet verder uit dan de grenzen van de cathedraal, waarvan hij hoofd is. Buiten deze grenzen spreekt en handelt hij alleen op eigen verantwoordelijkheid.

Dr. Johnson heeft hierop geantwoord, dat hij zijn recht om spreekbuis te zijn van de arbeidersklasse met alle kracht wil handhaven en dat hij er steeds de nadruk op gelegd heeft dat zijn ambtsterrein zich niet verder uitstrekt dan de cathedraal. Zoals bekend is dr. Hewlett Johnson ook lid van de redactieraad van de *Daily Worker*, het dagblad van de Engelse Communistische Partij.

POLLITT'S NEW LINE

IF anybody in the Labour Movement feels tempted henceforth to send fraternal messages to Communist or Communist-sponsored organisations, he should recall, before putting pen to paper, some of the things said by Mr. Harry Pollitt in delivering a new statement of policy to the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party last week-end.

This was a shrill summons to every Communist to redouble his efforts at undermining the Labour Movement with the object of overthrowing the present Government.

It bore every sign of having been drawn up on instructions from the Cominform—including the usual abject apologies for not having been smart enough to perceive the new "Party line" before the instructions were issued. "We were late," says the penitent Pollitt, "in appreciating the full scale of the drift to the Right of the Labour Government, and clung to old formulas and approaches after it had revealed itself as an instrument of the imperialist camp."

Earlier on, the Communists had "correctly worked for the victory of the Labour Government in the General Election." That was presumably one of the old formulas and approaches.

The new approach is summed up in Mr. Pollitt's announcement that there must be "a new and extraordinary mobilisation of the Communist Party and all its supporters" to "fight for a new Labour Government based on the forces of the Left and most progressive sections of the Labour Movement." By the "Left and most progressive sections" Mr. Pollitt means, of course, the Communist Party.

History Repeats

And how is the fight to be conducted? By "organising in the factories and trade unions the fullest support for this policy." In every local Labour organisation and working-class locality, says Mr. Pollitt, Communists should "at once commence to popularise our general line at the same time as we try to win forms of united action with all who are prepared to be identified with the fight."

And what "forms of united action" has Mr. Pollitt—or the Cominform—in mind? One, quite clearly, is to sabotage the Government's production drive.

For Mr. Pollitt declared that "production increases will not be utilised for the benefit of Britain or the people, but will be subordinated to the general aims of American policy." That is the gospel which Communists are to preach in the factories and trade unions.

The history of Mr. Pollitt is indeed repeating itself. Just as in the early days of the war he backed the British effort, so in the early days of the peace he deemed it "correct" to pose as an ally of the Labour Government. Just as in late 1939 he discovered that he was on the wrong "line" and damned Britain's fight against Nazism as an Imperialist adventure, so now he suddenly discovers that the Labour leaders are reactionaries and that the British people are working, not for their own economic salvation, but for "Imperialism."

Mr. Pollitt's ambition to replace the Labour Government by Communists and Communist stooges may be fantastic. But the harm that can be done to production, and to trade union solidarity, by Communist manoeuvres is real enough. It must be prevented; and the recipe for prevention is that trade unionists should play a full part in the election of officials and in all union activities.

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The case of the Thirteen M.P.s

Mr. KONNI ZILLIACUS is one of the 13 Labour M.P.s who sent a message of good-will to the "German People's Congress" in the Soviet sector of Berlin, organised by the Communist-inspired "Socialist Unity Party."

Last week's meeting of the British Parliamentary Labour Party passed a resolution stating that the message "in no way reflects the attitude or views of the Parliamentary Labour Party." The "Daily Herald," in a leading article, called the action of the 13 "irresponsible."

Mr. Zilliacus has written to the Editor of the "Daily Herald" saying, "I hope you will be fair enough to let me say why I signed the message." He gives five reasons, to each of which the Editor has a reply.

So that readers may follow the argument more easily we present Mr. Zilliacus' points in full, together with the Editor's replies, in dialogue form.

Unity of action in Germany

Zilliacus: Unity of action between all working-class Parties in Germany and their political allies is urgently necessary if Nazism is not to revive and if Germany is to be pacified, healed and made both Socialist and Democratic.

Editor: Then why does the Communist minority continue its disruptive campaign against the Social Democratic Party, which has vastly greater working-class support? In the last elections in the British Zone the Social Democrats polled 11,179,521 and the Communists—who had every freedom to organise—only 2,413,419.

Perhaps you will say that the presence of the British occupiers influenced this vote. So let us take the Soviet-occupied sector of Berlin. Even there, the Social Democratic Party gained a clear majority over the Communists' puppets, the Socialist Unity Party.

So it is clear the German people have no wish to substitute one dictatorship for another.

And in their zone outside Berlin, the Russian authorities suppress the Social Democratic Party.

The Socialist Unity Party

Zilliacus: I was in the Soviet Zone and investigated the Socialist Unity Party at first hand last year. My conclusions tally with the picture given of that Party by Mr. Gordon Schaffer in his book, "The Russian Zone," based on extensive investigations during a ten weeks visit to that zone.

You are wrong to describe the Socialist Unity Party as merely a camouflaged Communist Party. It is something new, the product of a fusion of Communists and Social Democrats.

Editor: The enforced fusion between a *small minority* of the Social Democrats and the Communists follows a pattern all too familiar in Eastern Europe. If Britain were under military occupation by a Communist Power, the British Communist Party might well force fusion upon its fellow travellers in the Labour Movement. Both might then proclaim themselves the Socialist Unity Party and dissolve the Labour Party as "superfluous." But that would not be democracy.

"Assumption of despair"

Zilliacus: Your general hymn of hate against the Communist Parties of Europe lines you up behind Mr. Churchill and puts you well to the Right of "The Times," which on March 6, 1946, said that Mr. Churchill's contention that Communism and Western Democracy were "irreconcilable opposites, dividing or attempting to divide the world between them today" was an "assumption of despair" that failed to recognise that each had much to learn from the other and that "there are many forms of govern-

endless contempt on the Social Democratic ideal.

In reply to your mention of Italy, Hungary, etc., the Labour Party recognises and works with every Social Democratic Party which maintains a modicum of independence.

Zilliacus: Except for Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, Austria and Switzerland, the overwhelming majority of the European working-class leadership, both trade union and political, is in the hands of Communist Parties (even in France), or of Communist-Socialist alliances.

In Germany the Socialist Unity Party is 2,000,000 strong; the Communists 300,000; while Schumacher's Social Democrats, whose Right-wing are anti-Russian, pan-German nationalists rather than Socialists, and whose Left-wing want unity of action between all German working-class Parties, number about 750,000.

Working class leadership

Editor: Though you may be unable to perceive any vital distinction between Communist and Social Democratic aims, that distinction is not missed by the people of Germany.

The election figures which I have quoted show conclusively that they desire Social Democratic leadership. France and Italy are in the balance, but the stupidity of recent leadership by the Communists is steadily losing them support. We cannot know the truth about Eastern Europe until full democracy is restored.

Zilliacus: Your declaration of an ideological war of intervention and of a political boycott against the Communist Parties and Communist-Socialist alliances in Europe would therefore pit Labour Britain against most of the European working class, their trade unions and political parties.

Such a policy has never even been discussed by the Annual Conference. It has little or no sympathy or support in the rank and file of the Labour Party. If persisted in by Right-Wing leaders, tragically abusing the loyalty of the rank and file, it will help to inflict further suffering on the workers of Europe, and to deprive our own workers of food, and will end in a bigger and better 1931 on the way to a third world war.

The Cominform offensive

Editor: There was no "declaration of ideological war" in our leading article. We proclaimed the principles of democratic Socialism—in which both words carry equal weight. We said the Labour Party cannot afford to countenance support for bodies which are fighting democratic Socialism, such as the "Socialist Unity Party," to which you pay tribute.

It is nonsense to say that by reiterating the principles of British Labour we "pit Labour Britain against most of the European working class."

As for the attitude of the rank and file, the Party's policy has not changed since Margate, when Ernest Bevin's conduct of affairs was fully supported.

It is the Cominform, with its unbridled offensive against Social Democracy, and its vilification of British Socialist leaders, which is waging ideological warfare.

ment intermediate between Western Democracy and Communism, and some of them may be better adapted at the present stage of development to the requirements of Eastern Europe or of the Middle or Far East."

If, as you contend, Social Democracy and Communism have no common ground, will you explain why in Italy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania the Communist and Social Democratic Parties are in close alliance and why the Labour Party nevertheless co-operates officially with these Social Democratic Parties?

For, if you are right, either they must be totalitarian and dictatorial or the Communist Parties of those countries must be Social Democratic!

Social Democratic ideal

Editor: Don't let us try to confuse our readers with terms like "Right" and "Left." You and I mean different things when we use those words, just as you and I differ about what we mean by "democracy." In my opinion the words "Left" and "democratic" are both dishonestly misused by Parties which seek to prevent the common people from voting freely and fearlessly.

I am sorry you have to fall back on "The Times" for support. But since you have done so, perhaps you will let me point out that the Berlin correspondent of that newspaper described the calling of the "German People's Congress"—to which you sent your good-will message—as a Communist manoeuvre, and wrote of the Socialist Unity Party that it was "neither socialist, nor a unity, nor even a party."

As for Mr. Churchill, you must be aware that the "Daily Herald" was the first newspaper to denounce his "United Europe Committee" as an attempt to divide Western Europe from the East.

We do not contend that Communism and Social Democracy have no common ground. But that common ground, which might have been extensive, is fast shrinking as the Communist Parties of Europe trample on elementary freedoms, work for replacement of the Parliamentary system by naked totalitarianism, and pour

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Het communisme in Engeland

Gezien de oprichting van de Cominform, de mislukking van de conferentie der Grote Vier, en de uitvoering van het Marshallplan, mocht verwacht worden, dat de Britse Communistische Partij een verklaring zou uitgeven over haar positie. Het verslag van Harry Pollitt, secretaris-generaal van de Communistische Partij, aan zijn uitvoerend comité, voorzag hierin door een formele aanklacht tegen het „imperialisme” en de „leiders van de rechts georiënteerde sociaal-democratie in Europa”, in het bijzonder Attlee, Bevin, Cripps en Morrison en door een dreigement „de arbeiders tot het besef te brengen van de gevaren die hen te wachten staan” als zij voortgaan mede te werken aan een productieslag, welke slechts het „imperialistische” kamp voordeel brengt.

Dit manifest werd gevolgd door een strijd op papier tussen Harry Pollitt en Morgan Phillips, zijn tegenstander in de Labour Partij. Phillips beschuldigde de Communistische Partij ervan de arbeiders aan te zetten tot het saboteren van de productieslag. Pollitt beschuldigde de Labour-regering ervan een productieslag te organiseren in het belang van de Verenigde Staten. Naar de mening van Morgan Phillips is de Communistische Partij er op uit in de arbeidersbeweging in Engeland verdeeldheid te zaaien. Pollitt is van mening, dat juist de Labour Partij door zijn imperialistische taktiek en neigingen naar rechts de zaak van de arbeidende klasse in Engeland verraadt.

BRIEF UIT ENGELAND

Dat de Communistische Partij een basis zocht voor een onafhankelijke politiek was reeds enige tijd duidelijk, reeds lang voordat de Cominform zijn gewicht in de Communistische wereld deed gevoelen. Het eerste teken, dat wees op deze onafhankelijke politiek, was het program om de economische crisis te boven te komen, in het voorjaar 1947 door enige communistische leiders bekend gemaakt. De vraag van het ogenblik is of de huidige campagne gekarakteriseerd kan worden als „hete” of als „koude” oorlog. Met slechts twee parlementsleden en een handjevol vertegen-

woordigers in plaatselijke bestuurscolleges bezit het Britse communisme op het ogenblik geen politieke macht. De communistische kracht is geconcentreerd in de vakbeweging, in hoofdzaak onder de mijnwerkers, de metaal- en spoorwegarbeiders. In deze en andere vakverenigingen hebben de communisten hun positie in nog al aanzienlijke mate te danken aan de apathie van een grote meerderheid der vakverenigingsleden, waarvan er velen de vergaderingen niet meer bezoeken, er afkerig van zijn in de besturen zitting te nemen en slechts geneigd zijn te stemmen voor een energiek en welbespraakte collega, die bereid is zijn weinige tijd te besteden aan vakverenigingswerk, en die op alle vragen een antwoord schijnt te weten. Zo kan het voorkomen, dat in een zeker niet overwegend uiterst links district de Trades Council (dat is het lichaam van vertegenwoordigers der plaatselijke vakverenigingen en gedelegeerden van de Arbeiderspartij) door de communisten wordt beheerst, tot grote verlegenheid van de leden der Labour Partij. Overigens zal een hoogeplaatst bestuurder van een vakvereniging, als hij communist is, niet kunnen deelnemen aan het jaarlijkse congres van de Arbeiderspartij.

In hun actie tegen de Labourregering zullen de communisten gebruik maken van het verlangen naar hogere lonen, voorkeursbehandeling inzake de inkomstenbelasting, de rantsoenering, huisvesting enz., waarbij zij ongetwijfeld steun kunnen verwerven. Zij kunnen zich opwerpen als verdedigers van de zaak der arbeiders, wier werk niet als „essentieel” wordt beschouwd en die daarom ander werk kan worden opgedragen. Waar de productieslag in strijd schijnt te zijn met de belangen der arbeiders, kunnen zij de opvatting naar voren brengen dat verhoogde productie in de huidige vorm tegen het belang van het volk is; waar een vakvereniging met sterke communistische elementen, zoals de Nationale Mijnwerkersbond, kan bogen op een verhoogde productie, kunnen zij deze resultaten als prestaties van de communisten ophemelen. In het verleden heeft de Communistische Partij er nauwkeurig voor gewaakt niet mede aansprakelijk te kunnen worden gesteld voor onofficiële stakingen. Als haar huidige taktiek slaagt, gaat zij wellicht dergelijke stakingen, waar deze zijn uitgeroepen tegen het advies van de niet-communistische leiders, steunen. Zo is

het dus mogelijk, dat de communisten van de zwakke plekken in onze huidige economische toestanden in onze arbeidersorganisaties gebruik gaan maken. Maar het gevolg van een dergelijke campagne zal hoogstwaarschijnlijk van meer plaatselijk dan algemeen karakter zijn, tenzij de algemene economische situatie veel slechter gaat worden.

Ik heb vaak door lieden die het kunnen weten horen beweren, dat „Moskou” immer grote verachting heeft gekoesterd voor de Communistische Partijen in „bourgeois” landen. Die van Engeland moet worden beschouwd als de meest verachte van alle. De contacten met Moskou moeten verre van nauw genoemd worden en de politieke voorschriften worden waarschijnlijk in het Kremlin veel minder ernstig opgevat als hier. Het is onwaarschijnlijk dat zelfs een Zilliacus, Labour-parlements lid, als een van de meest welsprekende supporters van Moskou buiten de rijen der Communistische Partij (hij is een bona fide lid van de Labour Partij) even veel indruk maakt op Moskou als Moskou op hem.

De Britse Communistische Partij zou echter de zaak van het socialisme hier een zeer slechte dienst bewijzen door de Arbeiderspartij aan te zetten tot ketterjacht. Een aantal leden der Labour Partij, en onder hen voornamelijk Bevin, voelen daarvoor maar al te veel en plaatselijke partij- en vakbondsafdelingen kunnen gemakkelijk uiteenvallen als de leden geen gezond verstand tonen en zelfbeheersing. Een typisch voorbeeld van ketterjacht is het verbod van lidmaatschap van Engels-Russische comité's voor leden van de Arbeiderspartij. Deze, onder verschillende namen werkende comité's, hebben enige jaren gewerkt met het schijnbare doel de goodwill en de kennis van de Sowjet-Unie te bevorderen. Leden van de Arbeiderspartij namen hieraan tijdens de oorlog, toen de geestdrift voor het Rode Leger zijn hoogtepunt had bereikt, actief deel en achten het terecht dwaas nu hun steun aan deze organisaties te onthouden. Wat dit en wat andere zaken betreft behoedt het gezonde verstand van de plaatselijke arbeidersorganisaties het Transport House voor de gevolgen van zijn vergissingen, door het lidmaatschap van Engels-Russische comité's door de vingers te zien.

Olive Renier-Corthorn.

Londen, Januari 1948.

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BRIEF UIT ENGELAND

HOE STERK ZIJN DE COMMUNISTEN?

Men kan zich zo indenken, dat de leiders der Britse Communistische Partij nogal op hun teentjes getrapt waren toen zij uit de dagbladen moesten vernemen, dat een negental Communistische Partijen uit andere landen wel waren uitgenodigd om aan de heroprichting van de Komintern deel te nemen, doch Engeland niet.

Het was ook niet zo, dat Belgrado er een Balkan-ondersnasje van wilde maken, want tenslotte waren Italië en Frankrijk er ook. Als trouwe aanhangers van de communistische solidariteit, mochten de Engelse communistische leiders hun misnoegen echter niet tonen; dat niet alleen, zij moesten de vorming van het Communistische Informatie Bureau verwelkomen. Zoals de secretaris-generaal van de Engelse Communistische Partij het zo treffend (ofschoon minder juist) gezegd heeft: het doel van de nieuwe organisatie is „die mannen en vrouwen van goede wil te sterken wier enig verlangen is in vrede met elkander te leven en te werken.”

Hier en daar heeft men zich gewaagd aan gissingen voor de juiste reden van de afwezigheid der Engelse Communistische Partij. Ontrouw aan Moskou kan men haar niet verwijten, hoe moeilijk het haar soms ook gevallen is het politieke roer van de „Daily Worker” diverse malen ineens om te gooien.

Wat men haar wel verwijten kan, is gebrek aan succes. Terwijl de Partij in andere landen numeriek in en na de oorlog behoorlijk gegroeid is, bedraagt het ledenaantal van de Britse Communistische Partij nog altijd rond de 50.000. Harry Pollitt heeft wel eens ooit met veel trots kunnen aanduiden, dat de Partij 100 procent vooruitgang had geboekt, doch dat was toen het aantal communistische zetels in het Britse Parlement gestegen was van één tot twee. Wiskundig gesproken goed geconcludeerd, doch ondanks mathematische juistheid toch 'n reksommetje met een humoristische kant. Het aantal leden der Communistische Partijen buiten de Sovjet-Unie wordt op 10 miljoen geschat. Daarbij vallen de 50.000 van Harry Pollitt in het niet.

Tenzij er op ongelooflijke wijze gelogen wordt, boekt de Partij toch nog regelmatig nieuwe leden. Dat het totaal echter ongeveer hetzelfde blijft, ligt hieraan, dat er betrekkelijk weinig nieuwe leden zijn die de Partij trouw blijven. Er zijn veel uitvallers.

Nu is het ledenaantal van welke partij ook in Engeland nog maar een slechte waardebeeping; het aantal leden dat rechtstreeks (dus niet door Vakbondlidmaatschap) bij de „Labour Partij” is aangesloten, is minimaal, en bij de Conservatieve genootschappen is het al niet veel beter. Soms gebeurt het nog wel eens, dat men van een Conservatieve Club lid is, omdat men in het clubgebouw na het sluitingsuur der café's nog terecht kan voor een glaasje bier of whiskey; een conservatieve dorst telt daar méér dan conservatieve beginselen. De belangstelling voor de partijpolitiek is in verband met de huidige rampzaligheden wel iets toegenomen, doch is nog steeds niet te vergelijken met soortgelijke belangstelling in Frankrijk of Nederland.

De Engelse communist van het trouwere slag is geenszins minder offervaardig dan zijn continentale collega's, maar zijn offervaardigheid blijft financieel, terwijl de Partij graag wat meer offers van persoonlijke propaganda zou zien.

Nu mag men tegelijkertijd niet in een ander uiterste vervallen en de macht der Engelse Communisten onderschatten. Hun macht ligt op het gebied van de Vakbonden, en wordt gewoonlijk uitgeoefend door vakbondleiders die zich niet openlijk als communisten voordoen en als zodanig sleutelposities hebben verkregen in de Vakbondbeweging. Zo hebben de Communisten bijvoorbeeld een houvast op de Engelse kolonindustrie door middel van Arthur Horner, de Secretaris-Generaal van de Nationale Mijnwerkersbond. Horner leidt vooral de mijnwerkers van Zuid-Wales, terwijl andere communisten (openlijk of verkappt) de kolendistricten van Yorkshire en Durham beheren.

Nu is het in de kolendistricten verre van rustig. Soms heeft de onrust in het geheel geen politieke achtergrond; niet zelden begint een wilde staking omdat de een of de ander zich verongelijkt gevoeld; soms gaat

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het om hogere lonen, soms om betere arbeidsvoorwaarden. Maar het gebeurt ook, dat de partijpolitiek er zich noodgedwongen mee bemoeien moet. In zulke gevallen moeten de Communisten de stakers steunen om geen leden te verliezen en die politiek is ofwel super-geniaal ofwel super-dom.

Sommigen redeneren zó (en als dat juist is, dan is de politiek geniaal): stakingen verzwakken Engeland nóg meer; voortschrijdende economische achteruitgang zal de „Labour Partij” bij de eerstvolgende verkiezingen duur te staan komen; wanneer de Conservatieven dan opnieuw aan de macht zijn, dan zullen de arbeiders tot bezinning (?) komen en zich bij de Communistische Partij aansluiten. Dan wordt het land rijp voor een revolutie.

Maar er zijn er anderen, die met hun redematies niet zo fantastisch ver gaan, en die zeggen: als de economische achteruitgang van het land mede door toedoen van de Communisten nog langer duurt, dan zal inderdaad de „Labour Partij” verslagen worden. Doch dan zal het Fascisme het hoofd opsteken, en dan zal er van de gunstige arbeidsvoorwaarden en salarissen niet veel overblijven. In dat geval is de huidige politiek der communisten super dom. Want dan ware het beter om maar het hoofd te buigen voor de „Labour Partij” en mede te werken aan een economische heropbouw.

Vijftigduizend is voor Engeland maar een handjevol, doch velen van die vijftigduizend nemen in de vakbondbeweging een voorname plaats in, en aldus kan het goedwillende deel van Engeland daar nog wel 'ns de handen aan vol krijgen.

LOUIS OLAV LEROL

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