





# MINUTENBLAD

DOSSIER No. OD 1257.

NAAM: "CONGRES DES PEUPLES"

1. Aangelegd op verzoek van B-VIII  
ACD-4b, 26/10/48. P2.
2. Congres des Peuples te Puteaux veranderd in "Congres des Peuples" op verzoek van B.IV. 9-11-49.
3. Voor zover van de geagendeerde stukken (in dit OD geborgen) het schutblad aanwezig was dit bijgevoegd. aug. '70

See KAMV FILE

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

CO 111348 ✓

OD 1257

ONAFGEDAAN

*OD 1257*  
*Afscr. Ged in OD*  
*ter bevestig*  
*Dordrecht*

Afd./Sect.: *B II*

Dat.: *[handwritten]*

Par.: *8.10.51*

Interne aanwijzingen A C D.

*Merwouter melco. 108720*

*losse stukken 4055*  
*naar fotozand*

A C D. *4B*

Dat.: *4/12-51*

Par.: *[handwritten]*

**(K)**

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Aantekeningen (Nummeren s.v.p.):

*Losse stukken van C antezingen op verzoek retour aan C*

- 1) Caw 20/6/51 [handwritten]*
- 2) ID. Den Haag fotocopië van verslag van den Caw/5, 27-6-51. 2*
- 3) Caw.*
- 4) B. Caw/2, 27-6-51 [handwritten]*
- 5) ~~B IV~~ B III 977. Richt mijmer voor B IV. 6.7.51*
- 6) B IV 5.7.51 HCO*

*zie ook aanwijzingen op fotocopië per enveloppe gestuurd*

Copie voor CO.111348

MINISTERIE VAN  
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-Gravenhage, 27 Juni 1951  
Javastraat 68

No.: C.111348

Bijl.: één

CAW/I, TA.4.

Betr.: Congress of Peoples  
against Imperialism

UITGEBOEKT

VERTROUWELIJK

Ten verfolge op mijn schrijven van 15 dezer, no.111348,  
moge ik U hierbij aanbieden een fotocopie van het daarbij be-  
doelde verslag.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST  
Namens deze,



Mr K. E. BRESLAU

Aan de Heer  
Hoofdcommissaris van Politie,

S-G R A V E N H A G E.

*Namens opgedragen, stiek met mij mee  
Aggr. 138 1/2*

MINISTERIE VAN  
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-Gravenhage, 15 Juni 1951.  
Javastraat 68

No.: B 111348.

VERTROUWELIJK

Ond.: Congress of Peoples  
against Imperialism.

Bijl.: één.  
II TV.3.

**UITGEBOKT**

*Ad. 12.6. JJ den. 22/85*

Ingevolge Uw verzoek moge ik U hierbij weder het verslag aanbieden van opgemeld congres, dat op 12,13 en 14 Mei 1951 te Parijs is gehouden.

Een fotocopie van dit verslag zal U zo spoedig mogelijk worden toegezonden.

HET HOOFDVAN DE DIENST.  
Namens deze,

De Heer Hoofdcommissaris v.  
Gemeentepolitie te

'S-GRAVENHAGE.

OP KAART
A-D/4B
DAI: 12-51
PAR: 9.

*duiking*

*Spaer*

05.15	09.24
09.24	05.15
15 JUNI 1951	
ACD/111348	

*09.4*  
*07123*

VERTROUWELIJK

Verbinding: No.12

12 Juni 1951.

Doss.22/85

Onderwerp: Congress of Peoples against Imperialism

Bijlagen: twee.

Ten vervolge op dezerzijds bericht Doss.22/83 d.d. 28 Mei 1951 wordt U hierbij toegezonden het verslag van opgemeld Congres, dat op 12, 13 en 14 Mei 1951 is gehouden te Parijs, benevens de conclusies der gemengd Indoneesisch-Nederlandse Delegatie, die als afgevaardigde eerdergenoemd congres heeft bijgewoond.

Ik moge U verzoeken de bijlagen, waarover slechts korte tijd kan worden beschikt, uiterlijk binnen 4 dagen terug te zenden, waarbij ik voor deze dienst tevens gaarne een afschrift der bijlagen zal ontvangen. (einde)

*44*

*Beoordeld by BII -*  
*12-6-51*  
*Y.*

afschrijft in  
ds 3<sup>e</sup> Maakt

CONCLUSIES

DER GEWED. INDONESISCH-NEDERLANDSE  
DELEGATIE,



afgevaardigd naar de conferentie  
te Parijs op 12, 13 en 14 Mei 1951  
gehouden door het

"CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM"

- o -

Reeds uit hergeen Jean Rous blijkt ons Verslag in zijn inle-  
dende toespraak verklaarde ten aanzien van de verhouding van  
het "Congress" tot de "Derde Machts"-idee en de organisaties  
welke deze trachten uit te dragen, volgt dat het "Congress" air  
een vleugel der "Derde Macht" is te beschouwen die zich heeft  
belast met een a f z o n d e r l i j k e, scherp omlijnde taak:  
de strijd voor de bevrijding der koloniaal onderdrukte volkeren  
op ardo.

Wellicht nog sterker spreekt het "Derde Machts"-karakter van het  
"Congress" uit de omstandigheid, dat er krachten werkzaam zijn  
gericht op een bepaalde s t r u c t u r v e r a n d e r i n g  
van het "Congress", waardoor dit van een vleugel der "Derde  
Macht" met een beperkte taak zou overgaan in een zuivere Derde  
Machtsorganisatie in o p t i m a l e f o r m e.

I m m e r s, er zijn voorstellen gedaan, strek  
kendo tot uitbreiding der doelestellingen van  
het "Congress" en wel zó ver dat zijn activi-  
teit tegen o l k imperialisme - niet alleen op  
het koloniale, maar ook op het sociale en eco-  
nomische vlak, - zou moeten worden gericht,  
m e t a l s u i t e i n d e l i j k d o e l  
om de wereld te behoeden voor een d e r d e  
w e r e l d o o r l o g.

Zou deze structuurverandering op den duur worden aanvaard - her-  
geen naar de mening der delegatie allerminst nadellig voor de  
anti-koloniale activiteit zou zijn! - dan zou daarmee dus een  
"DERDE MACHTS ORGANISATIE" op internationale basis zijn gewo-  
erd, welke onmiddellijk een sterke positie in de wereld zou in-  
nemen, en wel

op grond van het aanzien dat het "Congress"  
reeds nu geniet als e r k e n d e niet-gouver-  
nementale instelling verbonden aan de SOCIAL/ L/  
ECONOMISCHE RAAD der VERENIGDE NATIES,

op grond van het v e r t r o u w e n dat het  
"Congress" nu reeds van ongetelde massa's op  
ardo geniet, dank zij zijn principiële vast-  
houdendheid en doelbewuste anti-koloniale  
strijd.

Het komt de delegatie dus niet alleen verantwoord, maar zelfs  
in hoge mate g e w e n s t voor, dat Nederlandse groeperingen  
en organisaties, werkzaam in de geest der "Derde Macht" - zoals  
de stichting "Nederland-Indonesië"; de "Derde Machtsbeweging"  
in oprichting; de "Vrienden van de Vlam"; - zoveel het in hun  
vermogen ligt aan de werkzaamheid van het "Congress" gaar deel-  
nemen.



Daarom heeft de delegatie dringend aan, dat de voorbereiding van de in het Verslag bedoelde Conferentie te Amsterdam van de International Commission van het "Congress" wordt ter hand genomen, en dat de uitnodiging, om zitting te nemen in deze Commissie met twee Indonesiërs en één Nederlander wordt aanvaard.

De delegatie vindt in dezen ander voorts nog aanleiding het volgende op te merken.

Gaaf het karakter van het "Congress", in de kracht waarmee het de international politiek van de landen kan steunen, welke noch door het blok der Volkodemocratieën, noch door het blok van Washington was niet worden gebonden, heeft het dankwoord bij de delegatie post gevat of het dan niet op de weg der volkeren van de wereld behoort te liggen, het "Congress" maximaal steun te geven.

De doelstelling van het "Congress" van vandaag is geen andere ten aanzien van minder gelukkig volkeren op aarde, dan de volkeren van de meest der bovengenoemde landen nog slechts kort geliden voor zichzelf tot hun geluk hebben kunnen verwezenlijken.

Het komt de delegatie voor dat deze volkeren moeten inzien dat hun succes verr van volledig is en zelfs gevaar loopt opnieuw te worden aangranden te niet gedaan, zolang de mensheid in haar geheel er niet in slaagt de koloniale exploitatie overal ter wereld buiten werking te stellen.

Voor al in aanmerking nemend het feit, dat de Labour regering van Engeland - nog wel een koloniale mogendheid - de mig te ver is die het "Congress", met welks onmiddellijk doelstelling zij niet te accoord gaat, tot op zekere hoogte steunt (toegang tot parlement en regering; in overweging nemen van adviezen; medewerking aan Finner Brockway's Afrikaans touwen) is bij de delegatie de vraag gerozen of het de typische "Derde Machts"-land niet mogelijk zou kunnen zijn krachtiger dan tot nu toe het "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism" moriel te ruggestunen en ook materiël bij te springen voorzover dit laatste dienstig kan zijn om het te helpen het a p p a r a a t op te bouwen, onontbeerlijk voor zijn activiteit, en te graken tot de regelmatig uitgave van een Bulletin, dat de gehele wereld vande wereld onschatbaar diensten kan bewijzen.

# V E R S L A G

uitgebracht door de  
gemengd Indonesisch-Nederlandse

d e l e g a t i e

--o--

## INHOUD:

De gemengd Indonesisch-Nederlandse delegatie	biz. 1
<b>ZATERDAG 12 MEI 1951</b>	
De Congressisten	" 1
Karakter van het "Congress"	" 2
Verslag der Handelingen 1949/51	
door Jean Rous	" 4
door Léon Szur	" 6
Ideën tot vernieuwing van de structuur van het "Congress"	" 7
Mening der meerderheid	" 8
" " minderheid	" 9
 <b>ZONDAG 13 MEI 1951</b>	
De Resolutie "Freedom for Africa"	
ingediend bij de Assemblée te Stratsburg	" 12
Critiek uit de conferentie	" 12/14
De "federalisatie van onderen op"	" 13
Het historische voorbeeld van de Zwitserse Bondsstaat	" 13
Am. concreet resolutie-voorstel	" 14
De Engels-Egyptische Sudan	" 14
De Sudan en Egypte	" 16
Marokko en de Istiqlal	" 16
 <b>MAANDAG 14 MEI 1951</b>	
Verkiezingen Intern. Commissie	" 17
Volgende Conf.I.C. te A'DAM	" 17
Resoluties; discussie over Nationale Minderheden	" 18
De I r i a n-resolutie	" 18
Slot der Conferentie	" 19
Openbare Vergadering	" 19
Ervaringen der delegatie buiten de Conferentie-uren	" 19

**L i j s t v a n B I J L A G E N:**

**Bijlage No.1 : Rapport moral et d'orientation**

- " **No.2 : Brief van de voorzitter van het "Congress" aan de Secretaris-Generaal der UNO, m.a.v. de Marokkaanse kwestie**
- " **No.3 : Brochure FREEDOM FOR AFRICA**
- " **No.4 : Note sur la situation politique au Maroc jusqu'au 23 II 1951**
- " **No.5 : Notion adoptée par le "Congrès des Peuples" en sa séance du 14 Mai 1951.**

## VERSLAG

- o -

### DE GEWENDE INDONESISCH-NEDERLANDSE DELEGATIE

Op initiatief van de Stichting "Nederland-Indonesië" en door de financiële medewerking van deze instelling was het mogelijk eer uit twee Indonesiërs en twee Nederlanders, bestaende delegatie naar de bijeenkomst van het "Congress" af te vaardigen. Ten gevolge van de late ontvangst der convocatie, en van het ontbreken van oriënterende stukken bij de Agenda was het deze delegatie niet mogelijk met een bepaald plan de campagne te vertrekken. In hoeverre zij actief tot de discussies zou kunnen bijdragen diende te worden afgewacht.

De waarschijnlijkheid evenwel, dat hiertoe gelegenheid zou ontstaan, de zekerheid voorts waarmee de kans kon worden tegemoet gezien op het aanknopen van relaties met personen en organisaties, welke door internationale samenwerking een uitweg trachten te vinden uit de impasse waarin de wereld is verzeild geraakt, de versterking welke zulk internationaal contact voor ieder streven in deze richting moet betekenen, dit alles vormde de rechtvaardiging voor de uitzending der delegatie.

Deze had voorts opdracht, voor aanvang van het congres contact op te nemen met de Indonesische Ambassade te Parijs, ten einde zo nodig en zo mogelijk ook bij ter plaatse vertoevende Indonesiërs actief interesse voor de bijeenkomst te wekken.

De delegatie bestond uit de heren:  
ENOCH Indonesië  
F.W. MICHELS, voorzitter Nederland  
G. van het REVE "  
SOERJADI Indonesië

ZATERDAG, 12 Mei 1951

Na haar aankomst te Parijs begaf de delegatie zich naar de Indonesische Ambassade, waar bleek dat men niet op de hoogte was van de ophanden zijnde bijeenkomst van het "Congress". Mede ten gevolge van de omstandigheid, dat de in Parijs doorgebrachte tijd der delegatie volledig door het congres in beslag genomen werd, is er van verder contact helaas niets meer gekomen.

#### De Congressisten.

De bijeenkomst bleek te zijn belegd in een groot, maar uiterst sober lokaal van de "Société Savantes", aan de Rue Serpente.

Toen Jean ROUS ten ca. 10.30 de vergadering opende waren rond 25 congressisten aanwezig. Hieronder bevonden zich Aziaten, Afrikanen, Amerikanen en Europeanen.

AZIË - India Dr. Sambou Gopalje, voorzitter van  
het Comité FRANKRIJK-INDIA  
Ceylon Een afgevaardigde  
Indonesië Surjadi  
Enoch )  
Asakri) waarnemers

- o -

- AFRIKA - Marokko** - Fl Kouon, en andere afgevaardigden van de Istiqlal;
- Algiers** - Een leider, en andere afgevaardigden van de "Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques en Algérie"
- Tunis** - Mohamed Mazmudi en andere afgevaardigden van de Neo-Destour
- Sudan** - Yacoub Aman, bestuurslid van het "Congress" en vertegenwoordiger van de U.M.N.A.
- Madagascar** - Een afgevaardigde
- Kenya** - Een afgevaardigde
- Zuid Afrika** - Léon Ezur, bestuurslid van het "Congress", vertegenwoordiger van de South African Socialist Party. Ezur vertegenwoordigde tevens de met het "Congress" geaffiliseerde onafhankelijkheidsbewegingen in de van Engeland afhankelijke gebieden in West Afrika.

-o-

- AMERIKA - USA** - Judd, van de Independent Socialist League  
Mary Lloyd, vice voorzitter van de "Campaign for World Government" lid van de "World Council for the Peoples World Convention"  
A.F.Lloyd  
Een vertegenwoordiger van de "International Union of Socialists"

-o-

- EUROPA - Frankrijk** - Jean Rous, Secr.Gen. van het "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism"  
Een vertegenwoordiger van de "Conseil Mondial pour l'Assemblée Constituante des Peuples"
- Nederland** - F.W.Michels )  
G.van het Reve ) mede voor het weekblad en de socialistische greepering "De Vlam"
- Spanje** - Alb.de la Court, waarnemer voor de "Derde Machts Beweging" i.o.  
Pedro Bonet, voor de POUM

--o--

#### Karakter der bijeenkomst

Vergeleken bij de laatste bijeenkomst van het "Congress" gehouden te Londen in 1949, was de opkomst wel zeer matig te noemen. In zijn openingswoord wijde Jean Rous allereerst aandacht aan de oorzaken hiervan.

Het "Congress" beschikt niet over middelen. Naar later door Yacoub Aman nog werd medegedeeld zit het Londense Bureau zelfs nog met een restant van het grote tekort, dat de vorige grote bijeenkomst heeft opgeleverd. De financieel moeilijke toestand is niet alleen

*deelnemer  
of kaart  
of in PD verzamelen  
BIN*

oorzaak, dat het "Congress" nog steeds niet over een eigen bureau dat een bewaarschap beschikt en niet over een eigen periodiek, die toestand noopt uiteraard tevens tot het betrach- ten van de uiterste zuinigheid bij de voorbereiding en orga- nisatie van conferenties als de onderhevige.

Er was echter een tweede oorzaak, interessanter dan de voor- gaarde, door het sliken der belangstelling. Deze houdt ver- band met de sedert de voorgaande bijeenkomst scherp gestegen spanningen in de internationale politiek. De gang van zaken in Viet Nam, vooral ook de gebeurtenissen in Korea, hadden het voor verschillende personen en organisaties onmogelijk gemaakt zich langer met het "Congress" te laten vereenzelvigen, sinds dit besloten had te persisteren bij zijn af- wijzende houding tegenover de i d o blokken waarin de wereld bezig is zich te verdelen.

De vroegere relaties met trotskistische groeperingen en alle andere "linkse" daarvan waren dientengevolge verbroken.

Voorts waren diverse particuliere omstandigheden oorzaak ge- weest, dat een aantal representatieve figuren verstek had moe- ten laten gaan. Hiertoe behoorde helaas de president van het "Congress", het Engelse Lagerhuislid der Labour-oppositie Fenner Brockway. Reeds enige weken geleden, aan het eind van een tournee door Afrika, was hij te Tunis ziek geworden. Daar- door had hij ook het recente congres der wereldfederalisten te Rome niet kunnen bijwonen. Hoer te herstellen, was hij nu nog steeds bedlegerig. Jean Rous kon een telegram van welkom en goede wensen aan de conferentie voorlezen, en deze besloot hem telegrafisch te antwoorden en een spoedig herstel toe te wensen. Verschillende andere kopstukken vertoefden zo ver van Europa, dat het hen volstrekt onmogelijk was acte de présence te geven.

Wel bleek een niet onaanzienlijke stroom van brieven en tele- grammen uit alle delen van de wereld te zijn binnengekomen als getuigenis van warm medeleven met het streven van het "Congress". Hieronder bevonden zich o.m. enkele stukken uit Duitsland.

Dit alles vermocht het wel zeer bescheiden ka- rakter dezer bijeenkomst uiteraard niet te ver- hullen. Vooruitlopend op de bijzonderheden om- trent het besprokene en beslotene zij hier evenwel geconstateerd, dat bepaalde aspecten der conferentie deze indruk van armoedigheid goddelijk voor onze delegatie hebben gecompen- seerd.

In de eerste plaats moet niet uit het oog worden verloren dat de congressisten tezamen m i l l i o e n a n mensen vertegen- woordigden, - dat menig'enkeling hier inderdaad voor milioe- nen sprak.

Er is geen twijfel aan dat onafhankelijkheidsbewegingen als de Marokkaanse Istiqlal, de Algerijase Triomphe, de Tunisische Neo-Destour wortelen in de overgrote meerderheid der volkeren, voor wier bevrijding zij op de bras staan. Hetzelfde kan worden gezegd van de Farmers Unions in Kenya en Uganda, van de onafhank- elijkheidsbeweging aan de Goudkust, alle ter conferentie be- kwam vertegenwoordigd. Voorts mag de figuur van Dr. Sambou Gopaljee, stellig voorzover hij hier tegenwoordig was als voor- vechter van het standpunt dat de buitenlandse factorijen op de kusten van India met dit land behoren te worden herenigd, wor- den beschouwd als de belichaming van zijn gehele volk, terwijl

de Indonésiers wat hun opvattingen ten aanzien van I r i e n betreft hun stem uit naar van weer andere "miljoenenmassa's" verheven.

Het spreekt vanzelf dat vrijwel het t o g e n d e e l goconstateerd moet worden met betrekking tot de onderdanen, ter conferentie aanwezig, van Westerse koloniale en imperialistische mogendheden als Frankrijk, Engeland, Amerika, ook het in wezen nog "koloniaal" denkende Nederland. Zij zijn, en weten zich, ieder slechts een stukje voorhoede van in aantal zwakke, maar in overtuiging sterke, groepen, die ieder in hun land begrip voor de realiteit bezit en haar eisen trachten te wekken. Zo is het met Fearor Brockway, met Jean Rous, de Amerikanen Judd en de Lloyds, met de Nederlanders. Hierin schuilt het probleem dat in de middag van de eerste conferentiedag onder het hoofd: "De structuur van het Congress" tot diepgaande discussies aanleiding gaf.

Ten teken echter van de innerlijke zekerheid, welke deze kleine groepen bezielt en op den duur een kracht moet winnen, zij hier verwezen naar de formulering welke Jean Rous aan het einde van zijn Verslag der Handelingen ter aanduiding van het karakter dier groepen heeft gebezigd, en die in de grote Resolutie van deze conferentie werd overgenomen:

"De r e p i s t o n, - dat zijn degenen die zich met geweld of met de onderdanigheid van de zwakke blijven vastklampen aan overleefde privileges.  
De r e a l i s t e n zijn zij, die bouwen aan de nabije toekomst van een vrij Afrika, dat met zeventiendeelaren naderbij komt...."

De conferentie vertoonde echter nog een tweede trek, in staat om over de op het oog geringe betekenis ervan een gunstiger licht te doen vallen.

Wanneer wij daarvoor de omschrijving "waardige ernst" bezigen, dan wordt gedepeld op de levendige, geen moment verflauwende bolangstelling waarmee door vrijwel iedereen de discussies werden gevolgd en/of gevoerd. De enkele punten, waarover ernstig verschil van mening bestond, werden op terdege overwogen gronden bediscussieerd. De pleidooien werden meermalen met vuur gevoerd, maar geen enkel ogenblik op een toon die in gekrakeel dreigde te onttaarden. Voortdurend was de critiek waakzaam, maar steeds in opbouwende zin. Holle louzen werden niet gehanteerd, wat te berde werd gebracht berustte op argumenten.

Het "Congress" stond aldus in het teken van -, was een lesje in "democratie".

Het is wel mede daaraan toe te schrijven dat de bijeenkomsten zich kenmerkten door een hartelijke, kameradschappelijke sfeer, en ondanks het betrekkelijk geringe aantal deelnemers een onuitwisbare indruk van kracht achterlieten.

Naar de mening der delegatie is er voor scepticisme in dit opzicht geen plaats, indien men van de n c o d z a a k der activiteit van het "Congress" inderdaad o v e r t u i g d i s.

Verslag der Handelingen 1949/51, uitgebracht door Jean Rous

Zijn verslag over hetgeen het Parijse Bureau van het "Congress" in de laatste twee jaren heeft verricht bracht Jean Rous uit aan de hand van het "RAPPORT MORAL ET D'ORIENTATION" (bijlage No. 1) In de loop van zijn toespraak merkte hij t.a.v. de concrete verrichtingen van het "Congress" nog het volgende op:

Het "Congress" heeft, wat dat voor het effect van zijn activiteiten loek, contact opgenomen en onderhouden met tal van internationale organisaties, welke op verwante gebieden van maatschappelijk leven in de geest van het "Congress" werkzaam zijn. Deze bewegingen samenvattend onder de karakteristiek van "Derde Macht", verklaarde hij dat het "Congress" vol sympathie haar pogingen gadesloet, bereid is eraan mee te doen, maar zich er op grond van haar eigen doelstellingen niet mee kan vereenzelvigen: het "Congress" is iets anders dan wat de Derde Machtsbeweging in haar volle omvang zou moeten zijn.

Beleverende dat het "Congress" op het congres voor Wereldfederalisme te Rome in April j.l. vertegenwoordigd is geweest, wees hij op de paradox, welke daarin schuilt. Terwijl Rome immers in feite een waarschuwing betekende met betrekking tot de onhoudbaarheid der idee van nationale zelfstandigheid, heeft het "Congress" juist tot taak, voor nationale zelfstandigheid te strijden! In principe de federalistische opvattingen delend, en de onontkoembare interdependentie van alle landen der wereld als realiteit erkennend sprak Jean Rous evenwel voor het "Congress" de mening uit dat nimmer allereerst toch voor de nationale bevrijding van thans nog onderdrukte volkeren moet worden geijverd, aangezien de nationale vrijheid het voorportaal is dat de mensheid moet passeren alvorens het wereldfederalisme te kunnen komen.

Behalve met particuliere organisaties en met de pers, waarmee elke 3 maanden een conferentie werd belegd, heeft het "Congress" waar mogelijk ook bij officiële instanties toegang gezocht, introducties verzorgd voor anderen en zijn steun doen horen. Hieronder bevonden zich de UNO (zie het document inzake MAROKKO, bijlage No.2), welk Instituut bepaalde rapporten van het "Congress" met betrekking tot het economisch aspect van de koloniale overheersing heeft geaccepteerd, en voorts de regeringen van o.a. India, Pakistan, de U.S.A., benevens regering en Parlement van Groot-Brittannië.

In dit verband wees de spreker op het grote verschil in bejegening dat het "Congress" te Londen en te Parijs ondervindt. Hoewel de Labour Party en de Labour regering de onmiddellijke doelstellingen van het "Congress" geenszins onderschrijven, is het te Londen toch mogelijk regelmatig contact met officiële instanties te onderhouden en ten behoeve van gekoloniseerde volken besprekingen te voeren. Men toont zich daar althans bereid het doen en laten van het "Congress" op zijn merites te toetsen, en zelfs met zijn adviezen rekening te houden. Het "Congress" heeft er kennelijk gezien verschillende progressieve leden van het Parlement tot het indienen van moties in het belang van zijn anti-imperialistisch streven te inspireren. Fenner Brockway's reis door Africa ter bestudering van de maatschappelijke en politieke toestanden in de van Engeland afhankelijke gebieden kon zelfs met medewerking van de Labour regering worden ondernomen.

Gheel anders is de situatie te Parijs, waar niet alleen de regering, maar tevens het Parlement en bloe vijandig tegenover het "Congress" staat. Volgens Jean Rous bestond er niet de minste twijfel, dat de brochure MacKay: AFRICAN FREEDOM, als resolutie aangevend bij de Asssemblée te Straatsburg, door de Franse volksvertegenwoordiging eenstemmig zou zijn veroordeeld en door de overheid verboden. Het geval van een verbod voor het "Congress" zelf achtte spreker in zijn land zelfs al-lerminst denkbeeldig.



Wat Duitsland betreft kan het "Congress" rekenen op de sympathie van Schuman en zijn socialisten, terwijl ook de Italiaanse socialisten van Silone zijn activiteit wensen te steunen.

Samenvattend noemde de voorzitter de resultaten der laatste jaren niet slecht, vooral indien men de aanmerking neemt dat het "Congress" bij zijn activiteit de beschikking over een behoorlijk apparaat heeft moeten ontbreken. Hier treedt zijn zwakte aan de dag, die veroorzaakt wordt door het gebrek aan financiële middelen. Het is dan ook noodzakelijk in de komende tijd allereerst te zoeken naar wegen die kunnen leiden naar financiële versterking der beweging, zodat de organisatie en de uitrusting van een doeltreffend apparaat, alsmede de stichting van een regelmatig uit te geven bulletin kunnen worden ter hand genomen.

#### Aanvulling van het Verslag der Handelingen door L.Szur

Kromens het Londense Bureau van het "Congress" werd vervolgens verslag uitgebracht door Léon Szur. Dit bureau had zich uiteraard meer in het bijzonder bezig gehouden met de gebieden onder Britse invloed, in nauwe samenwerking met de organisaties der autochtone bevolking, welke ijveren voor hun bevrijding.

Behalve vele plaatselijke zijn er in Afrika een aanzienlijk aantal grote organisaties, zoals:

- de vrijheidsbeweging van Kamerun;
- de U.M.M.A. in de Sudan;
- de Kenya Farmers Organisation;
- de Uganda " " ;
- de Indian Labour Party;
- de Independent Labour Party;
- de Bolchevic Party (Trotzkistisch, en dus niet langer samenwerkend met het "Congress").

Zijn voorbereidende activiteit heeft het Londense Bureau hoofdzakelijk ontwikkeld door het organiseren van meetings binnen de kring der Afrikaanse onafhankelijkheidsbewegingen en vakorganisaties zelf.

Als concrete voorbeelden van resultaten die konden worden bereikt verwees Szur naar het bezoek der WEST-INDISCHE SUIKERDELEGATIE aan Engeland. Om haar aanwezigheid in het belang der inheemse bevolking voor de Britse regering te helpen verdedigen heeft het "Congress" openbare vergaderingen georganiseerd en interviews met officiële persoonlijkheden tot stand gebracht.

De geuragslijn der Labour regering ten aanzien van de bevordering van zelfbestuur voor de koloniën draagt tot op zekere hoogte het stempel van het "Congress". Gelijk algemeen bekend, was de afdeling Uganda van de Farmers Union door het Gouvernement der kolonie verboden en haar president, Masazi (lid van het "Congress") in de gevangenis opgesloten. Deze maatregelen werden ongedaan gemaakt in de loop van het bezoek, dat de Staatssecretaris van het Colonial Office onlangs aan het gebied heeft gebracht, en het is veelbetekenend dat de redactie van het dagblad "The Times" naar aanleiding hiervan opmerkte: "Ware de Staatssecretaris niet aldus opgetreden, dan zou hij last gekregen hebben met zijn vrienden thuis." En deze vrienden, aldus Szur, zitten in ons "Congress".

Ook de ontwikkeling van de Goudkust, waar dit jaar de eerste step in de richting naar volledig zelfbestuur is gezet, is mede een uitlooiel van de stuwkracht van het "Congress". De huidige Minister-president aldaar, tot aan zijn verkiezing door het volk verreege het Gouvernement in verzekerde bewaring gehouden, is een der meest gerespecteerde leden van het "Congress" en aravoerder van de nationale vrijheidsbeweging in zijn land.

Overigens volgt het "Congress" de politiek der Britse regering in deze materie met wakkere reserve, aangezien zij tot nu toe nog generlei garantie vertoont dat zij bedoeld is uit te monden in een even realistische en verstandige houding, als ten slotte aangenomen tegenover India, Pakistan en Burma.

Het "Congress" laet de betrokken organisaties der autochthone bevolkingen eenter vrij in het bepalen van hun standpunten in dit opzicht, en in het kiezen van de sets van samenwerking die zij menen het streven der Britse regering te kunnen geven.

Het "Congress" heeft twee memoranda opgesteld en uitgegeven, één van de hand van Fanner Brockway (gestoend door Leslie Hale e.a. in het Parlement), het andere door Szur. De erin behandelde punten zijn:

- 1) De verderfelijke macht der Britse Gouverneurs in Afrika om zonder ruggespraak ingezetenen naar andere deker van het Britse Imperium te kunnen verhanden,
- 2) De Afrikaanse landhonger. In dit verband wees Szur op het goede resultaat waarmee de zaak der Coudkust-boeren is verdedigd, wier cacaobomen op het punt hebben gestaan door de Britse regering te worden uitgerooid.

Afsluitend wees Szur nog op de lacuno, waar de activiteit van het "Congress" nog steeds op stuit doordat met uitgestrekte Afrikaanse gebieden geen enkel contact verkregen is. Hiertoe behoort in de eerste plaats de Belgische Congo, waar, met de Jezuïeten aan het hoofd, nog het meest absolute paternalisme heerst. Van een onafhankelijkheidsbeweging is daar geen sprake. In Belgische socialistische kringen is Debrouckère, die bogrip heeft voor de eisen van de toekomst, een eenzame figuur.

Mogelijk nog somberder beeld leveren de Portugese en Spaanse kolonien en regeringen op.

#### Ideën tot vernieuwing der structuur van het "Congress"

Ter inleiding van de besprekingen over dit onderwerp werden door Léon Szur enkele denkbeelden aan de conferentie voorgelegd, welke Fanner Brockway voor een goed deel had willen verdedigen, indien hij aanwezig had kunnen zijn. Spreker begon met de waarschuwing dat hij er niet a priori voor moest worden eengezien, dat hij het niet de door hem te opperen ideën op alle punten eens was. Als uitgangspunt lag aan het betoog ten grondslag de betrekkelijke zwakte van het "Congress". Wilde hierin verbetering worden gebracht, dan diende allereerst de o o r z a a k ervan te worden opgespoord en zo mogelijk geëlimineerd.

Gezonstateerd moet worden dat het "Congress" aan de eene zijde krachtig wordt gesteund door de wil en de bereidheid om actie op te treden van talrijke miljoenen mensen, die verdrukt worden door een systeem van koloniale uitbuiting.

Maar echter, waar de uitvoerders van dit systeem, de regeringen en parlementsleden der grote koloniale mogendheden hun zetels hebben, in West Europa, beschikt het "Congress" slechts over een minimale basis. Wanneer we ervan uitgaan dat op deze uitvoerders druk moet worden uitgeoefend om hen met hun beleid ten aanzien van de koloniale volstrekt nieuwe wegen te doen inslaan, dan moet deze druk haar kracht ontvangen uit de grote massa der bevolking. Men zou willen veronderstellen, dat deze voorwaarde reeds vervuld moet zijn voorzover het de socialistische massa's van het Westerse proletariaat betreft. Niets is echter minder waar. Afgezien van de communisten met hun leuzen, betonen deze massa's zich over het algemeen vrijwel onverschillig tegenover het koloniale probleem.

Dit betekent, dat zij belang van een beslissende anti-koloniale activiteit niet inzien, dat de samenhang ervan met hun eigen strijd op sociaal terrein hen niet voldoende voor ogen staat, noch de samenhang ervan met de vormen van economisch imperialisme welke als broedje en zusje met het koloniale uitbuitingssysteem hand in hand gaan, en klaar staan om het om te volgen.

Evenmin beseffen zij, dat hier de wortel ligt van de oorlogsgevaaren welke ons allen bedreigen.

Het is dus zwaar deze massa's tot bewustzijn te brengen ten aanzien van de werkelijke betekenis van het totale imperialisme. De socialistische massa's in het Westen moeten uit hun staat van verblinding worden verlost. Deze gesteldheid, zo zij blijft voortbestaan, kan n.l. noodlottige gevolgen hebben voor de anti-koloniale strijd die als voornaamste doelstelling in het programma van het "Congress" zich bezint op de noodzaak, zijn doelstellingen uit te breiden. Intenmin onder inbegrip van de nationale bevrijding der koloniën zou deze moeten omvatten de schepping van een vrije wereld, d.w.z. een wereld, waarin de mensheid in redelijk overleg van individuen en groeperingen de kans heeft naar rechtvaardiger verdeling der welvaart en een menswaardig leven voor allen te streven.

In aansluiting hierop bevatte het gevoerde betoog zelfs de suggestie om de naam van het "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism" te veranderen. Voor de nieuwe doelstellingen zou de aanduiding "Against Imperialism" een te negatieve klank kunnen hebben. Om deze reden zou de naam wellicht beter kunnen luiden "CONGRESS OF PEOPLES" tout court.

#### Mening der meerderheid

De grote meerderheid der vergadering keerde zich tegen deze gedachten. De op dit punt gevoerde discussies namen de gehele middag in beslag, en ook daerme werd er nog herhaaldelijk op terug gegrepen.

Als één man bleken de Afrikaanse gedelegeerden van oordeel dat de bevrijding der koloniale gebieden op aarde DE argelegenheid is, waarop het "Congress" ALLE beschikbare krachten moet BLIJVEN concentreren.

Zij vonden hierbij de Amerikanen Judd aan hun zijde, die van oordeel bleek dat het "Congress" met zulk een nieuw, uitgebreid programma van actie niets anders dan verwarring kan stichten, en dat de anti-imperialistische strijd "step for step" moet worden gevoerd.

Met vuur werd door een aantal afgevaardigden betoogd, dat het zeker nuttig zou zijn als het "Congress" met alleen zijn anti-kolonialistische als programma punt aan de parlementsverkiezingen ging deelnemen. Vooral in Frankrijk.

Gewezen werd op de tragische situatie, waarin vele Afrikanen, en hun Franse vrienden die hen ter zijde willen staan, verkeren. Slechts één partij voert bij verkiezingen de opheffing der koloniale overheersing in haar program: de communistische. De Afrikanen zelf, voorzover zij een stem hebben, en alle hen volgezinde stemgerechtigde startsburgers staan dus voor de keuze of communistisch te stemmen, of zichzelf, resp. de Afrikaanse vrisaen, tot een ondragelijk jak te veroordelen.

Zelfs al zou het "Congress" geen enkele zetel winnen; zo werd betoogd, dan zou het deelnemen aan de verkiezingscampagne alleen al een onschatbare propagandistische waarde vertegenwoordigen, en bovendien zou zulk een actie velen uit een benauwend dilemma verlossen.

Voorzitter Joan Rous, en met hem ook wel enkele afgevaardigden, wenste deze argumenten niet te bestrijden maar wel te wijzen op de praktische onuitvoerbaarheid van een dergelijke onderneming. Hij sprak uit ervaring, want hij heeft zich reeds eenmaal in zijn leven geheel alleen, persoonlijk partij gesteld in een verkiezingsstrijd. Zonder een behoorlijk apparaat, zonder financiën is van een dergelijk pogen geen enkel, ook geen propagandistisch resultaat te verwachten.

Andere sprekers, met name de vertegenwoordigers van de Sudan en van Kenya, wazen de nieuwe ideeën af op grond van de mening dat de anti-koloniale activiteit zou inboeten aan kracht. De mensen in Afrika, om wier bestwil het ging, schetsten zij als voor het allergrootste deel nog te onontwikkeld om ook maar iets te kunnen begrijpen van een anti-imperialistische strijd in zijn volle omvang. Zij zouden onvermijdelijk in verwarring geraakt, te vreesden zelfs dat de energie van hun leiders door versnippering teloor zou gaan.

#### Mening der minderheid

Het was duidelijk dat slechts een zeer kleine minderheid bereid was met de geopperde structuurverandering in te stemmen. Met het doel, het standpunt dezer minderheid te verduidelijken, heeft de voorzitter van onze delegatie het volgende tot het "Congress" gezegd:

"Aware of the fact that I am going to speak for a small minority I would like to say a few words on the subject that has been so thoroughly discussed.

There is, in this conference, a strong opposition against the new ideas on the structure of this "Congress" which have been offered to us.

Roughly speaking these ideas aim at two main points. One of them is that the anti-imperialist purposes of the "Congress" could be extended. The other is a consequence of the first, namely that the name of this "Congress of peoples against Imperialism" should be altered or rather: shortened. It has been proposed to drop the words "against Imperialism". The motive being that the present full name has rarely a n e g a t i v e quality.

As regards the criticism heard in this conference against this point: we share it fully.

As regards the extension of purpose and anti-imperialist activities of "Congress" I must say that also in this respect we understand the criticism of our African friends against it. I for myself have been deeply impressed by what I have heard them say and discuss on this subject. Nevertheless we cannot reject this point like we do the other of altering the name of the "Congress". I will try to explain to you why.

Roughly speaking I think that I can say that the main objection is, that by linking the anti-imperialist activities of our colonized friends to the also anti-imperialist activities in the social and economic fields of the proletariat in the dominating Western countries, the number one purpose of "Congress" would lose a lot of the strength, required for achieving it.

This number one purpose being from the beginning the only purpose: the liberation of all people, nowadays suppressed in colonies all over the world.

It has been said that the mass of the people in colonized countries, being illiterate and having been kept backward generally would understand nothing of the necessity of a world-wide struggle against social and economic imperialism, which they would be expected to see as just as important as their own anti-colonial struggle for national independence - for national freedom.

This, we think, is quite true. But however true, we do not think that it is a sound argument against the proposed new ideas.

For this reason:

It has also been said that in stead of taking a new course everything should remain as it was, but that the force of "Congress" should be strengthened, that "Congress" should be made stronger, should be given a stronger base. Now this is precisely the point that has led to the inception of the proposed ideas. The question has been put before us: what is the cause of the failure in strengthening "Congress"?

This cause indeed is, that the masses in the non-colonized countries do not feel the immediate necessity of anti-colonial action.

I draw your attention to the fact that this "literate" masses seem to be no wiser in this respect than their "illiterate" brothers in the colonies who would not be able to see the necessity of the revolutionary struggle in the West!

I assume that we, all of us, agree to accept as a basic fact that the total anti-imperialist struggle is one and indivisible. It is because of this that my friends here and I welcome the proposal, where it wants to deal with the causes.

And we think that this can and must be done by making the masses in the Western world realize that their fight against capitalism for freedom is but a part of the total anti-imperialist struggle.

That there are other parts, such as the anti-imperialist fight against extreme capitalism for the freedom of their fellows in the colonized extreme proletariat.

Moreover, they must make it clear that the fact that the fight against imperialism never can be won, as long as their victory is not preceded by, or does not mean at the same time, the liberation of the colonial peoples. And last not least the masses in the West must be made to realize that yet another important part of the total anti-imperialist struggle consists of a drive towards world revolution, in order to put an end to international capitalist wars.

Now, this does NOT mean that the colonized peoples of today, illiterate, being kept backward as they are, must consider all these facts.

Paradoxically these "backward" peoples are ahead of their further advanced comrades in the West.

They need not even bother about it!

Our Indonesian friends can and will tell you from their experience that their national battle for freedom resulted in a battle for social and economic freedom, not against their governments even if these are so-called "right-wing"-governments.

NOT the peoples, such as they are represented by our African friends here, but the masses in the WEST must be taught to see it.

And where these struggles in different fields are so closely linked together, where they are all aspects of one and the same thing, that cannot be abolished in part, but must needs be shaken off as a whole, it seems to be the duty of this "Congress" to extend its activities towards the total anti-imperialist field.

As long as "Korea's" are possible, the struggle of our colonized peoples appears to us to be earnestly endangered. It is the Western masses that must help to make such "Korea's" impossible.

It has been said by one of our African friends here: "Why should we divert our energies instead of concentrating them on the one point that is most important to us".

To this understandable remark I would answer that we must not divert, but double our energies. If we want to reach the purpose, which we socialists stand for: the liberation of mankind from any imperialism.

Our comrades from the colonized territories can and must go on to direct their energies fully towards the purpose of national liberation.....

we, socialists of the Western world, have to help them by awakening the minds of the Western masses.

These activities must naturally converge in our "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism", and they are, together the task which it has to fulfill."

De eldus naar voren gebrachte zienswijze bleek volkomen te worden gedeeld door Dr. Samboc Gopaljee. Ook enkele Afrikanen met name Yacoub Osman, gaven te kennen haar interessant te vinden, maar zij lieten zich er niet door van hun stuk brengen. Hetgeen ook niet onmiddellijk kon worden verwacht.

ZONDAG, 13 MEI 1951

Het Probleem Afrika

Reeds eerder had Jean Fouss in een van zijn toespraken doen uitkomen, dat het "Congress", nu het de bevrijding van koloniale overheersing in A Z I E voor het grootste deel als voltooid meent te mogen beschouwen, voor de toekomst het leeuwenandool van zijn aandacht en activiteit wenst te besteden aan het werelddeel, dat met zijn bewoners nog bijna in zijn geheel door enkele koloniale mogendheden als "bezit" wordt beschouwd: A F R I K A.

Als grondslag voor de discussies op dit punt werd door Léon Szur het "Plan for African Freedom" ter tafel gebracht, dat door het Engelse Labourlid R. G. MacKayia de vorm van een resolutie is ingediend bij de Assemblée te Stratsburg, op 27 Juni 1950. Het stuk werd door hem opgesteld in nauwe samenwerking met Fenner Brockway, Sidney Silverman, Yacoub Osman, Léon Szur en I. O. Dafe (Nigeria) en door het "Congress" als brochure gepubliceerd (Bijlage No.3).

Aan de hand van de tekst wies de spreker op de kenmerken welke dit geschrift draagt van een waarlijk anti-kolonialistisch en in het algemeen anti-imperialistisch stuk. Hij vond de vergadering eenstemmig aan zijn zijde door als zijn mening uit te spreken dat de p r i n c i p e s, waarop het berust, en de erin bepichte p o l i t i e k in vrijwel volledige overeenstemming zijn met de wensen welke de autochtone bevolkingen in Afrika tot hun onafhankelijkheidsstrijd inspireren.

Met name de op blz.6 puntsgewijs gegeven samenvatting der aangebevolen doelstellingen droeg de goedkeuring der conferentie weg:

- 1) afschaffing van alle wetgeving, welke de mensen op grond van hun ras of huidskleur bevoelt te verdrukken;
- 2) het toestaan van de rechten van vrijheid van vergadering, van het woord en van de pers in alle gebieden;
- 3) bijeenroepen van constituerende vergaderingen;
- 4) verzekering van het recht om regionale federaties te vormen onafhankelijk van de huidige grenzen;
- 5) verzekering van het recht om een AFRICAANSE UNIE te vormen;
- 6) voorbereiding van de terugtrekking van alle vreemde troepen van Afrikaanse bodem.

De conferentie ging er mee accoord dat in de uit te geven "Congress"-resolutie volledige instemming met de algemene strekking van dit stuk zou worden uitgesproken, omdat het inderdaad de basis kan vormen voor een gunstiger ontwikkeling in de toekomst dan tot op heden.

Critiek van de conferentie

De vergadering was voorts echter eensgezind van mening dat met name de gedachten over regionale federaties en daarboven uit nog een AFRICAANSE UNIE nergens anders zouden kunnen worden uitgewerkt dan v e r v a n Stratsburg, t.w. in Afrika zelf. Zij liet er geen twijfel aan bestaan dit als een aan gelegenheid te beschouwen wa-er-ov-er slechts door de autochtone bevolking in het

thans nog koloniale werelddeel nog worden beslist. V.a.w., dit zal niet kunnen gebeurden voor en alsof deze bevolking in eigen, onafhankelijke naties de nodige vrijheid van overleg en handelen zal hebben verkregen.

#### De weg der federalisering "van onderen op"

Naar aanleiding van deze discussies vroeg de Franse vertegenwoordiger van het "Conseil Mondial pour l'Assemblée Constituante des Peuples" het woord.

Hij koos op de tragiek welke ligt besloten in de omstandigheid, dat de hoogste aspiraties van vele tot dusver onderdrukte volkeren in vervulling zijn gegaan of hun verwezenlijking tegemoet schijden in een tijdsgezicht welke het aan die aspiraties verbonden ideaal alweer een trede hoger heeft gezet.

De nationale bevrijding immers vond voor enkele volkeren plaats en zal voor andere volkeren plaats vinden, op een ogenblik dat de mensheid de onderlinge afhankelijkheid van de naties als een realiteit moet erkennen.

De spreker vroeg zich daarom af of het niet aan te bevelen zou zijn allereerst te streven naar een federatieve vereniging van de wereld, maar dit niet langer langs de platgetreden paden van officiële diplomatie en gangbare politiek, maar als het ware daarbuiten om. De beweging, die hij voorstaat, propageert het bijeenroepen van een Constituerende Vergadering voor de gehele wereld langs particuliere wegen. Zij stelt zich voor dat het mogelijk is hiervoor de steun te verwerven van een zo groot deel der mensheid, dat de regeringen uit de weg zullen moeten gaan voor de macht, die daardoor wordt belichaamd.

Deze Constituerende Vergadering zou de vrijheid der thans onderdrukte volkeren uitroepen en doen aanvanden, waarmee tegelijk de voorwaarde zou zijn vervuld dat ook deze volkeren zelfstandig hun goedkeuring mochten nechten aan de opbouw van een federatieve wereldorganisatie onder het gezag van een wereldregering.

Tegen deze gedachtengang bleken in grote lijnen dezelfde bedenkingen te bestaan aan de zijde van onze Afrikaanse vrienden als te berde gebracht tegen de verruiming der doelstellingen van het "Congress".

"Bovendien", aldus de afgevaardigde van Kenya, "waar praat U over? Hoe zouden wij, die actief nog passief kiesrecht kennen, gekozen kunnen worden en een woordje meespreken over datgene wat U wilt..

Het was een der mooiste momenten van de conferentie toen Mary Licyd zich tot hem richtte om het zo begrijpelijke misverstand aan zijn kant weg te nemen. Zij legde hem uit, dat het juist de bedoeling was ook de thans rechtloze volkeren, ook het volk van Kenya dus, onmiddellijk mee in te schakelen, de verkiezingen immers zouden plaats vinden onafhankelijk van de daarvoor in de landen en koloniën der wereld geldende wetten.

De afgevaardigde uit Kenya was een moment kennelijk bekoord door het nieuwe perspectief, dat zo plotseling voor hem werd geopend, maar hij verwierp het denkbeeld onmiddellijk daarop als "irreëel" en waarschijnlijk schadelijk voor de energie, die hij en de zijnen verplicht waren op te brengen.

#### Het historische voorbeeld van de ZWITSERSE BONDSSTAAT

Aan de hand van een voorbeeld uit de geschiedenis had A.F.Lloyd reeds eerder een poging gedaan om aan te tonen, hoe de nationale bevrijding van v e r s e h i l l e n d e bevolkingsgroepen tegelijkertijd kan samengaan met de vorming van een die groepen omvattende federatie. Hij verwoes hiertoe naar de stichting van de



Zwitserse Bondsregering en herinnerde eraan hoe de Zwitsers, toen zij besloten hadden zich van de monarchie los te scheuren, de soevereiniteit tijdelijk overtroegen op een meer algemene, maar zwakke macht: de Paus. Hij zeende dat wellicht iets dergelijks thans voor de Afrikanen zou kunnen worden herhaald, waarbij zij zouden kunnen overzegeu de soevereiniteit tijdelijk over te dragen op de UNO. Voorts illustreerde de spreker zijn betoog met een korte beschrijving van de manier, waarop de Zwitsers, door telkens 3 van hun 13 onafhankelijk blijvende kantons als beslissende arbiters aan te wijzen, oorlogen binnen de Bond en uitenvallen van de Bond met succes wisten tegen te gaan.

### Meer kritiek

Behalve de federalistische plannen, ontwikkeld in de resolutie-Memoire, werd ook de laatste zinsnede sub 3, blz. 7 der brochure, aangevoeld evenals trouwens de paritair samenstelling der in de COMITE PROPOSALS bedoelde Commissie.

Men achtte het om licht te begrijpen redenen een gevaarlijke stap om de terugtrekking van vreemde troepen afhankelijk te stellen van de bevindingen dezer Commissie, die zou moeten uitzoeken of de bevolking t.z.t. al dan niet prijs stelt op de voortdurende aanwezigheid van die troepen, "ter handhaving van orde en gezeg en ter bescherming tegen invasies".

### Een Amerikaans concreet resolutie-voorstel

Tegen het einde der zitting vroeg de Amerikaanse vertegenwoordiger van de "In.Unica of Socialists" het woord, en tevens vergunning voor het indienen van een resolutie, waaraan hij de volgende aanbeveling wellicht niet meer aanwezig zou kunnen zijn.

Hij ontwikkelde als zijn standpunt, dat de bevrijding der koloniale volkeren inderdaad als eerste punt op het program van actie dienen te blijven staan. Daarbij was hij van oordeel dat de daartoe strekkende acties door de betrokken volkeren zelf zouden moeten worden gevoerd, en dat al dan niet grote steun voor hun strijd van de zijde der werkende massas in de Westerse landen daarvoor van betrekkelijk geringe betekenis is.

Maar de volkeren naar zijn mening echter wel behoefte aan hebben, is organisatie, en met het oog hierop noemde hij de steun van Westerse deskundigen in hun midden zeer gewichtig.

De resolutie die hij wenste in te dienen, kwam erop neer dat het "Congress" ertoe zou besluiten de uitzending van Westerse deskundigen op sociaal, economisch en pedagogisch terrein naar de koloniën te bevorderen, ten einde de volkeren aldaar behulpzaam te zijn bij de strijd om, en de voorbereiding op, hun nationale vrijheid. Hij gaf te kennen, over de adressen van een behoorlijk aantal jonge Amerikanen te beschikken die met graagte zulk een taak zouden aanvaarden.

De weerklank in de vergadering was slechts zeer gering. Nadat voorzitter Jean Rous gewezen had op de praktische moeilijkheden in verband met de kosten en met het risico, verbonden aan het vinden van de juiste mannen voor de juiste plaatsen, kwam het niet meer tot een stemming over dit voorstel.

### De Engels-Egyptische Sudan

Behalve aan de kwesties der Afrikaanse bevrijding in het algemeen werd op deze dag aandacht besteed aan een tweetal detailproblemen.

Yoroub Osman gaf een overzicht van de omstandigheden waarin zijn land, de Sudan, onder het Engels-Egyptische condominium verkeert.

Hij begon zijn geprojecteerd betoog met een verwijzing naar het feit dat de Sudan sinds de 18e eeuw een volkomen z i e u w e vorm van sociaal leven had leren kennen, en wel die ener b u i t e n l a n d s e overheersing. In vroeger eeuwen was het land er al evenmin best een toe geweest. Het Ottomaanse verbestuur, het barbarisme en de corruptie waarmee het gepaard was gegaan, had al eens geleid tot een revolutie, die spreker als een der grootste uit de wereldsgeschiedenis kenschetste. Zij had succes, maar van de gerechtigheid, in wier naam zij begonnen was, kwam niet veel terecht. De Sudan bleef aan de gereide van slechte bestuurders overgeleverd. Het volk verkeerde in omstandigheden, die alle energie doodden en het willoos in de wereld deden staren. Zo kwam het, dat in 1909 de Brits-Egyptische legers, onder voorwendsel van een soort beschavingcampagne, de Sudan konden binnervallen en bezetten, zonder op noemenswaardige tegenstand van de bevolking te stuiten.

Dat was het begin.

Sindsdien was het Sudanese onderhorig gebleven aan twee meesters inplaats van een één. Waar de Egyptische meester in feite niet meer was dan een soort "slappende vennoet", kwam de praktisch erop neer dat de Sudan een Britse kolonie werd, zij het niet bestuurd vanwege het Colonial, maar vanwege het Foreign Office.

De Engelsen geven graag hoog op van de vorderingen die zij er met hun beschavingswerk hebben geboekt. Een analyse van het bestaan van de "common man" in de Sudan is echter wel in staat de vorderende vraag te doen opkomen, waarop die fiere verklaringen berusten.

Den blijkt immers dat er nog steeds 85 à 90 van de 100 mensen tot de analfabeten behoren. En meer dan 2.000.000 Sudanesezen leven nog als wilden, ze gaan naakt en hun levensomstandigheden kumen overeen met een peil van 1000 à 2000 jaar geleden.

Het meest verrassende verschijnsel van onze dagen is wel, dat de Britse regering het blijkbaar is haar hoofd gekregen heeft om pogingen, die worden aangewend om deze mensen uit hun natuurstaat op te heffen, als m i s d a d e r te beschouwen.

De bedoeling hiervan is helaas duidelijk: er moet een scheiding worden teweeg gebracht tussen het Zuiden, dat deze primitieven bewonen, en het Noorden van de Sudan, precies zoals de mogelijkheid niet ondenkbaar is dat de Britse politiek van geleidelijke bevordering van zelfbestuur achteromvolgens in verschillende delen van Afrika erop is gericht, de Afrikanen onderling, in verdeeldheid te doen geraken.

Het Noorden van het land heeft als voornaamste bestanddeel der bevolking Arabieren en hoger ontwikkelde Afrikanen.

Onder druk van buiten af, waar het "Congres" niet geheel vreemd aan is, heeft de Britse regering echter onlangs eindelijk toch bepaalde hervormingen voorgesteld. Deze vertonen bij nadere beschouwing een grote mate van gelijkenis met die, welke voor de Goudkust zijn aenvaard. Voor de eerste maal wordt geroept van een soort WETGEVENDE VERGADERING. Op het eerste gezicht lijkt het heel mooi, maar spreker achtte het zark niet tot conclusies te komen, voordat hij tijd had gehad om de voorstellen terdage te onderzoeken. P e r s o o n l i j k neigde hij echter tot de mening dat het de g e v a n r l i j k s t e voorstellen kunnen zijn, die ooit aan het Sudanese volk zijn gedaan. Hij achtte gever aanwezig in verband met de achterlijke ontwikkeling van zijn volk.

De voorgestelde Wetgevende Vergadering zal worden samengesteld uit deels direct, deels indirect gekozen en uit benoemde leden.

In de praktijk zal dit in een land als het zijner gemakkelijk toe kunnen leiden, dat reactionaire elementen worden binnengeloodst, terwijl de deure voor de progressieve gesloten blijft.

Spreker en de zijnen staan voor het probleem van te moeten beslissen of de voorstellen a l s z o d a n i g hun volk tot nut kunnen strekken, of dat van de hervormingen gebruik zal kunnen worden gemaakt om verder voorwaarts te komen.

Thans ziet men een situatie onzer ogen waarbij de ministers van Opvoeding, Landbouw en Volksgezondheid, ca 75% van de ambtenaren en alle onderstaatssecretarissen Sudaanezen zijn. Maar beslissingen kunnen deze officiële persoonlijkheden geen van alle nemen. aangezien deze blijven uitgaan van het Foreign Office.

Het is nu de bedoeling na een jaar algemene verkiezingen te organiseren, en daarna a l l e ministeriële portefeuilles in handen van Sudaanezen te geven. Het Britse Gouvernement in de Sudan tracht tegen de Labour regering in, deze voornemens zo veel mogelijk te dwarsbomen, en het dient te worden afgewacht wat er onder deze druk van terecht zal komen.

#### Betrekkingen tussen de Sudan en Egypte

Ten aanzien hiervan verklaarde Yacoub Osman allereerst, dat er tussen het Sudaaneze v o l k en het Egyptische v o l k niet de minste onwilmsiteit heerst en geen enkele onwilmsigheid in het geding is.

Wel is er een partij in de Sudan, die de aansluiting bij Egypte nastreeft, maar deze partij vertegenwoordigt geenszins de geest of de wensen van het Sudaaneze v o l k.

Haar leider is in feite niets anders dan een verstandelijk gehonoreerd ambtenaar in Egyptische staatsdienst - de partij zelf wordt door Egypte gefinancierd.

8.000.000 Sudaanezen zijn over Egypte nimmer gehoord. Zij hebben geen enkel twistpunt met de massa van het Egyptische volk, maar dat wil niet zeggen, dat zij er ook maar i e t s voor voelen onder het gezag van het huidige Egypte te komen.

De dag moet worden afgewacht waarop een Egyptische regering werkelijk de massa van het Egyptische v o l k belichaamt, en ook de Sudaanezen hun eigen vrije wil kunnen uitspreken en in de schaal verpenen.

Tot zo lang, aldus Yacoub Osman, verwerpen wij i e d e r resultaat van a l l e onderhandelingen welke o v e r o n z e h o o f d e n h e e n worden gevoerd.

Niet voordat het koloniale systeem is vernietigd kan er van een werkelijke basis sprake zijn voor besprekingen tussen de v o l k e r e n van de Sudan en van Egypte.

Intussen maakt de Labour regering de indruk voordeel te willen trekken uit de huidige toestand, en uit een bestemde verdeeldheid die zij eer aanmoedigt dan tracht uit de weg te helpen ruimen.

#### M-rokko en de ISTIQIAL

Het M-rokkaanse probleem werd breedvoerig uiteengezet door El Kouen. De grondslagen van een veld bijzonderheden uit zijn betoog zijn er te treffen in Bijlage No.4.

MAGDAG, 14 MEI 1951

Verkiezingen leden Internationale Commissie  
Volgende periodieke Conferentie der Commissie te AMSTERDAM

Voor de aanvang der ochtendzitting had de voorzitter van onze delegatie een gesprek met de president der vergadering Jean Rous in de loop waarvan de mogelijkheid besproken werd de volgende conferentie der Intern. Commissie van het "Congress", die als regel om de 3 maanden te Londen en te Parijs beurtelings vergadert, in Amsterdam te doen plaats vinden. Afsproken werd, deze gelegenheid in Amsterdam ter sprake te brengen en eventueel zo spoedig mogelijk een invitatie met bovenbedoeld doel aan het "Congress" te doen uitgaan.

Jean Rous vroeg onze voorzitter in de loop van hetzelfde gesprek of hij bereid was een kandidatuur voor het lidmaatschap van de Internationale Commissie te aanvaarden. De verkiezingen zouden in de loop van de dag worden gehouden. In zijn antwoord verklaarde de voorzitter in principe zeer graag bereid te zijn het lidmaatschap te aanvaarden, dat er echter met het oog op de eraren verbonden regelmatige reizen buitenslands praktische bezwaren aan vast zitten, en dat hij om deze reden er de voorkeur aan gaf over het aanvaarden der uitnodiging eerst nagesprek te plegen met zijn vrienden thuis. Tegelijk wees hij op de wenselijkheid om, indien een Nederlander zou worden opgenomen, ook een Indoneziër voor te dragen.

Toen de verkiezingen des middags aan de orde kwamen was onze delegatie daarbij helaas niet onmiddellijk aanwezig daar zij langdurig en in een zeer hartelijke sfeer was blijven vertoeven aan een lunch, waarop de Noord-Afrikaanse afgevaardigden heer met grote gastvrijheid hadden onthaald.

Jean Rous deelde hen bij hun aankomst ter vergadering mede, dat het "Congress" inmiddels had besloten twee Indonesiërs en één Hollander voor de Internationale Commissie te benoemen, wier namen hij verzoekt binnen niet te lange tijd uit Amsterdam te willen laten weten.

Intussen ontspan zich een levendige gedachtenwisseling over nog een andere kandidatuur welke gesteld was in de persoon van een (niet aanwezige) Spanjaard van trotskistische huize. De afgevaardigde van Ceylon verdedigde zijn kandidatuur op formale gronden. De meerderheid was het evenwel niet met hem eens. Men verklaarde respect te hebben voor de betrokkene, en overtuigd te zijn van zijn ondubbelzinnig anti-koloniale opvattingen. Wie hem nader kenden moesten echter mededelen dat hij deze opvattingen nooit anders dan trotskistisch formuleerde en dat zijn betoog er altijd op gericht was ook anderen van de juistheid der trotskistische interpretatie te doordringen. Op zichzelf had men hiertegen helemaal geen bezwaar. Men achtte het echter niet in overeenstemming met het karakter van het "Congress", gezien zijn principiële afwijzing van beide opposerende blokken in de wereld, dat het in zijn Bestuur of in andere representatieve lichamen figuren zou toelaten die deze houding niet ten volle kunnen voorstaan.

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## Resoluties Discussie over "Nationale Minderheden"

Vervolgens werd de in de ochtenzitting voorgelezen Resolutie aangenomen, echter niet dan nadat zich nog een dispuut had ontrikkeld over de formulering met betrekking tot het aanbevolen beleid jegens nationale minderheden.

Hierbij kwam andermaal de democratische geest tot uiting waardoor dit "Congress" is bezield. Met instemming hoorde de vergadering o.m. het pleidooi aan van een der Algerijnse gedelegeerden, die zich een voorstander betoonde van het verlenen van alle burgerrechten ook aan de minderheden in de thans koloniale gebieden, zoodra deze hun nationale zelfstandigheid zullen hebben geproclameerd. Zelfs als het minderheden betreft, aldus de spreker, die ons thans nog op de heftigste wijze bestrijden en ons streks wellicht nog rancuneus gezind zullen zijn, moeten die burgerrechten hen zijn gegarandeerd, mits zij natuurlijk het staatsburgerschap van onze naties hebben gewenst en verkregen.

We mogen hofmees geen koohandel drijven, zo besloot hij, want het gaat om de "Rechten van de Mens".

Na nog enig heen en weer geprast op ondergeschikte punten werd de formulering gevonden, welke is aan te treffen in het exemplaar der Resolutie dat als Bijlage No.5 aan dit verslag is toegevoegd. Vervolgens werd nog een aantal resoluties ingediend en aangenomen, waarvan de eerste de in algemene termen gehouden grote resolutie met concrete uitspraken aanvulde, andere van sympathie getuigden voor de wijze waarop bij voorbeeld de organisatie aan de Goudkust onder haar leider tot dusverre voor haar onafhankelijkheid in het krijt getreden was, terwijl een door Dr. Bamboe Gopaljee ingediende resolutie bedoelde India te steunen bij zijn aanspraken op de Franse en Portugese Factorijen aan zijn kusten.

### Resolutie I R I A N

Het lid van onze delegatie S o e r j a d i diende, na in het kort de ontwikkeling in de verstandhouding tussen Indonesië en Nieuwland sedert de soevereiniteitsoverdracht voor de vergadering te hebben geschetst, namens onze delegatie de volgende resolutie in:

"Het "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism" heeft kennis genomen van het feit, dat na de soevereiniteitsoverdracht aan de Republiek Indonesia door Nederland, laatstgenoemd land zijn gezag over een deel van het voormalig koloniale gebied heeft behouden.

De onderhandelingen, na de soevereiniteitsoverdracht gevoerd om tot overdracht van ook dit gebied - West Irian, of West Guinea - te geraken, zijn afgestuit op de hardnekkigheid waarmee Nederland aan zijn soevereiniteit over dit gebied vasthoudt.

Het "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism" verklaart zich volledig solidair met de Indonesische eis tot overdracht van West Irian aan de Indonesische Republiek, mede omdat dit de vriendschap tussen de beide landen zowel als de wereldvrede ten goede zal komen."

Ook deze resolutie werd aangenomen, met applaus en onder algemeene tekenen van instemming.

### Slot der Conferentie

Tegen het einde der laatste zitting wees Jean Reus vanaf de bestuursafel de aanwezigen nogmaals op de noodzaak van financiële versterking voor het "Congress". Hij bond hen op het hart hieraan vooral en voortdurend volle aandacht te schenken, opdat de wegen ertoe gevonden zouden kunnen worden. Het zal in de komende jaren, misschien maanden, nodig zijn dan ooit om de mening van het "Congress" per Bulletin over de wereld te kunnen uitdragen, en als het zijn taak naar behoren wil blijven vervullen wordt een apparatuur onmisbaar. Nadat verschillende leden nog suggesties hadden gedaan, die het ook op versterking der middelen en het stichten van een orgaan de overganging waard waren, sloot Jean Reus de conferentie.

### De Openbare Vergadering

De openbare vergadering, uitgeschreven voor de vrienden met het doel om de resoluties aan het publiek en de pers bekend te maken, was slechts bezocht en begon te laat. Het eerste was volgens de algemene opvatting te wijten aan een lacune in de organisatie, waardoor verzuimd was bekendheid aan de te houden bijeenkomst te geven ander dan door middel van enkele uitnodigingen aan de pers en een studentenorganisatie.

Het tweede vloeide uit het eerste voort en werd op zijn beurt omzwaakt dat onze delegatie niet in haar geheel de vergadering kon bijwonen, aangezien de voorzitter haar om ca. 10 uur moest vertalen om de thuisreis naar Amsterdam te aanvaardden.

Ongeveer 100 aanwezigen hoorden Jean Reus' toespraak aan, waarin hij een overzicht gaf van de situatie in de wereld en van de taak die het "Congress" zich daarin heeft gesteld. Vervolgens las hij de verschillende resoluties aan het publiek voor.

Als tweede spreker voerde het lid onzer delegatie G. van het Reve het woord, om in een korte, maar goed ol voorgedragen rede zijn toehouders te doordringen van de ernst en het wezen van de huidige internationale spanningen, en van de noodzaak van bezinning voor de mens van vandaag.

Vervolgens sprak ook het lid onzer delegatie Soerjadi in vergadering toe. Hij gewaagde van de vreugde, die de sfeer van begrip en goede verstandhouding hem verschaftte, waarin hij de laatste dagen zo vele nieuwe vrienden had ontmoet. In het bijzonder had het hem met blijdschap vervuld, te zien hoezeer het bezoek van de leider der Tunesische Neo-Instour aan Indonesië, en het feit dat deze voor het Indonesische parlement had kunnen spreken, bijgedragen had tot wederzijdse waardering bij beide volkeren.

Wij allen willen de vrede herbouwen, zei Soerjadi, maar als we dat werkelijk w i l l e n, dan moet ieder van ons het als zijn taak zien, het kolonialisme te helpen uitbannen. En stellig is het niet minder dan de p l i e h t van a l l e onafhankelijke volkeren, hieraan naar vermogen mede te werken.

Het is een taak, aldus onze spreker, n i e t alleen voor kleurlingen, maar ook voor b l a n k e n, en dat deze haar aan willen pakken, dat is te zien aan dit "Congress".

De woorden van onze beide sprekers wekten warme belangstelling en instemming bij hun gehoor.

### ERVARINGEN DER DELEGATIE BUITEN DE CONFERENTIE-UREN

- Onze delegatie bewaart bijzonder prettige en sterkende herinneringen aan de p e r s o n l i j k e ontmoetingen, welke haar leden met de vertegenwoordigers uit Indië, Afrika en andere delen

van de wereld hebben gehad. Het was vooral in de vertrouwelijke omgang dat het saamhorigheidsbesef, het gevoel der solidariteit sterk tot uitdrukking kwam. Herhaaldelijk bleek, dat de vertegenwoordigers uit nog onder het koloniale juk gebukt gaande landen zeer verheugd waren, Indonesiërs in hun midden te zien. Met onverholen vreugde toonden enkele Noord-Afrikanen ons de foto's van hun Tunesische leider, in het gezelschap van H a t t e en anderen op de treden van het Indonezische Parlementsgebouw stannende, die zij bij zich droegen.

Zons te meer is het de delegatie duidelijk geworden dat de scheidslijnen in de wereld dor mensen niet meer lopen langs r a t i o n a l e g r e n z e n, maar dwars daarover heen, langs de harten van gelijkgestemde mensen. Deze te hebben kunnen ontmoeten en de waarde van dit inzicht andermaal duidelijk te hebben mogen beseffen, was een groot voorrecht.

Bovendien behoort dit tot de n u t t i g e resultaten van conferenties als de onderhavige, want naar de mening der delegatie kan het niet anders of op deze wijze opgedane ervaringen zullen het hunne bijdragen tot het doen ingang vinden van een politiek, gericht op het bevorderen van begrip en onderlingoef samenwerking der volkeren.

Uit gesprekken met onze Noord-Afrikaanse vrienden bleek ons nog hun overtuiging dat de bevrijding van hun landen de stoot zal kunnen geven tot een algemene maatschappelijke hervorming in de gehele Arabische wereld, met name ook in die Arabische landen van het Midden Oosten, zo goed als in Egypte, welke nu nog een sterk feodaal karakter dragen.

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**V E R S L A G**

van de conferentie van  
het

**CONGRESS of PEOPLES against IMPERIALISM**

gehouden te Parijs  
op 12, 13 en 14 Mei 1951  
onder voorzitterschap  
van

Jean ROUS  
Secr. Generaal van het "Congress"

--o--

**AGENDA**

- Zaterdag, 12 Mei - 10 v.m. ALGEMEEN RAPPORT  
3 n.m. Discussie over de STRUCTUUR  
van het "Congress"
- Zondag, 13 Mei - 10 v.m. Het probleem AFRIKA  
3 n.m. " " "
- Maandag, 14 Mei - 10 v.m. Resoluties en verkiezingen  
3 n.m. " " "  
8<sup>30</sup> nm. Openbare Vergadering, waarin  
de aangenomen resoluties ter  
kennis van pers en publiek  
worden gebracht.



No. 675 -14/50.

23 Maart 1950.

Uw brief: 79930 dd. 1 Maart 1950.

VERTROUWELIJK.

*co 79931*  
*1 co 79931*

NIET O.K.  
ACD/46  
DAT: 27.4.50  
PAR: RM

*Aldem*

*6.11.2*  
*08*  
24 MRT 1950  
ACD/ 02413

In antwoord op Uw bovenaangehaald schrijven wordt be-  
richt, dat op het door U bedoelde congres geen verte-  
genwoordiger van de RCP aanwezig is geweest. Zulks  
heeft wel in de bedoeling gelegen, echter de deplora-  
bele kaspositie was oorzaak, dat van het voornemen  
moest worden afgezien. In dit verband moge worden ge-  
wezen op het artikel "Veelbelovend Congres van kolo-  
niale volkeren", voorkomende op pagina 2 van de TRI-  
BUNE dd. 19 November 1949. Dit bericht is, voor wat  
betreft de afvaardiging, naar verzekerd wordt, juist.

No. 13. |

F3

Aan KA-RA  
Van H.B.

No.: 81849

UITSNEDEN

Naar aanleiding van het gestelde sub 2a in Uw rapport no. E/445 d.d. 14-2-1950, verzoek ik U aan Sardine te willen berichten, dat de R.C.P. (Nederlandse Sectie der IVE Internationale) geen vertegenwoordiger heeft gezonden naar het Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism (Londen, 6-18 October 1949), daar de financiële toestand der partij een dergelijke afvaardiging niet toeliet.

Het partijbestuur der R.C.P. heeft een schrijven aan het congres gezonden, waarin uiting wordt gegeven aan het standpunt der partij, inzake de verhoudingen in Indonesië.

u

NIET O.K.  
ACDI 426  
DAT: 27-2-50  
PAR: R.M.

B

6.152  
03.

6.152  
05.11  
15 MRT 1950  
01049

VERTROUWELIJK

Verbinding: No.12

14 Maart 1950.

Doss.15/190

Onderwerp: Vertegenwoordiger R.C.P. op congres

Datum ontvangst bericht: 9 Maart 1950

Betrouwbaarheid berichtgever: betrouwbaar

Waardering bericht: betrouwbaar

Tevens bericht gezonden aan:---

20 70731

Medewerkende instanties:---

Ondernomen actie:---

B.O.S. van 1 Maart 1950  
No.79930 M.v.B.Z.

Naar aanleiding van nevensvermeld schrijven wordt het volgende medegedeeld:

Tengevolge van de slechte toestand der financiën was het de Revolutionnaire Communistische Partij (R.C.P. - Nederlandse sectie van de 4e Internationale) niet mogelijk om een vertegenwoordiger van de partij aanwezig te doen zijn op "The congress of Peoples against Imperialism" (C.C.P.A.I.). In plaats hiervan heeft het partijbestuur aan bedoeld congres een schrijven doen toekomen, waarin uiting wordt gegeven aan het door de partij ingenomen standpunt inzake de verhoudingen in Indonesië.

Er worden dezerzijds pogingen gedaan om in het bezit te geraken van een verslag van het op bedoeld congres behandelde. (einde)

14  
⚡

MINISTERIE VAN  
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-Gravenhage, 1 Maart 1950

No. B : 79930

Betr. : Vertegenwoordiger R.C.P.  
op congres.

IV AV 3

VERTROUWELIJK

UITGEBOEKT

Arch. 82413

Volgens een ontvangen mededeling was op de van 6-8- October 1949 te Londen gehouden bijeenkomst van "The Congress of Peoples against Imperialism"(C.O.P.A.I.) ook een vertegenwoordiger aanwezig van de R.C.P. in Nederland.

Ik moge U verzoeken wel te willen doen nagaan, welke persoon de genoemde conferentie heeft bijgewoond en mij met het resultaat in kennis te willen doen stellen.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST,  
V Namens deze,

J. G. Crabbendam

Aan de Heer  
Hoofdcommissaris van Politie  
te AMSTERDAM.

MINISTERIE VAN  
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-Gravenhage, 1 Maart 1950

No. B : 79930

UITGEBOEKT

VERTROUWELIJK

ant. 81849

Betr. : Vertegenwoordiger R.C.P.  
op congres  
IV AV 3

Volgens een ontvangen mededeling was op de van 6-8 October 1949 te Londen gehouden bijeenkomst van "The Congress of peoples against Imperialism" (C.O.P.A.I.) ook een vertegenwoordiger aanwezig van de R.C.P. in Nederland.

Ik moge U verzoeken wel te willen doen nagaan, welke persoon de genoemde conferentie heeft bijgewoond en mij met het resultaat in kennis te willen doen stellen.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENS,  
Namens deze,

✓

J. G. Crabbendam

Aan de Heer  
Hoofdcommissaris van Politie  
te 's-GRAVENHAGE.

NIET O.K.
ACD/46
DATE: 7-4-50
PAR: RM.

6  
05.15-09.21  
14 FEB. 1950  
ACD 79930

RAPPORT

Aan: Hoofd B

Van: KA-RA

No.: E/445

ONDERWERP: Congress of peoples against imperialism.

1. N. a. v. Uw verzoek om inlichtingen over bovengenoemd Congres (No. 70731) van 6 October 1949 ontvingen wij van Sardine bijgeend Verslag.
2. Sardine tekent hier nog bij aan, dat de volgende organisaties uit Nederland vertegenwoordigers hadden gezonden:
  - a. de R.C.P.
  - b. de Vlam
  - c. Vrij Nederland,de namen vandeze vertegenwoordigers zijn echter niet bekend.
3. Er zijn geen aanwijzingen, dat de Britse Communistische Partij getracht heeft de onderhavige Beweging te penetreren; de partij moet niets van de Beweging hebben, omdat zij Trotskyistische steun ontvangt.
4. De in het verslag genoemde bijlagen zijn niet bijgevoegd, bijlage A bevat alleen een vage resolutie, bijlage B alleen de organisaties, die op het Congres vertegenwoordigd waren, echter geen namen van vertegenwoordigers.

14.2.1950

CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

LONDON, 6-18 OCTOBER, 1949.

1. On 6 October, 1949, a conference opened at Swaraj House, 32, Percy Street, London, W.C.1., under the auspices of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism (C.O.P.A.I.). The declared objects of this conference were:-

- (a) To survey the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world, hearing reports from all colonial delegations.
- (b) To formulate united international action to assist colonial peoples to hasten the end of imperialism.
- (c) To make a declaration on the subject of participation by colonial territories in a future war.

According to literature circulated by the Congress, the conference was supported by a number of British Members of Parliament, and 200 delegates were allegedly present.

2. The conferences in fact was poorly attended. On some resolutions unanimity was achieved in the end after long negotiations; on others differences of opinion persisted and the questions were postponed, unresolved, for future discussion. The proceedings dragged on until 18 October, 1949, by which time many of the Continental and French Colonial delegates had returned home.

3. Fenner BROCKWAY, the chairman of the international committee, presided at most of the sessions of the conference. In an opening address, BROCKWAY claimed that the Congress was the most representative body of colonial peoples struggling against imperialism. It was the duty, he added, of those peoples to resist the attempts of colonial governments to involve them in another war.

4. The East African, Semakula MULUMBA, describing himself as secretary-general of the African League, was a prominent speaker. He announced that the colonial peoples considered themselves at war with imperialist powers. This point was also made by Dr. Nnamdi AZIKIWE, president of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. The Nigerians, he declared, reserved the right to ally themselves with any ideology which recognized their right to freedom.

5. A hotly debated resolution on "The Colonies and War" caused considerable delay, largely owing to disagreement on the distinction between an imperialist war and a world war. The issue was complicated by a demand by Dr. AZIKIWE that the fight against British and French imperialism in Africa and Asia should be specifically included in the motion. In the end a vaguer resolution was substituted and finally adopted (Appendix A.)

/6. A general....

6. A general motion on Africa contained a declaration that no minor measures of reform would solve the problems of West Africa, and that unless the forthcoming reports on the Gold Coast and Nigeria contained proposals for the inauguration of fully responsible self-government in those countries, other peoples could not be expected to "remain contentedly quiescent." Other resolution passed during the conference included those dealing with the nationalist aspirations of West Africa, Nigeria and the Cameroons, and Uganda. No practical and detailed decisions were reached regarding the future activities of C.O.P.A.I., nor could the delegates agree on the constitution of a new international committee. These issues, it was decided, should be debated at a meeting to be held in Paris at the end of December, 1949.

7. There is no evidence of attempted penetration or manipulation of the London conference by the British Communist Party (B.C.P.), whose disapproval of the Congress has been maintained. There are grounds indeed for believing that the B.C.P. has, since the conference, tried to persuade certain nationalist organisations, notably the African League, to dissociate themselves from the Congress on the grounds that this body has the support of Trotskyists and is hostile to the Soviet Union.

8. As at the Paris Conference in June, 1948, the Trotskyist element in the Congress made itself heard. In particular KAMALESH BANNERJI, of the BOLSHEVIK SAMAJ SAMAJ of Ceylon, declared that neither of the two big power blocs had the interests of the colonial peoples at heart.

9. A list of the organisations represented at the conference is given in Appendix B.

17 November, 1949.



NOTA  
Van KARA

UITGEBOEKT

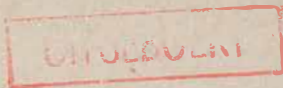
Op 6.1.1950 is aan Sardine brief CEH/50/005 (75899) betr. Jef LAST  
geschreven , waarin hem de gegevens uit 75899 werden doorgegeven.

27.1.1950 *JK*

No.: 75899

Aan: KA/R.A.

Van: H.B.



Ingevolge het gestelde in punt 5 van Uw rapport dd. 16 December 1949 no. E 372 doe ik U bijgaand een korte levensschets van Jef LAST toekomen ter doorzending aan Sardine.

Gaarne zal ik nadere inlichtingen omtrent het congres vernemen, vooral met betrekking tot het gestelde in punt 4 van Uw rapport.

H.B. 24-12-'49.

LAST, Josephus Carel Franciscus (Jef Last), geb. 2-5-1898 te 's-Gravenhage, wonende te Amsterdam.

Jef Last was vóór de tweede wereldoorlog lid van de Communistische Partij Holland (C.P.H.) en medeoprichter van het Schrijvers Collectief "Links richten".

In de jaren 1936/1937 diende hij in het leger der Spaanse republiek, het laatst in de rang van kapitein. Door deze dienstneming verloor hij de Nederlandse nationaliteit, die hij echter bij Wet van 10 Januari 1939 terugkreeg.

In 1938 bedankte hij als lid der C.P.H., mede als gevolg van het optreden der communisten in het Spaanse regeringsleger.

Als lid der C.P.H. bracht hij voor 1938 nog een bezoek aan de Sowjet-Unie.

In 1938 vertoefde Last enige tijd in Noorwegen als dagblad-correspondent. In die tijd gingen geruchten, dat hij spionagediensten zou verrichten voor het Internationaal Verbond van Vakverenigingen, vooral met betrekking tot de uitvoer van erts uit Noorwegen.

Gedurende de Duitse bezetting verrichtte Last veel illegaal werk en bleek bij de bevrijding Staf-officier te zijn bij de Nederlandse Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten.

Last is lid van de stichtingsraad van de Stichting "De Vonk", die o.a. het onafhankelijke socialistische weekblad "De Vlam" uitgeeft, waarvan Last redacteur is.

Hij was mede-ondertekenaar van een in "De Tribune", het orgaan der Nederlandse Sectie der IVe Internationale, gepubliceerde open brief over de processen te Neurenberg.

Overigens is hij lid van het Nederlands Comité van de Verenigde Socialistische Staten van Europa (United Socialist States of Europe U.S.S.E.) en initiatiefnemer voor de oprichting van de Socialistische Werkgemeenschap in de Beweging van Europese Federalisten.

Jef Last, die uiterst links socialistisch is georiënteerd, heeft grote belangstelling voor de gebeurtenissen in Indonesië en behoort in dit verband tot de initiatiefnemers voor de oprichting in September 1947 van het "Comité van Intellectuelen", o.a. ten doel hebbende boycot van militaire transporten en het bevorderen van stakingen.

Hij is zeer gekant tegen de politiek der Nederlandse Regering t.o.v. Indonesië en is fel voorstander van de idee om Indonesië geheel vrij en onafhankelijk te maken van Nederland.

Jef Last bezocht in 1948 het "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism", gehouden te Puteaux (Fr.) en in 1949 het Socialistische Wereldcongres voor de Vrede te Parijs.

In April 1949 werd hij benoemd tot plv.voorzitter van het Wereldcongres tegen rasdiscriminatie te Parijs.

OP KAART  
ACD/45  
DAT: 9-5-50  
PAR: R-1

Volgno.

20 DEC. 1949

ACD/45099

RAPPORT

Van: KA-R.A.

Aan: Hoofd B

No. E.372

ONDERWERP: "International Committee of Peoples against Imperialism".

1. Naar aanleiding van Uw verzoek dd. 6 October 1949 No. 70731 om inlichtingen omtrent bovengenoemd Congres deelt Sardine ons voorlopig mede, dat op 6 October 1949 te HARWICH arriveerde Josephus Carel Franciscus LAST, geboren 2-5-1898 te den HAAG, paspoort 415687, afgegeven te AMSTERDAM op 1 September 1949. Hij verklaarde als vertegenwoordiger van "DE VLAM" het C.O.P.A.I. (Congress of Peoples against Imperialism) congres te zullen bijwonen. Hij had ook geschriften, uitgegeven door de C.O.P.A.I., bij zich.
2. Omtrent LAST is bij Sardine alleen bekend, dat hij in April 1928 Voorzitter was van een congres van de LIGA TEGEN IMPERIALISME te AMSTERDAM; verder, dat hij in October 1934 het eerste congres van Sovietschrijvers in PARIJS bijwoonde, tenslotte, dat LAST tot en met de Spaanse burgeroorlog een communist was, maar dat hij in 1938 over de werkzaamheden van de G.P.U. in SPANJE een boekje zou hebben opengedaan en dat zekere Cominternvoormannen weinig sympathie meer voor hem koesterden.
3. Gedurende het C.O.P.A.I. congres werd niets ongunstigs omtrent LAST opgemerkt. Hij vertrok van ENGLAND naar NEDERLAND (HOEK VAN HOLLAND) op 11 October 1949.
4. Het congres werd ook bijgewoond door vertegenwoordigers van "VRIJ NEDERLAND" en van de R.C.P., maar hun namen zijn nog niet aan Sardine bekend.
5. Het lijkt me nuttig aan Sardine een korte levensschets van LAST te verstrekken, waarbij dzz. dan tevens om nader nieuws omtrent het congres gevraagd zal worden.

16-12-49.

*Van Hagen*

OP KAART  
ACD/ 46  
DAT: 29-6-50  
PAR: 201

Vol.  
10 NOV. 1949  
3403

G E H E I M .

Verbinding: No.12  
Doss.193/10

9 November 1949.

Onderwerp: Common Wealth en the second conference of the congress of peoples against imperialism.

Datum ontvangst bericht: 4 November 1949

Betrouwbaarheid berichtgever: betrouwbaar

Waardering bericht: betrouwbaar

Tevens bericht gezonden aan:---

Medewerkende instanties:---

Ondernomen actie:---

*B*

Hierbij wordt toegezonden :

1. een afschrift van een brief van de Common Wealth gericht aan de Socialistische Beweging,
2. een afschrift van een kort verslag betreffende "The second conference of the congress of people against imperialism". (einde)

*antw. hiervan in o.d. 1380  
bergt in o.d. 1257  
antw. in te versch  
o.d. "Ver. Soc. St. v. Europa"*

*3*

COMMON WEALTH  
HEAD OFFICES

*address*  
12 HIGH STREET  
HAMPSTEAD,  
LONDON, N.W.3

Phone: HAMPstead 5879

Please reply to office  
of origin

LONDON

*address*  
460 WILBRAHAM ROAD  
CHORLTON  
MANCHESTER 21

Phone: Charlton 1801

27th October 1949.

Dear Comrade,

I was very glad indeed to receive your letter of 18th October, because we have been waiting for renewed contact with your movement since the return of our two comrades who met Comrades at the De Vlam-kamp in the summer. Common Wealth is most eager to make and to maintain contact with comrades overseas, especially where the principles of their movements seem to be so near as yours are.

I am enclosing a copy of our Quarterly which you may find of some interest. In the meantime I am asking Jean Smit to comment on your Bulletin. Common Wealth is not a very large movement and we too find it difficult to find enough money for everything which is needed. In fact we have recently had somewhat of a financial crisis! We are not, therefore, concerned with the strength of the movements of similar kinds overseas but with the value of their ideas and their fidelity to Internationalism Socialism of the true kind.

It was a great pity that you could not send delegates to the Second Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism. We had a strong delegation there (the strongest single delegation from any party) of 20 or more and I think we made a considerable impression. Certainly we have made some very good contacts with colonial movements and we are hoping to develop these steadily. We will, of course, put you in touch with any group which you desire since our aim is to increase international socialist unity. I am writing a brief report for possible publication in your Bulletin. If it is useful then reproduce it. If it is not useful then throw it away!

So far I have met only one member of the Independent Socialist League of U.S.A. They are, I understand, Schachtmanite Trotskyists, and though we are not normally very much impressed by the Trotskyists, I must say that I found this comrade much more reasonable and mature in his outlook than the usual run of them. We in Common Wealth lay considerable stress on the thesis advanced by Burnham of the Managerial Revolution, of course and the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" of the Schachtmanites is close to that. I will not develop that idea here, though we shall doubtless have cause to refer to it later in our correspondence.

Now another possible chance has come about when we may meet. This is the next International Conference of the Socialist Movement for U.S.E. which is meeting in Paris on Saturday, Sunday and Monday 5th, 6th, 7th November. Perhaps the notice is not long enough, but if at all possible it would be good to have at least one delegate there. If you do not already know of this Conference and have not received the papers concerning it, then I would suggest that you write direct to M. Gironella, Secrétaire, Mouvement Socialiste pour les Etats-Unis de l'Europe, 41 Boulevard Magenta, Paris. Ask him if you can attend as observers if you are not allowed to send delegates. I shall be there as a representative of the British Committee of the

Movement, Jean Smit also and Donald Fraser, our Vice-Chairman. It would provide a useful opportunity for you to meet not only us but several French, Belgian and Spanish comrades, as well as some of the colonial movements.

We are also hoping that our comrades from the Kampfgemeinschaft für Totale Demokratie of Hamburg will be there. They have with us an agreement which means the exchange of the privileges of membership between the two organisations. Both bodies are more than ready to extend this arrangement to cover other organisations which are genuinely socialist, and I believe that our two comrades mentioned it to the members of your party at the Vlamkamp.

Most certainly they showed him a copy of the Manifesto which is being jointly sponsored by ourselves and the K.F.T.D. with a view to creating (eventually) a World Socialist Party outside the framework of the mass "Labour" parties. We want first of all to secure the agreement of various organisations and then we will arrange for a wider circulation.

I am sending separately several items for your information. The one thing which I hope is that we shall now keep up a regular correspondence. If you have many English-speaking members I am sure that some of our members would very much like to write to them also. We take pride in answering every letter which we receive!

In conclusion I should like to reciprocate most warmly the socialist greetings you have expressed and to hope most fervently that we shall soon be able to meet and have a full discussion of the many problems which we meet in our different countries, as well as those which confront us as Europeans, as upholders of colonial freedom and as international socialists. Time is very short and we feel that there is an urgent need for all sincere socialists to draw as close together as they can.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



*o.k.*

W.g. W.J. Taylor,  
Political Secretary.

THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES.

The Second Conference of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, held in London in October 1949, was attended by 230 delegates from 20 countries, representing very important national liberation movements especially from the British and French Empires. Among the prominent personalities present were Fenner Brockway, Jean Rous, Dr. Azikwe of Nigeria, Dr. Varma of India, Dr. Lohia, also of India and Dr. N.M. Perrera, leader of the opposition in the Ceylon Government and Jef Last from Holland.

Founded in Paris in June 1948, the Congress during its first year of existence has shown that it has a most positive and definite role to play in the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world. Since it has secured the support of very large and important liberation movements, it can claim to be the most representative organisation of its kind in the world. Hence this Conference was an important event perhaps a landmark in the historic march of the colonial peoples to their just place in the world community.

The Conference opened on Friday by the presentation of the General Secretary's Report of the past year's work, which so clearly showed that the Congress could make its weight felt by the imperialist governments of the world and that it could influence the United Nations. Two Deputies of Madagascar, condemned to death for their part in the resistance to the French, were saved from execution by the prompt intervention of the Congress.

On the following day representatives of the peoples of Morocco, Algeria, Viet-Nam, Sudan, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Madagascar and other territories still suffering oppression gave reports on the situation in their own countries. It is important that each oppressed people should know that their brothers in misfortune are also fighting against repression, dictatorship and injustice and struggling for liberty and the right to decide their future for themselves.

Sunday was the most important day. It was then that the Conference, re-inforced by many representatives of the British Labour and Trade Union movement, discussed the central theme of the Colonial Peoples and a Third World War. Feeling ran high, for some Africans could not resist the thought that any decision which was not explicit that they would on no account support their alien imperialist oppressors was but an attempt to suggest that after all the greatest menace to liberty and human rights lay in Eastern Europe. From that thought it is but a short step to suspect that they are being drawn into support of the Western Bloc against the Soviet Bloc. A declaration of neutrality would not satisfy the colonial comrades. They were positive that they would oppose the imperialist governments of the West in war as in peace; that they would not again be led on to the battlefield to lay down their lives for a democracy which was for them but a mirage.

The resolution adopted minced no words. It declared; "We are now menaced by a third world imperialist war, and once more the position of the colonial peoples has advanced. In the first war, acquiescence. In the second, partial resistance. In the third there is no doubt what the reaction would be. IT WOULD BE GENERAL AND VIGOROUS RESISTANCE TO PARTICIPATION IN ANY IMPERIALIST WAR".

The stand of the colonial peoples was made clear:  
"WHAT WAR DO WE OPPOSE ?

We are against imperialist wars.



We are for wars of social emancipation such as that being victoriously waged by the Chinese people.  
We are also for wars of national liberation such as those now being victoriously waged by the peoples of Viet-Nam and Indonesia."

A casual observer, noting the heat engendered whenever mention was made of the injustice rampant under the Kremlin in Eastern Europe, might have concluded that the hidden hand of the Communists was at work. But the truth of the matter is that people living in constant terror of Western Imperialist Governments consider that their primary concern is their own liberation and not the mere role of becoming cannon-fodder in wars between European nations, no matter under what slogans. The Congress, in their view, is concerned solely with the relations between the Western European Powers and the present colonial territories in Asia and Africa, and not with the question of the two blocs. This view, direct and simple as it is, was not fully shared by some of the European delegates who saw in the menace of the Kremlin a threat to human liberty everywhere. But who is to deny that a man confronted by great danger considers only the way to avoid the threat immediately before him rather than that which may follow when it has been disposed of ?

The working out of a common anti-imperialist strategy by the Asian and African peoples and those true Socialists in Europe who believe, as did Lenin, that there cannot be a socialist colonial policy, is not a matter to be achieved in one Conference. It is something which can be drawn only from continuous working together, from the exhibition of grim determination by the Europeans that they will not change their coats for their own purposes. It needs, too, the frank and open declaration by the European peoples that the time has past when the standard of living in the metropolitan countries could be bolstered by the exploitation of the coloured peoples, and above all that there can never again be an attempt to bring into battle Asians and Africans to defend liberties which are denied to them. The colonial peoples have ideals and aspirations. They want to live and to work for them, not to die for the slogans and catchwords of their present masters. "The enemy of our enemy is our friend" declared one African.

There was one serious gap in the representation. There was no delegation from the Dutch colonies present. The heroic struggle in Indonesia was not told by a delegate from that land. The year before, in Paris, there had been a Dutch delegation of several comrades, and also delegates from Indonesia. In future years there must be a different story to tell, for the anti-imperialist front must be a united one, it must stretch right across the world in one unbroken line of complete resistance to oppression. The imperialist powers have learned to combine the better to exploit the coloured peoples of the world. The lesson is plain: that the colonial peoples themselves must unite the better to gain for each the liberty which all seek.

Above all there rests a serious responsibility on the shoulders of those socialists in Europe who will not sully themselves with the spoils of Empire, those who will not for the sake of glory, of material gain, and in defiance of natural human rights, deny to others the liberty they cherish for themselves. It is our duty, here and now, to show that we too are in the forefront of the struggle.

W.J.Taylor.

(Political Secretary, Common Wealth, Member of the Working Committee of the London Centre of the Congress of Peoples).

# SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE COLONIAL CONGRESS

By Ali

LONDON, Oct. 10 — The Second International Conference of the "Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism" was concluded here after meeting for four days. Delegates from Algeria, Nigeria, Cameroons, Ceylon, French West Africa, Gambia, Gold Coast, India, Madagascar, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, Uganda and Viet Nam were in attendance. It was the most representative colonial conference held since the war.

The main discussion centered around a statement entitled "The Colonial Peoples and War." An original draft submitted on behalf of the International Committee was considered inadequate and a sub-committee prepared a fresh draft which was finally accepted by the Congress. The salient points proclaimed that in the event of a third world war, the attitude of colonial peoples would be "general and vigorous resistance to participation in any imperialist war."

"The colonial peoples," stresses the statement, "refuse to participate in imperialist wars, and are determined to transform imperialist wars into wars of national liberation and socialist emancipation. And it is the duty of the European masses in the event of such struggles, to express their solidarity with the colonial people in concrete form towards helping them achieve these objectives."

The delegates of the Lanka Samasamaja Party and the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party of Ceylon, M. N. Perera and Ali, submitted for discussion a statement outlining the Trotskyist attitude towards the USSR, the colonies and war. This was favorably received, and will be discussed together with any other material inside the affiliated organizations of the Congress.

The most outstanding evolution to date of the role of the Shachtmanites as an anti-Trotskyist tendency emerged during the Congress. The delegate from the "Independent Socialist League," one Mr. Berg, who signed himself as a member of its National Committee, abstained from voting on a declaration from the European Commission pledging active support for the colonial peoples in the fight against imperialism. The reasons he gave were that the statement should have included condemnation of Russian oppression in Eastern Europe. His abstention was received in a hostile manner by the colonial delegates, because it signified that he placed the fight against Russia before the liberation of the colonies from imperialism.

During the elections for the International Committee, Jean Rous, the secretary, objected to the delegates from the Viet

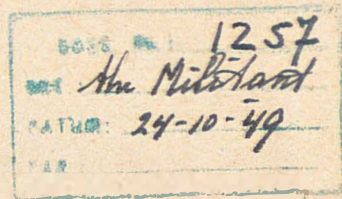
Name Workers of France being represented, on the grounds that the Ho Chi Minh representation had said they would not support the organization if a Trotskyist Viet Name worker were on the International Committee. The Trotskyist delegate, Levan, was the democratically elected representative of 15,000 Viet Name workers resident in France.

The falseness of Rous' objection can be verified by the fact that he himself, as editorial writer of Franc Tireur, is consistently attacked as a Trotskyist in Humanite, organ of the French Communist Party, though of course he is nothing of the kind. As Comrade Levan has pointed out, "If the government of Ho Chi Minh does not sit with Levan, it will not sit with Rous." Besides, the government of Ho Chi Minh is not affiliated to the Congress of Peoples and has no interest in it. The whole thing started as a maneuver by a group of Viet Name Stalinists who were not even present.

By deliberately confusing the colonial delegates on the matter of a "local" organization versus a national one, Rous masked his attack on Trotskyism which lined him on the side of Stalinism. The vote really boiled down to a vote on Trotskyism versus Stalinism. The Shachtmanite delegate joined hands with Rous and the sect known as Common Wealth (whose delegates were mostly Burnhamites) in favor of the exclusion of the Viet Name Workers' organization from the International Committee. The Viet Name Workers were denied a seat by 60 votes to 40.

This fresh Shachtmanite evolution was remarked upon by many delegates. Starting out by abstaining on the resolution which declared that the main fight was against imperialism, he ended up by support for the Stalinist Ho Chi Minh against us. Shachtmanism thus found itself with Moscow against Trotskyism. It is necessary to give this new development the widest publicity because it demonstrates that the Shachtmanites are an anti-working class sect, which stops at nothing in fighting Trotskyism.

While several colonial delegates were confused on the question of procedure, this is now being cleared up and no doubt the whole matter will be reviewed at the earliest opportunity, in view of the widespread misgivings about this anti-Trotskyist maneuver.



1257

~~1257~~

~~Burnham~~ t.s.k.  
9/12

GEHEIM.

11 OCT. 1949

ACD/71505

Verbinding: No.12

8 October 1949.

Doss.146/2

Onderwerp: Congress of peoples against imperialism

Datum ontvangst bericht: 6 October 1949

Betrouwbaarheid berichtgever:---

Waardering bericht:---

Tevens bericht gezonden aan:---

Medewerkende instanties:---

Ondernomen actie:---

B

---

Hierbij word<sup>e</sup>, toegezonden enige stukken betrekking hebbende op de Octoberconferentie van het "Congress of peoples against imperialism", hetwelk te Londen (Eng.) wordt gehouden. (einde)

W. J.

Conditions of Affiliation to the  
Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism

Affiliation to the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism is open to all organisations for national liberation in dependent territories and to anti-imperialist organisations in the metropolitan countries, on the basis of acceptance of the Charter and resolutions of the Puteaux Congress.

Each application for affiliation shall be submitted to the International Committee and shall be accepted or rejected by majority vote.

It has been decided by the International Committee that, until regional centres are set up, applications from organisations in the English-speaking territories shall be made through the London Centre to avoid language difficulties and facilitate the transmission of fees.

Each affiliated organisation is entitled to send delegates to the annual conference at which the International Committee is elected.

CHARTER OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES  
AGAINST IMPERIALISM

1. The Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism is a world organisation founded at Puteaux (France) on the 20th., June, 1948. Its object is to rally the anti-imperialist and democratic movements of the world to fight:

- a) For the national liberation and independence of the colonised peoples;
- b) To prepare these peoples for social liberation through true democracy and for the international unity of peoples in a democratic federation.

2. The Congress of Peoples holds a yearly conference, and is, in the interval, directed by an elected International Committee.

3. The headquarters of the Congress of Peoples is in Paris, at 41 Boulevard Magenta, Paris 10ème. There are regional committees, one in London and others to be formed in Asia, North Africa, Central or West Africa, etc.

4. TO END BRITISH IMPERIALISM

JOINT DECLARATION BY DELEGATES FROM BRITAIN AND FROM  
COUNTRIES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Socialist and anti-imperialist delegates from Britain and various parts of the British Empire, having met at the Congress of Peoples at Puteaux and having surveyed the present position in the countries they represented, reached complete unanimity in regard to the problems and tasks which faced them. They endorsed the following conclusions, which have also been approved by colonial and British representatives in England who were unable to attend the Puteaux Congress.

1. We accept unequivocally and absolutely the right of every people to national self-determination and pledge our full and complete support to the national liberation movements in the Empire in the achievement of this right.
2. We regret any theories about the "cultural and political unfitness" of any people for full, immediate independence and equally the imposition of schemes like "Dominion Status", "Indirect Rule", etc., as a substitute for self-determination and genuine self-government. These schemes are merely replacements of the earlier naked and open exploitation of the colonies, utilising the method of collaboration with the native bourgeoisie who themselves fear mass movements. By this alliance for joint exploitation of the colonial peoples the Imperialists are seeking to safeguard the dominance of finance capital in these countries.
3. We reject any economic development schemes, such as the East and West African ground nut projects, in which the indigenous peoples are not fully consulted or in which they do not act as equal-partners.
4. The achievement of power by the British Labour Party was greeted with great hope by the colonial peoples. They expected a complete break with the imperialist policies of preceding British Governments and the offer of help to the oppressed and exploited peoples in the Empire and outside it. This hope was encouraged by the decision to withdraw the British occupation forces from the territory of India, and subsequently to recognise the national sovereignty of Burma. Unfortunately, however, on the whole, the British Labour Government has failed the colonial peoples. We recall with particular regret the support given to the Netherlands and French Imperialists in their wars against the peoples of Indonesia and Viet-Nam, and the failure to recognise and support both the Indonesian and Viet-Namese Republics. We condemn the support given to the South African Government at the United Nations on the question of the future of South-West Africa, and on the issue of racial legislation for South African Indians. We condemn its attitude to the Nigerian delegation in England. The ameliorative measures of social welfare, health, housing, public works and education initiated by the Labour Government do not wipe out the stain of this record.
5. We vehemently protest against the employment of force in dealing with grievances of the colonial peoples. Within a short period we have witnessed the use of physical suppression in the Gold Coast, Malaya and British Guiana. We believe these methods to be utterly unworthy of the British Labour Movement.
6. We welcome the efforts of British and European Socialists towards the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe which would co-operate on an equal and fraternal basis with the free peoples of Africa and Asia: but we are aware that some of the supporters of European Federation see in it a method of bolstering up the decaying imperialist empires and advocate a Western Union as a method of strengthening the exploitation of the colonial peoples.

## OUR DEMAND

7. We demand that the British Government recognise the right to independence of all the peoples in the British Empire. The Government should meet the representatives of the colonial peoples and, in agreement with them, appoint a time limit after which British rule will cease and power be handed over to the democratically elected Constituent Assemblies. The British representatives should raise the whole colonial question at the United Nations and propose that a similar procedure should be accepted by all the colonial empires.

8. The colonial peoples reject the frequently artificial and meaningless boundaries in the existing empires; they are mainly a product of imperialist conquest and reflect arbitrary divisions between the various imperialist powers. Examples of this are West Africa, where peoples of the same race, culture and tradition have been divided among three empires, and Malaya, where for strategic reasons Singapore has been forcibly isolated from the peoples of the peninsula. These unnatural partitions not only outrage racial unity, but involve economic and social hardships of a grave character. We unreservedly accept the rights of the colonial peoples to revise these frontiers, and to enter into regional federations superseding the present imperialist boundaries. These arrangements, however, must develop through the free choice of the peoples involved, and where, as in the case of the Sudan, (although technically not in the British colony) political associations have been imposed against the will of the people, the right of national self-determination must be recognised.

9. The conditions in which the peoples of the British Empire live are often extremely backward, and the problems which face them vary markedly from country to country and from continent to continent. They can, however, be broadly summarised as follows:-

a. The need for comprehensive agrarian reform. The majority of the people are agriculturalists, but millions of them live under starvation conditions, land hunger is appalling, and the land question is fundamental to them. The soil is suffering from erosion, lack of irrigation and fertilisers, and productive cultivation. There is a grave lack of mechanical aids, scientific agricultural education and co-operative organisation (credit, marketing and cultivation).

b. The need for industrial development in the interests of the people, accompanied by co-operatively organised cottage industries in rural areas. Private enterprise is no longer capable of any comprehensive industrial development and is in any case actuated only by the profit motive. Any further development must, therefore, be initiated by the government in full consultation and free association with representatives of the colonial people. The industries established must be handed over to the governments of the independent states as soon as they are formed and the right of these states to decide the future status of existing private industries must be recognised. Meanwhile, big monopolies, like Unilever, should be socialised and used for the benefit of the peoples concerned, and the profits of other industries should be heavily taxed to provide a fund for the improvement of health and educational facilities.

c. The immediate abolition of any repressive colour legislation, in the economic, political, social and legal spheres. The right of free association and legislation, including free speech, free press, unhampered trade union and peasant union activity, etc. Existing legislative and administrative bodies must be immediately democratised on the basis of universal suffrage.

d. Complete impartiality on all issues related to religious communities and minorities. Imperialism has used religious, communal and racial differences to maintain its power by the policy of divide and rule. Even today new antagonisms are being aroused in West Africa between the Moslem and other communities, whilst in East Africa the pernicious principle of special electorates for the Hindus and Moslems has been recently introduced. So far from fostering these divisions the aim must be to end them.

c. A comprehensive health scheme, the introduction and extension of social services and the minimum standard of wages and working conditions endorsed by the I.L.O. Convention, 1943. It is estimated that in Africa on the average infantile mortality is 50%. The population is ravaged by sleeping sickness, malaria, tuberculosis, syphilis, intestinal worms and other diseases, whilst the shortage of doctors, nurses, hospitals, medicine, etc., is appalling. This is illustrated by the situation in Nigeria, where there is one doctor and 0.3 hospital beds to 133,000 of the population. Old age pensions, unemployment insurance and other aspects of social security hardly exist, and where they do exist are a mere pittance.

f. Free education for every child. The fight against illiteracy and cultural backwardness is a fundamental problem facing the colonial peoples, and they require assistance in the form of school buildings, books, educational experts, etc.

g. British representatives in the colonies should be appointed from those who fully accept the rights of the colonial peoples to freedom and who are animated by a sense of full racial equality.

5. Organisations and groups accepting the above objects and affiliating to the Congress are required to pay the following half-yearly subscriptions:-

International Affiliation,

Large National Movements:	£25
National Organisations :	£20
Small National Organisations:	£10
Regional or Local Groups:	£5

National Affiliation

Branches of National Organisations	5/-
Regional " " "	"

APPLICATION FORM

NAME OF ORGANISATION.....

ADDRESS OF SECRETARY.....

.....

NUMBER OF MEMBERS.....

AIMS AND OBJECTS.....

(Please attach a copy of the constitution)

On (date)..... at (description of meeting).....

.....

the above organisation decided to apply to the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism for affiliation. It subscribes to the aims set out in the Conditions for Affiliation and is willing to pay the affiliation fee due as set out in the said Conditions.

Signed:-.....Office.....



# THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND WAR

International Conference, London, October 8th and 9th, 1949

THE CONFERENCE PROGRAMME  
called by the

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

A year ago, at a conference held at Puteaux, near Paris, 325 delegates from 87 organisations in 33 countries decided to form the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

The Congress is now recognised as the most representative organ of the world-wide movement for national liberation and racial equality. The most influential socialist and democratic organisations in Asia and Africa are associated with it, as well as important sections of the European socialist movement.

The Congress is based on two principles:—

1. **The unconditional Right of the Colonial Peoples to Independence;**
2. **Independence of the two Power Blocs, and the right of colonial peoples to decide their attitude to war preparations and war.**

An international conference will be held at the Civic Theatre, Bow Road, Poplar, London, on Saturday and Sunday, October 8th and 9th, 1949, on the basis of these principles. We invite your organisation to be represented.

The conference will survey the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world and will hear reports from all colonial delegations, particularly from countries where the struggle is most acute—Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Madagascar and the British and French Colonies in Africa. It will plan united international action to assist these peoples and to hasten the end of imperialism everywhere.

**The conference will also consider an important declaration on the subject of war prepared on behalf of socialist and democratic organisations in Asia, Africa and Europe.**

Too often the attitude of the colonial peoples towards the threatening war is ignored, but throughout Africa and Asia there is intense feeling on this question. The London Conference will give all colonial peoples the opportunity to make clear their position on this momentous issue.

You will appreciate the importance of this conference. We aim at making it representative of the anti-imperialist movements of the world and invite delegates not only from Asia, Africa and Europe, but from America and Australasia.

National organisations will be entitled to six delegates and local organisations to two delegates. Please inform us at once of your decision to participate (by cable or air mail, if overseas). If any organisation overseas is unable to send delegates resident in their country, we shall welcome accredited representatives already in Europe.

**On behalf of the International Committee,**

FENNER BROCKWAY (Britain), Chairman.

JEAN ROUS (France), General Secretary.

D. FARES (Tunisia), Treasurer.

**On behalf of the London Committee,**

KWESI LAMPETY (West Africa), Chairman.

K. L. JALIE (India), Treasurer.

BETTY HAMILTON (Britain)

MARY KLOPPER (South Africa)

} Joint Secretaries.

Please reply to:

MIKE TURNER, Organising Secretary,

CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM,

SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, LONDON, W.1.

Visitors will be welcomed to the Conference on the Colonies and War on Sunday, October 9th.  
Tickets 1/- each.  
Apply early to the Organising Secretary.

## THE CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6th

3 p.m. to 10 p.m.—Officers of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism will be present at SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, LONDON, W.1 (nearest Underground Station: Tottenham Court Road) to welcome delegates and to issue credentials.

NOTE: All delegates from *affiliated overseas organisations* are expected to arrive by this date.

### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7th

10 a.m.—Officers will be present at the Conference Office, Bromley Public Hall, Poplar (nearest underground station: Bow Road), to welcome delegates and to issue credentials. Delegates will be asked to name the Commission on which they wish to serve.

7.30 p.m.—Reception to overseas delegates. Particulars will be given later.

#### *Preliminary Meetings*

9.30 a.m.—Meeting of the International Working Committee of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism at BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road).

11 a.m. and 3 p.m.—Annual General Meeting of the Congress of Peoples at the *above address*. Report on activities since the Puteaux Conference by the General Secretary, Jean Rous. Full discussion.

NOTE: Voting rights at this meeting will be limited to representatives from organisations *affiliated to the Congress of Peoples*, but all delegates and visitors are invited to attend.

### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8th

10 a.m.—Meeting of Commissions at BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road), to receive reports from the colonial delegations. It is proposed that there should be three Commissions: (1) Africa, (2) Asia, and (3) the Americas, including the Caribbean area.

8 p.m.—Meeting of the Full Conference at the *above address* to receive reports from the Commissions.

### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9th

10 a.m. to 10 p.m.—Meeting of the Full Conference at the CIVIC THEATRE, BOW ROAD, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road). *Subject: THE COLONIES AND WAR.*

### MONDAY, OCTOBER 10th

#### *Follow-up Meetings*

10 a.m.—Meeting of the International Committee of the Congress of Peoples at BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road).

11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.—Meeting of delegates from organisations *affiliated to the Congress of Peoples* and of delegates *who have decided to recommend their organisations to affiliate*, at the *above address*.

*Subject: FUTURE ACTIVITIES.* Election of the new International Committee and officers.

NOTE: Voting rights at this meeting will be limited to representatives from organisations *affiliated to the Congress of Peoples*, but all delegates and visitors are invited to attend.

5 p.m.—Meeting of the new International Committee at the *above address*.

8 p.m.—Social Gathering for delegates and friends. Particulars will be given later.

## THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND WAR

### DECLARATION TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, LONDON

7th-10th OCTOBER, 1949

The colonial peoples, no less than the peoples of sovereign nations, live under the threat of a Third World War.

They fought and suffered in the first and second world wars. Hundreds of thousands of Asians and Africans served as soldiers, often in distant lands. Many of their territories were devastated, their homes and farms and industries ruined. When the fighting was over, their lands were often left to chaos and famine.

The peoples of sovereign countries suffered similarly; but they participated in political affairs and had some responsibility for the wars. Their governments took part in international politics prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and in the case of major nations at least, made the decision which took their populations into war.

This was not the case with colonial peoples. They had no voice in the international policies which preceded the wars. They had no voice in the decision to be at war.

#### A PSYCHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Nevertheless, in the first world war most of the peoples of the colonial countries accepted the fate thrust upon them by alien imperialist governments. National consciousness had not developed to the point of resistance.

In the second world war thirty years later, the position was different. National consciousness had grown. In India, the National Congress refused to co-operate in a war "for democracy" whilst their peoples were denied democracy. In the Italian colonies of North Africa, the popular movements maintained their struggle against their rulers. In Indonesia, Malaya and Burma, the indifference of the peoples to the issue of war was largely responsible for the failure of European troops to hold these territories.

We are now menaced by a third world war—and once more the position of the colonial peoples has advanced. In the first war, acquiescence. In the second, partial resistance. In a third, there is no doubt what the reaction would be. It would be general and vigorous resistance to enforced participation in any hostilities which had not been freely and democratically endorsed by the peoples themselves.

During and since the second world war the changed outlook of the colonial peoples has amounted to a psychological revolution. The colonial peoples have seen India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon gain their national sovereignty. They have been inspired by the struggle of the peoples of Indonesia and Viet-Nam for independence. In every colonial country the claim for self-government and self-determination has swept the peoples and become their dominant aim.

In mind and spirit they have outgrown the bondage of subservience. Already in their feeling and thinking they are the equals of their alien rulers. Only material force keeps them in subjection.

This psychological revolution dooms any hope which the imperial governments may have that the peoples of the colonial countries will serve as obedient tools in a third world war.

#### WAR PREPARATIONS

Nor does this issue arise only when war is declared. Some of the imperial powers—the French Government, for example—impose compulsory military service upon the young manhood of their colonies even in peace-time. It is an outrage upon liberty that compulsory duties should be exacted from peoples who have not the freedom to decide when and for what purpose military action shall be taken.

A similar crime against freedom is being committed by the British Government, which is establishing armed strongholds at strategic points in its African colonies in preparation for war and at the same time raising forces to maintain internal order. Imperialism could not be more arrogant. First the colonial peoples are committed to war without their consent. Second, measures are taken to break their resistance.

#### THE ATLANTIC PACT AND WESTERN UNION

The arrogance of the imperial governments finds extreme example in the inclusion of one of the French colonies—Algeria—within the terms of the Atlantic Pact. The democratic organisations of the Algerian people have made it clear that they do not accept obligations imposed on them without their consent and that they hold themselves free to determine their own course in the event of war.

The colonial people are particularly concerned about the military effects upon their liberties of the movement towards the union of the nations of Western Europe. Already the pact between Britain, France, and the Benelux countries provides for common military action in the colonies of these powers, and proposals for a more comprehensive Western Union assume that the colonies will be included within the united military strategy.

The colonial peoples recognise the right of the nations of Europe to federate if they so desire: they claim the same right for themselves in Asia and Africa, irrespective of the artificial imperial boundaries which have been imposed.

But the colonial peoples emphatically deny the right of European nations to determine the action of the peoples of other Continents in the event of war. This is the inalienable right of the African and Asian peoples themselves, and they will assert it whatever the consequences may be.

#### THE TWO-POWER BLOCS

The issue which divides the world and which threatens war is often described as that of democracy against dictatorship. The colonial peoples are not indifferent to this issue. Indeed, their own struggle for freedom can be stated in these very terms—it is a struggle against dictatorship and for democracy.

But the colonial peoples experience this ugly paradox: It is the same nations which claim to stand for democracy in the present world conflict of ideologies who are responsible for denying democracy to the peoples of Africa and Asia. The powers which maintain political imperialism are Western European powers, and there can be no more tyrannical dictatorship than imperialism.

The colonial peoples cannot regard the present division of the world as a reflection of the conflicting principles of dictatorship and democracy so long as nations which claim to represent democracy continue to govern other peoples against their will, to occupy their territories by armed force, and to exploit their peoples and their natural resources.

The colonial peoples will not associate themselves with either of the two power blocs into which the world is divided.

They are at present outlaws in world affairs, with no right to representation in international discussions or to a place within the family of nations. So long as they are excluded from responsibility for international decisions, the colonial peoples decline to accept responsibility for their implementation. They cannot become parties to international obligations until recognition is given of their rights as independent nations.

The Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations is based on this fundamental principle: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

Freedom, equality, dignity and rights all demand that no people shall be required to participate in war except by their own decision. The issue of war or peace is the most momentous which any people has to face. It is intolerable that a people should not make the choice themselves.

On this basic ground the colonial peoples now announce their determination to refuse co-operation with their alien rulers in war and their resolve to maintain the struggle for independence, in war as in peace, until their claim to freedom and equality is unreservedly recognised.

The colonial peoples have seen India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon gain their national sovereignty. They have been inspired by the struggle of the peoples of Indonesia and Viet-Nam for independence. In every colonial country the claim for self-government and self-determination has swept the peoples and become their dominant aim. It is now a matter of time before the peoples of the world will have entered the era of self-determination. The colonial peoples are the equals of their alien rulers. Only material force keeps them in subjection.

This psychological revolution brings any hope which the imperial governments may have that the peoples of the colonial countries will serve as obedient tools in a third world war.

#### WAR PREPARATIONS

For does this issue arise only when war is declared? Some of the imperial powers—the French Government, for example—impose compulsory military service upon the young manpower of their colonies even in peacetime. It is an outrage upon liberty that compulsory duties should be exacted from peoples who have not the freedom to decide when and for what purpose military action shall be taken.

A similar crime against freedom is being committed by the British Government which is establishing strongholds at strategic points in its African colonies in preparation for war and at the same time raising forces to maintain internal order. Imperialism could not be more arrogant. First the colonial peoples are committed to war without their consent. Second measures are taken to crush their resistance.

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The arrogance of the imperial governments finds extreme example in the manner of one of the French colonies—Algeria—within the terms of the Atlantic Pact. The democratic organisations of the Algerian people have made it clear that they do not accept obligations imposed on them without their consent and that they hold themselves free to determine their own course in the event of war.

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The colonial peoples recognise the right of the nations of Europe to federate if they so desire. They claim the same right for themselves in Asia and Africa irrespective of the artificial imperial boundaries which have been imposed. But the colonial peoples emphatically deny the right of European nations to determine the action of the peoples of other continents in the event of war. This is the inalienable right of the African and Asian peoples themselves and they will assert it whatever the consequences may be.

#### THE TWO-POWER BLOC

The issue which divides the world and which threatens war is often described as that of democracy against dictatorship. The colonial peoples are not in the least interested in this issue. Indeed their own struggle for democracy is a struggle against dictatorship and for democracy.

## SUPPORTERS OF THE CONGRESS

The following sponsored the Puteaux Conference, which initiated the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism:

- BRITAIN**  
 JOHN BAIRD, M.P.  
 WILL BALLANTINE (Railwaymen)  
 JOHN BATTLE, M.P.  
 TOM BRADDOCK, M.P.  
 SEYMOUR COCKS, M.P.  
 W. COLDRICK, M.P. (Chairman of the Co-operative Party)  
 Prof. G. D. H. COLE (Author and Economist)  
 A. M. CRAWLEY, M.P.  
 HERBERT H. ELVIN (ex-President T.U.C.)  
 JON EVANS (Author)  
 E. FERNYHOUGH, M.P.  
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 D. MASON (Co-operative Educationalist)  
 JOHN McGOVERN, M.P.  
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 FRED MEISSER, M.P.  
 IAN MIKARDO, M.P.  
 RALPH MORLEY, M.P.  
 WALTER PADLEY (Distributive Workers)  
 G. A. PARTIGER, M.P.  
 JOHN RANKIN, M.P.  
 F. A. RIDLEY (Author)  
 SYDNEY S. SILVERMAN, M.P.  
 T. W. STAMFORD, M.P.  
 LORD STRABOLGI  
 PERCY WILLIAMS (Treasurer I.L.P.)  
 VICTOR YATES, M.P.
- EUROPE**  
 SIMON WICHENE, International Committee Against Racism  
 THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY (S.F.I.O.)  
 ENDORSED THE CONGRESS
- HOLLAND**  
 H. VAN RANDWIJK, Editor of "Vrij Nederland"  
 DR. HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST, Author and Editor of "De Vlam"  
 J. E. STOOKIS, ex-Deputy  
 B. VAN TILJN, Colonial Specialist from Indonesia  
 N. VILBRIEF, Chairman of Trade Union of Administrative Staffs  
 S. DE WOLFF, Economist and Chairman of the Socialist Working Committee of the Union of European Federalists in Holland
- POLAND**  
 ADAM CIOLKOSZ, ex-Socialist Deputy  
 FRANCOIS GORALCZYK, ex-Member of Underground Polish Government  
 ZYGMUNT ZAREMBA, ex-Socialist Deputy and International Socialist Bureau
- GREECE**  
 DNY S BENETATOS, Socialist Agrarian Party  
 MICHEL DESYLAS, Pan-Hellenic Democratic Youth  
 STRATIS PAPAYOANNOU, Greek Socialist Group  
 S. T. WITTE, Archeo-Marxist Party
- ASIA**  
**INDIA**  
 Mahatma Gandhi, just before he was assassinated, discussed the Paris Congress with Prof. N. G. Ranga, a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. Gandhi agreed that Prof. Ranga should attend as a representative of the All-India Kisan Congress and of the Colonial People's Freedom Front.  
 Bajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian National Congress, supported the endorsement given by Gandhi. The National Executive of the Indian Socialist Party decided to send a full delegation to the Congress.
- KOREA**  
 DR. SYNGMAN RHEE, Representative of the Social Democratic Party
- AFRICA**  
**SUDAN**  
 Jacoub Osman, Umma Party representative in London, wrote: "We who represent the great movement for liberty and independence in the Sudan, welcome the Congress and wholeheartedly associate ourselves with its deliberations, the usefulness of which is beyond doubt."
- THE CAMEROONS**  
 M. NININE, Socialist Deputy
- ALGERIA**  
 M. RABIER, Deputy and Representative of the Socialist Federation of Algeria
- TUNISIA**  
 M. BIDEI, Councillor and Representative of the Socialist Federation of Tunisia
- GABON**  
 M. AUBAME, Deputy
- NIGERIA**  
 The Trades Union Congress of Nigeria nominated the following economic experts to assist in preparing material for the Congress.  
 OBAFEMI AWOLowo, B.Com., LL.B.  
 H. O. DAVIES, B.Com., LL.B.  
 M. BONU OJIKI, M.A., M.Sc.  
 F. OGUNSEYE
- GOLD COAST**  
 W. Owen Esseman (General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention) wrote: "We are very happy to know of the Congress and I am directed to assure you of our interest and sympathy for its success. We are glad to associate ourselves with the Congress and shall endeavour to be represented."
- SIERRA LEONE**  
 H. Wallace Johnson, General Secretary of the West African Civil Liberties and National Defence League, the West African Youth League, and the Sierra Leone Youth League
- SENEGAL**  
 CHARLES CROS, Councillor of the Republic  
 DJIM MOMAR GUEYE, Councillor of the French Union  
 DIOP OUSMANE SOCE, Councillor of the Republic  
 LEOPOLD SENGHOR, Socialist Deputy
- SOUTH AFRICA**  
 SENATOR BASNER cabled from Cape Town: "Consider your Congress vitally necessary and important. I wish you success in building a socialist bloc, especially one in which the coloured races can participate in equality and brotherhood. This is humanity's only hope of survival."  
 S. A. JAJIYA, Joint-Secretary of the Non-European Unity Committee  
 SUNDRAY PILLAY, Chairman of the Cape Passive Resistance Council  
 Dr. LEON SZUR  
 The Pan-African Federation was represented by observers at the Congress.
- AMERICA**  
**BRITISH GUIANA**  
 C. B. Jacob, President of the Guiana United Trade Union, and on behalf of the British Guiana Labour Party.  
 The Hon. Ayube Edun, President of the Man Power Citizens
- FRENCH GUIANA**  
 LEON DAMAS, Socialist Deputy and Representative of the "Mouvement Renaissance Guyanaise"  
 YACINE DIALLO, Deputy
- GUADELOUPE**  
 M. VALENTINO, Socialist Deputy
- MARTINIQUE**  
 Dr. VERY-HERMENCE, Socialist Deputy  
 EMMANUEL VERY, Deputy
- U.S.A.**  
 THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS REPRESENTED BY FOUR OBSERVERS AT THE CONGRESS

The following have agreed to sponsor the forthcoming conference in London:

EUROPE

- BRITAIN
LEAH MANNING, M.P.
JAMES HUDSON, M.P.
JOHN BATTLE, M.P.
ELIZABETH BRADDOCK, M.P.
C. W. GIBSON, M.P.
E. FERNYHOUGH, M.P.
R. MORLEY, M.P.
J. P. W. MALLALIEU, M.P.
R. J. DAVIS, M.P.
H. MONSLOW, M.P.
MURIEL WALLERSTEAD-NICHOL, M.P.
HENRY USBORNE, M.P.
JOHN RANKIN, M.P.
ARTHUR W. G. LEWIS, M.P.
RONALD CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.
BEN PARKIN, M.P.
LESTER HUTCHINSON, M.P.
T. BRADDOCK, M.P.
J. HUDSON, M.P.
OLAF STAPLETON (Author)
ETHEL MANNIN (Author)
FRANK HERRABIN (Author)
F. A. RIDLEY (Historian)
JACK STANLEY (Gen. Sec. Contry. Eng. Union)
BOB EDWARDS (Gen. Sec., Chemical Workers' Union)
CYRIL COOPER (Ass. Gen. Sec., Civil Servants Tech. Assn.)
STUART MORRIS (P.P.U.)
JOHN MCNAUL (L.L.F.)
J. G. BANKS (Commonwealth)
FRANCE
CLAUDE BOURDET (Director of 'Combed')
GEORGES ALTMANN (Editor of 'France-Tireur')
JEAN PAUL SARRRE (Author and playwright)
LEOPOLD SENGHOR (Socialist Deputy)

- DAVID ROUSSET (R.D.R.)
MARCEAU PIVERT (Executive Council, S.F.I.O.)
PAUL ALDUY (President Soc. Group in the Assembly of the French Union)
HOLLAND
JEF LAST (E.C. de Ham)
LUXEMBOURG
LUCHEL RASQUIN (Luxemburg Socialist Workers)
SPAIN
JULIAN GORDIN
E. GIRONELLA
PETRO (P.O.U.C.M.)
POLAND
ADAM CIOLKOSZ (Ex-Socialist deputy)
AFRICA

- ALGERIA
MEZERNOR (President of M.T.L.D.)
MOBOCCO
ALAOUF AHMED (Islamic Party)
BOUALIEL ABDERRHIM (Islamic Party)
TUNISIA
DJELLOULI FARES (Neodestour)
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
LAMINE GUEYE (Deputy-Mayor of Dakar)
ALIOUNE DIOP (For me Coun. of the Republic, Director of 'Presence Africaine')

- NIGERIA
Dr. NNAMDI AZIKWE (President National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons)
SIERRA LEONE
WALLACE JOHNSON (Gen. Sec. West African Civil Liberties and National Defence League)
UGANDA
J. K. MUSAZI (President, African Farmers' Union)
SOUTH AFRICA
Dr. LEON SZUR (Socialist Group)
GOLD COAST
KWAME N'KRUMAH (Secretary of Gold Coast Convention)
ASIA
INDIA
JAYAPRAKASH NARAIN (Indian Socialist Party)
Dr. PRASAD VARMA (Indian Socialist Party)
Prof. AN7 G. RANGA (All India Kisan Congress)
SARAT CHANDRA BOSE (Republican Socialist Party)
Dr. SAMBO (President, French-Indian Association)
MADAGASCAR
Dr. RAKOTO RATOMAMANGA
VIET-NAM
KHUONG (Socialist Party of Viet-Nam)
U.S.A.
Dr. DU BOIS

DELEGATION FORM

Name of Organisation
Names of delegates (with particulars of offices held etc.):

INDIA
PAUL ALDUY, President of the Socialist Union
HENRI BARRE, Member of the National Council of the French Socialist Party
ROGER CLAIR, Secretary of the Socialist Federation

AMERICA

BRITISH GUIANA
President of the Guianas United Trade Union and on behalf of the British Guiana Labour Party.
The Hon. Ayube Eban, President of the Tan Power Citizens

We accept the two basic principles of the Conference.

AFRICA

Signature of Secretary or Chairman.

LEON DAMAS, Secretary of the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo
M. VALENTINO, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Africa

Delegations from overseas will not be charged any delegation fee in view of the cost of travelling to London. British delegations will be charged 5s. per delegation. This fee should be forwarded with this application.

On receipt of this form at the London Centre, a letter of acknowledgment, containing information regarding transport services in London, etc., will be forwarded. Credentials and further details will be issued on arrival as indicated in the Conference Programme (page two).

# COLONIAL FREEDOM

INFORMATION BULLETIN OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

LONDON CENTRE : SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY ST., W.I. 'PHONE MUSEUM 7277

## October Conference issue

### *Contents*

- **SINCE PUTEAUX**  
*Editorial*
- **FOR YOUR FREEDOM & OURS**  
*Leon Szur*
- **GOLD COAST TO-DAY**  
*Kwesi Lamptey*
- **THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM  
IN UGANDA**  
*I. Musazi*
- **BUILDING AN EMPIRE**  
*Reprinted - "African Standard"*

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INTERNATIONAL CENTRE : 41 BLDE MAGENTA, PARIS

## S I N C E P U T E A U X .

The Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism was formed at a conference at Puteaux, Paris, on 18-21 June, 1948.

The initiative in calling this conference came from the International Committee for the U.S.S.E., which included some of the most uncompromisingly internationalist and anti-imperialist sections of the European labour movement, the Indian Socialist Party, and some of the national liberation movements in the French colonies. It was the first attempt since the early thirties, i.e. since the ill-fated League Against Imperialism and War, to create a world-wide organisation aiming at closer co-operation between and co-ordination of the anti-imperialist forces. It was obvious that a conference of this nature would attract elements differing widely in political, economic and social aims, and often suspicious of each others sincerity. The greatest part of the conference, therefore, was spent in defining a common minimum basis (which was set out in the section adopted under the heading - Our Demands, and Plan of Action). This can be summarised briefly as consisting in (1) the recognition of the unconditional right of all peoples to national self-determination, and (2) opposition to and independence from the two power blocs. The practical activities envisaged were: co-ordination and mutual assistance between the affiliated organisations, the dissemination of information and anti-imperialist propaganda, the initiation of world-wide campaigns against imperialism and racial oppression.

A very valuable economic report surveying the position in Africa, Asia and Europe was also adopted. A Permanent International Committee, consisting of ten representatives of each of the three continents was elected, to conduct Congress work in the intervals between international conferences. It was decided that the headquarters of the organisation would be situated in Paris. Shortly after the Puteaux Conference, a subsidiary centre was established in London to co-ordinate the activities in Britain, the Dominions and the British Empire. Holland and the Dutch Colonies are also connected with this centre. It is hoped that further centres will be formed in the future (e.g. South-East Asia, North Africa, Americas etc.) in conformity with the structure of the Congress, which is that of a federal body and which does not attempt to usurp the functions of its affiliated organisations.

The full international Committee met five times during the last year, the meetings lasting usually about two days. The activities of the Congress have been manifold. A great deal of general anti-imperialist propaganda has been disseminated. Each meeting of the International Committee heard reports, surveyed the position in the various colonial countries and

adopted resolutions which were distributed to the press and press-agencies and published in the Congress Bulletins. Public meetings and demonstrations were organised. For example, thousands of people attended meetings held in Paris on the subjects of the Madagascar trials and oppression in Africa, during October 1948, and against the war in Indonesia, Viet-Nam and Malaya in April 1949. In London, a well-attended and well-organised demonstration and public meeting was held in January 1949 to protest against the Indonesian war, and was given wide publicity in the press and on the radio.

The Congress has been largely instrumental in bringing to the notice of world-opinion the tragic events in Madagascar and Uganda. It has on numerous occasions taken up specific problems of national and political oppression and in the process made contact with the U.N.O., the Colonial Secretary, etc.

We sent speakers and participated in meetings and conferences wherever there was an opportunity of putting the anti-imperialist case.

Separate bulletins have been issued from Paris and from London in French and English respectively, and the interchange of information between the two publications has proved extremely valuable.

Summing up, we can say with confidence that the Congress has performed a great deal of useful work in the first year of its existence and that it has already proved its value to the colonial and oppressed peoples. Whilst taking a justifiable pride in this, we must admit that we are suffering from various shortcomings. The Congress must extend its sphere of influence. Whilst the overwhelming majority of the national movements of the French Empire are affiliated to the Congress, there is still much progress to be made in the British Empire. In this connection we are pleased to report the recent affiliation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and of the national movement in Sierra Leone. Our lack of support in Central and Southern Africa is due partly to the weakness and immaturity of the indigenous movements themselves, and here the Congress has an important opportunity for offering political and technical assistance to the embryonic organisations now being built there. But it is also due in part to an organisational deficiency in that the Congress has failed to establish contact with them and to demonstrate the advantages of international co-operation. In the Americas, and especially South America, which is suffering under the yoke of the U.S.A. imperialism, our influence is practically non-existent. It will be the duty of the Congress in the coming year to attract into its fold the American progressive and socialist organisations.

The Congress must also establish closer relations with the international trade union movement. Our October Conference will deal with the impending war-danger under the heading "Colon-

ial People and War", but the colonial people are already suffering the horrors of war. A brutal war is being waged at present in Viet-Nam and Malaya, has just taken place in Indonesia, and a state approaching open warfare exists in many parts of Africa. The Congress must come to the aid of the colonial people affected. It cannot do so effectively without the support and understanding of Trade Unionists. This is, therefore, one of the most urgent tasks facing us.

Another problem before us is the necessity for improving our existing organisation. The main difficulty is a financial one. Because of a shortage of funds, the Congress has still no full-time secretary, the monthly bulletins are reduced and far smaller than they should be. Many urgent activities are held back because of lack of money. The delegates to the conference must seriously consider ways and means of assuring a stable and sufficient income to the Congress headquarters. Also, greater internal cohesion must be established. Closer relations will have to develop between the centres and the affiliated organisations, and between the affiliated organisations themselves. Whilst avoiding the overcentralisation of the League Against Imperialism and War of the past, we require a combination of autonomy and integration in the carrying out of our common international tasks.

The Congress should not be an organisation to which an affiliated organisation comes for help when it is faced with difficulties at home and is ignored in the intervals.

POTENTIALLY THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES HAS A GREAT FUTURE BEFORE IT. IT CAN BE THE MOST IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND. THE PRESENT CONFERENCE MUST ENSURE THAT IT IS CAPABLE OF FULFILLING THIS TASK.

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C A B L E F R O M P R I S O N .

REINER BROCKWAY PRESIDENT CONGRESS PEOPLES LONDON  
MANY THANKS. TRUTH & JUSTICE SHALL TRIUMPH =  
RASETA.

The Congress of Peoples was extremely proud and happy to receive this cable from Raseto, member of Parliament and leader of the Malgash people. It was a reply to a message of sympathy and solidarity with him and his colleagues sent by Congress to the prison where they were under sentence of death.

We are pleased to be able to inform our readers that the death-sentence has been commuted to life-inprisonment. This is of course not satisfactory, but at least the lives of our comrades have been saved.

The Madagascar delegates at the International Committee meeting held at Paris in July expressed their gratitude to the Congress and especially to the London Centre for its work in making the case of Madagascar known to the world and breaking the screen of silence created by the French Government. They expressed their belief that the commutation of the death sentence was due mainly to these efforts.

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Following on our campaign, as reported in the previous issue of the Bulletin, we have received a letter from the Indian Delegation at U.N.O. stating that it has referred our appeal to the Indian Government for further action. A letter of acknowledgement was also received from the Chinese delegation.

The Madagascar question has been put on the agenda of the Human Rights Commission of U.N.O.

As our readers know, because of the reign of terror in Madagascar, conditions in the island are extremely bad. Industrial and agricultural development has ceased and there is a grave shortage of food, shelter, clothing, and medical supplies. The Congress of Peoples has appealed to the International Red Cross and the national Red Cross organisations in various countries for immediate help. We have also called on our affiliated organisations for political and material support.

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FOR YOUR FREEDOM AND OURS.

Leon Szur - (Member of the International Committee).

Until very recently, the question of colonial freedom, of the struggle against imperialism, was an academic one for the main stream of the working class movement in the imperialist countries. Colonial oppression was something one had a bad conscience about; one heaved a sigh and passed a pious resolution at an annual conference and that was, on the whole, that. The fact was that the exploitation of the colonies, the degradation, poverty and sickness of the colonial people were often the basis for the slightly more favourable conditions of some sections of the metropolitan working-class, especially those in the more skilled trades and professions. Low wages and terrible working conditions in the colonies enabled the imperialists to offer a better standard of life to the labour aristocracy in their own countries. The reformist labour and trade-union leaders understood the situation very well and it is therefore not surprising that in the colonial sphere their record has been even more reactionary than in the others. In nearly every struggle they sided with the capitalist masters. The anti-imperialist struggle for colonial freedom was usually taken up only by isolated individuals or socialist groupings, "cranks", who were the only ones to realise that

by permitting the enslavement of the black workers the white worker strengthens the hands of his own oppressors and builds up a constant threat to his own liberty and living standards. The Communist movement was for a while an exception. The Russian revolution brought hope to the colonial people and for a period Communists were in the vanguard of the fighters for colonial freedom. However the general degeneration of the Communist movement in Europe found its inevitable reflection in the colonies and the Communists there began to manipulate the liberation movements for what were primarily the national interests of Soviet Russia. This was especially striking during the fluctuations of policy in the war years, and innumerable examples in Asia and Africa could be quoted, but do not come into the scope of this article.

The situation was, therefore, that the overwhelming majority of the working-class was disinterested in the anti-imperialist struggle and its members found no community of interests between themselves and their "backward, uncivilised" brothers.

The second world war has produced a remarkable change in the attitude of the European working-class movement. This has been due partly to the growing militancy and strength of the colonial people, who are no longer prepared to be tutored and led by the nose, even by trade-union bureaucrats and reformist politicians. But an important reason also was the change in the position of Europe itself.

The process which began during the 1914-1918 war is now reaching completion. Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and Belgium, the main colonial powers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, have lost their imperial power to the U.S.A. Regardless of their position whether as allies or as enemies in the last war, these powers are becoming junior (very junior) partners of American imperialism. This was the inevitable development of capitalism in its final stages and has led to America, with its tremendous concentration of economic and political power, achieving the hegemony on the capitalist world stage. The U.S.A. has captured the major part of the world-markets, the raw materials and the capital investments of the European capitalists. The latter are no longer even capable of exploiting their own colonial Empires, nor even of keeping themselves solvent. That capitalism in Europe has not sunk into economic and political chaos is due to the fact that a complete collapse would constitute an economic disaster to American capital, and a political and military threat to her position vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R., her only serious rival in the world today. It is this which makes America support the tottering capitalist regimes with loans, Marshall aid and similar devices. But the period when European capitalism could afford to bribe even small sections of the working-class at the expense of the colonial people is irrevocably gone. On the contrary, Western Europe, the centre of pre-war imperialism is today on the verge of becoming itself a colony of the new imperial power, which in time is likely to treat it no better than Asia and Africa. The first to suffer



from this development are (and will be) the European workers. Truly history has played a tragic joke. The anti-imperialist struggle will soon become a bitter actuality for the European workers and the help of their colonial brothers in this fight, an absolute necessity.

The economic crises of capitalism which culminated in two world wars have brought terrible ruin to Europe. Millions of people have been slaughtered and uprooted, industrial and agricultural wealth and means of transport destroyed. The world is becoming polarised into two camps - Russian and American - both of which oppose any independent development. The European countries are weak and can no longer recover economically on their own under a democratically planned socialist economy. THE EUROPEAN WORKERS WHO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM MUST HAVE ALLIES. THEY NEED BOTH MATERIAL AND POLITICAL HELP FROM THE COLONIAL PEOPLES. The colonial peoples, despite their terrible sufferings at the hands of European imperialism (and they could rarely distinguish the difference between the policies and conduct of the capitalists and workers, since there was none) are yet prepared to co-operate. The development of the productive forces lies in the direction of closer integration of the world economy, and only mutual benefit can be derived from a linking of the economic and economic developments in Europe, Asia and Africa. BUT THE COLONIAL PEOPLES ARE WILLING TO CO-OPERATE ONLY ON A FREE AND EQUAL BASIS. They demand the recognition of their unconditional right to national independence before they will be prepared to enter into any schemes of regional federation. There are many socialists in Europe today who, whilst admitting the necessity for co-operation with the colonial peoples on a socialist basis, fail to understand this demand for political independence by their colonial comrades. "We are internationalist" they say. "Why should we support nationalism, which is led, often, by reactionary feudal elements. National independence will not solve the urgent economic, political, cultural and social problems of the colonics. Only a socialist commonwealth will." That sort of line is frequently expressed by "enlightened" Labour M.P.s in Britain, and Socialist Party leaders in France. Whilst it hardly befits some of those who are participated or are participating in governments practising colonial exploitation and national oppression to preach internationalism to the colonial people, there is some theoretical truth in these statements. But what these people fail to appreciate is the intense distrust and suspicion of the imperial countries, which centuries of colonial rule have produced amongst the colonial people. They will reject out of hand even the finest development schemes or political constitutions for their countries unless they are the sole and complete arbiters in these issues.

They suspect and reject, and rightly so, any schemes of Western Union, Atlantic Union, Strasburg Assenbly, World Federation as an attempt at a new and covert form of indirect imperialist exploitation. They even look askance at any movement for a U.S.S.E. which ignores or even slurs over the colonial problem. Only when their full independence is recognised, achieved, will they be ready for joint action. The European working class movement must

understand this point clearly and accept it fully before it can expect the urgently-needed help, whether political or economic, from the colonial comrades.

The contradictions and uneven development of decaying capitalism has brought to the foreground to-day more clearly than in the past the basic unity of the socialist struggle of the European workers and the national liberation struggle of the colonial people. It is the purpose of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism to give practical expression to this unity.

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INDIA

The Socialist Party of India had decided to oppose vigorously the decision of the Indian Government to remain in the British Commonwealth. It stand for complete independence and for non-involvement in the two power-blocs. We publish below the decision of the central executive to make the ninth of August an anti-Commonwealth Day. It is re-printed from Janata, the English language weekly of the Party.

The Socialist Party of India will be represented at the October conference by two delegates:- Professor Varma, member of the International Committee of the Congress of Peoples who attended the founding conference at Puteaux, and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia., Dr. Lohia, who is a newcomer to Congress meetings, is one of the best-known leaders of the Socialist Party of India. He was one of the leaders of the underground struggle against the British in India after the failure of the Cripps Mission in 1942, and spent many years in prison, he is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Party and Chairman of its foreign relations committee. He has recently been released from prison for championing the cause of the oppressed people of Nepal. He had been arrested after a peaceful demonstration in front of the Nepalese Embassy was dispersed by the police with tear-gas and batons.

9th August, ANTI-COMMONWEALTH DAY.

The National Executive has decided at its last meeting held at Patna that Party units should observe the Ninth of August every year as the "Quit India Day". On this day started the final phase of the struggle that ended the foreign domination over this country. In commemoration of the glorious part played by the Socialist Party in the Ninth August Revolution and the valiant sacrifices made by the innumerable party comrades in that critical period, the Socialist Party can legitimately feel proud of the deed. The National Executive has, therefore, instructed that all Provincial Parties should observe the day every year with such vigour that in course of time it may come to be regarded as a national Day.

This year, particularly, the Ninth of August should be observed as the Anti-Commonwealth Day. The decision of the Government of India to remain in the Commonwealth has come as a rude shock, not only to the people in this country, but also to all those who are friendly to India, in many parts of the world. The Commonwealth's imperialist history and traditions are well known. Even at present the policy-both foreign and colonial-pursued by the British Government is one with which free India would certainly not desire to associate. Moreover, many humiliating restrictions in many parts of the Commonwealth have been the lot of Indian

The National Executive is further of the opinion that the people should be drawn up by each party unit to create and consolidate public opinion against this step. The following items of programme are suggested in this respect:

1. Public Meetings at which the full import of the Commonwealth decision should be explained and the people made conscious as to how the interests of the country have been betrayed by this decision.
2. Resolutions to be passed at such meetings condemning the Commonwealth link.
3. Group meetings and meetings of other sympathetic public associations.
4. Processions.
5. Posters, throughout the town.
6. Bhey Patrika (writing on the streets, pavements, etc).

We are pleased to announce that representation from India will also include delegates from the Indian Kisan Congress led by Professor Ranga of the Indian Foreign Relations Society.

The Republican Socialist Party led by Sarat Chandra Bose, who has recently gained an outstanding victory in a by-election to the Bengal Provincial Legislature, will also be represented. During his recent visit to London Sarat Chandra Bose discussed the forthcoming conference with Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Congress of Peoples.

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THE GOLD COAST TODAY By J.Kwesi Lamptey (Chairman, London Centre)

The relations between the Gold Coast and Britain is dominated today by the question of self-government, colloquially known by the people as "S.C"

There are three main reasons why the British Government are not anxious to allow the Gold Coast people to have their independence. 1. Britain depends to a great extent on Malaya and the Gold Coast for dollar earnings which are said to be greater than those from all other sources combined. 2. In view of the threatening danger of war the Gold Coast assumes great strategic importance. Had the Gold Coast not become an entrepot for the Middle and Far East during the critical phases of the recent war, there is great doubt whether the allies could have stemmed Rommel's advance down the Mediterranean Coast. Mr Winston Churchill was hardly fair or truthful when he said Britain stood alone, thereby ignoring the vital contribution made to the war effort by the Gold Coast and other parts of Africa. 3. Britain is in a political, economic, and moral dilemma. To give freedom to the Gold Coast may encourage the demands for independence from Nigeria and other colonial territories. It would also mean the frustration of Malan's reactionary policies, whose ultimate aim is to make South Africa dominate the whole of Africa South of the Sahara. Britain cannot make up her mind whether to implement her declared policy of conceding self-government to the colonies, and so gain them as allies, or whether to encourage Malan so that the latter may in future enable her to dispose of her surplus population in Africa - which up to now has been for the Whites a land of milk and honey where butter grows on trees, but which for the indigenous people has been a country in which:

".....knowledge to their eyes her ample page,  
Rich with the spoils of time, did never unroll,  
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of the soul."

Following the disturbances in 1946 a Commission of enquiry was appointed, known as the Watson Commission. In Paragraph 118 of the Report, the Commission disclaimed any intention of drafting a constitution for the Gold Coast. However they indicated the broad pattern of constitutional changes which they considered necessary, and added that these recommendations must be examined in detail by those who had precise knowledge of the 1946 Constitution, (which was in their view outmoded at birth) and of the varying cultural, social and economic conditions of the Gold Coast proper, Ashanti, and Northern Territories.

His Majesty's Government, commenting on this White Paper, agreed that the Commission's proposals must first be considered by representatives of the public in the Gold Coast itself and for this purpose a committee was set up locally to examine the proposals in paragraph 122 of the Report and to consider to what extent they could be accepted and implemented.

Here it is very necessary to remember that his Majesty's Government undertook to carry out the decisions of the above committee if its proposals were acceptable to local opinion.

At the time of writing the members of the Coussey Committee, referred to above have signed their report, copies of which have been forwarded to the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The contents of the Report and the date of publication are not known, and the whole country is sitting on tenderhooks. The general opinion is that dictation from Whitehall can no longer be tolerated.

My view is that if they recommended the handing over of sovereign power they will be highly commended and respected. Anything less will mean the end of their political careers, unless they are going to be stooges of government and enter the Assembly as Government nominees.

Meanwhile the Gold Coast National Convention has split. The star of Dr. Danquah, doyen of Gold Coast politics, appears to be waning, while support for Kwame Nkrumah is growing rapidly. Dr. Danquah who has contributed more than anyone else to the political development here, has lost his early militancy. His statement in his "Friendship and Empire" that British Imperialism ceased after the African Conference in London has contributed to his unpopularity. The main architect of the last phase of the struggle for independence is Kwame Nkrumah. His real achievement has been that he has awakened in the Gold Coast people a realisation of their own power and dignity. Whilst in Nkrumah's campaign there lurks a danger of the development of extreme nationalism there is no doubt that he supplied a new vitality which reached every corner of Ghana (probable future name of an independent Gold Coast). His methods are not always above criticism, but that he is endowed with organising ability of the highest order none can deny.

The stage is set. Various political parties have been formed. The struggle for power has begun. But one thing is certain the Gold Coast people are on the march for freedom. They can no longer be the passive agents of others, submitting with resignation to the decrees of fate; they are active, dynamic, hungry to shoulder the burdens of their own destiny and to shape it according to their own wishes.

Floreat Ghana

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The Struggle for Freedom in Uganda  
An Open Letter to Lovers of Humanity  
by I.K. Musazi

Mr Musazi is the President of the African Farmers Union which sent him to England to put their case before the Colonial Secretary. During his stay in England his organisation has been banned. Mr Musazi will be attending the October Conference of the Congress of Peoples

Dear Friend,

Nowadays everyone agrees that Colonial development comes high on Britain's agenda. That development is important to the colonies themselves has been recognised for some years. The humanitarian call for it, because their desire to improve conditions of health, education and other welfare services cannot be realised, unless there is economic development to provide the money for such services. The politicians want it to give reality to the concept of self-government.

1. These ideas which have been taking shape in the minds of many in this country, have infected the minds of Africans in Uganda, and found expression in the formation of the African Farmer's Union. The formation of this union was the outcome of the Africans desire to improve his lot by his own efforts. Uganda, as you may know, is principally an agricultural country whose chief exports are cotton, coffee, ground-nuts, soya beans, maize. These are grown by African farmers on small holdings. The rate of production is still comparatively low, owing mainly to lack of knowledge of more efficient methods of production, and also due to lack of capital.

2. Another retarding factor is the unsatisfactory method of marketing, whereby the middleman, who happens to be the Indian trader, reaps practically all the material benefits of growing these crops. So the African standard of living is kept systematically very low.

3. The Uganda African Farmers' Union aims at making suitable arrangements for marketing the Uganda Farmers' crops, in order to obtain better returns for the African farmer, and to create a strong incentive for higher production. (a) The Uganda African Farmers' Union intends to organise, encourage and supervise more efficient methods of production in all the activities of its members. (b) The Uganda African Farmers' Union is definitely determined to raise at any cost the general standard of living in the rural areas.

4. It is obvious that the Uganda Government is the stumbling block in the way of the African Farmers' Union, by continuing to sponsor the present awkward method of marketing our crops through the foreign middleman, who is solely intended to hinder and retard the rapid development of African ability for running and controlling commercial affairs. We naturally resent the Governors' orders which permit only the Indians and Europeans to gin and market the cotton which we Africans grow, at our own expense, on our own land. We feel, we are treated as aliens in our own country.

5. Several times, representations on this matter were made to the Governor of Uganda, Sir John Hall, who took no notice of our difficulties and demands. Being under a strong impression that justice can still be obtained from the British Government, the Uganda African Farmers' Union flew me to Britain in December last, at their own expense, to put the facts of our economic bewilderment before the Colonial Secretary.

cont/5. The Colonial Secretary would not, however, grant me an interview. He ruled that "Any representation which the Union wish to make to the Secretary of State concerning matters in Uganda should be addressed to Mr Creech Jones, through the Governor of Uganda". But, the said Governor of Uganda had refused to give us a hearing. It now looks as if what hopes there were of getting justice in Whitehall, when not given in the Protectorate, are gone.

6. Governor Sir John Hall has been harassing the Uganda African farmers, enacting harsh ordinances compelling them to sell their seed cotton to the middlemen. Incendarism was resorted to, in order to compel the African farmers to sell their cotton. I sent an appeal to the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee. The receipt of the appeal was acknowledged; but, there was nothing done about it.

7. According to Uganda custom and tradition, the people have a right to assemble and see their Kabaka (King). If there are any public grievances against the chiefs, the people submit them to the Kabaka for redress. On April 25th, 1949, the people with their M.P.s assembled peacefully outside the Kabaka's palace demanding a democratic Government for the people of Uganda, export licenses to enable them to trade direct with Britain, and the right to gin their cotton and sell it direct to the Board of Trade.

8. But, the Governor of Uganda, Sir John Hall, surprised them on that most solemn occasion, by interfering and using British troops to prevent them from seeing their Kabaka. The troops fired on the people, killed several, and wounded many. The people had no weapons at all to fight with. The British troops just picked them off like rabbits. The Governor gave full power to all Officers chiefs to arrest anyone they wanted to using arms if necessary. These orders referred especially to the members of the Uganda African Farmers' Union, which Union he proscribed, confiscating all its cotton, money and other properties, alleging that it was the Union together with the "Bataka Uganda" (an indigenous totemic institution of the Elders of the people in the country) which was responsible for the revolt in the country.

9. The disturbances took place four months ago. Yet, all the members of the Uganda African Farmers' Union are being hunted like animals to be butchered. Their wives have been assaulted without the protection of the law; even their children are tortured; their houses and shops are looted; their cotton, money and vehicles are robbed with violence. Some members have fled into the jungles for their lives. The flogging of the members of the banned organisations is indescribable and incredible to civilised society. Some have had their legs broken, and their eyes taken out. One member was castrated, and then killed in the presence of his wife and son. The son still holds the cartridges. The man was buried and exhumed three times, because the authorities were afraid the people would discover the actual grave and dig it to get evidence.

10. An independent commission of enquiry from Britain has been demanded through the press, and by various organisations in both Britain and Africa. But, the Colonial Secretary prefers a one-man commission of enquiry, locally appointed by a Government mainly responsible for the disturbances. The one man appointed, Sir Joseph Sheridan, has now resigned owing to a breakdown due to overstrain and overwork. Another man, Sir Donald Kingdon, a magistrate, has been appointed to do the same work. On behalf of the Uganda African farmers who are being persecuted, I appeal to the British people in the name of justice to press the British Government to send out to Uganda a representative and independent commission of enquiry into the disturbances. It is surely a very modest request that we make in the face of our sufferings. It is justice that the people of Uganda want from the British people; and it is only that which will restore our confidence in this government; but, that justice cannot be given by shielding the mistakes made by the Colonial Administrations.

Yours fraternally,  
I.K.Musazi,  
President, U.A.F.U.

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THE LOND CENTRE OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES HAS CONTINUED TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PUBLICISE THE CASE OF THE PEOPLE OF UGANDA AND TO ASSIST THEIR REPRESENTATIVES AT PRESENT IN LONDON.

Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Congress, has written on two occasions to Mr. Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary, drawing the latter's attention to the critical situation in Uganda and urging him to replace the present one-man Commission, by a Committee of Enquiry consisting of members of parliament, trade-unionists, and representatives of the Co-operative Movement. Mr. Creech Jones has rejected this proposal.

Two of our representatives, Fenner Brockway and Mike Turner, spoke at a meeting at Trafalgar Square called by the Africa League in order to protest against imprisonment and flogging in Uganda, and to demand a Commission composed as suggested above.

The London Centre sent articles and information on Uganda to the national press and to various sympathetic journals. Some of these have been published.

Tom Braddeek, M.P., a keen supporter of the Congress, has met I.Musazi, and arranged an interview for him with Rees-Williams M.P. Mr Braddeek has raised the problem of Uganda on several occasions during question-time in the House of Commons.



Is there also an opportunity for advanced scholars of further education at Training Colleges or Universities?

Regarding the Teachers, could you tell me what is their status in the community and how does their remuneration compare with that of other workers?

FREDA CLEGG  
Bristol England

Editor's Note: We ask all teachers and educationists in the colonies to submit replies to the above letter from an English teacher. All replies will be forwarded to her, whilst the best reply received will be published in a future issue of COLONIAL FREEDOM.

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REPORT OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE.

The London Centre still has a few copies of the Report of the Puteaux Conference. This Report is lavishly produced on Art paper and contains many photographs taken at the Conference. There are 124 pages and full reports on the Political and Economic documents adopted by the Conference. A copy of this Report is essential for all those attending the Second Conference in London. Price 2/3d. post-free.

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I M P O R T A N T !

The first issue of the "Bulletin" was nearly 200 copies. This number has increased with each issue until now one thousand are done each time. This means that we shall soon need to print COLONIAL FREEDOM. From then on we shall only be able to send out copies to those who have subscribed. Please complete the form below and send it with 4/- subscription to the London Centre.

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NUMBER  
ONE

A  
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M  
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1  
9  
4  
9

<b>Editorial</b>	
<b>Unrest in Uganda</b>	W. J. TAYLOR 3
<b>Why Revolution?</b>	PAUL DERRICK 11
<b>Can we trade with Eastern Europe?</b>	CHARLES ROGERS 14
<b>The Tartar's Bow</b>	PAUL STANJER 19
<b>Authority in the Modern State</b>	J. K. MOORHOUSE 22
<b>Perspective on Films — Reviews of 1984; Lost Illusion; Russia astride the Balkans and other features.</b>	

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INCORPORATING COMMON WEALTH REVIEW

## EDITORIAL

It is our belief that the fundamental political fact of our time is that world society is changing from a dominantly capitalist form to one which is dominantly "managerialist" in the sense in which that term was employed by James Burnham in *The Managerial Revolution*. To us it seems that this is no transient phase—some temporary maladjustment of social forces during a change from an individualistic capitalist society to a collectivist socialist order. Managerialism is not a mere modification of capitalism in its death-throes, nor the birth pangs of socialism. It is, on the contrary, a new class society in its own right, as distinct from capitalism and socialism as was feudalism or primitive society. Variations of the managerial society there most certainly are, and will be, both in geographical and chronological terms, but behind these variations will lie the continuous reality of the basic form—that of managerialist class dominance.

Such a society—as indeed any class society—accords ill with the ideals of a free libertarian world community which we hold to be the goal of mankind. Class dominance, with its concomitant evils of exploitation, injustice, the frustration of culture, self-expression and the development of personality, is a barrier against the creation of that world community. Consequently, we can no more accept its values and its way of life than we could reconcile ourselves to the values and the way of life of capitalism. In thus refusing to accept them, however, we do not escape the duty of understanding the new order. Only by understanding can we come to determine how to fight it, and how we may build from its ruins to our own design.

We shall travel far and wide in our search for understanding. We shall be led to the examination of the structure of economic life, to a study of the policies of governments, and into fields with seemingly little day-to-day significance. We shall be concerned with events and with ideas, and the interaction of ideas and events. Sometimes we shall be digging deep, well below the superficial strata of what passes for political news in the daily Press—the dogfights over this or that aspect of "politics." On other occasions we shall be looking closely at those strata to see for ourselves how they rest on the basis of a new class society in which all the controversies, the debates, and the legislation, have their roots.

Understanding is the basis for action, but so long as it remains divorced from action it is academic, lifeless and valueless. We shall not be content, then, merely to examine and understand; we shall also formulate proposals for action so that we may take a part in changing society until it is cast in our mould.



It is within the framework of any society that those trends begin which are eventually to overthrow it. Just as it was the introduction of the Joint Stock Company which began to undermine the very foundations of "free enterprise" (although it also paved a way for the greatest era of capitalist expansion), so there must grow up forms within the managerialist society which are based on the extension of democracy in industry. Similarly, just as within the sphere of capitalist imperialism private companies gave way to increasing direct control by, at first, capitalist governments and, later, by managerialist-tending States, so we must seek to find the means whereby the foundations of socialism may be laid in countries now under imperialist rule in whatever form. We realise that this involves the paradox of creating new nation-states in order to abolish the nation-state. The old era of nation-states is indeed ending. In its place there loom continental and subcontinental managerialist federations. These agglomerations must not be confused with the world unity which we seek, though their destruction of the old limitations, political and economic, may well provide for us the key to future free associations of peoples in a democratic socialist world.

The broad nature of the constructive proposals we shall put forward is now clear : Industrial Democracy ; Colonial Freedom ; World Unity. If our analysis of the present trends in society is correct, then we are confronted with a dismal picture which it would be folly to describe in terms of rosy optimism. Wherever we turn in analysis, in examination, in study, we shall find much to condemn and little to praise, though there will be occasional flashes of hope for the future. In the putting of our own proposals, however, there need be no need for gloom, for if they are to capture the spirit of the society for which we are working they must reflect the happiness which will be a fundamental characteristic of that society.

Such is the purpose of this *Quarterly*. We believe it to be a task worth undertaking, one which has not been taken up by any other publication. We hope that the time will not be long before our small voice is joined by others, louder and less easily disregarded. Until those voices join us, we shall declare the truth as we see it, and encourage those who are struggling to create the truth as it might be.

If you found difficulty in obtaining this copy of *C. W. Quarterly*, why not take out a postal subscription ? Annual subscription to the *Quarterly* is 4/6d., post-free. Address all letters to : Business Manager, *C. W. Quarterly*, 12, High Street, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

## UNREST IN UGANDA

W. J. Taylor

If we are to judge by the utterances of Mr. Creech Jones and his colleagues, the most significant political development of the post-war years has been the rapid spread of the Marxist ideology among those same colonial peoples who are so often dismissed as "politically backward" when the question of their independence is being sneered at by Government spokesmen. Whether the occasion be some minor disturbance, a strike, or a major colonial war (as in Malaya), the Colonial Office can always trace the hidden hand of "Communists." This formula, threadbare though it is with constant use, and begging the question of genuine grievances as it does, was nevertheless used to explain the trouble in Uganda earlier this year. The basis for the choice of the hackneyed epithet in this instance turned out to be that a representative of the *Bataka Uganda* had submitted a petition to the United Nations via Mr. Andrei Gromyko !

Questioned on the *Bataka*, Mr. Creech Jones dubbed it a "mushroom political party"—presumably just another product of the rapid spread of Marxism in colonial countries ! Mr. Creech Jones was exercising the prerogative of Ministers in disclosing somewhat less than half the truth. Before discussing what actually happened in Uganda during last April and May, therefore, it might be as well for us to supplement Mr. Creech Jones' information with some description of the traditions and customs of the people of the country.

### The *Bataka*.

The *Bataka* is not a political party. It is not "Communist." It is, in fact, the backbone of the totemic social organisation of the Baganda—the people of the Kingdom of Buganda (from which the Swahili corruption "Uganda" arises). The Baganda are grouped in 36 clans, having different totems and with hereditary heads styled *Mutaka* ("mu" is the singular prefix ; "ba" the plural form). The *Mutaka* is the "Grandparent" of all the clan ; the people are his "children" and his "grandchildren." To him, according to the tradition of the Baganda, the people bring their troubles, their grievances, their problems and all the matters which require public discussion and settlement.

Formerly the *Bataka* worked within the framework of their different clans as individuals. It was the duty of the *Mutaka*, for instance, to submit to the *Kabaka*, or king, reports of the death of a member of his clan. Under Western influence, individual

action by each *Mutaka* gradually yielded to co-operation between the various hereditary heads of clans in solving the problems common to all their "children." The organisation within whose framework this co-operation took place became known as the *Bataka Uganda*. The typical *Mutaka* is an old man—many of the *Bataka* are in fact blind with age. Several are retired administrators with long records of valuable public service, and to look upon them as conspirators in touch with Moscow would be ludicrous.

What basis of fact there lay in Mr. Creech Jones' remark about a "mushroom political party" can be found only in the fact that the nationalist movement arising after the crisis of 1945 is also termed *Bataka*. As one might expect, it is among the "grandchildren" rather than among the Elders that the movement for national independence finds its active supporters, though the "Grandparents" acting in defence of their people's ancient customs find themselves often on common ground with the movement among the younger Baganda.

In their capacity as guardians of the traditional national code of the Baganda, based on customs centred round the totems of the clans, the hereditary *Bataka* have the duty of bringing the complaints of their "children" and "grandchildren" to the attention of the *Kabaka*, or king.

#### **The Kabaka and the mass assembly.**

The houses of the Baganda chiefs are surrounded by a light palisade, erected not for defensive purposes, but as a mark of distinction. The front entrance, *Wankaki*, faces an open area called *Mbuga*. Save that at the king's *Wankaki* there burns a fire set alight at the moment when he ascends the throne and which burns until he dies, there is little difference between the king's residence and those of other chiefs. If a chief or the *Kabaka* has an important announcement to make he beats a drum as the signal for his people to assemble at the *Mbuga*, where they wait standing. The king confronts his people face to face, informing them of the reason for calling them together.

If, on the other hand, the people themselves desire to make representations to their *Kabaka* they assemble on the *Mbuga* of their own volition. They inform the Prime Minister—*Katikiro*—that they wish to see the king. At once he should come out to meet them. It is a solemn moment. Tradition lays it down that all remain standing, though the *Kabaka* is permitted, if he is tired with standing, to lean against the side of the entrance. The people lay their case before him, giving details of their grievances and asking for his action or decision in the matter. Such is the custom of democratic mass assembly traditional among the Baganda.

The present *Kabaka*, Mutesa II, is a young man, educated at Cambridge for three years, during which—those who knew him declare—he learnt more of the habits of the British aristocracy than of the customs of his own people. His Western education, his youth, his general make-up, and, doubtless, his grounding in the outlook and snobbery of British society, has made him a pliant tool in the hands of the Protectorate Government headed by Sir John Hathorn Hall, formerly Governor of Aden. The chiefs under him, who are responsible for the counties of Uganda, are of similar stamp.

Under the Protectorate Government is the Native Administration, of which the principal Ministers are the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister (*Omulamuzi*). The basic constitution of the Kingdom of Buganda is the Agreement of 1900 by which the British acquired sovereignty. Each county has its native council *Lukiko* whilst there is also a national *Lukiko* for the whole Kingdom. There are several vacancies in the present national *Lukiko*.

#### **Cotton is King.**

Cotton is Uganda's most important crop—only India within the British Commonwealth having a greater production. Ginning of the seed cotton by native growers is forbidden except under licence, which is but rarely granted—though the African Farmers' Union did obtain one. The Baganda growers complain of extreme exploitation by both European and Indian ginners. Even the Cotton Industry Commission of 1948 were forced to admit that there was considerable evidence supporting charges of "deliberate cheating of the grower over the selling of his cotton." The current price paid to growers for seed cotton is 3d. per lb. Three pounds of seed cotton are needed to produce one pound of cotton lint, the world price of which is in the region of 7/6d per pound. After due allowance has been made for all possible costs of transport and ginning, etc. it is difficult to see how the grower can be receiving more than the most meagre fraction of his share of the market value, for the difference between 9d and 7/6d a pound is too great to be explained by transport costs and the like. Prevented from ginning cotton, and forbidden to engage directly in importing or exporting, the Baganda farmers are entirely at the mercy of the Indians and Europeans.

#### **The events of April 25th, 1949.**

Such is the background to the events of April and May of this year. The *Bataka* called the people to the Mengo palace to "inform the *Kabaka* what is ruining his country and ours." The

meeting was called for 6 a.m. on April 25th. The *Uganda Star*, a local African paper, described what happened :

*"The 25th April, 1949 was the appointed day for all the people to go and submit their urgent demands to His Highness the Kabaka. On the eve, about 2,000 people stayed the night at the Kabaka's Lake. Early in the morning, on 25th April, 1949, all the roads streamed with people, who had received His Highness the Kabaka's order that their six or eight representatives should go directly to him and explain their demands.*

*The chiefs arrived at the palace at 5 a.m. The British police of Kampala Town arrived at 6 a.m. The number of people gradually grew to 40,000.*

*They submitted five urgent demands to His Highness the Kabaka, namely, 1. a democratic election of their representatives in the Lukiko (Parliament); 2. the completion of the number of 60 representatives stated in the Constitution laid down in the 1900 Uganda Agreement; 3. the deposition of the three principal Ministers and 16 county chiefs; 4. to gin their cotton; 5. to export and import goods to and from other countries freely."*

The paper goes on to record the conversation between the the Kabaka and the five people's delegates, each of whom stated one aspect of the case. The Kabaka's answers varied. On the question of democratic elections, he hedged, declaring that he must maintain the 1900 Agreement, and that according to his promise made in February, 1949, he would see to the completion of the 60 representatives "immediately... but there are still certain arrangements to be made concerning some small counties." In reply to the demand for the resignation of chiefs, the Kabaka promised : "I will do this, too, in accordance with the Agreement." The paper reports that Mr. Bwete raised the question of cotton ginning : "Your Highness, we want this Government to resign, because when the Governor enacted a law prohibiting us to retain Seed Cotton in our houses, or stores, these Ministers were just yes-men. They let the Governor imprison us on account of our own cotton. And even to-day, we are still prisoners, because we still hold the cotton in our houses; after the Governor has closed all the cotton markets in Buganda, before you put this matter right for your people. On leaving this place, we shall all be flung into jail, because we still hold the cotton in our houses." The Kabaka hedged : "I will handle this matter very soon."

Another delegate, Mr. Lwere, called for the right of farmers to sell their goods for themselves in other countries, and, "like the Indians, the African farmers should have the right to import goods directly from outside countries." The Kabaka would not commit himself. He replied : "I shall handle that matter too." The representative of the hereditary Bataka, Mutaka Sedu-

lulaka, supported these demands. In reply, the Kabaka declared that the Bataka had done wrong in sending a representative direct to Britain and went on : "I would like to see the Bataka in a few days, and discuss with them." Finally, he gave his promise that "All the demands you have submitted on behalf of my people will be considered, and I shall do something about them."

Standing on improvised platforms, the delegates took turns in reporting back to the vast gathering. When their reports had ended, the Prime Minister, Kawalya Kagwa, arrived in a mobile cinema truck to read the Kabaka's reply. He was howled down : "... we do not want to hear his voice... He has only to pack up; he must resign his premiership." Eventually, Mr. Kyaze (M.P., Kyadondo) took the Kabaka's letter and read it to the crowd. The letter promised that the Kabaka would consult his advisers, and ordered the crowd to return to their homes. The people were not satisfied and passed a resolution demanding the resignation of the Prime Minister, declaring that their delegates must see the Kabaka again to put this demand. They would then go home.

#### **April 26th, and after.**

Next morning the crowd repeated this demand, again declaring that they would return to their homes if Mr. Kawalya resigned. An eyewitness of the scene that followed, in a letter to Mr. I. K. Musazi, President of the African Farmers' Union who came to London to see the Colonial Secretary, described it in these words :

*"The Governor had just visited the troops arranged in battle array... The next thing was the blast of a bugle for death. Five minutes after that, they shot Mr. Haji Kibirige, and a young boy... The King's African Rifle Brigade from Kenya was ordered three times : 'Fire!' Many people were shot; but the British troops carried away the dead bodies and hid them. The helpless wounded people were killed by knocking them with the butts of rifles."*

During the days that followed, hell broke loose. The shooting of unarmed people exercising their traditional right of approach to their Kabaka with peaceful demands, the condemnation of the revered Bataka for daring to send a representative to London, and the mass arrests, angered the crowd, which proceeded to burn a bus, to burn down the palisades of the Omuwanika (Minister of Finance) and of the Omulamuzi (Chief Justice) and to stone cars which were suspected of being concerned in the assault.

#### **Martial Law**

Martial law was proclaimed, assemblies of five or more persons were prohibited; 1,400 arrests were made, including the majority

of the *Bataka*—among the latter an old man of over 85, (J. K. Miti). The African Farmers' Union was declared dissolved. Its funds, office equipment, and stores, including 262 bicycles, 70 bags of seed cotton, and 800 tons of grain were confiscated. An extensive search was made for a letter giving the Union authority to gin cotton, even the foundations being dug up in the course of the search. Some fourteen vehicles were used to take away the property confiscated.

All strikes were declared illegal. The *Bataka* was proscribed. Those arrested received sentences of 5, 7, 8 or 10 years imprisonment. Postal censorship was rigorously carried out to prevent letters reaching the two Uganda representatives in London, Semakula Mulumba, and I. K. Musazi. The full range and brutality of the measures and methods adopted by the Protectorate Government cannot be described in full here. What events in Uganda looked like to those on the spot may be assessed by extracts from letters received in London during May:

**Letter dated 4th May:** "The Protectorate Government is killing the people with impunity... Nobody can dare protest. An average of 8 to 10 bodies are buried every day. Other bodies are dumped in the same pit. Nobody is allowed to see them. They are not given back to the relatives of the dead. The tortured, the wounded, and those who die of bullet wounds in hospitals, are innumerable; but nobody says a word. . . .the military troops who had big trucks and armoured cars, all full of petrol and other things. They burnt the houses of the Chiefs and those of the employees of both Protectorate Government and the Baganda Government. This was to be used as pretext for arresting the *Bataka*. They were to allege that it was the *Bataka* who did it."

**From another letter of 4th May:** "On Wednesday, any three persons who were found together were arrested. On that day, more than forty people were shot. Those people had no weapons whatever. They were met anywhere, and arrested and killed outright. The most shameful and dreadful thing that they did was that after assassinating the people, they cut open the dead bodies, and hid them so that the number of the dead would not be known. Moreover, contrary to the usual procedure, the dead bodies were not taken to Mulago hospital."

**From a letter dated 9th May:** "The British troops attacked the owners of banana groves in Buddu County, and robbed banana clusters with violence. They killed eight people and arrested 800. Eight to ten of the arrested die every day as a result of beatings and tortures. The British break the bones in their toes and the bones in their legs. . . .the British try very much to hide the bodies. One man told us that it was he who one night drove a truck, accompanied by an armoured car. They brought 72 bodies with heavy pieces of rock tied on them. These bodies were dumped in the Nile. The British threatened him and said that if

they heard of it one day, they would kill him too."

**From letter dated 14th May:** "... When the Chiefs arrest the people, they charge them with arson, and then immediately begin to beat them to death. They do so like brutes. The arrested die on the way before they reach the Police station. Their bodies are not given back to the relatives. They are buried at Luzira prison so that we will not be able to recognise them. The following are the most cruel County Chiefs: 1. Sekibobo Kavuma, 2. Kangawo Zake, 3. Kaima Simon Musoke, 4. Pokino, 5. Sebwana Serwaniko, 6. Katambala, 7. Kago Mulyanti. These set the example for all the others. I want to give you concrete evidence: (a) Mr. Ernesti Bayine, who has been the roadmaker in the Kyagwe County, was arrested by the County Chief Sekibobo and the Comboloda Chief Kanya Paulo Sabawali. They beat him until he collapsed unconscious, because he is a *Mutaka*, and because he collects funds for the *Bataka*. . . (e) Mr. Kiyingi a former deportee, was beaten by the County Chief, Zake, who said: "I have power from the Governor to kill anybody, or spare his life."

#### What of the future ?

There is the story of disturbances in Uganda, pieced together from accounts given by African papers and contained in letters received in London during May. Whatever allowances we may care to make for exaggerations, for the reporting of rumour as fact, it is clear that behind the considerable volume of smoke there must be more than a smouldering fire. We do not need to establish the absolute accuracy of all the figures quoted, nor do we need to swear on oath that each particular statement made by men writing in an atmosphere of terror is the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Under the circumstances, it would not be surprising to find that reports which spoke of ten or a dozen men being shot related to the shooting of perhaps three or four, but the letters from which we have made quotations do not speak in figures of this magnitude. They refer to hundreds; they mention events occurring in widely separate localities; they quote names of persons involved; and they can be checked.

After the 1945 disturbances there was set up a one-man Commission, on which sat a Chief Justice under the Protectorate Government. His report vindicated the Government, but stated that they had been taken by surprise. On this occasion, also, a one-man Commission has been appointed, the East African News Review reports. He is Sir Joseph Sheridan, recently retired Chief Justice of Kenya and President of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. He is to "inquire into and report upon the origin, cause, purpose and development of the disturbance, the steps taken to deal with them and to make recommendations as to any measures

that he may advise the Uganda Government to consider as a result of his investigations."

The Commissioner will find it difficult to comment this time that the Government were taken by surprise, since the meeting was openly called by leaflets. In addition, the representative of the *Bataka* in London, Semakula Mulumba, has recently declared that he received from Uganda a telegram, dated a week before the assembly at the *Kabaka's* palace, which claimed that the Protectorate Government was planning the arrest of the *Bataka*, the leaders of the African Farmers' Union, traders, and former Deportees to the total number of 300. The telegram went on to allege that the Governor's term of office had been extended for the purpose of dealing with the situation by suppressing the people's demands for democracy. Mr. Mulumba states that the information he had received was communicated by telegram to Mr. Attlee on 20th April. The Prime Minister did not reply; and there is no evidence that any action was taken on Mr. Mulumba's telegram to him.

The present demands of the *Bataka* include the immediate release of those arrested; the resignation of Sir John Hall and of the three principal Ministers, as well as of the sixteen County Chiefs; the lifting of the ban on the *Bataka* and the African Farmers' Union; the restoration of the right of mass assembly; the abolition of censorship; the democratisation of the constitution by the ending of the appointment system; and the granting of the right to gin their cotton to the Baganda growers.

On one point there can surely be no dispute: that there should at once be set up a Commission composed of several members the majority of which should come from outside East Africa, and that the report of any such Commission be made public both in Britain and in East Africa without delay.

To assume that since the war a mental disease inducing unreasoning hostility to the Labour Government and its various officials abroad had swept the coloured peoples would be as ridiculous as to suggest that the mass of colonial peoples had been suddenly converted to Marxism. The plain facts are that genuine grievances exist among the colonial peoples; that they are now awakening to demand their independence; and that since nothing less than a free association of peoples can form the basis of mutually beneficial relations between white and black the righting of wrong and the granting of independence cannot long be delayed if catastrophe is to be averted. That is the lesson which events not only in Uganda, but on the Gold Coast, in Malaya, and elsewhere have for Europe.

## WHY REVOLUTION?

Paul Derrick

The other day I was described as a "Reformist" by one who, I am sure, took it for granted that all sensible people who have the interests of the working class at heart must necessarily be "Revolutionaries." If by "Revolutionary" he meant someone who wants a really radical change in economic and social relationships then I am a revolutionary. But if by "Revolutionary" is meant someone who seeks the **violent** overthrow of the existing order, to sabotage production and make the condition of the workers worse because Marx said they would become worse—and because bad conditions help to create a "Revolutionary situation"—then I am a "Reformist" and proud of it.

The true "Revolutionary" does not concern himself whether a particular course of action benefits the workers or not, whether it is desirable or whether it is right; he believes that all he is doing is to hasten an inevitable historical process and that it would be "unscientific" for him to ask himself whether any particular development was desirable or not. The myth of an historically inevitable violent revolution has captured the imagination of considerable numbers of intelligent people but this belief in the inevitability of violent revolution has very little justification in fact. That Marx predicted it is enough for some people who find some kind of psychological satisfaction in regarding that gentleman with something very much like worship, attributing to him an infallibility which an acquaintance with his writings would very quickly dispel.

Most of Marx's major prophecies have not come true. The conditions of the workers have not got worse and worse; they have got better and better. Increasing class tension is not leading inevitably to violent revolution; the Labour movement has achieved political power without violence. Nor is it inevitable that the seizure of power by the workers will lead to a classless socialist society; the trend everywhere seems to be towards what James Burnham describes as a Managerial society. In history the only thing which is certain is that nothing is certain.

This Marxist myth of the inevitability of violent revolution owes a great deal to the Marxist habit of thinking in terms of power and to their inability to think in terms of right and wrong. It is, of course, necessary to be able to think "dialectically" in terms of historic forces, but it is no less necessary to be able to think "metaphysically" or morally in terms of law. It is not

very much use our revolutionaries pushing on with the job of creating a revolutionary situation if they only have the very haziest idea of what they want their revolution to achieve. Generally speaking, Communists and Conservatives tend to think historically in terms of power while Socialists and Liberals tend to think morally in terms of law. The Conservatives call it "thinking Imperially" while the Marxists call it "thinking dialectically," but the process is the same, a ruthless military analysis of the balance of social forces without any regard for right and wrong. That is why Churchill and Stalin understood each other so well during the war; both spoke the same language, both think in terms of power. It is no accident that the whole jargon of the propaganda of the Soviet Union is cast in military terminology; the Marxist mind is a military mind. Violent revolution and civil war have many things in common with international war, and the "class warmongers" who urge us on to violent revolution have more in common than they realise with the other warmongers who urge us on to war for the glory of the fatherland. It is the result of an attitude of mind; of thinking dialectically or imperially in terms of power.

Of all parties Common Wealth is, perhaps, least liable to this particular fault. It has proclaimed over and over again that it thinks primarily in terms of right and wrong. It thinks "meta-physically." Instead of denying the validity of all moral judgements like the Marxists, Common Wealth makes the question "Is it Right?" its criterion.

There are times when it is right to support a violent revolution; but it is never right to work for a violent revolution for its own sake, or for the sake of personal power, or just because an old gentleman who made a study of industrial capitalism in Victorian England suggested that it was historically inevitable. Many of those who advocate violent revolution without bothering very much about what it is to achieve regard the strike as the major weapon with which to win their ends. The workers should remember that there are more ways of killing a cat than by choking it with cream and more ways of getting a fair share of the national income than coming out on strike. In Havana some time ago when strikes were illegal the bus men all began one day to go about their work unshaved and unwashed and refused to do anything about it until certain demands had been met; the management very quickly capitulated. Concerted acts of petty defiance or public demonstrations are likely to be as effective as strikes. In the art of non-co-operation the workers of the West have undoubtedly a great deal to learn from Gandhi.

What if our revolutionary friends found they had to run the

show? What would they do? Those anarchistically inclined would doubtless make the same mistakes as the Liberals used to make. They would leave things to the natural goodness of free people and the result would probably be capitalism. In 1933 the miners of Pennsylvania seized the means of production. They started mining company's coal in their back gardens, and trucking it to Philadelphia at cut prices. What happened? The successful "bootleggers" became illegitimate capitalists; the others remained wage-earners.

If the revolutionaries were not Anarchists they would have to set about framing some kind of legislation to prevent the development of capitalism. Were they of a totalitarian turn of mind they would probably try to concentrate all property in the hands of the State. Otherwise they would have to set about organising production on a co-operative basis. A revolutionary Government in England would be faced with these problems. What would be its first step? Surely the statutory and permanent limitation of dividends throughout industry. And next? The taxation of property incomes along the lines of the 1948 Levy. It would then presumably break the power of finance over industry and extend the powers of the workers in industry until effective "workers' control" was established. **Any** revolutionary Government would have to introduce such measures. Why should they not be introduced by a legitimate Government? A legitimate Government, moreover, could afford to go much further in the way of decentralisation and workers' control because there would be fewer who would challenge its authority.

The Labour Government is not yet prepared to provide for a substantial measure of workers' control or to introduce the statutory and permanent limitation of this kind. Sir Stafford Cripps has suggested that he did not think much of workers' control and when asked about dividend limitation he said that he did not for the time being "consider an implication of this kind to be within the ambit of legislative procedure." But Sir Stafford Cripps is not, after all, the only member of the Labour Party. If the workers want workers' control and statutory dividend limitation they must press for these things through their Unions and, if necessary, by appropriate Direct Action. And there is little doubt that the workers do want them.

The problem, then, is no longer how to achieve power; the Trade Unions through the Labour Party have already done it. The trouble is that they do not know what to do with their power, and it is up to us to tell them. It is up to us to bring the Labour movement back to the libertarian traditions of Robert Owen, the Christian Socialists, the early co-operators, William Morris,

the Syndicalists, and the Guild Socialists and to reverse the trend towards bureaucratic collectivism imposed upon the movement by the Fabians. The choice before us is a Communist revolution on the one hand—and effective workers' control achieved by constitutional means on the other. Much will depend upon the sort of programme upon which the Labour Party fights the next election. It is up to all those who believe in Workers' Control to see to it that it is the right kind of programme, the kind the workers want and which will gain their votes. If they are not likely to get a Parliamentary majority just yet, parties like Common Wealth can do a great deal by formulating the radical kind of programme which our times demand. The response to such a programme from the workers would help to show the great men of Transport House what the workers want.

### CAN WE TRADE WITH EASTERN EUROPE ?

Charles Rogers

Two points must first be made to shield the writer for charges of "theorising" or lending support to "Labour Reformists."

First, I am convinced that the economic programme of Labour is as much doomed to failure as that of Capitalism and will continue to fail until it is re-organised on the basis of common ownership and a socialist system of distribution, with the control of the means of production in the hands of the workers. Second, not only is this article based on official statistics, it is also based on experience in the Export trade and contact with Polish and Yugo-Slav organisations.

As traders or economists we can only deal with the situation as it is, not as we would like it to be. Britain's economy is largely in the hands of private capital controlled by a comparatively few "Managerialists" on the basis of production for profit. We retain such capitalist nonsense as Budgets which have to be balanced, and we live in a world where the "balance of trade" is a factor to reckon with. Under these circumstances, then, we can trade only if :

- a. we are paid in a currency which can be used to buy necessary imports. And that means, largely, such currencies as dollars, escudos, Swiss francs, or sterling or gold, or
- b. we can get in exchange goods we need.

Let us now turn to examine the position, and see whether there is any basis for the oft-repeated "Left" criticism of the Government that they refuse to solve Britain's economic crisis by developing trade with Eastern Europe, it being declared that

sinister American political influence is the underlying reason. Are His Majesty's Government doing their best or are they unduly influenced by political considerations? Does Bevin's stupidity intervene as it did in diplomatic relations with Israel? Despite a not very high opinion of the present Cabinet, the writer must answer *No*. Here, in brief, are some reasons for that answer:

### POLAND.

Production in Poland is now greater than before the war. Even after "allocations" have been made to Russia, Poland's requirements in *certain fields* are less than previously. In changing times, too, her needs change—capital equipment is now in great demand. This is where the critics must make up their minds which of their regular slogans they really support. Is it to be "Make British industry efficient" or is it "Trade with Eastern Europe"? Britain's textile industry needs machinery. Can we meet that need *and* export that machinery too? Production figures give us the answer—No. The same is true of other kinds of capital equipment. Despite this, however, in January last Britain signed an agreement with Poland under which we guarantee exchange of goods (by 1953) up to £130 millions, Poland being assured of a market for her bacon, eggs and other agricultural products, and timber. U.K. would supply wool, rubber, crude oil, semi-manufactured goods, tyres, dyestuffs, and Poland would be able to place orders for capital equipment for a programme estimated at £20 millions. This, remember, *in addition* to the previously accepted programme of £15 millions.

Export credit guarantees to Poland were to be given for purchases of wool on short-term credits, whilst the existing £6 millions credit for the purchase of capital equipment would be converted into a revolving credit within the same limit.

Does that reflect political bias by the British Government? With the exception of the U.S.S.R. (whose trade figures with Eastern Europe are not available), there is excellent foundation for the belief that Britain is the largest single trader with Poland to-day.

### HUNGARY.

Many British concerns have interests in Hungary, and the Government of that country is unwilling to come to terms with the parent countries. This friction is hampering trade, but despite this factor, a trade pact was negotiated in 1947 (for three years) under which Britain took large supplies of geese, other poultry, and bacon, and our Government have been considering the granting of import licences for non-essential Hungarian goods. This original agreement has been extended.

### YUGO-SLAVIA.

After long discussions, a trade agreement was signed at the end of last year. A short-term affair, it aimed at securing a balance of trade between the two countries by the end of 1949 to the tune of £15 millions. Yugo-Slavia would receive, among other things : textiles £250,000 ; cotton yarn, one million lbs ; crude oil, 100,000 metric tons ; raw rubber, 1,500 tons ; 20,000 units of trucks, cars, tubes and tyres ; creosote oil, 3,500 metric tons ; pharmaceuticals, £300,000 plus a variety of industrial chemicals ; metals and metal products, £2 1/2 millions ; and so forth. In return U.K. would receive timber (under the agreement, Yugo-Slavia is not far behind Scandinavian countries as exporters of timber to Britain), foodstuffs, herbs, skins, and, if required, Yugo-Slav tobacco. At present Britain is seeking to make this short-term agreement into a long-term one.

### RUMANIA.

Rumania has little to offer the Britain consumer, and we have been able to conclude only small agreements. The Rumanians demanded steel for their grain, and steel is needed by everyone, including ourselves. By selling us Russian grain, Rumania did export to us to the value of £4 millions. Our attempts to buy badly-needed Rumanian maize has been defeated by Rumanian insistence on receiving scarce machinery in return which Britain has not available for sale to anyone. Latterly Rumanian grain has been going to Russia which is getting a tight grip on Eastern Europe's grain trade.

### BULGARIA.

Britain's imports from Bulgaria last year amounted to only £150,000, our exports being slightly higher. Here, again, is the difficulty of obtaining useful commodities. Britain was offered tomato puree, which would have been fine, had we not also been compelled to accept large quantities of grapes, wines, etc. and supply machinery in return. (Would our "socialist" critics prefer to sell machinery for wines for the "bourgeoisie" or for meat from Argentina ?).

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Without a trade agreement, the volume of trade has been in the region of £6 millions. The Czechs recently offered an agreement for £30 millions under which they would supply £1 1/2 millions in essential goods ; £2 millions in goods we *might* take ; the remainder in non-essential goods. It is not surprising that this offer had to be rejected, since the Czechs wanted raw materials and other essential goods in return.

### RUSSIA.

Here is the crux of the question, and to deal with it thoroughly would need a whole series of articles. The position, summarised as briefly as possible, is :

1. In 1947 trade with Russia was at a standstill ;

2. On the third visit to Moscow in 1947 a pact was signed with Mikoyan under which Russia supplied 750,000 tons of coarse grains in return for facilities for obtaining certain kinds of engineering equipment to be used in restoring the Russian timber trade.

3. This agreement has worked out as follows : Russia supplied 764,000 tons of grain, keeping scrupulously to terms of the contract with regard to quality. Britain, envisaging the purchase of about £20 millions worth of grain, agreed that the money be used for capital equipment to be supplied over the next two or three years. The first difficulty encountered was that manufacturers' order books were full ; some of the machinery needed would take a couple of years to produce ; priorities could only be given to Russia by jeopardising our own electricity generating programme. Despite this, British businessmen found ways of giving Soviet orders a higher priority than was to be expected and long before May 31st 1948, more than 90% of the tenders were in the hands of the Soviet trade authorities. The Soviet Purchasing Agency had, however, placed orders for only £4 millions worth of the goods specified in the Agreement, but had ordered £15 millions worth of engineering products not covered by the Agreement. This change was allowed to pass without criticism. Russia had also spent some £25 millions sterling on raw materials from the sterling area and a further £8 millions sterling obtained in trade from third countries.

4. There was also a smaller agreement covering timber.

It will be seen that reasonable trade has developed with Russia and that she was given a free hand in disposing of the proceeds of sales to us, despite the agreement which laid down certain limits for purchases. She has, in fact, spent sterling outside Britain, the net effect being to worsen the general balance of payments position for us vis-a-vis other countries. There is a school of thought which declares that Russia should be made to keep within the terms of the agreement. Taking into consideration prevailing trade conditions is it reasonable that we should purchase £10 millions worth of grain from Russia, allow her to use the sterling to buy from India, with the result that we have to make good that amount to India, and then, when we sell to Russia goods under the Agreement, get payment in currency which will not be useful outside Russia ? If so, for how long could we



continue to do so ?

No matter what our political views, we are surely forced to conclude that the Labour Government has followed the dictates of the old capitalist maxim—"Business is Business, no matter whom it be with."

In my view our Government (still under the illusion that Russia is a socialist country ?) has given the U.S.S.R. the benefit of every doubt and have fallen over backwards to make a deal. It may be useful, when considering the foregoing figures to remember that in 1947 our exports to Switzerland were £19 millions worth and in the first nine months of 1948, £16 millions—and Switzerland is a hard currency country, and thus more profitable as a market from the viewpoint of international trade and that of giving the working man his necessities.

Is it too much to ask the "socialist" critics for more clear thinking ? Will they realise in future that there is a connection between exporting to U.S.S.R. and importing from the Argentine and that, political differences (if any) aside, in this wicked world if one wants something one must pay for it ? If you want meat, then you must supply the things the sellers of meat require—you cannot ignore their demands no matter how nice it would be to buy wines from other countries. Not unless, that is you are prepared to tell the people "We want to trade with X—and so you must have grapes, because we must sell them machinery instead of selling it to Y—, who would otherwise sell us meat." Do that if you will, "socialist" critics, and then come back and tell me how many votes you get ! And, after all, votes are so important to you, aren't they ?

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#### Mr. Gallacher writes history :

In August, 1940, Hitler invited Molotov to go to Berlin. If I had known the line which this Debate was to take I would have brought with me a quotation from **The Times**. Hitler tried to get a treaty with Molotov at that time, but Molotov refused to make a concession of any kind to Hitler. What happened ? Instead of the mighty German war machine being concentrated across the Channel and being directed against Britain it was steadily built up in the East, to be used against Russia. That is what saved the Government of this country from having to leave Britain and go to our great Dominions across the seas.

W. Gallacher, M.P. in House of Commons 23.3.49.

## THE TARTAR'S BOW

Paul Stanjer

Such is the precocity of the modern child, that we should not be surprised if one day our youngster asks us, "Daddy, what is Socialism ?" We ought to be prepared—and bear in mind that Johnny will want an objective definition, not a subjective interpretation ; fact, not opinion.

Johnny is a bright lad. It may occur to him as rather odd that the German National *Socialists* should have engaged in mortal combat with the Union of Soviet *Socialist* Republics, and that the latter should be on odious terms with her war-time ally's *Socialist* government. As Juliet said, "What's in a name ?"

Poor Johnny ! He is meeting the tower of Babel which power-politicians have erected in their efforts to capitalise on the working man's weakness for catchwords and slogans.

Nothing hinders the cause of true progress so much as the inability to apply independent thought to the problems of the day. Without it, Johnny will never penetrate to reality. That is why he should take especial care to guard himself against the iconoclast who, having exposed the more popular misconceptions, advances his own theories as facts. The dogmatic Marxist-Leninist will affirm that Socialist is not what **A** claims, nor what **B** alleges but, on the contrary, "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange"—as simple as that ! This confidence trick must be seen for what it is. Johnny should ask some pertinent questions on the subject of control. How is the proposed society to be administered ? Who to determine its policies ? What will be the role of the State ?

Of course the Marxist-Leninist will have his answer ready. He will repeat something or other after the following fashion : "During the interregnum which follows upon the overthrow of the bourgeois order and the consequent expropriation of the expropriators, the responsibilities of office will be assumed by a dictatorship of the proletariat. In course of time, the necessity for centralised control will cease and the State will wither away. Thus Socialism will give way to Communism." Don't let Johnny be fooled. Tell him to make further enquiries, "What will be the duration of the interregnum ? How will the ultimate transition be effected ? And by whose decision ?"

Since the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—the real one that is—is a dictatorship *over* the proletariat, he may ask "What safeguard exists against the self-appointed elite creating a new economic class ? (As Johnny may note, if he studies conditions

in the Soviet Union, that is precisely what has happened in that "peoples' democracy").

But Russia is not the only country which claims to be Socialist. In Britain too the Government claims Socialist virtues. We must be frank with Johnny. He must be told the unpalatable truth that the name "Socialism" is no longer a warrant of good faith. It has assumed the form of a shield, behind which advances not the working masses (even though they think so) but the ever-increasing legions of bureaucracy. Perhaps the most distressing feature of this state of affairs is the part played by the Trade Union leaders. Their proper function is to represent the interests of the employee—to bargain with the employer on the former's behalf. **They are performing this function less and less.** In the nationalised industries, the political State (or, rather, the class holding the reins of State) is the new employer. Trade Union leaders can discourse on public ownership, common ownership, State ownership or whatever else they like to call it—they can discourse on these essentially legalistic terms with all the fervent oratory at their command, but it will never convince the man who is politically *awake*. For what are the facts?

Fact No. 1 is that the political and economic spheres of life are so tragically entangled that political parties are, in their essence, organs of power-privilege. In the past power-privilege was primarily an expression of "vested interests." The Whigs and Tories—later Liberals and Conservatives—who vilified each other's programmes across the floor of the House were fundamentally of one mind: they both desired the perpetuation of finance capitalism. Exploitation was deplored *in abstracto*. Belated reforms were introduced—largely as a result of popular agitation and the selfless life-work of isolated individuals—but power and privilege remained with the class who had come to the fore as a result of the Industrial Revolution. To-day, power-privilege is in the process of being transferred to a new class. In Russia the transfer is already complete. At home, the merchants and Stock Exchange speculators still exert a strong influence on society, but they are slowly surrendering their supremacy to the Administrators. We are witnessing the dawn of a new era—the era of the Organiser. The Organiser rightfully rebels against the inhuman consequences of the so-called "free market" (or "economic jungle") but in reconstructing society on a pyramidal basis, he is in the long run compelled (if that is the right word!) to plan right down to the level of the individual.

Formerly, ownership and management were inseparable. At a later stage, when the aristocrats had faded into the background, the owners—the upper-middle-class who had by then reached the

ascendant—created their own management but retained their control (This was the age of the "idle rich" *in excelsis*). Now the tables are being turned. The Management and the Executive (the ultimate controllers) are, as it were, coalescing. One can detect the embryonic beginnings of this trend even in the U.S.A., where Roosevelt's New Deal spelt the doom of *laissez-faire*.

is the position of the mass of the workers under this new set-up. They must accept the arbitrary decisions of Authority. (Consultation on questions of management do not touch the vital issue: democratic control). The new bosses can manipulate the machinery of State with far more ruthless effect than could the Money Lords of old. It is quite true that, properly regarded, the managers, administrators, etc. form an integral part of the collective body of workers, but they are abusing their position, which should be purely functional, by superimposing themselves upon their subordinates. All this is the consequence of what Burnham has named "The Managerial Revolution" and what the Labour Party and, indeed, its opponents also, avow to be Socialism.

Fact No. 2 is that these new conditions tend to lead to the sacrifice of principles for expediency. This takes two principal forms: firstly, the subordination of the individual conscience to the demands of an over-rigid party discipline. Secondly, the exaltation of political ambitions over the interests of the electorate (including, of course, the Trade Union rank and file).

Fact No. 3 is that as a result of the Labour Party having secured a parliamentary majority, and by virtue of the links which bind the Trade Unions to the Labour Party, T.U. leaders have become agents of government. They have become "servants" of the State. But in the nationalised industries it is the State which is the employer.

As for the Nazis, they stand condemned by their own foul deeds. Socialism was the parrot cry, but in this case preceded by the epithet "National"—thereby craftily suggesting that it was not only the answer to the post-war depression and the evils of Junker-capitalism but the means to restore the pride which had been so deeply injured by the Treaty of Versailles. True, the German industrialists, fearing Communism, were largely responsible for precipitating the rise to power of the Nazi movement, but whatever the circumstances of its origin, the end result was State (i.e. State class) Power.

What of State Socialism? To an economist, State Socialism is virtually identical with State Capitalism; yet we find these terms employed in a most confusing manner by different schools of thought. Perhaps "confusing" is an understatement, for Socialism is supposed to be the very antithesis of Capitalism!

What can we make of this apparent fusion of opposites? As Joad might say, "It all depends what you mean by Socialism, by Capitalism and by the State." "Words," Bacon observed, "like a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding and mightily entangle and pervert the judgement."

So what? Simply this: that when Johnny puts his question to you, adopt a stern paternal manner and answer on these lines:—"Don't bother me with these intellectual phantasms, young fellow, but strive to grasp the living facts. The politician is a skilled salesman. When salesman market their goods they wrap them up in attractive labels. But don't deceive yourself into believing that the labels are always a true indication of the contents. Now run away and think it over."

And let us hope he does. Otherwise, by the time he is more advanced in years, he will either have given up seeking answers to meaningless questions and dismissed social problems as a crashing bore (colloquially, "I couldn't care less. . .") or, more probably, will have succumbed to ideology.

#### AUTHORITY IN THE MODERN STATE

J. H. Moorhouse

**Though it has been assumed** by the majority of British citizens that the Totalitarian State will never "grace this fair Island," the serious political thinker cannot be an optimist or so confident. While it may be true that the fanatical brands of Totalitarianism would be effectively resisted, should the attempt at seizure of power be made violently, there are other, sounder, methods of infiltration for the enemies of freedom. All the major political parties—Labour, Liberal, Tory and Communist—have insisted that they will protect the people from the tyrant and the authoritarian. In fact, the insistence with which they pronounce their adherence to principles of liberty and self-development must make the most ignorant suspicious of such high motives coming from politicians! The truth would seem to be that whereas these politicians, individually, are often excellent and genuine fellows, their actions in the mass bring us, inevitably, face to face with **Authority, Bureaucracy, Political Power, and Privilege.**

One must acknowledge that the degree of authoritarian rule is much less in our form of government than, say, in the Fascist or Communist States. Those who do think otherwise, due to a melodramatic approach to life and politics, should spend twenty-four hours in Franco Spain or Sovietised Eastern Europe—even that short period would enlighten them on the terrors of the all-

powerful State machine. All this, however, does not suggest the Western Powers are innocent of ideological warfare and the authoritarian approach. There are still forces working in the so-called "free" world to enslave man, and to do it so gently and unobtrusively, that his final destruction by the State machine will have happened without resistance or disobedience.

The danger of the Modern State to the individual is obvious, particularly if that individual claims the right to think, act and worship according to the dictates of an **active** conscience. To organise a vast ant-heap there must be **absolute** obedience to the laws and discipline of the insect-machine. Be sure that **no** disobedience is countenanced in such a State! To elaborate this point of State slavery let us turn to the Hitlerite period in Germany. There was an acknowledged blind religious fervour in support of Hitler, so much so that outside Press reports told of a veneration far greater in degree than that given to the Pope. It is worth quoting from a version of the Lord's Prayer, circulated among groups of Hitler girls:

*"Adolf Hitler, thou art our Great Leader. Thy name makes thy foes tremble. Thy Third Reich come. Thy will alone be law on earth. Let us daily hear thy voice, and command us through thy leaders whom we promise to obey at the forfeit of our lives. This we vow thee. Hail Hitler!"*

Rudolf Rocker in his excellent book, *Nationalism and Culture* quotes the Indian poet-philosopher, Tagore, as saying:

*"The idea of the nation is one of the most powerful anaesthetics that man has ever invented. Under the influence of its fumes the whole people can carry out its systematic program of the most virulent self-seeking without being in the least aware of its moral perversion—in fact, feeling dangerously resentful when it is pointed out."*

This is the perfect answer to the Hitlerite perversions. So it is that far from resisting the Authority of the Modern State men and women can be "conditioned" to accept first, and then support without question, the whole enslavement of the State machine. This has been proved, and is being proved, in the world to-day. What is the answer to it?

The old pioneers would obviously condemn the present menace to individual freedom. What should we do who feel the urge to forge a progressive and enlightened world so pressing and imperative? Responsible individuals must feel the frustration of voting the "old gang" repeatedly back into power; now Labour, next—who knows?—Tory, and so on to please the democratic procedure which covers up such a multitude of sins and omissions. Meanwhile the encroachment on human liberty and rights goes on apace. The "One Party" system is certainly no answer,

whether from Right or Left, so we are left with the cynical position of believing intensely in human freedom and progress and as a political "force" having little influence with the mass of the people.

The position, however, is not as hopeless as we of the unrepresented Left might believe. Countless numbers of individuals oppose in their private lives the bureaucracy of the State and all machinations to curtail their freedom. Men and women speak openly against the growth of form-filling and the officials who administer the law, particularly when the officialdom is callous and indifferent to human suffering. This is a good thing because it proves the public conscience is alive. Many officials are actually kindly-disposed individuals, carrying out a routine task to the best of their ability, but this does not excuse us from "eternal vigilance," since the facts of environment largely decide whether a man is to respect his neighbour, or otherwise. Strong as the high-motivated official may be, he has still to obey, implicitly, the ruling of those who control him. This is the reality and omnipotence of the Modern State.

It is curious that we of the Libertarian Left have never given the works of the Russian Anarchist, Kropotkin, the attention they deserve. In his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* he wrote words that are very much applicable to our time, as to his own:

*"As to the Government, whether it be constituted by force only or by election; be it "the dictatorship of the proletariat," as they used to say in France in the 'forties,' and as they still say in Germany, or else an elected "Provisional Government," or a "Convention"; we put no faith in it. We know beforehand that it will be able to do nothing to accomplish the revolution, so long as the people themselves do not accomplish the change by working out on the spot the necessary new institutions."*

The operative words are "working out on the spot," what we would understand as plain **decentralisation**. In fact, once we can break the grip of the centralised State the power of political monopoly is at an end, and the opportunity for libertarian development really good. Kropotkin not only saw the evils of Government, as we know it, but gave as the cure for the disease, more education and more practical living out of progressive thought "on the job." This, then, is the answer: to work out our individual methods of Disobedience to totalitarian ideology and to use such movements as Common Wealth as a link in this effective struggle.

Further to this, the development of the Workers' Control movements in various parts of the country could expound Disobedience methods in the economic field. So the position is not

hopeless in dealing with the problem of authoritarianism, but it requires courage, ingenuity, ability and tremendous faith in freedom and tolerance. If we can develop these virtues we can halt the headlong rush to State Slavery, and, of course, the ultimate result from such a condition—Atomic Death.

As a final point on this issue let us quote again from Kropotkin. In his great work, *Mutual Aid*, writing of primitive man, he gave us a picture of man's intolerance to Authority and of the proof that human beings, in the main, detest and resist slavery. May our generation uphold this challenging record! These words of Kropotkin should be our constant source of inspiration in dark and depressing times:

*"... However, at no period of man's life were wars the normal state of existence. While warriors exterminated each other, and the priests celebrated their massacres, the masses continued to live their daily life, they prosecuted their daily toil. And it is one of the most interesting studies to follow that life of the masses; to study the means by which they maintained their own social organisation, which was based upon their own conceptions of equity, mutual aid, and mutual support—of common law, in a word, even when they were submitted to the most ferocious theocracy or autocracy in the State."*

Authority in the Modern State is doomed if we as individuals decide—even to the drastic point of losing our lives for the cause—that freedom is a much more important and valuable part of our lives than any spoonfeeding by the State. We, the people, can decide to live the full and dynamic life of men unafraid to oppose all Authority and Slavery.

### TOWARDS THE MONOLITHIC PARTY?

Hitherto, the British Labour movement, and even the Labour Party, has represented a federal, as against a monolithic type of organisation. Incidentally, it was this fact alone which enabled the I.L.P. for so long to run in double-harness with the mass Labour party.

The latest moves indicate that the tendency towards a monolithic party is gaining ground, and that the older federal idea may soon be a thing of the past. And then? "Heresy-hunts," and eventually, "Moscow-Trials"? For "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

And in a rigidly organised party absolute power is concentrated at the top, and this is the undoubted tendency of the times.

F. A. Ridley, **As a socialist sees it.**  
Socialist Leader, 28.5.1949.

## PERSPECTIVE ON FILMS

Sitting here on the divided "peninsula" of Berlin, anxious to return to Britain and work once again in films, I think over the present position of the British film industry.

It would be an unforgettable mistake for British films to succumb to the dictate of the dollar monopolists. After all, any increase of dollars earned by our films would only have to be used to pay for more, and probably worse, U.S. films, and by the time we have finished giving in, there would be no British films left. Apart from the consequences to our film industry any such surrender might encourage other American interests (e.g. the motor, steel or ship-building firms) to follow up these damaging tactics. But, since America needs us at least as much for political purposes as we need them for economic purposes, I think we can afford to resist their pressure.

I hope the Government will take over the British cinema industry. So far they have shown little if no inclination to do so, and I for one have seen no signs of them sufficiently appreciating the tremendous power of the film for good or evil, and to foresee the consequences.

Having worked in Germany now for over two years and being interested in films I have naturally tried to discover what kind of films the Germans are making in the different Zones, to compare the popularity of British films with other foreign productions, and, in one instance which I shall discuss presently, to bring about an Anglo-German joint production.

Here in Berlin one really has a rare opportunity of seeing all the indigenous and many foreign films. They are showing American, British and Russian sponsored German films, original and dubbed versions of features produced in different countries, including France and Italy.

The German film people I come into contact with all complain about the small encouragement they receive from the British, particularly with regard to features. The Russian Zone is always free from such worries, as the AGFA works situated there could supply almost unlimited quantities of features. The Russian Zone has the best studios left in Germany after the war, and the Russian authorities, once they approve a scenario; give every possible help. The American Zone also produces some films, but I understand that the Americans are definitely not interested to see that the industry should achieve major importance.

All screen plays now produced in Germany at the moment are, it seems, required to contain some sort of message, but I have still to see a better, more realistic, purposeful film of more

humanitarian value (and I am **not** a fellow traveller !) than the Russian sponsored DEFA production *Und ween's nur einer war* ("And if it were only one"); which dealt with the problem of "delinquent youth" and advocated rule by self-government during the period of detention in "open" labour camps.

Last year I was approached by a German company in Hamburg, and asked if I could introduce them to a British company, with whom they might negotiate for joint production of a Pestalozzi film, showing the story of German vagrant and delinquent youths, who finally regain their self-respect, and turn into normal and useful human beings, thanks to the understanding care and special education methods provided in "Pestalozzi villages."

I was very much taken with the idea, for here was a subject of tremendous importance, not only for Germany, but for Europe as a whole, constructive and interesting, moreover a matter on which the wider public urgently needed enlightenment, for only with their aid can the problem be solved satisfactorily. I contacted an independent British film producer whom I assumed would be interested. After some time I was informed that for such a film no money could be found—meaning, probably, that this film was unlikely to get a public showing in Britain, and since official help was not forthcoming productions costs, however low, could not be recovered.

Now DEFA has ably tackled this problem, and the film is being shown to large (voluntary) audiences in the Eastern Zone and Sector (Berlin) cinemas. That the value of noble films may be greatly offset by the betrayal, at least in other fields, of humanitarian principles by the sponsors themselves and their German political associates is another story, and can only be regretted. Disillusionment and cynicism, particularly among younger people, is growing not only about the blessings of Stalinist Communism, but also about democracy and goodwill, never mind brotherhood, between nations and mankind in general.

Of foreign productions, the British ones, with very few exceptions, enjoy but little popularity. Criticism is usually levelled against the story which may be regarded as a sign of good sense on the part of the Germans. On the one hand they cannot see the point of peddling sadism and crime for their own sake forgetting, of course, that our films are adopted to suit Hollywood taste, not moral ideas. On the other hand they seem to lack Eagle Lion's fascination for ghosts and other supernatural phenomena.

The American and Americanised film monopolists always tell us that the public gets the films it wants ("box office"). Granted, but with some effort the public could be made accustomed to, say, opium, which would then also swell the purses of the vendors,

We are in both cases faced, in my opinion, with deliberate poisoning. With certain categories of films it is people's brains, their mental outlook which is made to suffer; with opium it is their nervous system. The one is permitted, the other is not; but does that disprove my thesis?

I believe that socialisation of the British cinema industry is the best possible way to save it from final collapse, but should the Government feel themselves too weak to resist Hollywood's State-aided pressure, the only alternative might be to buy, or build studios and cinemas to be run on a co-operative non-profit-making basis, financed and controlled by the trade unions, the Co-operatives and interested progressive organisations. Otherwise, given as little interference from civil servants as possible, and as much support as possible for people with initiative and ideas, there is no reason why a publicly-owned film industry should not be successful. Under proper guidance British films should be able to fulfil a great mission on behalf of democracy, show the way to better international understanding and to a happier life for the mass of the people, and still be entertaining.

H. M.

## Books and Ideas

### LOST ILLUSION

*Freda Utley.*

*Allen and Unwin 10/6d.*

This is an important book, but at the same time an irritating and disappointing one. It is important as coming from a writer who has lived and worked in Russia and is thus able to give an account of the realities lying behind the slick statistics and the pictorial facade. It is disappointing in that it is written from the standpoint of the author's personal tragedy and, understandable as it is that this should be so, one feels that the objective thoroughness of the account has suffered from this fact.

Freda Utley worked with her husband in Russia until he was arrested for some reason unknown. Helped by the fact that she had not surrendered British nationality, and also probably by the consideration that she was a known author, she was able to get away from Russia. The last she heard of her husband was in 1938 when in reply to an enquiry Litvinov said that he was still alive. She has now assumed that he is dead and thus beyond the danger of being hurt by her book, and has ventured to speak out.

The testimony of the few westerners who have been able to penetrate the rigid insularity of the Russian regime is of great importance to-day, and I hope that Freda Utley will return to the subject and let us have a thorough and methodical account of Russian conditions which will interpret and correct the writings of the sifters of documents and the earlier tourists in the light of her own observations. She has a justifiably bitter comment to make on the evil of such a work as the Webb's book on Russia.

The greatest value of this present book is to be found in Freda Utley's recounting of single incidents that throw a terribly revealing light on the nature of the regime. Such is the story of Kipman who, charged with embezzlement, confessed, but was afterwards cleared, and explained his confession as being the only means of saving his wife from imprisonment, which was threatened if he did not do so. And Bertrand Russell in his introduction to the book rightly singles out for mention the rounding-up of the Moscow beggars in 1933 in preparation for the November revolution celebrations. Foreigners would be coming into the town and these human wrecks must not be seen. So they were packed into trucks, carried forty or fifty miles away from Moscow and dumped on the roads to die.

The vile hypocrisy of this deference to humanitarian standards implemented by measures of appallingly callous inhumanity may be taken as a suitable symbol for much in the Russian regime.

J. Allen Skinner

### RUSSIA ASTRIDE THE BALKANS

*Robert Bishop and E. S. Crayfield.*

*Evans Bros. Ltd. 12/6d.*

This book is misleading even in its title, since it amounts to nothing more than the personal impressions of a couple of American counter-espionage agents of the defection of Rumania from the Hitler war-machine and the subsequent subjugation of that country by the Communists.

Although this book is really more useful as illustrating the attitude of mind of witch-hunting of adolescent America than as a contribution to our knowledge of countries beyond the Iron Curtain, yet through the highly coloured fog of hatred-inspired propaganda the outlines of a totalitarian regime can be seen.

We must despair of having any factual account, any objective evaluation, of what is going on in Eastern Europe; the best we can do is to study the lying apologies of the Communists and the

screaming abuse of the reactionaries, and picking over the evidence with disinfected forceps try to piece together some of the distorted truth.

This book is written in the style of a third-rate thriller ; indeed, at one point the authors confess "*Nine groups of plotters are really more than the writer of a cloak and dagger story could wish for.*" Perhaps that reveals more than it was intended to !

The grossly exaggerated language, so heaped with lurid details, is such as to render the book almost a parody of the gutter-press itself. "*Their agents were invisible and omnipresent. The very walls had eyes and ears.*" Again, "*Soon a million people in the capital were chanting that one word 'peace'*" And again, "*Red Guards machine—gunned thousands of fear-crazed and hunger-mad men, women and children. . . Their bodies floated down the river of death. . . wolves devoured them.*"

Despite all this and despite all the word-for-word reconstruction of private interviews between kings and ambassadors (complete with stage directions as to the banging fists and paling cheeks) : despite the huge amount of irrelevant trivialities, there does remain a residue of valuable information for those able to use the forceps. The mass deportations to Russia, the expropriation of land and property, the seizure of power by the Communists via a National Front government, the policy of currency inflation, the rigged elections, the stamping out of all opposition parties, the bogus trials, the suppression of all critical newspapers—all these things, constituting the routine pattern of recent events in all Eastern European countries, have happened and are described here. How much more damning would the indictment have been if it had been written with sober, analytical objectivity.

D. A.

1084

George Orwell.

Secker and Warburg 10/-.

The world in another generation's time, if the Managerial trend is not checked but allowed to engulf the whole of human society—this is the theme of George Orwell's latest book. It is in the form of a novel, wherein Winston Smith, an insignificant member of the monolithic party, and Julia, his mistress, become deviationists and have to be re-conditioned to accept unreservedly the Managerial concept. This new political order is revealed partly through the banned book of Goldstein, the fugitive Oppo-

sition leader and partly in the interrogations of Smith by O'Brien, an Inner Party man, during the course of the former's reconditioning.

According to *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, written by the Trotskyesque figure, Goldstein, "the vision of the early XX Century of an unbelievably rich, leisured, orderly and efficient society. . . had been discredited at exactly the moment when it had become realisable, and every political theory, by whatsoever name it called itself, led back to hierarchy and regimentation." This state of affairs explains why science had not progressed after the '50s, since it requires "the empirical habit of thought which could not survive in a strictly regimented society." War waste and destruction resolves the problem of surplus production, we are told—a surprising theory to attach to Managerialism ! But our author explains that abundance would level up the classes and "threaten the destruction of the hierarchical society," which is not desired.

Since the professed aim of "Left" totalitarianism is the attainment of a free, classless and equalitarian society, one may well ask why the 1984-ers should be assumed to oppose it. Why have they evolved into a ruling class (the Inner Party), a bureaucracy (the Outer Party) and a disfranchised, voiceless proletariat ? The answer seems to be dictatorship is the seizure of power, and power corrupts. "The Party," explains O'Brien to Winston Smith, as he lies stretched on the rack of torture, "seeks power entirely for its own sake. Not wealth or luxury or long life or happiness ; only power, pure power. . . The object of power is power." And the first thing to realise about power is that it is collective and the second thing that it is power over human beings and "above all, over the mind." For the great bulk of the people, says O'Brien, happiness is better than freedom, (though they don't seem to get much of either !).

"The Party is not interested in the overt act ; the thought is all we care about. . . It is intolerable to us that an erroneous thought should exist anywhere in the world. . . Even in the instant of death, we cannot permit any deviation." Hence the stripping of human dignity, the abject confessions and the unreserved admission of error ; there must be no martyrdoms, but conversion, annihilation and expungement from historical record.

But power, absolute power, with all opposition eliminated, is no longer conscious. Therefore the heretic, opposition, the enemy, must be there to be continually triumphed over. If a Goldstein did not exist, it would be necessary to create one. Thus power, pure and absolute, cannot, it logically follows, be realised ; for in the moment of its attainment, it has annihilated itself.

Neither the Inner Party man, O'Brien, nor our author offers us a solution to this contradiction.

The world has become partitioned into three great empires, which, although having the same ideology, are bitter rivals of one another and are perpetually at war. England, with the Managerialism is called *Ingsoc* (abbreviated from *English Socialism*, and, apparently, evolved from Labour Party ideology).

To ensure its domination without question, the new order must be omniscient—infallible in its decisions, unerring in its prophecies. In the walls of every home (and prison cell) is installed a television screen which enables the *Thinkpol*, secret police, to see and hear everything that goes on. One of the chief functions of the Outer Party is to doctor history and, statistics so that they conform with the Party line of the moment. As all mention of Trotsky is now expunged from Russian history books, so *Ingsoc* expunges all inconvenient records and forges others to take their place. "The denial of reality" writes Goldstein, "is the special feature of *Ingsoc* and its rival system of thought." Reality exists in the human mind and nowhere else, we are told. Not in the individual mind, of course, but in the collective consciousness of the Party.

Orwell has written a brilliant, even a profound book, and the few excerpts, which is all space allows me, can give only a general idea of the book's argumentation. It is well worth every one's reading. Yes, withal, it is, of course, a caricature, a phantasy. It is a story of human ambition and vanity carried to its logical absurdity. The character of "Big Brother," the semi-mystical leader, and the O'Briens, who run the Party, are not merely inhuman: they are simply not specimens of the animal species, *homo sapiens*. It is as difficult to be entirely bad as it is to be entirely good, Stevenson has said somewhere. Psychologists tell us that man is a combination of contradictions; he wants to be aggressive and selfish and at the same time cooperative and generous. Orwell is suggesting that man, or certain men, can shed all their emotions, their weaknesses, desires and impulses, to pursue the end of power, pure and simple. But human motives are seldom simple and never pure.

At the same time, though this book is caricature, it carries a very real lesson, namely, that the Managerial ideology can bring man to a frustration and despair more terrible than anything he has endured in the pages of recorded history. If our ultimate aim is to give man the widest self-expression, individually and collectively, then the Managerial development, depicted here, even though in caricature, is in all seriousness his gravest danger.

**P. C. King.**



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# THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND WAR

International Conference, London, October 8th and 9th, 1949

called by the

## INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

A year ago, at a conference held at Puteaux, near Paris, 325 delegates from 87 organisations in 33 countries decided to form the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

The Congress is now recognised as the most representative organ of the world-wide movement for national liberation and racial equality. The most influential socialist and democratic organisations in Asia and Africa are associated with it as well as important sections of the European socialist movement.

The Congress is based on two principles:—

1. **The unconditional Right of the Colonial Peoples to Independence;**
2. **Independence of the two Power Blocs, and the right of colonial peoples to decide their attitude to war preparations and war.**

An international conference will be held at the Civic Theatre, Bow Road, Poplar, London, on Saturday and Sunday, October 8th and 9th, 1949, on the basis of these principles. We invite your organisation to be represented.

The conference will survey the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world and will hear reports from all colonial delegations, particularly from countries where the struggle is most acute—Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Madagascar, and the British and French Colonies in Africa. It will plan united international action to assist these peoples and to hasten the end of imperialism everywhere.

**The conference will also consider an important declaration on the subject of war prepared on behalf of socialist and democratic organisations in Asia, Africa and Europe.**

Too often the attitude of the colonial peoples towards the threatening war is ignored, but throughout Africa and Asia there is intense feeling on this question. The London Conference will give all colonial peoples the opportunity to make clear their position on this momentous issue.

You will appreciate the importance of this conference. We aim at making it representative of the anti-imperialist movements of the world and invite delegates not only from Asia, Africa and Europe, but from America and Australasia.

National organisations will be entitled to six delegates and local organisations to two delegates. Please inform us at once of your decision to participate (by cable or air mail, if overseas). If any organisation overseas is unable to send delegates resident in their country, we shall welcome accredited representatives already in Europe.

**On behalf of the International Committee,**

FENNER BROCKWAY (Britain), Chairman.  
JEAN ROUS (France), General Secretary.  
D. FARES (Tunisia), Treasurer.

**On behalf of the London Committee,**

KWESI LAMPETY (West Africa), Chairman.  
K. L. JALIE (India), Treasurer.  
BETTY HAMILTON (Britain)  
MARY KLOPPER (South Africa) } Joint Secretaries.

Please reply to:

MIKE TURNER, Organising Secretary,  
CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM,  
SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, LONDON, W.1.

Visitors will be welcomed to the Conference on the Colonies and War on Sunday, October 9th.  
Tickets 1/- each. Apply early to the Organising Secretary.

## THE CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6th

3 p.m. to 10 p.m.—Officers of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism will be present at SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, LONDON, W.1 (nearest Underground Station: Tottenham Court Road) to welcome delegates and to issue credentials.

NOTE: All delegates from *affiliated overseas organisations* are expected to arrive by this date.

### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7th

10 a.m.—Officers will be present at the Conference Office, Bromley Public Hall, Poplar (nearest underground station: Bow Road), to welcome delegates and to issue credentials. Delegates will be asked to name the Commission on which they wish to serve.

7.30 p.m.—Reception to overseas delegates. Particulars will be given later.

#### *Preliminary Meetings*

9.30 a.m.—Meeting of the International Working Committee of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism at BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road).

11 a.m. and 3 p.m.—Annual General Meeting of the Congress of Peoples at the *above address*. Report on activities since the Puteaux Conference by the General Secretary, Jean Rous. Full discussion.

NOTE: Voting rights at this meeting will be limited to representatives from organisations *affiliated to the Congress of Peoples*, but all delegates and visitors are invited to attend.

### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8th

10 a.m.—Meeting of Commissions at BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road), to receive reports from the colonial delegations. It is proposed that there should be three Commissions: (1) Africa, (2) Asia, and (3) the Americas, including the Caribbean area.

8 p.m.—Meeting of the Full Conference at the *above address* to receive reports from the Commissions.

### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9th

10 a.m. to 10 p.m.—Meeting of the Full Conference at the CIVIC THEATRE, BOW ROAD, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road). *Subject: THE COLONIES AND WAR.*

### MONDAY, OCTOBER 10th

#### *Follow-up Meetings*

10 a.m.—Meeting of the International Committee of the Congress of Peoples at BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL, POPLAR (nearest Underground Station: Bow Road).

11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.—Meeting of delegates from organisations *affiliated to the Congress of Peoples* and of delegates *who have decided to recommend their organisations to affiliate*, at the *above address*.

*Subject: FUTURE ACTIVITIES.* Election of the new International Committee and officers.

NOTE: Voting rights at this meeting will be limited to representatives from organisations *affiliated to the Congress of Peoples*, but all delegates and visitors are invited to attend.

5 p.m.—Meeting of the new International Committee at the *above address*.

8 p.m.—Social Gathering for delegates and friends. Particulars will be given later.

But the colonial peoples experience this ugly paradox: It is the same nations which claim to stand for democracy in the present world conflict of ideologies who are responsible for denying democracy to the peoples of Africa and Asia. The powers which maintain political imperialism are Western European powers, and there can be no more tyrannical dictatorship than imperialism.

The colonial peoples cannot regard the present division of the world as a reflection of the conflicting principles of dictatorship and democracy so long as nations which claim to represent democracy continue to govern other peoples against their will, to occupy their territories by armed force, and to exploit their peoples and their natural resources.

#### **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

The colonial peoples will not associate themselves with either of the two power blocs into which the world is divided.

They are at present outlaws in world affairs, with no right to representation in international discussions or to a place within the family of nations. So long as they are excluded from responsibility for international decisions, the colonial peoples decline to accept responsibility for their implementation. They cannot become parties to international obligations until recognition is given of their rights as independent nations.

The Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations is based on this fundamental principle: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

Freedom, equality, dignity and rights all demand that no people shall be required to participate in war except by their own decision. The issue of war or peace is the most momentous which any people has to face. It is intolerable that a people should not make the choice themselves.

On this basic ground the colonial peoples now announce their determination to refuse co-operation with their alien rulers in war and their resolve to maintain the struggle for independence, in war as in peace, until their claim to freedom and equality is unreservedly recognised.

# THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND WAR

DECLARATION TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, LONDON  
7th-10th OCTOBER, 1949

The colonial peoples, no less than the peoples of sovereign nations, live under the threat of a Third World War.

They fought and suffered in the first and second world wars. Hundreds of thousands of Asians and Africans served as soldiers, often in distant lands. Many of their territories were devastated, their homes and farms and industries ruined. When the fighting was over, their lands were often left to chaos and famine.

The peoples of sovereign countries suffered similarly; but they participated in political affairs and had some responsibility for the wars. Their governments took part in international politics prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and in the case of major nations at least, made the decision which took their populations into war.

**This was not the case with colonial peoples. They had no voice in the international policies which preceded the wars. They had no voice in the decision to be at war.**

## A PSYCHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Nevertheless, in the first world war most of the peoples of the colonial countries accepted the fate thrust upon them by alien imperialist governments. National consciousness had not developed to the point of resistance.

In the second world war, thirty years later, the position was different. National consciousness had grown. In India, the National Congress refused to co-operate in a war "for democracy," whilst their peoples were denied democracy. In the Italian colonies of North Africa, the popular movements maintained their struggle against their rulers. In Indonesia, Malaya and Burma, the indifference of the peoples to the issue of war was largely responsible for the failure of European troops to hold these territories.

We are now menaced by a third world war—and once more the position of the colonial peoples has advanced. In the first war, acquiescence. In the second, partial resistance. In a third, there is no doubt what the reaction would be. **It would be general and vigorous resistance to enforced participation in any hostilities which had not been freely and democratically endorsed by the peoples themselves.**

During and since the second world war the changed outlook of the colonial peoples has amounted to a psychological revolution. The colonial peoples have seen India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon gain their national sovereignty. They have been inspired by the struggle of the peoples of Indonesia and Viet-Nam for independence. In every colonial country the claim for self-government and self-determination has swept the peoples and become their dominant aim.

In mind and spirit they have outgrown the bondage of subservience. Already in their feeling and thinking they are the equals of their alien rulers. Only material force keeps them in subjection.

**This psychological revolution dooms any hope which the imperial governments may have that the peoples of the colonial countries will serve as obedient tools in a third world war.**

## WAR PREPARATIONS

Nor does this issue arise only when war is declared. Some of the imperial powers—the French Government, for example—impose compulsory military service upon the young manhood of their colonies even in peace-time. It is an outrage upon liberty that compulsory duties should be exacted from peoples who have not the freedom to decide when and for what purpose military action shall be taken.

A similar crime against freedom is being committed by the British Government, which is establishing armed strongholds at strategic points in its African colonies in preparation for war and at the same time raising forces to maintain internal order. Imperialism could not be more arrogant. First the colonial peoples are committed to war without their consent. Second, measures are taken to break their resistance.

## THE ATLANTIC PACT AND WESTERN UNION

The arrogance of the imperial governments finds extreme example in the inclusion of one of the French colonies—Algeria—within the terms of the Atlantic Pact. The democratic organisations of the Algerian people have made it clear that they do not accept obligations imposed on them without their consent and that they hold themselves free to determine their own course in the event of war.

The colonial people are particularly concerned about the military effects upon their liberties of the movement towards the union of the nations of Western Europe. Already the pact between Britain, France, and the Benelux countries provides for common military action in the colonies of these powers, and proposals for a more comprehensive Western Union assume that the colonies will be included within the united military strategy.

The colonial peoples recognise the right of the nations of Europe to federate if they so desire: they claim the same right for themselves in Asia and Africa, irrespective of the artificial imperial boundaries which have been imposed.

But the colonial peoples emphatically deny the right of European nations to determine the action of the peoples of other Continents in the event of war. This is the inalienable right of the African and Asian peoples themselves, and they will assert it whatever the consequences may be.

## THE TWO-POWER BLOCS

The issue which divides the world and which threatens war is often described as that of democracy against dictatorship. The colonial peoples are not indifferent to this issue. Indeed, their own struggle for freedom can be stated in these very terms—it is a struggle against dictatorship and for democracy.

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B. VAN TILN, Colonial Specialist from Indonesia 1916-1920  
N. VILBRUN, Chairman of Trade Union of Administrative Staffs  
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#### POLAND

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#### GREECE

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MICHEL DESYLAS, Pan-Hellenic Democratic Youth  
STRATIS PAPAYOANNOU, Greek Socialist Group  
S. T. WITTE, Archo-Marxist Party

### ASIA

#### INDIA

Mahatma Gandhi, just before he was assassinated, discussed the Paris Congress with Prof. N. G. Ranja, a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. Gandhi agreed that Prof. Ranja should attend as a representative of the All-India Kisan Congress and of the Colonial People's Freedom Front.  
Bajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian National Congress, supported the endorsement given by Gandhi.  
The National Executive of the Indian Socialist Party decided to send a full delegation to the Congress.

#### KOREA

DR. SYNGMAN RHEE, Representative of the Social Democratic Party

### AFRICA

#### SUDAN

Jacoub Osman, Union Party representative in London, wrote: "We who represent the great movement for liberty and independence in the Sudan, welcome the Congress and wholeheartedly associate ourselves with its deliberations, the usefulness of which is beyond doubt."

#### THE CAMEROONS

M. NININE, Socialist Deputy

#### ALGERIA

M. RABIER, Deputy and Representative of the Socialist Federation of Algeria

#### TUNISIA

M. BIDEZ, Councillor and Representative of the Socialist Federation of Tunisia

#### GABON

M. AUBAME, Deputy

#### NIGERIA

The Trades Union Congress of Nigeria nominated the following economic experts to assist in preparing material for the Congress.

OBAFEMI AWOLowo, E.Com., LL.B.  
H. O. DAVIES, E.Com., LL.B.  
MBONU OJIKI, M.A., M.Sc.  
F. OGUNSEYE

#### GOLD COAST

W. Owen Esemman (General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention): wrote: "We are very happy to know of the Congress and I am directed to assure you of our interest and sympathy for its success. We are glad to associate ourselves with the Congress and shall endeavour to be represented."

#### SIERRA LEONE

H. Wallace Johnson, General Secretary of the West African Civil Liberties and National Defence League, the West African Youth League, and the Sierra Leone Youth League

#### SENEGAL

CHARLES CROS, Councillor of the Republic  
DJIM MOMAR GUEYE, Councillor of the French Union  
DIOP OUSMANE SOCE, Councillor of the Republic  
LEOPOLD SENGHOR, Socialist Deputy

#### SOUTH AFRICA

SENATOR BASNER cabled from Cape Town: "Consider your Congress vitally necessary and important. I wish you success in building a socialist bloc, especially one in which the coloured races can participate in equality and brotherhood. This is humanity's only hope of survival."  
S. A. JAYIYA, Joint Secretary of the Non-European Unity Committee  
SUNDRAY PILLAY, Chairman of the Cape Passive Resistance Council  
Dr. LEON SZUR  
The Pan-African Federation was represented by observers at the Congress.

### AMERICA

#### BRITISH GUIANA

C. R. Jacob, President of the Guiana United Trade Union, and on behalf of the British Guiana Labour Party.  
The Hon. Ayube Edna, President of the Man Power Citizens

#### FRENCH GUIANA

LEON DAMAS, Socialist Deputy and Representative of the "Mouvement Renaissance Guyanaise"  
YACINE DIALLO, Deputy

#### GUADELOUPE

M. VALENTINO, Socialist Deputy

#### MARTINIQUE

Dr. VERY-HERMENCE, Socialist Deputy  
EMMANUEL VERY, Deputy

#### U.S.A.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS REPRESENTED BY FOUR OBSERVERS AT THE CONGRESS

The following have agreed to sponsor the forthcoming conference in London:

### EUROPE

#### BRITAIN

LEAH MANNING, M.P.  
 JAMES HUDSON, M.P.  
 JOHN BATTLE, M.P.  
 ELIZABETH BRADDOCK, M.P.  
 C. W. GIBSON, M.P.  
 E. FERNYHOUGH, M.P.  
 R. MORLEY, M.P.  
 J. P. W. MALLALIEU, M.P.  
 R. J. DAVIE, M.P.  
 H. MONSLOW, M.P.  
 MURIEL WALLHEAD-NICHOL, M.P.  
 HENRY USBORNE, M.P.  
 JOHN RANKIN, M.P.  
 ARTHUR W. G. LEWIS, M.P.  
 RONALD CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.  
 BEN PARKIN, M.P.  
 LESTER HUTCHINSON, M.P.  
 T. BRADDOCK, M.P.  
 J. HUDSON, M.P.  
 OLAF STAPLEDON (Author)  
 ETHEL MANNIN (Author)  
 FRANK HORRABIN (Author)  
 F. A. RIDLEY (Historian)  
 JACK STANLEY (Gen. Sec. Contr. Eng. Union)  
 BOB EDWARDS (Gen. Sec., Chemical Workers' Union)  
 CYRIL COOPER (Ass. Gen. Sec., Civil Servants Tech. Assn.)  
 STUART MORRIS (P.P.U.)  
 JOHN McNAIR (I.L.P.)  
 J. C. BANKS (Common Wealth)

#### FRANCE

LAUDE BOURDET (Director of "Combat")  
 GEORGES ALTMANN (Editor of "Franc-Tireur")  
 JEAN PAUL SARTRE (Author and playwright)

DAVID ROUSSET (R.D.R.)  
 MARCEAU PIVERT (Executive Council, S.F.I.O.)  
 PAUL ALDUY (President Soc. Group in the Assembly of the French Union)

#### HOLLAND

JEF LAST (E.C. de Viam)

#### LUXEMBOURG

MICHEL RASQUIN (Luxemburg Socialist Workers)

#### SPAIN

JULIAN GORKIN  
 E. GIRONELLA  
 PETRO (P.O.U.M.)

#### POLAND

ADAM CIOLKOSZ (Ex-Socialist deputy)

### AFRICA

#### ALGERIA

MEZERNOR (President of M.T.L.D.)

#### MOROCCO

ALAOUI AHMED (Istiqlal Party)  
 BOUALIEL ABDERRHIM (Istiqlal Party)

#### TUNISIA

DJELLOULI FARES (Neodestour)

#### FRENCH WEST AFRICA

LAMINE GUEYE (Deputy-Mayor of Dakar)  
 ALIOUNE DIOP (Former Coun. of the Republic, Director of "Presence Africaine")

#### NIGERIA

Dr. NNAMDI AZIKWE (President National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons)

#### SIERRA LEONE

WALLACE JOHNSON (Gen. Sec., West African Civil Liberties and National Defence League)

#### UGANDA

J. K. MUSAZI (President, African Farmers' Union)

#### SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. LEON SZUR (Socialist Group)

#### GOLD COAST

KWAME N'KRUMAH (Secretary of Gold Coast Convention)

### ASIA

#### INDIA

JAYAPRAKASH NARAIN (Indian Socialist Party)  
 Dr. PRASAD VARMA (Indian Socialist Party)  
 Prof. N. G. RANGA (All India Kisan Congress)  
 SARAT CHANDRA BOSE (Republican Socialist Party)  
 Dr. SAMBO (President French-Indian Association)

#### MADAGASCAR

Dr. RAKOTO RATORMAMANGA

#### VIET-NAM

KHUONG (Socialist Party of Viet-nam)

#### U.S.A.

Dr. DU BOIS

## DELEGATION FORM

Name of Organisation \_\_\_\_\_

Names of delegates (with particulars of offices held, etc.):

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

We accept the two basic principles of the Conference.

Date: .....

Signature of Secretary or Chairman.

Delegations from overseas will not be charged any delegation fee in view of the cost of travelling to London. British delegations will be charged 5s. per delegation. This fee should be forwarded with this application.

On receipt of this form at the London Centre, a letter of acknowledgment, containing information regarding transport services in London, etc., will be forwarded. Credentials and further details will be issued on arrival as indicated in the Conference Programme (page two).



Notitie KA-R.A.

UITGEBODEN

Op 7-10-'49 is aan Sardine medegedeeld, dat er op 9 October in Londen een internationale conferentie zal worden gehouden van het "International Committee Congress of Peoples against Imperialism" er is hen om inlichtingen verzocht. Briefnummer 70731.

KA-R.A., 11-10-'49

KH  
B 11

MINISTERIE VAN  
BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-Gravenhage, 7 October 1949

UITGEBOEKT

No.: B.70731  
Bijl.: Een

DIENSTGEHEIM

Betr.: The Colonial Peoples and War

Onder dankzegging voor de toezending van de bij Uw  
schrijven d.d. 28 September 1949 no. 146/1 gevoegde  
bijlage, doe ik U deze wederom toekomen.

HET HOOFD VAN DE DIENST,  
Namens deze,

J.G.Crabbendam.

Aan de Heer  
Hoofdcommissaris van Politie  
te 's-GRAVENHAGE.

No.: 70731  
B.VI. RD.3  
Aan: KA-R.A.  
Van: H.B.

UITGEBOKT

6 October 1949

01 75 899

Blijkens binnengekomen berichten wordt op 8 en 9 October te Londen een internationale conferentie gehouden van het "International Committee Congress of Peoples against Imperialism".

Gaarne zal ik over dit congres, waaraan zeer waarschijnlijk ook Nederlandse gedelegeerden zullen deelnemen, zo uitvoerig mogelijk inlichtingen ontvangen.

NIET O.K.
ACD/46
DAT: 27-4-50
PAR: RM

Volgno.

1 OCT. 1949

ACD/70731

GEHEIM.

28 September 1949.

Verbinding: No.12

Doss.146/1

Onderwerp: International Conference of the International Committee  
Congress of Peoples against Imperialism.

Datum ontvangst bericht: 23 September 1949

Betrouwbaarheid berichtgever: betrouwbaar

Waardering bericht: betrouwbaar

Tevens bericht gezonden aan:---

Medewerkende instanties:---

Ondernomen actie:---

B

Hierbij wordt toegezonden een program voor een internationale conferentie van het "International Committee Congress of Peoples against Imperialism".

Dit congres wordt op 8 en 9 October te Londen gehouden.

Uitnodigingen tot bijwoning van dat congres zijn in Nederland naar enige links socialistisch georiënteerde personen verzonden.

Op deze conferentie zal besproken worden het zelfbeschikkingsrecht van de koloniale volkeren en hun houding in geval van een 3e wereldoorlog.

De bijlage van dit schrijven wordt zo spoedig mogelijk terug verwacht. (einde)

4  
3

1257

8/11/49

NOSS. No.:	1257
ONT:	Karool
DATUM:	7-10-49
AR:	

### Conferentie tegen het imperialisme

De vertegenwoordigers van zeventien Aziatische en Afrikaanse landen zijn in Londen bijeen om te beraadslagen over de houding, welke moet worden aangenomen in geval van een derde wereldoorlog.

De conferentie is bijeengeroepen door de internationale commissie van het „volkscongres tegen imperialisme“, dat o.m. de steun heeft van twintig leden der Labourpartij en van groepen socialisten in Frankrijk, de Verenigde Staten en India.

De voorzitter van de internationale commissie, Fender Brockway, zeide in zijn openingsrede, dat de conferentie zich als hoofddoel heeft gesteld het „onvoorwaardelijke recht der koloniale volken op onafhankelijkheid“ te proclameren en het recht dezer volken hun houding te bepalen ten opzichte van oorlogsvoorbereidingen.

De besprekingen zullen drie dagen duren en o.m. Vietnam, Indonesië, Malakka en Madagascar tot onderwerp hebben.

*J. D den Haag*

GEHEIM.

19 AUG 1949  
ACD/60188

Verbinding: No.12

17 Augustus 1949.

Doss.204

Onderwerp: Report of the World Congress against Imperialism.

Datum ontvangst bericht: 13 Augustus 1949

Betrouwbaarheid berichtgever: betrouwbaar

Waardering bericht: betrouwbaar

Tevens bericht gezonden aan:---

Medewerkende instanties:---

Ondernomen actie:---

*B*

Van 18 tot 21 Juni 1948 werd te Puteaux (Frankrijk) een conferentie gehouden van het "Congress of Peoples against imperialism", waaraan werd deelgenomen door meer dan 300 afgevaardigden van organisaties in 33 landen.

Van het tijdens genoemd congres behandelde is een verslag verschenen in de Engelse taal. In dit verslag zijn eveneens opgenomen de namen der gedelegeerden en de diverse door hen vertegenwoordigde organisaties.

Het ligt in het voornemen om op 8 en 9 October 1949 te Londen een dergelijk congres te houden.

Enige stukken op bedoeld congres betrekking hebbende worden hierbij gevoegd.

Het besproken verslag (Report of the World congress against Imperialism) wordt zo spoedig mogelijk terugverwacht. (einde)

*J. D. den Haag had het in de laatste drie maanden bezichtigend en heeft het goedkeuren laten halen. Het zou nu in de gade genomen worden.*

*BT/LL  
24/8*

INFORMATION BULLETIN  
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OF THE  
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CONGRESS OF PEOPLES  
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AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
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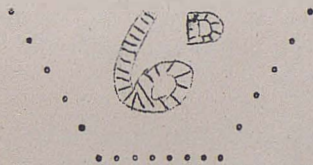
JUNE, 1949 41 Blvd. MAGENTA, PARIS. Number 5.

CONTENTS  
.....

- Second International Conference.
- Uganda in Ferment.
- Congress presents Madagascar case to U.N.
- Is Britain Imperialist ?
- Autocracy in Nepal.
- Indonesian News.

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..... ENGLISH EDITION .....



World Conference on Colonial Peoples and War

to be held in London in October

by Fenner Brockway

(Chairman, International Committee Congress of Peoples)  
eeeeeeeeeeeeee

The Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism is calling a World Conference, to be held on Sunday October 9th, on the subject of "The Colonial Peoples and War". The basis of the Conference will be the acceptance of these three principles:-

1. The Right of Colonial Peoples to Independence
2. The Right of Colonial Peoples to Refuse to Participate in War
3. Neutrality of the two Power Blocs.

Throughout Africa and Asia there is an intense feeling on the War issue, the London Conference will give all colonial peoples the opportunity to declare their position on this momentous subject and to demand recognition of their right to political liberty, so that they themselves may make a free decision on the issue of war or peace - and, still more important, make their contribution as independent nations to the development of a warless world.

The Conference will also survey the present stage of the anti-imperialist struggle and hear reports from all colonial delegations particularly from countries where the struggle is most acute - Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Madagascar, and the British and French Colonies in Africa.

Invitations are being sent to all movements in the colonial countries which are engaged in the struggle for political, social and economic freedom, and to all organisations in Europe, America, and Australia who accept the basis of the Conference.

National Organisations will be entitled to a maximum of six delegates and local organisations to two. Applications should be made now to the Conference Secretary, Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, Swaraj House, 32, Percy Street, London, W.1.

We shall send invitations to all organisations of which we have knowledge. We shall however, be glad to receive lists of organisations to whom it would be desirable to forward invitations. We particularly ask that such lists be sent to us at once by air mail if overseas.

If any organisation overseas is unable to send delegates resident in their country, we shall welcome accredited representatives already in Europe.

Declaration to be Submitted to Conference

The International Committee of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism has prepared an outspoken Declaration on the attitude of the Colonial Peoples to the War Danger the session on Sunday October 9th will discuss it.

"In a Third World War their attitude would be general and vigorous resistance to enforced participation in any hostilities which had not been freely and democratically endorsed by the people themselves".



The British Government is also condemned for its war preparations in its African Colonies, particularly the establishment of armed strongholds at strategic points and the raising of forces to maintain "internal order" - that is to suppress resistance.

### The Atlantic Pact and Western Union

A strong protest is made against the inclusion of Algeria in the Atlantic Pact without any consultation of the people. Concern is also expressed as to the military effects of Western Union on the free choice of Colonial Peoples.

### The Two Blocs

The Colonial Peoples' independence of the two blocs is asserted. They are not indifferent to the issue of democracy against dictatorship, but they cannot regard the present division of the world as reflecting this conflict of principle "so long as nations who claim to represent democracy continue to govern other peoples against their will, occupy their territories by armed force, and exploit their peoples and their natural resources".

### Internal Conference

The public conference on the "Colonial Peoples and War" will be preceded on Friday October 7th by a conference of delegates representing the organisations affiliated to the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism. On Monday October 10th a "follow-up" conference of delegates from affiliated organisations and delegates favourable to affiliation will be held to plan maximum international aid for the struggle against Imperialism. The new International Committee of C.O.P.A.I. will be elected at this Conference.

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The colonial peoples now announce their determination to refuse co-operation with the alien rulers in war and their resolve to maintain the struggle for independence, in war as in peace, until their claim to freedom and equality is unreservedly recognised.

\*\*\*\*\*

Just arrived from the printers:-

Report of the World Congress Against Imperialism. This was the first International Conference of the Congress of Peoples held in Paris 18th-21st June 1948. 124 pages, full of detailed information including economic and political reports, many photographs, excellently produced with stiff cover. Price 2/2 post free. Obtainable from:-  
London Centre Congress of Peoples, Swaraj House  
32, Percy Street, London, W.1.

Obtain your copy now print is limited

### Uganda in Ferment

By Mary Klopfer

There is no need to stress to readers of the Bulletin that the basic case against imperialism is that it is wrong for any nation to arrogate to itself the power to govern another, and the right of every people to self-determination. We know that democracy and colonialism are incompatible.

A secondary aspect of the case against imperialism is the impossibility of legislators and administrators of any one country having the knowledge and understanding of another to govern it either justly or properly.

We also know that economic exploitation is the raison d'etre of imperialism and do not expect it to cease while the colonial form of administration survives.

All these things have been well illustrated by recent events in Uganda. A couple of questions in Parliament, some articles and front page news in one newspaper and a tiny note in another, an article in a weekly and a letter dealing with a limited point were the sum total of the public reaction in Britain.

Reaction to what? The facts ascertainable from the above were that there had been riots in Uganda, that the police and troops intervened and that there had been 1,400 arrests and some deaths.

The British Parliament is in the final analysis responsible for Uganda - for its government and people. But - and this is one of the inevitable results of colonial rule - very few M.P.s know even the population of Uganda (about 4,000,000 Africans, 16,000 Indians and 2,000 Europeans) a few more might be able to tell you that its chief exports are cotton, coffee and ground nuts, in that order - why? Because these products are valuable to Britain. But ask any of them for data about the government, the economic basis of farming, the division of returns between the farmers, the middlemen and Britain!

When the British took the Kingdom of Buganda under its "protection" in 1900 it brought the 3,000,000 people of the provinces which were then subject to the Buganda Kings under the ordinary form of colonial rule. Inside Buganda some elements of the former African government still survive. There is an African Parliament which is elected through electoral colleges at three levels. The members of the lowest electoral college are supposed to be elected by adult suffrage but the chiefs have considerable influence over these elections and as many of them are British stooges there is a "tendency for the 'right' men to be elected." In addition there are three African Ministers and County Chiefs who are nominated by the Kabaka - the latter being on a semi-hereditary basis. The Kabaka (King) and his Ministers and Chiefs are "advised" by a British Resident. British Administration of the areas outside Buganda and of the function of the protecting power in Buganda itself are carried out by the Governor assisted by a legislative Council consisting of British Officials, two nominated European and two Indian traders and, very recently, four nominated Africans - all of whom are chiefs. From this is drawn the Executive Council.

In effect the British have ruled largely through the chiefs who have been subsidised into acquiescence. This was even obtained for the vesting of a large part of the land in the British Crown in 1900. The traditional clan leaders (singular Mutaka and plural Bataka) have attempted to protect the rights of the people with whom they have much closer links than the chiefs but their position has been weakened under the protectorate in favour of the chiefs.

In 1945 wage demands led to a strike in 1945. This was concerned with wages paid to plantation and Government labourers but had wide popular support. The suppression of this strike included the deportation of various leaders including three county chiefs, an African ex-Prime Minister and a Mutaka who had stood by the people.

The Bataka have understood their traditional role as fathers of their people to meaning placing their authority, which is still strong with the people, behind popular political demands. The chief of these is for the completion of the 60 elected members of the African Parliament which the Buganda people claim under the 1900 agreement. There have been rumors that it is intended to alienate crown land to white settlers, as has been happening in Tanganyika and these have increased the tension in Uganda. The people have seen the policies of the white settler element in Kenya and fear their own position would become still worse were such an element to grow in Uganda. On the economic side the 20-year old claims of the farmers to gin their own cotton and export it themselves have also come to a head - the result?

According to the Governor "a comparatively few evil and self-seeking men have brought great trouble and disgrace upon Buganda.... In so doing they are following the usual pattern of Communist penetration with which people in Europe and the Far East are familiar" (Message from the Governor, 27th April, 1949.) In the same document the following threat is made against the general community: All Africans in the area of the disturbance will suffer for the crimes of the comparatively few because section 67 of the the Police Ordinance gives power to the Government to recover from the community the full cost of compensation for damage to persons and property: That power will be exercised, and I fear the cost of compensation will be high and the communal penalty imposed will be heavy! The later part of this statement reminds one of something. Yes ..... the indignant denunciation by Allied propaganda during the war of the Nazi custom of imposing communal penalties on villages and areas in which the resistance movement had been active!

We were not likely to leave the matter at this point. The London Centre had been instructed by the International Committee to investigate the position in Uganda and take any action open to it in the matter.

We have traced the representative of the Bataka and the Uganda African Farmers Union who are in London and who, according to the Governor, provided the "Communist inspiration" for the events of April 26th. and 27th. Their policy is one of national liberation and economic emancipation, their "communist" actions have been to send a petition to UNO through the Russian delegation (presumably Britain whom it accused would not have it put before UNO and to include the British Communist press in their circulation of their material.

The material which these representatives have shown us consists of private letters smuggled out of Uganda, local African and English newspapers and the Government Ordinances and Communiqués connected with the disturbances.

On 26th. of April the people assembled en masse before the Palace of the Kabaka. They had informed him in advance through the Bataka that they intended to do so and claimed their traditional right to assemble and present their grievances. The Kabaka refused to appear. The demands presented to him were for 60 elected members in the African Parliament, the right to gin and export the cotton of the African farmers without the intervention of the Indian middlemen and the British exporting organisation and, finally, the deposition of certain County Chiefs and the African Prime Minister who had made themselves especially unpopular. The Kabaka sent a message that he would consider these matters and consult his advisors and asking the people to go home. The people refused to disperse and sent the deputation back to tell the Kabaka that they would only do so when at least the Prime Minister had resigned.

On the morning of the 27th British officials and police appeared and, after failing to disperse the crowd by threats, resorted to violence. The people were very angry, the houses of some County Chiefs were burnt to the ground, at least 1,400 were arrested and five people were killed, the Bataka and the Uganda Farmers' Union were banned and their property confiscated. This much has been confirmed from official sources. This does not mean that it has been broadcast to the British Public but that it has been published in official documents.

The cases concerning the Bataka Elders and their followers who were arrested have been referred to native courts for trial, which means that the County Chiefs against whom the petition was aimed will be sitting in judgement on their opponents.

Individual letters smuggled out of Uganda add charges that those arrested have been brutally mishandled, that deaths have reached the hundreds and that members and supporters of the Bataka and the Farmers Union have been hunted like wild beasts. The exaggerated and threatening tone of the Governors' pronouncements suggest that these alarming reports do represent a leakage in the iron curtain of censorship which has been set up around a popular demonstration and a typically violent imperialist repression.

The London Centre has done all in its power to get this matter raised in Parliament and the Press, has approached the Colonial Secretary, helped with the preparation of the case for these purposes and has arranged for the Uganda representative to speak to progressive groups and meet trades unionists. It is felt that the essential demand is for a commission of enquiry to be sent from England, that this commission should include Members of Parliament Trades Unionists and Co-operators, that it should have full powers to call and protect members of the banned organisations as witnesses and should deal with the demands and grievances giving rise to the disturbances as well as the actual events of April. It must have the right to call witnesses already sentenced to imprisonment or deportation before its arrival. This matter will be pressed by every available means.

The Congress considers that the present enquiry - that being conducted by an ex-Chief Justice of the East African Court of Appeal who was appointed locally is quite inadequate. No East African official can have the confidence of the Uganda people, witnesses will fear to present themselves and any report which may result cannot, therefore, be based on the essential facts. In addition it is doubtful if even a Commission sent from England could work in the present atmosphere of fear and it would be very desirable that the ban on the Bataka and the Farmers' Union be raised before such a Commission began its work.

" If you are a regular reader of the Bulletin and in sympathy with the aims of the Congress why not become an Associate Member? Minimum subscription 5/- per year. Better still, interest your local or national party, Trade Union, Co-op. etc to affiliate. Full details sent upon request.

The African Farmers' Union Uganda.  
 ccccccc@ccccccccc  
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The above Union which was formed in June 1948 is the parent body of protective groups or societies of farmers registered under Business Names Ordinance. In December 1948 there were 100 of these groups with an average membership of 200 each and since then the President has received reports that the number of groups has doubled.

The objects of these organisations were not limited to the practical tasks of protecting the African Farmers against economic exploitation but included the improvement of agriculture, the use of modern resources, better health and housing in the rural areas and the widening of the horizons of rural life through cultural activities. The first concrete objective was to break the hold of the Indian and European ginners in the cotton industry. For some 20 years the farmers of Uganda have been demanding that they be allowed to gin and market their own cotton and these demands were endorsed by the Cotton Commission which reported last year.

Last year the price for seed cotton was 2d. per lb., three lbs of this being required to make 1 lb of lint cotton, the local price for which was 3/- and the world market price 7/-. As cotton can only be ginned by those holding a license the African Farmers were unable to participate in the benefit of the price of lint cotton which was divided between the ginners and Cotton Exporters Group. The Government has endorsed some of the recommendations of the Cotton Commission but has taken no action which would effect this years crop except to raise the price of seed cotton to 3d. per lb.

The Farmers' Union made efforts to have the cotton of its members ginned at a fixed rate so that they might sell the lint themselves. Negotiations to this end were unsuccessful as the ginners were not anxious to forgo their present privileged position and offered terms which could not be met. For instance, one firm demanded that the farmers supply new bags for the sifted seed. Ever since the war bags - new or even second hand - have been an acute shortage all over Africa. It is clear that this kind of thing had exasperated the farmers and that they felt little confidence in promises of "participation in the ginning industry" which made no measurable difference to the proportion of the value of their cotton which the farmers could hope to obtain in the current season.

Large quantities of cotton which were being held by the Union have been confiscated. At the same time the Union has become an illegal organisation so that members will not dare to claim back their individual share of the cotton. The farmers are not satisfied with the degree of Government interference which follows registration as a Co-operative Society and that is why the Union chose to register under the Business Names Ordinance.

It is essential that the inquiry which is being demanded have the right to investigate most fully the whole question of the demands of the Uganda farmers, the prices given then for cotton and for other produce, the provisions for them to organise co-operatively and that a completely new regime replace the present disgraceful exploitation which has lasted so long that it has driven them to despair and to wonder "is there anyone in England who will help us?" (extract from a letter written to the President by two of the leading members of the Union who are at present in hiding from the police).

-eeeeee-

The Madagascar Struggle  
 by  
 Mike Turner

Since 1885 Madagascar has been a French Protectorate although the Malgash people have never recognised French sovereignty. Since 1506 the island has been subjected to settlers, mercenaries and traders. First the Portuguese, a century later came the French settlers, efforts were made in the usual manner of all colonial powers to create divisions amongst the various tribes. Perhaps because all have a common Polynesian origin this policy was not successful. In 1672 a general insurrection drove the French out to the island which is now called La Reunion. Then a spell of peace lasting three quarters of a century, during which time the Hova tribe, intelligent and advanced, became the ruling class and the Kings of Madagascar were chosen from them.

The French made another unsuccessful attempt to gain influence in 1768. Next a Polish adventurer was sent by the French Minister Colbert. By means of trickery he managed to proclaim himself King. He failed to gain recognition and his reign was short.

Anglo-French Race for Power

The British and French struggled to gain supremacy. In 1811 the British became supreme in Tamatave which is the next important town after the Capital Tananarive, even a wholesale massacre did not deter them from returning. In answer to Queen Ranavalona's pronouncement decreeing slavery for all Europeans two French warships shelled Tamatave. All Europeans were then deported and foreign trade banned although one Frenchman who had influence with the Queen remained. Later this European's property was used as a pretext for an international wrangle by which the French wormed their way back. This crisis was solved by agreements being signed with all the important Western Powers, except France, which launched a treacherous surprise attack on the island in 1883 after the Malgash Government had refused to

- (a) cede to France the Northern part of Madagascar up to the 16th Parallel;
- (b) pay an indemnity of a million francs to France.
- (c) submit Malgash foreign policy to French control.

These demands and a slightly altered demand was rejected and the Malgash successfully counter-attacked on Sept 1st 1885. The French negotiated a truce, an ambiguous-protectorate treaty was signed in December 1885. A Protocol in 1886, dispelled the ambiguity. A protectorate was established over Madagascar, foreign relations entrusted to a French Resident, French citizens were granted extra territorial rights, the French Army occupied Diego Suarez, and towards the end of 1886 the million francs indemnity was paid.

The ambiguity of the treaty gave rise to clashes between the Malgash and French in 1894 and an ultimatum was delivered to the Malgash Government demanding "them to give full effect to the 1885 agreement and as a guarantee allow 2,000 troops to be garrisoned at Tananarive". Queen Ranaivalona II, last of the Hova rulers, refused. War was then waged against the Malgash. Heavy bombardments were made against the main ports and an expeditionary force was landed. Great losses were inflicted on the French but superior weapons eventually gained supremacy for the French and the capitulation of Tananarive took place in Sept 1895. In 1896 under a new imposed protectorate agreement Madagascar was made a French Colony. During the subsequent uprisings quelled by General Gallieni the Malgash lost nearly 700,000 out of a total population of 4 million, and the French also suffered heavy casualties.

### French as Colonists

Madagascar, slightly larger than France, produces coffee, cocoa, vanilla, sugar, mango, cotton, rice, tobacco, pineapple, maize, wheat, barley, oats, etc. The country's resources have hardly been tapped by the French. No large scale development has taken place, the French have preferred to take as much as they could without putting anything back in the form of capital development. Only 230 miles of railways were built in twelve years under Gallieni. The island is 1,000 miles long, and 250 wide, yet less than 300 miles of railways have been built since. When the French took over 160,000 were being educated but in a short while this number was reduced to 64,000, although about 200,000 is the present figure given out.

Forced labour has been another feature of French rule. Abolished in 1916, although fought for by the French Settlers, it has been again reinstated under to-day's reign of terror.

Under a new constitution three Malgash Deputies were sent to the French Assembly to represent 4,000,000, whilst two French Councilors represent 20,000 settlers. In May 1946 two French Deputies Raseta and Rovachangy with a political leader Rebemananjara (all belonging to the Movement for Malgash Renovation) went to Paris to present a memorandum to the French Government putting forward a claim for national sovereignty for Madagascar as a free state, with in the French Union. This was rejected by the French.

The war had a deep psychological effect on the Malgash people for the Atlantic Charter had given new hope and opened new horizons and the whole country was stirred with a deep desire and striving for liberation. Events in Viet Nam had encouraged the claim which was not easily to be rejected. Labour unrest prevailed as conditions worsened owing to past neglect ports were in accessible to ships of large to ships of large tonnage and port equipment is inadequate. Tariff control and regulations hampered investments for modernisation and repair of equipment, whilst an additional factor was the non-co-operative attitude of the people. Production of vanilla fell to 60% of the previous year, sisal to 75%. Foreign ships left the ports unloaded and private capital started to desert the island. This process is still going on. The Hova peasantry are half-naked and more than ever underfed. - A workers wage was 15 francs a day, while a pound of rice cost 6 francs. Little wonder that revolt broke out March 27th 1947. Twenty coloured and French soldiers were killed and the revolts spread like wild-fire.

The French answer - unmerciful bombing of towns and villages as they had not sufficient troops. Even though the Malgash Deputies deplored these incidents and sent a telegram asking for a parliamentary mission. The result was further repression and the arrest of the Malgash Deputies April 1st 1947. The arrests were unconstitutional insofar as parliamentary members should enjoy immunity. These Malgash leaders are still in jail under sentence of death as the French continue repressive measures. It is estimated that 140,000 political prisoners are either in jail or working under forced labour conditions.

The Movement for Malgash Renovation stands for Madagascar "home rule" within the French Union. There is also a Democratic Party which claims full independence from France. Another party, sponsored by the French, is the Party of the Disinherited which is centred, strangely enough, where the outbreaks occurred.

The most ruthless and inhuman methods have been used to put down the revolt-throwing prisoners out of planes, burning of huts, use of Senegalese troops etc. Lamine Gueye Negro Socialist Deputy from Senegal has vigorously denounced the vicious measures being used against the Malgash and especially the method of using Senegalese troops thus arming one member of the Union against another.

It can be stated with absolute confidence that the French reign of terror does nothing more than to unite the people in their demand for freedom from oppression. For every leader murdered another two will spring up in his place.

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### Congress Presents Madagascar Report to UNO.

At its May meeting, the International committee of the Congress of Peoples devoted considerable time to the situation in Madagascar, and adopted a series of recommendations which if applied would restore peace to the island. The London Centre was given the task of giving these recommendations publicity and of bringing them to the attention of U.N.O.

#### Recommendations in Brief

1. That the Universal Declaration of Human Rights be honoured.
2. Institution of an enquiry into labour conditions and to examine any material facts which might be termed genocide by UNO.
3. A peaceful settlement of the differences between the French and Madagascar people, arising from the aggression of 1895, the violation of the treaty of October 1st 1895, the seizure of power in January 1896, and the annexation of 6th August 1896.
4. Release of Malgassy leaders on similar terms to those voted for the Indonesian leaders by UNO.
5. Opening of a Malgassy-Franco Conference on absolute terms of equality, observers to be delegated by UNO. The Conference to be not later than 15th July 1949.

(6) At the conclusion of the Conference and restoration of the National Sovereignty and independence, general elections to be held under the auspices of UNO.

Further, the Congress invites the Government of the French Republic to take the following steps to facilitate relations based on mutual respect and confidence.

1. Immediate release of political leaders of the Malgassy National Movement and detainees also those deported from the Island.

2. To abrogate according to the desire of the Assembly of the French Union all emergency laws in Madagascar and dependencies, which effect freedom of thought, speech, assembly, and movement.

3. Submission to an investigation of Labour conditions in Madagascar by the International Labour Office.

The above recommendations in a more expanded form together with a descriptive background, was given wide circulation by the British Centre, the document being sent out in French, English, and Spanish and circulated in duplicated form to every delegation to the United Nations Organisation. Each delegation received six copies in the appropriate language.

Every delegation was sent a personal covering letter, it was also forwarded to the following commissions: Economic and Employment, Employment and Stability, Social, Human Rights, Freedom and Information, Prevention Discrimination, and Trusteeship Council, Ralph Bunche, and International Labour Office.

The instruction was given on the 22nd May, 1949 and the whole of the campaign was completed by 9th June 1949.

Further, two telegrams were sent to Comrades Raseta (Depute) and Bozara Justin (Consciller de la Republique) at present in Tananarive Jail under sentence of death. Readers of the last Bulletin will remember the stop press reply received from Comrade Raseta.

Stop Press.....

We have just received information that as a result of our efforts the Madagascar question is being placed on the agenda of the Human Rights Commission of UNO.

Do you want information regarding the colonies, speakers, literature? If so contact the Organising Secretary, Swaraj House, 32, Percy Street, London, W.1.

#### An Appreciation

As we go to press Mrs. M Klopper, our Joint-Secretary, has left for South Africa to spend a well-earned holiday.

During her absence we shall miss her tremendously in Swaraj House in which she spent so many hours of unflagging work. She has made a valuable contribution to the life of the organisation and her loyalty to the colonial cause is beyond question.

We hope she will enjoy her holiday very well and come back refreshed to take part in a happy re-union during the Conference and continue with the struggle.

J. Kwesi Lamptey  
Chairman, London Centre

#### Is Britain Still Imperialist?

J. Kwesi Lamptey

The question takes for granted that at one time or other Britain was imperialist but demands the answer whether or not she continues to arrogate to herself the role of controlling other peoples' affairs politically and economically to her own advantage. I assume the word Britain to mean the British Government or the inhabitants of the British Isles. A large proportion of the British people do not know what happens in their Colonies: as a matter of fact they cannot mention the name of one colony much less to locate its geographical position. But the Government of the day is responsible to them and they are responsible for it, therefore, if we are capable within this short article to prove that the government is imperialist we cannot but accept the corollary that the British as people qua people are also imperialist.

It is quite true that Burma has been given freedom but it is equally true to say that the old imperialist policy of divide et impera is actively at work. The recent exposures of certain aspects of the troubles in Burma are pointers to the intrigue engineered by British agents to split the country in two. Finance capital is still in the hands of Britain with the result that policy is still dictated by absentee capitalists.

However much Britain may brag for having united India territorially during her unwanted stay there, she left India with twin dominions and supported the reactionary Nizam of Hyderabad to refuse to accede to the Indian Union. The British investors are still continuing the process of draining the resources of India and have actually come to terms with the Indian Capitalists to exploit the common people

In the colonial landscape things are as grim as before. The white settlers in the East African dependencies are manoeuvring to get for themselves political status similar to South Africa, where democracy has come to mean the rule of millions of Africans by a handful of Europeans. Even the much-talked-of ground-nuts scheme in this region has for its primary aim the filling up of the larder of the British housewife. Any improvement of the living conditions of the Africans is only a by-product and grossly exaggerated at that.

In the West Indies Britain has recently sent Grantly Adams to the United Nations to play the record of "His Master's Voice". Although he agreed with me before he left that he was not fully representative of the colonial world he stated to the utter disgust of those whom he is supposed to have represented that we are all happy and satisfied in the colonies. Bustamante continues to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. He is only prepared to have self-government in the West Indies if he would be appointed Governor-a position which is his divine right. He whom the imperialists rejected in the hey-day of his fights against imperialism has suddenly become the respectable friend of the Colonial Office and the Tories.

West Africa and Malaya are very valuable sources of dollars. Together they earn for Britain more dollars than those from all other sources put together. If it were simply a matter of these countries supplying minerals and raw materials to Britain at world market prices to enable her to get dollars it would not matter much. But, - here is the snag - the products are obtained by Britain at the lowest price possible and sold on the world's market at the highest price obtainable. The prices of British goods in these countries are controlled by giant British monopoly combines like the United Africa Company, Shell Company-



4. Recently a movement for democratic reforms was launched by the people under the leadership of the Nepal Congress and its leaders Dr. Koirala. Dr. Koirala was imprisoned by the Nepal Government and had to resort to hunger-strike along with his colleagues as a protest against this oppressive policy. This action evoked tremendous response and sympathy in India leading to great demonstrations and meetings. The Nepal Government have now release Dr. Koralala. This does not mean, however, that the struggle for freedom has come to an end. It will go on till the present anti-undemocratic regime is replaced by Government truly representative of the people.

Note: Since then bail has been refused and the case is proceeding.

From Foreign Bulletin, Socialist Party of India (affiliated to the Congress)

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#### Indonesian News

We learn from Republican sources that the Dutch have been running a campaign to persuade people that it is necessary to escape from Jogjakarta before the Republican Government takes over. Pamphlets purporting to be issued by the Communists threatening the lives and safety of Republican leaders and many other peoples have been circulated in the town. It is reported that they bear a close resemblance in both style and printing to the material issued by the Dutch Army Information Service.

Many people were influenced by this propaganda and left the area to return later saying that the treatment meted out to them in the Dutch evacuation centres was improper and that they had thought better of their decision to leave.

The leaders of the Dutch and Indonesian delegations report that they expect the change-over of administration in Jogjakarta to take place about June 29th and the Government to return approximately one week later.

In spite of reports of the smooth progress of negotiations there have been some comments from Dutch sources about "conditions" for the full restoration of the Republican in Jogjakarta which have a sinister ring in view of the clear priority given to this in the Batavia agreement as reported in the first instance by both sides. There are also reports that the Dutch have continued to strip Jocoja of its administrative equipment.

The Sultan of Jogjakarta who is in charge of the preparations for the return of the Republican Government has made a strong protest to the United Nations Commission with regard to the raid carried out by Dutch troops on the section of the Sultan's Palace which is being used as the headquarters of the Republican sub-commission preparing the return of the Government. Documents were seized and about 50 people arrested, most of whom were civilians who happened to be in the building to volunteer for service with the Republic after its return. The Dutch charged them with being "infiltrated guerillas".

Republican military governors report that military activity continues at about the same level as in recent weeks. One Army announces that 78 members of the Dutch Army were killed in action against it in the month ending June 4th., and, during the same period 124 were wounded and 372 pieces of armament captured.

CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

(International Headquarters: 41, Boulevard Magenta, Paris 10<sup>e</sup>)

The Congress represents anti-imperialists in India, Ceylon, Viet Nam, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lybia, Sudan, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Madagascar, and many European countries.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE LONDON.

*Sunday,* The second annual international Conference of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism will be held in London on Saturday, October 8th and 9th, 1949.

The inaugural Congress, held at Puteaux, Paris, last year was attended by over 300 delegates from organisations in 33 countries. It elected an International Committee of thirty members, which established headquarters in Paris and formed a Centre in London.

The Congress is now recognised as the most representative organ of the democratic movements for liberation in Africa and Asia. Its influence has been felt at the United Nations, in national Parliaments, and in the press of the world.

The forthcoming Conference in London will survey the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world and, particularly, will hear reports from all colonial delegations, and especially from countries where the struggle is most acute - Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Madagascar, and the British and French colonies in Africa. It will plan united international action to assist these peoples and to hasten the end of Imperialism everywhere.

THE MAIN SUBJECT FOR DEBATE AND DECISION WILL BE THE ATTITUDE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TOWARDS THE THREAT OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.

Throughout Africa and Asia there is intense feeling on this question. The peoples of the colonies have no responsibility for the quarrel which now divides the world and they are not prepared to become parties in any war at the dictation of their rulers. They bitterly resent the preparations which are now being made to use their manpower and resources for a war in which they have no voice.

The London Conference will give all colonial peoples the opportunity to declare their position on this momentous issue and to demand recognition of their right to political liberty, so that they themselves may make a free decision on the issue of war or peace - and, still more important, make their contribution as independent nations to the development of a warless world.



You will appreciate the importance of this Conference and we are confident that you will take urgent steps to ensure the representation of your organisation by a strong delegation. (Maximum: National organisations, SIX; Local organisations, TWO). If any organisation overseas is unable to send delegates resident in their country, we shall welcome accredited representatives already in Europe. Please inform us (by cable or air mail, if overseas, of your decision to participate. We will then send you detailed particulars. We should also be grateful if you could inform us of any other organisations which might be interested.

PLEASE REPLY TO: Secretary, Congress of Peoples Against  
Imperialism, Swaraj House, 32 Percy Street,  
London, W. 1.

On behalf of the International Committee:

Fenner Brockway (Britain) Chairman.  
Jean Rous (France) General Secretary.  
D. Farès (Tunisia) Treasurer.

On behalf of the London Centre:

Kwesi Lamptey (West Africa) Chairman.  
K.L. Jalie (India) Treasurer.  
Betty Hamilton (Britain) } - Joint  
Mary Klopper (S. Africa) } - Secretaries.

The Conference will be preceded by a Conference on Friday, October 7th, of organisations affiliated to the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, and will be followed on Monday, October 10th by a Conference at which organisations desiring to affiliate are invited to be represented. This final Conference will elect the new International Committee for 1949-50.

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DELEGATION FORM  
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Name of Organisation: \_\_\_\_\_

Names of Delegates (with particulars of offices held, etc.):

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\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Secretary or Chairman.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## PROVISIONAL ORGANISATION PLAN.

Although the allocation of times and the number and description of Commissions must, at such an early date, be entirely tentative, we are sending you our first draft to help you to assess the value of the Conference from the point of view of your organisation. When you have studied it we hope that you will let us have your comments. In particular we are anxious to find a basis for the division into Commissions, which will best meet the wishes of the delegations. Our reason for making such a division is to enable all delegates to present reports on their problems and thus approach the main theme of "The Colonies and War" on the basis of objective material and views presented by delegates. A proposal to divide the Commissions on the basis of existing Empires was rejected on the grounds that it is one of the functions of the Congress to facilitate co-operation between the Colonial Peoples in their struggle for liberation across the frontiers created by Imperialism.

Friday 7th. October. (Morning and afternoon).

1. Meeting of delegates from all organisations affiliated to the Congress. Subject: report on the work of the Congress since the foundation meeting at Putcaux, by the General Secretary. Full discussion will be allowed afterwards.
2. Delegates to the full Conference will meet officers of the Congress. Preliminary arrangements with regard to accommodation will be confirmed, and delegates will then be able to make the choice of which Commission they desire to attend.

NOTE: Delegations will be free to send members to any Commission but reports presented will be under the relevant heading.

(Evening). Reception for overseas delegates to enable them to meet their comrades from other territories and members of the Congress.

Saturday 8th. October.

It is proposed that the Conference be divided into three Commissions to deal with Africa, Asia, and the Americas, including the Caribbean area.

Morning and Afternoon: Meeting of Commissions.

Evening: Full session. Rapporteurs will present reports of the work of the Commissions to the full Conference.

Sunday 9th. October.

Morning, Afternoon and Evening: Full meetings to discuss the main theme of the Conference - "The Colonies and War".

Monday 10th. October.

Meeting of delegates of affiliated organisations and such fraternal delegates as have decided to recommend their organisations to affiliate.

Election of new International Committee. Future work and co-operation.

Evening: A social open to all who attended the Conference and to invited guests.

(Footnote: We would welcome advance reports which you consider would be useful to the Conference.)

# CLARION

12 HIGH STREET, HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.3 VOL. 1 No. 5

THREEPENCE, AUGUST 1949

Holidays are topical. Not only is August still the most popular holiday month in spite of all official attempts to stagger the seaside rush, but the social effects of the growing number of holiday camps, the financial benefits of coddling the dollar tourists and the behaviour of the townsman in the countryside are all favourite headline subjects for the jubilantly vindicated 'second to none' penny newspapers.

Mr. Butlin is the commercial genius, acutely sensitive to the present holiday requirements of the community. At Skegness and elsewhere he provides 'all-in' non-stop entertainment for those who,

circumstances and is not popular either with the visitors or their hosts."

In a recent *Dalton's Weekly*, is the typical North Foreland, Modn. Detached Residence, 4 beds, bath, 2 rec. rms., July 14 gns. wkly., Aug. 16 gns. wkly. Write —. "Holidays at Home" has become a necessity rather than a virtue! And even at home, one may run into new ridiculous restrictions on liberty. For instance, the Duke of Bedford has seen fit to close the gardens of his massive Bedford Estates in the heart of London and use the precious labour of builders in the creation of new wire entanglements to keep out the public. These gardens had been

and its moors as artillery ranges will meet with the strenuous opposition they deserve. It is doubtful if the claims of beauty and amenity will have equal force with the blatant, philistine expediency of commercial interests.

To point the faults in the National Parks Bill is not to indulge in capacious pin-pricking. This Labour Government has made a god of "efficiency" and in doing so has lost the faith of its greater sires. Morris, Ruskin and Walter Crane must shudder in the happy hunting grounds of good socialists when they hear the pronouncements of the Fabian Society's bright boys. (There

## WHILE THE SUN SHINES By NICHOLAS PARKIN

sickened by the cheese-paring and restrictions of the average boarding house, long for a carefree planned holiday; in the West Indies he builds luxury hotels for the rich who in spite of the 'crippling burden of taxation' are able to spend many months of each year in the new sterling Riviera. However little some of us would care to spend our leisure in holiday camps, however alarmed we may be at the use of mass psychology in the organisation we must admit that this man Butlin is attempting to meet real needs which are not satisfied by "MON REPOS, Full Board, Recommended."

The recent report of the British Tourist and Holidays Board, Home Holidays Division, makes it clear that much of the available accommodation is of the wrong sort and in the wrong place. It also makes it very clear that economic circumstances prevent many folk from having the much-needed holiday which they deserve. We all know the truth of this naive statement concerning holidays with friends and relations—"The Social Survey estimated the numbers concerned at 17% but this type of holiday is caused largely by economic

open for nine years, had been a playground for children and had suffered very little from vandalism. However it seems the Duke prefers bison to humans on his meadows. Both bison and Duke belong to obsolescent species.

Lest it be thought that we are a morbid languid set of Left-wingers who only see sadness in the sunshine it should be noted that our object in these criticisms is to agitate for greater happiness for a greater number. Before the end of this Parliament the administrative machinery for the establishment of National Parks will be set into operation. Our thanks is due to all those Youth Hostellers, ramblers, town and country planners and others who have fought for the freedom of the countryside and in particular the implementation of the Hobhouse Report. Nevertheless, the National Parks Bill is an emasculated measure, leaving control in the hands of the local authorities, which should be in the power of the National Parks Commission. It is doubtful if those Service authorities who wish to defend "this sceptred isle" by using its villages for mock street fighting

even seems to be a foolish idea that individual industries must show a book profit regardless of the fact that it might be better for the national economy for the railways, say, to run at a loss in the interest of cheap freight rates.)

Cheaper rail fares would be a tremendous assistance to families to have a seaside holiday at a resort of their choice. They would also give some hope to hard-hit landladies in towns far away from industrial centres. They could not alter the statistics of the British Tourist Board report—10,310 boarding houses available, estimated future demand 7,626.

What is most urgently needed is suitable accommodation for families—accommodation with freedom for all and sure relief for harassed mothers.

At the very least it is to be hoped that before long there will be an end to those vicious anti-social little phrases in advertisements of hotels and lodgings such as *Gentiles only*; *Suitable for Jewish person*; *No children*; *No young married couples*; *Single lady preferred*; *No coloured person need apply*.

## STRAIGHT TALKING

Behind the scenes of the political stage a number of interesting moves are taking place. Last month we mentioned Mr. Ellis Smith's new movement, the *Socialist Fellowship*, which is out to revive some of the old crusading spirit in what has become a very prosaic and uninspiring party, more concerned with drains than with dreams. We have now learnt a little more about this latest movement. Since the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyists) dissolved itself in order to work within the Labour Party, many of its members have been seeking some means of maintaining links so that there may be put forward a concerted line. Whilst there is no doubt that some kind of hidden organisation of Trotskyists inside the Labour Party exists to-day—as it always will when Marxists are using the tactics of infiltration—they found it difficult to carry out some of the functions which straightforward opposition bodies like Common Wealth or the I.L.P. can undertake openly. Mr. Smith's *Fellowship* offers them increased scope. Already the new paper *Socialist Outlook*, whose most ardent sales pushers will invariably betray their Trotskyist sympathies when drawn with suitable questions, was providing a basis for apparently enthusiastic action towards putting new life into the Labour Party. Unless Mr. Smith looks a little critically at some of his new crusaders he will be in some danger of collecting some of this very dubious support.

Another interesting move comes from another quarter. The four M.P.'s who have at one time or another been expelled from the Labour Party for over-tenderness towards the Communists, Messrs. Pritt, Solley, Platts-Mills, and Zilliacus, are now acting as an Independent Group—they are careful to state that they do not constitute a party. This is a try-out. If widespread public support for the stand taken by this Group begins to manifest itself in fact (as the *Daily Worker's* imagination has already proved it does on paper) then Britain may well find itself saddled with a new, pro-Stalinist "Socialist Party" on the model which has become familiar in Europe.

### Facts on the Colonies.

During the recent "Colonial Month" held in London to "sell" the Colonies to the British people, the London Centre of the Congress of Peoples produced a useful leaflet. Some of the facts it quoted would be

unbelievable if they were not founded on official British reports to the United Nations. What kind of conditions coloured workers have to put up with in the Empire may be gauged from the fact that a labourer on the Seria oilfield in Brunei earns about 1/9d. a day, whilst laboratory assistants in Nigeria draw £42 per year. As for hours of work, a farm-worker in Uganda does 66 hours a week (for 19/- a month) whilst in a weaving factory in Hong Kong the hours are 56 (pay: 4/8d. per day). Health services, where they exist at all, are primitive—there are, for instance, 100,000 people in Nigeria to every doctor. No wonder that in some colonies one person in ten suffers from malaria, or typhoid. It was conditions like this which the Labour Party, before it took office, played upon to enlist the sympathy of the British electorate. To-day, however, the emphasis is different—the colonies are glamourised, much is made of what progress the Labour Government can claim to have initiated, and little or no mention is made of the almost unbelievably miserable conditions in which a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Empire drag out their lives. The moral is that those who oppose the exploitation of one people by another need to be as much on the alert under a Labour Government as under the Tories.

### The Railway Strikes.

Like the British public (and the railwaymen) we hope that by the time this paragraph appears in print, some satisfactory solution will have been found to the grievances which lie behind the "go-slow" and "working-to-rule" movements. The railwaymen have been subjected to a barrage of abuse from the press, from the Minister, and from many of the unthinking public annoyed at inconveniences and the threat of greater inconveniences. CLARION has always taken the view that no body of workers go on strike simply out of a desire to halt Britain's recovery, or because they are peevish at the refusal of some small consideration. A long drawn-out dispute cannot be sustained on a momentary flash of bad temper.

It is a very easy thing to mistake the other man's grievance as an unjustified complaint, and the traveller who is frustrated in his attempt to reach Peterborough on a Sunday may well permit his personal sense of

grievance to exclude consideration of the motives animating the railwaymen who failed to turn up to work his train. The past record of safety and service afforded by our railways should in itself be sufficient proof that railwaymen are not irresponsible. If one sought examples of a real pride in the job, then surely it would be towards the neatly-kept country stations, or the punctual time-keeping on long-distance trains that one would turn.

Much of the trouble centres around the "lodging turn." On the face of it there may seem little justification for a kick against having to spend an occasional night away from home, but when it is remembered that the purpose of this personal inconvenience (to say nothing of its effect on family life) is simply to speed up long-distance trains by the avoiding of stops at certain stations, a different light is thrown on the matter. Add to this the fact that proper hostel accommodation is rare—in many cases men have to sleep in beds only just vacated by other railwaymen; that there is a strain on the pocket of the man forced to kick his heels around in an unfamiliar town, and all the other aspects of which the train crews affected complain, and the ten minutes saved on a long journey may not seem worth it to the most ardent devotee of speed for speed's sake.

There is also the question of pay. Here railwaymen have a genuine grievance, for in comparison with other workers, their rates are shockingly low. (Let us hasten to add that this is also true of many workers, especially those in semi-professional posts, who are less well organised than the railwaymen and thus unable to give as effective expression to their complaints). It was doubtless the case that the bogey of inflation (which is a real one) prompted the refusal to meet the full claim, but we cannot help wondering whether the loss, in terms of time, money, and tempers, which has been occasioned by the failure to give the railway workers an adequate increase has not, in fact, caused more damage to Britain's economy than would a reasonable offer made at the right time—when the discontent first showed itself.

## LEFT

4d. Monthly

318 Regents Park Rd. N.3

## TRAVELLING TOGETHER

*The other day a group of us were talking about Socialism and Social Reform. One of the party discounted the possibility of progress and suggested that in any event Social Reform on Socialist lines was of small account in the light of what he held to be certain external spiritual and super-terrestrial realities. One of us, on this, broke in with a sort of parable which seemed to me to be apposite. I have put it into writing, and CLARION readers might like to turn it over in their minds. I have called it*

### THE JOURNEY

*A parable about things here and hereafter*

Life is in some ways like a rather odd sort of railway journey. The passengers "awake" and find themselves mysteriously here in the travelling compartment—Life. Yes, the journey is on. Indubitably we are moving. Yet no one remembers taking a ticket or beginning the journey. Nor can the passengers agree as to the train's destination. Some, indeed, feel sure they know, but others feel themselves quite at a loss. There is discussion, talk interminable, and the mental and spiritual atmosphere of the carriage becomes heated with acrimonious debate. At last someone says:

"Well, friends, it seems that we cannot agree about these things. Does it matter so very much whether we do so or not? I am afraid even on that question we

shan't agree! But we shall all agree that this compartment is not over-comfortable. The number of corner-seats is limited, and, though even they leave something to be desired, some of us seem to occupy them to the exclusion of others. The racks seem to be too high and there is no adequate space under the seats. And the carriage is dirty! I suggest that we cannot do better than study this compartment and its resources, and try to make the journey as comfortable as possible for each and all, by sharing both its conveniences and its inescapable drawbacks. But, if we think, I am sure we can improve all kinds of things. If anyone wants more than his share we must stop that.

"There are, we shall agree, all kinds of things about this carriage where the facts are plain. Our journey will certainly be a more satisfactory one if we all exercise mutual aid, forbearance and tolerance. And share!

"How we came to be here, and where we are bound for—by all means let us go on discussing those things. For I agree we are not merely animals to be made comfortable. But the discussion of all this need not prevent agreement and action on those other matters."

The only opposition to the notion embodied in the parable, and that somewhat half-hearted, came from the speaker who had in the first place discounted the possibility of progress.

VINCENT EDWARDS

## GLEANINGS

### BRAINPOWER

Scientist A. W. Turing sees no reason why the "mechanical brain" being constructed at Manchester should not eventually "compete on equal terms" with the human brain.

### FAILURE

The State of Georgia, U.S.A., has failed to convict a single person in 26 consecutive cases of lynching of negroes since 1930.

### FINANCES

The Labour Party's election fund target is a minimum of £400,000. 1948 brought 364,956 fresh members for the L.P. via T.U.'s affiliating. Income from trade union sources alone is approx. £500,000 per year.

### JAMMING

The Russians have extended their radio jamming of the West to include the Jugo-Slav station of Belgrade, as part of the cold war on Tito.

### VISITORS

The number of American airmen in Britain is being increased from 8,000 to 12,000.

### SECURITY?

A 'Public Security Council' has been set up in Portugal, made up of security police and Republican Guards, with powers to dissolve gatherings, close centres and arrest persons acting "contrary to the security of the State."

### WE BELIEVE

in  
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Workers' Control,  
Political Democracy,  
Individual Liberty,  
World Unity.

## UNITED AND FREE

One of the best-produced pamphlets we have seen for a long time, *United and Free* (National Labour Press, 2/-), is a record of the great International Congress held at Puteaux in 1948. Three hundred and twenty-five delegates from eighty-seven organisations in thirty-seven countries attended the Congress, meeting in harmony to hear reports, to exchange views and to work out solutions to their common problems.

Apart from the report of the Congress itself, and of the demonstration in the Salle Pleyel, the pamphlet contains two documents of great interest and importance. The first is the Economic Report, a solid piece of work urging inter-continental planning for the better development of world resources for the good of all peoples and not just for the benefit of those who live in Europe. The second document is the Political Report, which surveys Imperialism as it is to-day, and puts forward the demands of the Congress of Peoples, and includes a Plan of Action.

This Plan of Action has not remained simply a paper declaration of pious aspirations, for in the last year the Congress, both through its International Headquarters in Paris, and its London Centre, has done great work. Its influence has been felt at the United Nations, and it has secured valuable publicity for the struggles of oppressed peoples against their oppressors. CLARION readers who wish to become fully acquainted with the work of the London Centre should write to The Secretary, London Centre, Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, Swaraj House, 32 Percy Street, London, W.1, from where copies of the report may also be obtained.

W.J.T.

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## THE FELLOWSHIP By Francis Andrews

The success of Socialism, must depend upon the individual and in the Workers' Control sense upon the individual Trade Unionist. The Trade Union movement must make men Socialists even as the political movement seeks to do. And it must make men Socialists in its own way, dedicated to a special purpose. That thought dominated our earliest endeavours. To be a Socialist in the Trade Union sense was to be a Guildsman. It was to hold on to certain fundamental truths, revealed in Trade Union practice, to hold also that in the workshop and the office and field lay a positive Socialist development; positive because here a man might cease from killing Capitalism with his mouth and turn to supplanting it by his own practical endeavours. A close look at the complicated organisation of Capitalism revealed to the Trade Unionist that a mighty task awaited him. The fundamental truths of co-operation and brotherhood lay obscured and too often suffocated under a mass of impersonal intricacy. There were false and exaggerated values, hierarchies, responsibilities and irresponsibilities. These flowed over all. They affected the worker's thought as well as that of his employer. But stronger than all these, more obvious and yet simple in its strength was the Wages System. So obvious was it that it passed unseen through many a close argument, passed unseen and to be taken for granted. The employers and the economists spoke of the level of wages and of labour costs, and, with a slightly altered vocabulary, so did the men. That these terms or something equal to them described a chattel relationship was hardly mentioned in Trade Union circles. Every endeavour was made to turn the accepted market to the negotiator's advantage. The Trade Unionist who saw Socialism as the higher ethical order of co-operation and brotherhood knew only too well that all these "values" in Industry were poison. He so often lost his patience with those who could not imagine Socialism without them. He saw that a system which used the word *employment* to mean *hire* and the word *unemployment* to mean *fire* could never be a part of Socialism. He knew that artificial superiorities based upon scarcity values were the beginnings of class distinction. He was convinced that a discipline grounded

on the right to send a man packing was not a true discipline. Above all he learned steadily that the greatest obstacle before him was the inbred sense of inferiority of his own class.

How, then, could Socialism come in accompanied by these false values, these creations of the Industrial Revolution? Was it possible to realise the truths of Morris and of Marx, of Kropotkin and Hardie and carry at the same time the Capitalist hierarchy, the salaries based on market values and profit return, the exclusion of all men from choice and responsibility and the preservation of prerogative? Was it possible to usher in Socialism with the workers' forces divided into pursuit columns each out hot-foot after a temporary advantage and that a material one? Could this higher ethical system, this new order which depended upon the individual and his spiritual emancipation, do its work in a shop designed and dominated by the old order? The answer to these questions seemed so obviously "no" as to leave them open to the charge of being purely rhetorical. But they were not rhetorical. Too often the answer to them was an affirmative, qualified of course, but an affirmative just the same. There were those who argued that Socialism would have its Employer. He would be called "The Consumer." Of course he would be benevolent. All true consumers are. He would be a Socialist Consumer. And, of course, he would measure the success of Socialism by consumption—his. It was so often in vain that the Guild Socialist pointed out that this was the Capitalist philosophy with a new boss! There it was, and from its first statement the Socialist of the affirmative went on to accept in the name of the Consumer, the salaried superman, the exclusive expert, the presiding prerogative and the Wages System. He wanted Success. He was prepared to pay for it in higher wages and in greater leisure, in education and in Social Services, but he was not prepared to run any risks. The capitalist way of achieving consumption stood out as the success of the century. The capitalist only fell down as distributor. Distribution would be the triumph of the new order and that triumph would most certainly be endangered if the salaried superman, the exclusive expert and the presiding prerogative were forced to give way to a co-operative brother-

hood an industry as a trust and working upon it with the verve of a new dispensation. This Socialist believed in Socialism to the point where it might become a productive effort by emancipated men and women. There it was that he jibbed and took refuge in the tried methods of procedure of the departing dispensation. And there, too, millions of Trade Unionists agreed with him!

But did they? Rather let it be said that they did not even care. The wage packet large enough and the schedule short and what more could any man devise? Yet, as they became Socialists, slowly indeed and often one by one, they saw that this "New Boss" business was but another phase of the Capitalism once so crude and forceful, so individual and so damnably efficient, now spread widely, efficiently managed and serving the social appetites in newer, nicer ways. Surely it was at work that men would complete their citizenship in closer brotherhood! For all things considered it was still co-operative brotherhood that Socialism set out to attain. Go a step further and say fearlessly that if Socialism meant harder work and shorter commons, bloody knuckles and calloused palms it would still be fine and good for the spirit. It was not scientific hedonism men were after when they rose against poverty and the misery of unemployment. They rose against those evils because those evils denied the fellowship. Was that true? And what was the fellowship? The Guildsman's answer was clear. He began with an assumption of common ownership. Now that is a rather distant and not too intimate sentiment. To say that *we* own the Railways may be very true but its impact is not very pronounced. It is the background of ownership as it were, and to give it full value, and the everyday impact so necessary to its life as an idea, the Railwaymen as a con-fraternity must say "Yes, we all own the Railways, but we, the Railwaymen, make that ownership effective. It comes to life with us." And so might the Miners answer and the Steel-workers, the Electricity men and the whole of the vitalities. These Trade Unionists would be giving the world the Guildsman's answer. This was the fellowship? It was surely necessary that this answer should be given. It was vitally necessary that all the difficulties that surrounded this declaration should be examined and tackled. Until they were there would be no intimate sense of Socialism in the heart of the worker.

## WORLD



## NEWS

### The "NEW DEMOCRACY"

The Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany has recently published a mass of facts about the police state which the Russians have set up in their zone. The report claims that the main pillar of state power in the Soviet Zone is the secret police organised mostly under the name of G.P.U., which has long since been superseded in the Soviet Union itself. The system of informers is well-developed—about 50 to every 8,000 according to one estimate, many of them intellectuals.

In the Russian Zone, the G.P.U. works with both Russian and German agents. The brunt of the work falls on the "Information Service" of the S.E.D. ("Socialist Unity Party") which provides a constant stream of people who can be driven to become agents of the secret police. The technique is to find a "black spot" in the past record of the individual—membership of the Nazi party, the holding of military rank in the Hitler Army, and so on.

The individual in question is then told that in case of a refusal to work for the G.P.U. he will be proved a Fascist. He is asked to sign one of two statements. One reads "I am an anti-fascist and am ready to work for the occupying power." The

other reads "I am a fascist and refuse to work for the occupying power." In the end the victim signs a declaration reading, as a rule, "I declare that I will help the Red Army in the destruction of Nazis and Fascists. I gave this statement voluntarily to an officer of the Red Army and I am conscious of the fact that I have to expect severe punishment under martial law in the case of violation of these terms. I shall hand in my reports punctually under the adopted name of....."

Thereafter, the "anti-fascist" carries on spying on individuals in his home, his work-place, or his circle of friends. Those "convicted" as a result of such reports find themselves in concentration camps—perhaps in Sachsenhausen or Buchenwald, which are still maintained by the Russians for purposes similar to those for which they were used by the Nazis, many of the officers employed being Germans.

The report of the Social-Democratic Party describes the incident when one man, released after 23 days was asked by the Commandant how he had fared in detention. The man replied that he had suffered greatly, both physically and mentally. To which the Commandant replied "Power is power, and this complaint is really a new provocation!"

## The Colonial Peoples and War

### LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES

Preparations for the Second International Conference of the Congress of Peoples, to be held in London on 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th October, are going ahead well. The political statement on the Colonial Peoples and the threat of a third World War is a clear-cut document. Based on the three principles of the right of colonial peoples to independence, their right to refuse to participate in war, and their neutrality towards the two world Power Blocs, the document declares that the colonial peoples will not be meekly dragged into another war at the behest of the imperialist powers.

The document contains a strong protest against the inclusion of Algeria in the Atlantic Pact with no consultation of the Algerian people. The colonial peoples, the document declares are not indifferent

to the issue of democracy against dictatorship, but they cannot look upon the present world conflict as a struggle between these two principles "so long as nations who claim to represent democracy continue to govern other peoples against their will, occupy their territories by armed force, and exploit their peoples and their natural resources."

The Conference itself will be split into several parts. On Friday, there will be a meeting of delegates representing organisations already affiliated to the Congress. On Saturday the Conference of all delegates will be split into Commissions in order to give full attention to the different problems and view-points of Asia, Africa and the Americas, whilst the full Conference on Sunday will be occupied by the central theme of the Colonial peoples and

### AUSTRALIA

The present immigration law in Australia is to be amended, with some easing of the present rigorous restrictions for non-Europeans. Australia has long made use of the ingenious but undemocratic method of requiring any person entering the country to undergo a test in any European language. By means of this device Asiatic immigrants, or would-be immigrants, could be called upon to pass a test in say, Finnish, even though they might speak English, French and German fluently. The Australians are still frightened of the "Yellow Peril" although recent developments suggest that the Government is becoming increasingly concerned with a "Red Peril" as the arrest of Communist leaders shows.

### ZIONISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

The most recent reports suggest that Russia and her satellites are taking a stronger line against Zionism. In Poland, the Jewish section of the Communist Party has prepared a document to be presented to the Cominform, calling for a determined stand against Zionism by all Cominform governments. In Rumania, arrests of Zionist leaders continues, Hersch Zolty, former General Secretary of Achdut Avodah, and M. Dascalu, of Mishmar and until recently a member of the Rumanian Parliament, have both been arrested in Bucharest.

The anti-Zionist actions of the Hungarian Government has caused the withdrawal from the Israeli Communist party of the Hungarian section in protest against the stiff sentences recently imposed on nine Hungarian Zionist leaders.

War. On Monday, delegates from organisations already affiliated or intending to affiliate, will meet to plan maximum international co-operation in the struggle against Imperialism, and to elect a new International Committee.

All organisations whose addresses are already held by the London Centre will receive invitations in due course, but those which have not already contacted the Congress are now invited so to do—whether Common Wealth branches, T.U. branches, Fabian Societies, Labour Parties, Women's Co-operative Guilds, etc.

Full details of the Conference may be obtained from London Centre, Congress of Peoples, 32 Percy Street, W. 1.

1949 — 1984

## FILM NOTES

By Ivor Viner

## AMERICAN CINEMA IN 1949

In 1984 (Secker and Warburg, 10/-) George Orwell has done a magnificent job. Here is a picture of life in Britain in 1984—if something isn't done about it quickly. This Britain is a nightmare; absolute dictatorship of "The Party," torture and death for anyone suspected of opposition, a "Thought Police," telescreens everywhere, so that every action and word can be spied on. The reader can see how this has developed, from present political trends here and elsewhere, through something like Soviet "Communism," to a society where everything we hold good is criminal. Even love as we know it is "sex-crime."

I have only one criticism. By controlling all records until "Truth is what the Party says," Mr. Orwell implies, the Party can dominate permanently. But if this hellish society comes, it must destroy itself through intrigue and war within the Party—boss societies always do. And then, when thieves fall out . . . But that won't console our children; it will take time.

I don't think this will happen—because I believe ordinary folk will see what's coming, and get together to stop it. But if they don't it is inevitable.

This isn't just a grim warning—it's a darned good novel. It's worth your ten bob, and if you haven't ten bob, pester your library until they get it.

**E.A.H.**  
**NOTHING LEFT TO BELIEVE?**

Richard Acland. Longmans. 8/6d. Like its author, this book is lucid, well-meaning and urgent; like its author, it wanders sadly astray. It states Acland's Christian faith and follows faith with a call for Christian action through the Labour Party. How can we be expected to believe in the Labour Party when we hear the drumroll of disciplinary action to silence the voices that raise those very ethical principles which Acland holds so dear? How much have he and his colleagues done "to leaven the lump?"

We must reject those who are prepared to sacrifice valid moral objections to certain political policies for the sake of a "party line." "It is not our task merely to find a few convenient devices for making the old kind of society work a little more efficiently; it is our task to pioneer towards a new society as different from the old as individualism was from feudalism." He said it! D.S.

Something of a sensation has been caused by *Cross-Bencher* in his booklet THE PROLETARIAT OF WESTMINSTER. He handles a number of prominent Labour M.P.'s and personalities quite roughly, quoting from their speeches denouncing private enterprise and self-seeking and then listing the companies in which they hold shares and from which they draw profits. For example:

John Wilmot, Labour M.P. for Deptford, Ex-Minister of Supply, who is deputy-chairman of the £2,243,000 Boulton and Paul engineering firm (last dividend 20 per cent.).

F. G. Bowles, Labour M.P. for Nuneaton, has 3,354 £1 shares in Pearl Assurance (current value £21 per share).

There is a fair selection, even Mr. Strachey has a quiet £10,170 invested in the *Spectator*.

But though *Cross-Bencher* effectively exposes some of the hypocrites at the top of the Labour Party he has missed the real point. Any attempt to prove that the Labour Party is ridden with capitalists and it will therefore always favour the capitalists is foredoomed to failure. What can be proved is that the upper layers of the Labour Party are ridden by men used to positions as bosses in industry or the trade unions, who have no objection to a fat income and who will seek to construct a new bureaucratic state in which they can be people of power and importance. But they are doing this by nationalising and controlling the old capitalist out of existence in order to let their own new master class of political and industrial executives take its place.

It may be true as *Cross-Bencher* claims, that George Russell Strauss, the Minister of Supply, owns £99,500 worth of shares in A. Strauss Metal Merchants, but he is far more important as the man now directing the nationalisation of the whole Steel Industry, and it is in this way, not as a petty capitalist that the Labour Party Boss will seek his future power and position.

Don Bannister.

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## The Dockers' Case

The national press, in reporting the Dock Strike, has not seen fit to publish a statement of the Dockers' case or their reasons for remaining on strike after the proclamation of a State of Emergency. CLARION is therefore glad, in the interests of fair play, to publish the following statement, issued by the "London Portworkers' Central Lock-out Committee."

"We ask that you bring to the notice of your readers the following facts:—

1. Two Canadian manned ships in London were declared black by the Canadian seamen's union members on official instructions from their executive.
2. Whatever the merits or otherwise of the seamen's decision to strike, as fellow trade unionists we had no course but to respect the picket lines and refuse to handle the ships in any way.
3. Our decision to do all work required of us on all ships ex-

cept the two in dispute was never challenged, until after 13 weeks, i.e., from April 3rd to June 28th.

4. The shipowners gave an ultimatum on the latter date which was to the effect: "No work will be allowed on any ship until the two black ships are manned."
5. Men presented themselves for work, but owing to the ultimatum of the employers were refused same.
6. We claim therefore that a lock-out by the employers is in fact being applied.

A fundamental principle is being challenged when port employers attempt to enforce us to break with the idea and principle of supporting fellow trade unionists by refusing to blackleg them.

We have no intention of being used for such a purpose and we sincerely hope that you will do all you can to ensure that our position is made clear to your readers."

## THE DEATH SENTENCE

By Deane R. Ford

Recently, I went to see the British film *Now Barrabas*. It is a good film and since the writer of the play from which it was taken had been in prison it is probably a realistic picture of life "inside." But apart from its interest as a film *Now Barrabas* raises the old question of the rights and wrongs of capital punishment.

The film portrays vividly the grim effect of the whole business of hanging on those around the condemned man; the two warders who have to guard the doomed man day and night, talk to him, play draughts with him, pretend that everything is more or less normal when it is painfully obvious that it is not; the Prison Chaplain, who must be aware that there is nothing that can be said to a man under sentence of death that will not sound a mockery of his plight; the Prison Governor who must convey the official refusal of the routine appeal on which so many hopes depend; the sweetheart of the man who must visit and try to "comfort" him; the other convicts who experience a mounting nervous tension as the time draws nearer when one of their number must die—all are involved in the curious business of killing a fellow man, not in rage or war, but as a judgment, solemnly, with all the ceremony of official procedure. Looked at cynically it is comic; looked at with any respect

for human beings it is a sign of a diseased society.

The arguments for and against capital punishment have been repeated over and over again in every debating club, saloon bar and home in the country. A forecasts a rise in the number of murders if the death sentence is abolished, B claims this has not been proved and points out that when Sweden abolished it the number of murders decreased. A says B is being sentimental and soft, B says A is brutal and inhuman, and so it goes on.

We live in a world in which the United Nations solemnly stated in the Charter of Human Rights that the mass murder of a race was a crime. The rise of the concentration camp and two global wars have made this something which must be stated, for there are some who would disagree. In this world life is, quite literally, cheap.

This being so, to abolish capital punishment in this country would be a symbol of a respect for human life which is rapidly disappearing it would be of value not only in itself but as an assertion of elementary humanity.

The Labour Party tried to do it, and lost its nerve. Let us hope that others more courageous will take their place.

## LONDON LEAGUE FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

Despite the advent of the holiday period, the work of the London League for Workers' Control continues. A series of discussion meetings has already been held in the National Trade Union Club. The first, on "Workers' Control and the Steel Bill" was addressed by Geoffrey Cooper, M.P., who was not uncritical of the present administrative system in nationalised industries and who put forward a plan of his own to take its place. The second dealt with the "Labour Party Conference and Workers' Control," at which a first-hand account of the Conference was given by a Surrey delegate. The third was opened by the League's Treasurer, P. C. King, who dealt with "Crippsian Finance and Workers' Control." Further meetings of this kind are being planned.

In addition, speakers have been sent to various Trade Union branches, including several of the N.U.R., which union has always shown more interest in the subject than many other unions have done. Readers who are near the London area should urge their own T.U. branch, Fabian Society, etc., to ask for a speaker from the League.

In September, at Kingston Trades and Labour Hall, a one-day school is planned jointly with the N.C.L.C. and CLARION readers are welcome to attend.

Full particulars of the League, its policy, Rules and activities may be obtained from the Secretary, 12 High Street, Hampstead, N.W.3. (Telephone HAMpstead 5879).

C.W.  
QUARTERLY

## SUMMER ISSUE

Authority in the Modern State

J. A. Moorhouse

Why Revolution?

Paul Derrick

Socialism and Reality

Paul Stanjer

Unrest in Uganda

W. J. Taylor

and other features

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## WHAT OUR READERS THINK

In June the back page of the CLARION contained a questionnaire addressed to readers, asking for detailed comments on the paper. We have now completed our study of the replies received, and some of the conclusions which can be drawn appear below. First of all, though, we might comment on one or two aspects of a general nature. Many of the replies received, as might be expected, cancelled each other out—there were those whose enthusiasm for our Crossword led them to demand more than one in each issue, whilst equally fervent were the readers who demanded that we should never again print one.

There were, of course, quite a number of negative and unconstructive criticisms—in which category we include all those which accused us of being “negative and unconstructive” without explaining exactly what they meant by those terms! On the whole, however, most replies—even the most unfavourable, were helpful. Now to analyse a little more closely the currents of opinion.

It seems that the best features in

CLARION are “Straight Talking” and the front page article, 20 per cent. of replies favouring each of these. Thirty per cent. of those replying put “Film Notes” at the bottom of the list, whilst other readers gave this doubtful honour to the Crossword, and to individual articles. Opinions were very much divided on what was most wanted—preferences being expressed particularly for Socialist history, “vigorous denunciation of Labour’s policy” and articles on international affairs.

A high proportion of the replies asked for less space to be devoted to Films, whilst individual “hates” covered a wide variety—one reader being of the opinion that we were too “anti-Dutch”!

The request for “new features” produced a wonderful crop, many of the suggestions are being implemented at once, whilst others will follow in due course. Some impossible demands were made—ranging from “the story of the ‘New Australia’ in Paraguay in the 1890s” to a request for very topical themes. CLARION is a monthly, and cannot hope to compete

with daily papers—or history books, though we shall do our best to include a fair amount of general Socialist history.

Most readers thought we were “just about right” as far as level of contents are concerned. The last question “What topics interest you most?” naturally brought forth answers generally in line with the previous questions on new features and the “best feature” query.

We promised a book prize to the most helpful letter received. In the event, this provided our biggest headache: Several very useful letters were received, notably from Kenneth Dann Magruder (Columbus, Ohio), A. Snitter (Lewisham), B. A. Wren (Portsmouth), Ron Levin (Leeds), and N. B. Hurley (Manchester). Book prize, however, was awarded to E. Foster of Bradford, for a balanced letter taking us to task in some directions and making some very useful suggestions. Finally, many thanks for all the replies!

### SOLUTION TO LAST MONTH'S CROSSWORD

Across: 1 Report. 6 Intern. 8 Backing. 9 New Town. 12 Retreats. 13 Razed. 15 Ditto. 16 Arc. 19 Flu. 20 Nylon. 22 Donor. 23 Screened. 24 Novelty. 28 Iciness. 29 Behind. 30 Aligns.

Down: 1 Recitation. 2 Price control. 3 Right-half. 4 Once. 5 Left. 7 New. 10 Warmongering. 14 Zealanders. 17 Churchill. 18 Eden. 21 Nudes. 25 Orb. 26 Echo. 27 Tang.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS

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## Life In The Colonies.

A lot has been heard recently about Britain's colonies - how important they are, how much valuable materials they produce, and how beautiful they are. But how would you like to live in one? As a native, that is. What sort of life would you have?

What wages would you get? If you were a labourer in the Public Works Department on the Gold Coast, you'd get less than a shilling a day. In Kenya as a skilled worker you might get £2 per month. As an unskilled labourer on the Seria oilfields in Brunei you would earn about 1/9 a day. As a laboratory assistant in Nigeria your pay would be £42 per year. If you were a man worker in a shoe factory in Malaya you'd get 6/- a day.

How long would you work? As a farm-worker in Uganda, you would work 66 hours a week (for 19/- a month): in a weaving factory in Hong Kong you'd do 56 hours a week (4/8 a day).

Would you be healthy? You might be. In Cyprus about one in ten had typhoid in 1946. 1 in every 9 suffers from malaria in Mauritius. As for doctors, there is one for every 100,000 in Nigeria and one for every 33,000 in Northern Rhodesia.

How about education? Your education would not be good. Only half of the people in Bechuanaland can read: in Somaliland only one child in 200 attends school. In Swaziland there are no facilities for higher education. Expenditure by the various Governments varies - 2/9 per head in Gambia, 1/6 in Nigeria, 15/- per year per pupil in Nyasaland (which works out at 2d. per head of the population).

As it is, you live in Britain, and from the colonies you get a great deal of advantages which are paid for by conditions like those described above. Your cocoa, your rubber, your cotton, your margarine soap, tin, all these and many others are produced by colonial peoples living in great poverty, with no education, no real medical services, and no say in the government of their country. No government in the Colonial Empire is responsible to the people, all Bills are initiated by the Governor and he has Veto.

There is a great deal that the British people don't know about the Colonies - and they will not find the facts from Government sources.

YOU OUGHT TO FIND OUT THE FACTS.

GET THEM, AND WITHOUT ANY GLOSS

FROM: Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism  
Swaraj House, 32, Percy St, London, W.1.

READ: Monthly Information Bulletin 5/- per year.

## CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

(International Headquarters: 41, Boulevard Magenta, Paris 10<sup>e</sup>)

The Congress represents anti-imperialists in India, Ceylon, Viet Nam, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lybia, Sudan, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Madagascar, and many European countries.

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE LONDON.

*Sunday*  
The second annual international Conference of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism will be held in London on Saturday, October 8th and 9th, 1949.

The inaugural Congress, held at Puteaux, Paris, last year was attended by over 300 delegates from organisations in 33 countries. It elected an International Committee of thirty members, which established headquarters in Paris and formed a Centre in London.

The Congress is now recognised as the most representative organ of the democratic movements for liberation in Africa and Asia. Its influence has been felt at the United Nations, in national Parliaments, and in the press of the world.

The forthcoming Conference in London will survey the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world and, particularly, will hear reports from all colonial delegations, and especially from countries where the struggle is most acute - Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Madagascar, and the British and French colonies in Africa. It will plan united international action to assist these peoples and to hasten the end of Imperialism everywhere.

THE MAIN SUBJECT FOR DEBATE AND DECISION WILL BE THE ATTITUDE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES TOWARDS THE THREAT OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.

Throughout Africa and Asia there is intense feeling on this question. The peoples of the colonies have no responsibility for the quarrel which now divides the world and they are not prepared to become parties in any war at the dictation of their rulers. They bitterly resent the preparations which are now being made to use their manpower and resources for a war in which they have no voice.

The London Conference will give all colonial peoples the opportunity to declare their position on this momentous issue and to demand recognition of their right to political liberty, so that they themselves may make a free decision on the issue of war or peace - and, still more important, make their contribution as independent nations to the development of a warless world.

You will appreciate the importance of this Conference and we are confident that you will take urgent steps to ensure the representation of your organisation by a strong delegation. (Maximum: National organisations, SIX; Local organisations, TWO). If any organisation overseas is unable to send delegates resident in their country, we shall welcome accredited representatives already in Europe. Please inform us (by cable or air mail if overseas of your decision to participate. We will then send you detailed particulars. We should also be grateful if you could inform us of any other organisations which might be interested.

PLEASE REPLY TO: Secretary, Congress of Peoples Against  
Imperialism, Swaraj House, 32 Percy Street,  
London, W. 1.

On behalf of the International Committee:

Fenner Brockway (Britain) Chairman.  
Jean Rous (France) General Secretary.  
D. Farès (Tunisia) Treasurer.

On behalf of the London Centre:

Kwesi Lamptey (West Africa) Chairman.  
K.L. Jalie (India) Treasurer.  
Betty Hamilton (Britain) } - Joint  
Mary Klopper (S. Africa) } - Secretaries.

The Conference will be preceded by a Conference on Friday, October 7th, or organisations affiliated to the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, and will be followed on Monday, October 10th by a Conference at which organisations desiring to affiliate are invited to be represented. This final Conference will elect the new International Committee for 1949-50.

DELEGATION FORM  
!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Name of Organisation: \_\_\_\_\_

Names of Delegates (with particulars of offices held, etc.):

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Secretary or Chairman.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

~~B III~~

081257  
EST: Vlaam.  
DATUM: 30-7-49

B XI Ooit van gehoord?  
Karakter? Extr.?  
ja

Sectie Pers, aed :

Kunt hierover nog  
nadere publicaties  
leveren?

16/8

Identiek van het  
Congres des Peuples  
(Puteaux Sept. '49)

081257 - Congres des peuples.

**Volkeren-Liga tegen het imperialisme**

Secr. 41, Boulevard Magenta, Paris, Xe.

De Liga omvat anti-imperialisten uit  
India, Ceylon, Viet-Nam, Algerije,  
Marokko, Tunis, Libië, Soedan, Goud-  
kust, Nigeria, Madagaskar en vele  
Europese en Amerikaanse landen.

**8 en 9 October 1949  
INTERNATIONAAL CONGRES TE LONDEN**

Het tweede jaarlijkse internationale Congres  
van de Volkeren-Liga tegen het imperialisme  
op Zaterdag 8 en Zondag 9 October 1949 te  
Londen worden gehouden.

Het inaugurele congres, verleden jaar te Puteaux  
(Parijs) gehouden werd bezocht door ruim 300  
gedelegeerden van organisaties uit 33 landen.  
Het koos een Internationaal Bestuur van 30  
leden, dat zijn zetel te Parijs vestigde, terwijl  
in Londen een werkcentrum werd gevormd.

De Liga wordt thans erkend als de meest repre-  
sentatieve organisatie der democratische bewe-  
gingen in Afrika en Azië. Zij doet haar invloed  
geldend bij de Verenigde Naties, bij de landelijke  
regeringen en in de wereldpers.

Het aanstaande Londense Congres zal de anti-  
imperialistische strijd over de gehele wereld  
omvatten en rapporten van alle koloniale dele-  
gaties ontvangen.

Het voornaamste punt op de agenda zal de  
houding der koloniale volkeren tegenover de  
dreiging van een derde wereldoorlog zijn.

Socialistische organisaties en bewegingen, van  
overzee en in Europa, worden uitgenodigd, hun  
gedelegeerden aan dit congres te doen deelne-  
men. Aanmeldingen worden gaarne ingewacht  
bij het secretariaat van het Londense centrum:  
Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, Swaraj  
House, 32 Percy street, London, W.1. (Maximum:  
voor nationale organisaties: 6, voor plaatselijke  
organisaties: 2).

Namens het Internationale Bestuur:

- Fenner Brockway, (Engeland) voorzitter
- Jean Rous (Frankrijk) alg. secretaris.
- D. Farés (Tunis) penningm.

Namens het Londense Centrum:

- Kwesi Lamptey (West-Afrika).
- K. L. Jalie (India).
- Betty Hamilton (Engeland).
- Mary Klopper (Zuid-Afrika).

23 September 8.

B 41187

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VIII, 3i, 3.x

UITGEBOKT

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GEHEIM.

Congres des Peuples  
te Puteaux.

Met verwijzing naar mijn geheim schrijven van 19 Juli j.l. No. 41187, handelende over het in hoofde dezes bedoelde congres, heb ik de eer Uwe Excellentie hiernevens aan te bieden twee fotocopieën van een beknopt verslag over deze samenkomst, naar de inhoud waarvan ter bekorting verwezen moge worden.

De in het verslag bedoelde Mr. Noé CECRO is de in mijn aangehaalde brief genoemde persoon van Hoegröhe.

HET HOOFD VAN DE  
CENTRALE VEILIGHEIDSDIENST

Mr. L. Binthoven.

AAN:

Z.E. de Minister President,  
Z.E. de Minister van Overzeese Gebiedsdelen,  
te  
's-GRAVENHAGE.

41187.

NOTITIE KB.

BESTEMD VOOR B VIII.

Wij ontvingen van EXPRESSE bijgaand rapport over het Congres des  
Peuples en zenden U 2 fotocopien van het rapport toe in antwoord op  
Uw verzoek van 17-7-48 (ACD 41187).

KB, 16-9-48.

*Mr. Noé Corra (zie  
Herolay in d.i. genaam 5 Noéproho  
13 VIII)*

## CONGRÈS DES PEUPLES

du 18 au 22 juin - Mairie de PUTEAUX

Le Congrès des Peuples d'Europe, d'Asie et d'Afrique, s'est ouvert le 18 juin à la Mairie de PUTEAUX.

Parmi les délégations présentes, outre les représentations des nations européennes et asiatiques, on remarquait les délégations des divers territoires d'Outre-Mer et notamment les représentants de Madagascar et du Viet-Nam.

M. DENIAU, Maire de PUTEAUX, a accueilli par quelques mots de bienvenue les délégués venus des confins des trois continents. Puis Bob EDWARDS, Secrétaire Général du Comité pour les Etats-Unis Socialistes d'Europe, prenant la parole a souligné l'importance historique du Congrès.

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Après l'acceptation de son rapport, Jean ROUS a souligné la diversité des peuples et les tendances représentées au Congrès.

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L'orateur a poursuivi en faisant ressortir qu'il fallait en premier lieu reconsidérer la question coloniale afin de trouver un terrain d'entente et de solidarité avec les peuples d'outre-mer. Puis le Congrès a pris connaissance des rapports économiques et politiques qui serviraient de base aux travaux des commissions.

Sous la présidence de M. Fenner BROCKWAY

La parole a été donnée à :

Mr. Noé CRORO - représentant de l'Indonésie.

- Le problème que nous avons décidé, déclare-t-il, est d'"être ou de ne pas être ".

Nos problèmes sont communs en raison et en action. La classe ouvrière travaille continuellement. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'en Indonésie ils demandent la liberté que nous avons déjà acquise en Europe et désirent se mettre avec vous pour défendre les valeurs internationales.

Nous ne voulons pas que nos camarades d'Europe nous disent dans nos luttes que les socialistes européens ont une grande responsabilité mondiale. DONNEZ NOUS NOTRE LIBERTE. NOUS SOMMES DISPOSES A NOUS BATTRE A VOS COTES.

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Nos revendications sont les suivantes : INDEPENDANCE NATIONALE et SOCIALISME INTERNATIONAL .

Je n'ai aucun parti politique. Les travailleurs appartenant à tous les partis ou à aucun parti, m'ont délégué pour apporter au Congrès la demande d'adhésion de tous au but noble que se propose de faire entendre le Congrès de PUTEAUX. Nous sommes donc appelés à parler en toute franchise car de quoi s'agit-il en sorte ? Les Peuples d'Europe qui ont eu à opprimer les peuples d'Asie ou d'Afrique, s'ils sont ou ne sont pas contents de la situation dans laquelle ils placent les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique. S'ils sont contents de cela, nous allons avoir à nous expliquer là-dessus. S'ils ne le sont pas, il s'agira pour eux de demander les conséquences à leurs gouvernements respectifs. Les Nationaux qui ont eu jusqu'ici à représenter leurs peuples dans les pays colonisés d'Asie et d'Afrique n'ont pas fait honneur à leur pays. Ils ont fait la honte de la civilisation dont on parle. C'est au nom de cette civilisation que l'on fait travailler les ouvriers pour un salaire très minime, que l'on supprime les libertés essentielles et élémentaires. Ces peuples sont prêts à se sacrifier pour acquérir leur liberté.

Avec une conviction profonde que nous allons faire du neuf qui dure. Le peuple d'Asie est toujours opprimé, les peuples se sont-ils élevés contre cela. Nous ne voulons pas, ni d'impérialisme, ni de colonialisme et des trusts. Nous ~~ne~~ voulons partager la pleine responsabilité. Nous attendons la liberté dans la foi en vous-même.

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Il déclare que la différence de langage n'est pas une barrière entre les pays lorsque les peuples sont démocrates et socialistes. Ils se basent sur l'esprit démocrate et sur l'esprit de droit humain.

Notre point de vue : l'Indépendance absolue d'un bloc ou d'un autre. Respect de la liberté et du droit humain.

Peter ABRAHAMS (Afrique du Sud)

Je critique la façon dont le Congrès a été organisé. En effet ce Congrès est réduit à la proportion d'un Congrès français dont les délégués ne seront que passagers.

Nous sommes tous des socialistes et c'est à cet égard que je viens prendre la parole.

La grande majorité des blancs vivant en Afrique se trouvent en Afrique du Sud. Les pouvoirs politiques et économiques sont détenus par les Blancs. Ceux-ci oppriment les Noirs. La main d'oeuvre est une matière bon marché.

Les Noirs de l'Afrique du Sud demandent l'égalité de droit.

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Nous luttons contre le capitalisme. Le grand danger qui existe est la multiplicité des petits partis. Il faut un parti socialiste indépendant.

ALDUY Paul

Certains de nos orateurs socialistes ne ~~semblent~~ semblent pas comprendre la situation des peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique. Nous aurons un horrible effort à fournir et il faut mettre tout de suite ~~aux travaux de l'information~~ en oeuvre un effort d'information, car nous ne savons pas ce qui se passe dans tous les coins du monde. Nous devons avoir une presse d'information.

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C'est aux Européens ici présents de décider s'ils veulent la paix ou la guerre entre nos différents peuples. Nous pouvons être camarades tous, mais il faut que le droit triomphe sur la force. Nous demandons la justice et la liberté pour nous.

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Pour organiser le monde sur de nouvelles lois, nous sommes en train d'assister à l'écroulement de l'impérialisme colonialiste.

Il faut que les socialistes représentent aujourd'hui la véritable démocratie avec la seule garantie d'indépendance de tous les peuples d'Europe, d'Asie et d'Afrique, et la liberté complète.

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Notre devoir est de définir les différents points particuliers... Ce Congrès ayant un but définitif, nous devons fonder la démocratie entre l'Orient et l'Occident.

Nous devons combattre l'impérialisme totalitaire russe et le capitalisme économique américain avec toutes nos forces.

CALIR (Trieste)

L'organisation de l'indépendance est la plus grande organisation politique du territoire libre de TRIESTE. Elle n'est pas maintenant nécessaire et a été définie politiquement et économiquement. Un traité a été annexé par les républicains avoisinant et ce traité a fait de la cité de TRIESTE un territoire libre.

Il est indispensable de nommer un gouverneur et de

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donner la possibilité aux Trisistins de s'exprimer librement par le moyen d'élections libres.

Dan TAMARY (R.C.P. - Revolutionary Communist League of Palestine)

La guerre en Palestine ne représente pas les intérêts des ouvriers juifs ou arabes.

Le problème de la Palestine ne peut être résolu que par les Palestiniens eux-mêmes. Seule une assemblée constituante démocratique librement élue en Palestine a le droit de décider de telle question.

De WOLFF (Hollande)

Je ne parle pas en tant que juif, mais en tant que socialiste international. Mon intervention est qu'il sorte du Congrès un texte qui soit inspiré par les socialistes internationaux.

Je demande la reconnaissance de l'Etat d'Israël.

ZUR (Afrique du Sud)

J'estime qu'il faut passer à un travail pratique. Je propose que la question soit entendue par une commission spéciale.

Commissions :

- 1° - Commission Générale
- 2° - " Palestinienne
- 3° - " Empire Français
- 4° - " Empire Britannique
- 5° - " Néerlandaise.

SEANCE du 20 JUIL -

Etudes des commissions politiques et économiques. FRENAY déclare que le bureau a modifié quelques textes dans le rapport politique.

Le débat est ouvert. Après quelques modifications, propositions et contre-propositions, le rapport politique est adopté.

SEANCE DE L'APRES-MIDI-

Commission de l'Empire Français. Cette séance est présidée par M. DENIEAU, Maire de PUTÉAUX, assisté de Jean ROUS, membre du Comité Directeur S.F.I.O.

JEFFAST (Hollande)

Je ne représente ni le Gouvernement, ni le peuple, ni la classe ouvrière des Pays-Bas. Je ne représente que le parti de gauche socialiste qui représente peut-être une minorité.

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J'ai l'honneur d'être présent ici comme délégué également de l'Indonésie qui par malheur n'est pas représentée ici. Les résolutions d'Indonésie ont été écrites en pleine liberté par la Légation indonésienne qui a proposé la délégation hollandaise. Il y a un accord entre les socialistes néerlandais et indonésiens.

Après ces exposés, Jean ROUS invite les camarades à se réunir lundi matin 21 juin à 9 heures pour délibérer la résolution politique de l'Empire Français.

Le débat reprend à 21 heures sur le conflit palestinien.

Interventions mouvementées entre arabes et juifs, à ce point qu'on n'a pu se mettre d'accord sur une résolution finale.

#### LUNDI 21 JUIN 1948

Débat sur les rapports économiques et politiques. Quelques modifications, propositions, et contre-propositions sont faites dans les textes concernant les Etats-Unis et l'U.R.S.S.

Jean ROUS donne lecture de la résolution de l'Empire français. Celle de l'Empire britannique n'a pu être lue à cause de sa complexité de réaction.

Il est décidé d'envoyer enfin une motion aux victimes du capitalisme, notamment au Bey de Tunisie, à Messali Hadj et aux députés malgaches.

Jacques DARVILLE (France) donne lecture de la charte de l'humanité.

Intervention de NOEGRETTO (Indonésie).

FRANK (Délégué de l'Europe Orientale) s'élève contre le rapport politique. Il clame que l'action du parti S.F.I.O. est une division des peuples.

Dr JUR fait un exposé sur la situation en Afrique du Sud.

On entend les interventions de :

DESCHEZELLES

ACHED FERRAH (Tunisie)

Renée l'HOSPITALIER (Jeunesse socialiste)

DURET

JOTIBOLA

Marceau PIVERT

#### Mardi 22 juin 1948

Les séances de cette journée sont consacrées aux problèmes spéciaux des différents continents ou groupes de pays ; y assistent de nombreux européens, en majorité socialistes.

Les auditeurs ont entendu la lecture des résolutions aux cours des 2 séances.

Après l'adoption de ces résolutions, la dernière séance est levée à 18h.30

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donner la possibilité aux Trisistins de s'exprimer librement par le moyen d'élections libres.

Dan TAMARY (R.C.P.- Revolutionary Communist League of Palestine )

La guerre en Palestine ne représente pas les ~~intérêts~~ intérêts des ouvriers juifs ou arabes.

Le problème de la Palestine ne peut être résolu que par les Palestiniens eux-mêmes. Seule une assemblée constituante démocratique librement élue en Palestine a le droit de décider de telle question.

De WOLFF (Hollande)

Je ne parle pas en tant que juif, mais en tant que socialiste international. Mon intervention est qu'il sorte du Congrès un texte qui soit inspiré par les socialistes internationaux.

Je demande la reconnaissance de l'Etat d'Israel.

ZUR (Afrique du Sud )

J'estime qu'il faut passer à un travail pratique. Je propose que la question soit entendue par une commission spéciale.

Commissions :

- 1° - Commission Générale
- 2° - " Palestinienne
- 3° - " Empire Français
- 4° - " Empire Britannique
- 5° - " Néerlandaise.

SEANCE du 20 JUIN -

Etudes des commissions politiques et économiques. FRENAY déclare que le bureau a modifié quelques textes dans le rapport politique.

Le débat est ouvert. Après quelques modifications, propositions et contre-propositions, le rapport politique est adopté.

SEANCE DE L'APRES-MIDI-

Commission de l'Empire Français. Cette séance est présidée par M. DENIEAU, Maire de PUTEAUX, assisté de Jean ROUS, membre du Comité Directeur S.F.I.O.

JEFEBAST (Hollande)

Je ne représente ni le Gouvernement, ni le peuple, ni la classe ouvrière des Pays-Bas. Je ne représente que le parti de gauche socialiste qui représente peut-être une minorité.

./.



J'ai l'honneur d'être présent ici comme délégué également de l'Indonésie qui par malheur n'est pas représentée ici. Les résolutions d'Indonésie ont été écrites en pleine liberté par la Légation indonésienne qui a proposé la délégation hollandaise. Il y a un accord entre les socialistes néerlandais et indonésiens.

Après ces exposés, Jean ROUS invite les camarades à se réunir lundi matin 21 juin à 9 heures pour rédiger la résolution politique de l'Empire Français.

Le débat reprend à 21 heures sur le conflit palestinien.

Interventions mouvementées entre arabes et juifs, à ce point qu'on n'a pu se mettre d'accord sur une résolution finale.

#### LUNDI 21 JUIN 1948

Débat sur les rapports économiques et politiques. Quelques modifications, propositions, et contre-propositions sont faites dans les textes concernant les Etats-Unis et l'U.R.S.S.

Jean ROUS donne lecture de la résolution de l'Empire français. Celle de l'Empire britannique n'a pu être lue à cause de sa complexité de rédaction.

Il est décidé d'envoyer enfin une motion aux victimes du capitalisme, notamment au Bey de Tunisie, à Messali Hadj et aux députés malgaches.

Jacques DARVILLE (France) donne lecture de la charte de l'humanité.

Intervention de NOGRETTO (Indonésie).

FRANK (Délégué de l'Europe Orientale) s'élève contre le rapport politique. Il clame que l'action du parti S.F.I.O. est une division des peuples.

Dr JUR fait un exposé sur la situation en Afrique du Sud.

On entend les interventions de :

DESCHEZELLES  
ACHED FERRAH (Tunisie)  
Renée l'HOSPITALIER (Jeunesse socialiste)  
DURET  
JOTIBOLA  
Marceau RIVERT

#### Mardi 22 juin 1948

Les séances de cette journée sont consacrées aux problèmes spéciaux des différents continents ou groupes de pays ; y assistent de nombreux européens, en majorité socialistes.

Les auditeurs ont entendu la lecture des résolutions aux cours des 2 séances.

Après l'adoption de ces résolutions, la dernière séance est levée à 18h.30

NOTITIE KB.

UITGEBOKT

Aan EXPRESSE zijn inlichtingen gevraagd over het "Congres des Peuples"  
te Puteaux, bij brief KA 41187 dd. 22-7-48.

KB, 22-7-48

# De Vlam

SOCIALISTISCH WEEKBLAD VOOR VRIJHEID EN CULTUUR

Redactie: Henriëtte Roland Holst, Jef Last, P. J. Meertens, Frits Kief, Tom Rot, Nel Bakker. Red.-secretaresse Lies van Weezel. Dir.: D. Schilp  
Redactie en administratie: Singel 135. Amsterdam. Telefoon 37920. Uitgave: Stichting „De Vonk”

## Marionetten of Internationale Socialisten?

Met verbazing kijkt de spullebaas van het Kominform-theater naar het figuurtje, dat er de brui aan geeft en zijn eigen weg gaat. Natuurlijk slepen de oude koorden er nog achter aan. Sommigen hopen, anderen vrezen, dat zij opnieuw geknoopt zullen worden.

Tito's breuk met de Kominform is sensationeel, maar niet zonder voorbeeld. Integendeel. Alle conflicten in de Komintern sedert 1920 hebben dezelfde oorsprong: De tegenstelling tussen de belangen van de nationale Russische opbouw en die van de arbeidersklasse in de onderscheiden landen. In de figuur Tito duidelijker gemanifesteerd, omdat deze als regeringschef openlijker en directer gebonden is aan de Zuid-slavische economische belangen.

Tito kan en moet, ook en vooral voor het radicale socialisme een les zijn. Nooit mag het zijn politiek binden of ondergeschikt maken aan de belangen van emge staat. Steeds zal het naar een zelfstandige internationalistische politiek, los van elke kapitaalsgroep, moeten streven. Steeds zal het zich moeten verzetten tegen iedere poging, het socialisme, of liever de socialisten te doen verworden tot marionetten in handen van de Moskouse dictator of enige andere kapitaalsmacht.

Tito heeft, gedwongen door de economische noodzaak, het Moskouse marionetten-theater verlaten. Het radicale socialisme zal die arbeiders, die vandaag nog leven onder de suggestie van het „socialistische” Rusland, daarvan moeten bevrijden.

Daartoe is er maar één weg. De opbouw van een zelfstandige internationalistische politiek. Scherp en beslist opreden voor een Verenigd Socialistisch Europa. Voor de samenwerking en de verbroedering niet de volkeren van de vroegere heel en half-koloniale gebieden.

### UIT DE INHOUD

Na de slag

Noegroho sprak in Puteaux

Het Vijftentenkamp in München

P. J. Meertens

Straf en Resultaat

Jef Last

Duel Tito—Zjdanov

Richard Jokel

De „Beggar's Opera”

J. Reichenfeld—Peter van Steen



De verschrikte spullebaas:

„Wat nou, gaan mijn marionetten leven?”















f 2.00 (4 regels). Iedere regel  
meer 35 cent.

Alleenst. Vlamlezers, 38 J.,  
wonend Gooi

ZOEKT CONTACT  
met gestverwant(e). Br. no.  
848, bur. van dit blad.

THEOSOFIE - ASTROLOGIE  
Vrijmetselartij - Filosofie -  
Soefi-beweging - Parapsycho-  
logie - Psychologie - Grafo-  
logie, enz.

Catalogi op aanvraag.

Nieuw verschenen:  
Alex David Neel: Mystiek en  
Magie in Thibet, geb. f 8.50.  
Ralph Bircher: De Hunsas,  
een volk, dat geen ziekte kent,  
geb. f 3.75.

Zending door geh. Nederland.

Boekhandel Dorsman,  
Veemarktstraat 28, Breda.  
Telefoon 7752. Giro 170179.

**Neusverkouden?**  
gebruik  
**Ritacapsules!**

**WINS IS TROEF**

Gezelschap Alex Wins

Voor Cabaretavonden  
en Kinderfeesten

Toppasstraat 21, A'dam-Z.  
Telefoon 21898.

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• welke uit gevoelsover-  
wegingen voorkeur ver-  
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zame ontbinding in het  
graf:

• het ontwijden van de  
laatste rustplaats der  
mindervermogenen  
het ontruimen van be-  
graafplaatsen - onnodig  
maakt.

• om hygiënische rede-  
nen aan te bevelen is;

• geen enkel godsdienstig  
begrip aantast.

Inlichtingen verstrekt  
de A.V.V.L. Vereniging  
voor Crematie.  
Amsterdam-Centrum,  
Sarphatistraat 41,  
Telefoon: 54954.

Over het opzienbarend boek

## STALIN en GANDHI

door Louis Fisher schreef „De Vlam”:

„Een onmisbaar boek voor ieder, die de  
twee grootste figuren van onze periode wil  
leren kennen”.

En het Gelders Dagblad schreef:

„Ongetwijfeld een van de belangrijkste  
werken, welke na de oorlog zijn verschenen”.  
Prijs ingenaaid f 3.40; geb. f 3.90. —  
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meisjesgroepen geschikte krachten gezocht.  
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veel handenarbeid, veel spelen, vertellen,  
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### Iedere nieuwe Vlam-abonné

betekent versterking van de onafhæn-  
kelijk socialistische pers. De Vlam  
won verheugend veel nieuwe lezers in  
het nieuwe jaar.

### Wie volgt?

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Singel 135 - Amsterdam

Ondergetekende wenst zich te abonneren op „De Vlam”:

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Notitie.

AAN: K.B.

VAN: B.VIII.

Blijkens een mededeling in "De Vlam" van 10 Juli 1948 is er in Juni te Puteaux (bij Parijs) het "Congres des Peuples" gehouden, waar een Indonesische en een Nederlandse delegatie aanwezig zijn geweest. Op het congres heeft op 21 Juni jl. de Indonesiër Noegroho (student te Amsterdam) een redevoering gehouden. De namen van de leden der bedoelde delegaties zijn overigens onbekend. Inlichtingen over dit congres zouden zeer op prijs gesteld worden.

17-7-'48.

19 Juli

8.

B41187.

XXXX  
XXXX

1.

GEHEIM.

VIII. TZ.4.

Congres des Peuples te Puteaux.

Ik heb de eer Uwe Excellentie hiernevens ter kennisname aan te bieden het artikel "Hoegroho sprak te Puteaux", voorkomende in het te Amsterdam uitgegeven socialistisch weekblad voor vrijheid en cultuur "De Vlam" van 10 Juli jl., naar de inhoud waarvan ter bekorting verwezen moge worden.

De persoon van Hoegroho is een te Amsterdam woonachtig student.

Over het te Puteaux gehouden congres staan thans geen gegevens te mijner beschikking, doch ik zal niet nalaten U nader in te lichten, zodra deze alsnog mochten worden ontvangen.

HET HOOFD VAN DE CENTRALE  
VEILIGHEIDSDIENST,  
Namens deze: *glt*

AAN:  
Z.E. de Minister President,  
Z.E. de Minister van Overzees Gebiedsdelen,  
te  
's GRAVENHAGE.

J. G. Crabbendam.

*L. P. van Hass.*

Notitie.

AAN: K.B.

VAN: B.VIII.

Velgno.

17 JULI 1948

ACD/41107

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