

In this Issue :

Wilhelm Reich's
Theory of Work p. 2
Pacifism, Fake or Real p. 3
Strike against Class
"Justice" p. 4

Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing . . . Progress is the realisation of Utopias."
—OSCAR WILDE:
The Soul of Man under Socialism.★

Vol. 10, No. 25

December 10th, 1949

Threepence

African People will get no help from Britain — or UNO

THE DARK CONTINENT

The Governments of the world are loud in their protestations of loyalty to the great purposes and high ideals of the United Nations. But, one by one, with unfailing regularity, as their own activities are questioned during U.N.O.'s deliberations, they protest, and obstruct, and refuse to comply with its recommendations. Governments of all political colours—Conservative, Communist and Labour, are alike in this, and as they form into rival blocs against each other, they all with an air of hurt innocence declare that all are out of step but their own group. Nowhere is this clearer than in the discussions on the future of colonial territories, in particular, those in Africa. It becomes more and more obvious that the colonial peoples will have to fight their own battles for their own freedom from the imperialist powers which "will do anything for them except get off their backs". But the coloured workers must learn that national revolution will only exchange foreign masters for masters of their own race. Their revolution, to be effective must be a social revolution directed against governmentalism itself. They must destroy not only white authority, but authority itself. And so must we.

THE trusteeship Committee of the United Nations has passed a series of recommendations concerning colonies ("non-self-governing territories"), calling upon Britain, France and other Colonial Powers to report to U.N.O. on their political position, to give equal education to all children, to promote native languages in all schools, to give information on human rights, education, illiteracy and other colonial matters, and to permit U.N.O. groups to visit colonies on special missions.

Britain Refuses

The British delegates voted against these resolutions which were passed by a big majority.

A British spokesman afterwards said: "Where Britain voted against these resolutions she will not comply with them." Britain's refusal also extends to specific recommendations affecting three territories she holds under trusteeship—Tanganyika, British Togoland and the British Cameroons.

The Daily Express (19/11/49) reports the proposals as "attempts to clamp U.N.O. political control on the lives of 70 million people . . . seeking to make Britain answerable to U.N.O.

for what she does in colonies that were British long before U.N.O. was thought of".

Press Hysteria

The Sunday Express (4/12/49) heads its leading article: "We Should Quit U.N.O." and it calls the vote "U.N.O.'s first open move to pluck the British Empire to pieces. It even has the insolence to propose that the flag of U.N.O. shall be flown alongside the Union Jack in trustee territories."

U.N.O. is described as "a crazy, dangerous institution" (Freedom said this years ago, but for far more valid reasons). The Express ends with a note of full-blooded imperialist bellicosity: "The jackals are leaping on the lion because they think he is mangy and dying. It is time to show them that there is life, vigour, and a good roar in him yet."

"Honour" and Policy

DR. Malan, the South African Prime Minister, recently announced that his Government proposes to annex the Native Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Swaziland and Basutoland. The two larger of these territories, as their former High Commissioner pointed out last week "came of their own free will under the British Crown, and were promised in all things the protection of the Great White Queen". Many years ago, Lord Selbourne, discussing the future of the Protectorates, wrote: "It is no question of policy about which we are disputing; it is a question of honour."

Michael Scott

How much the question of "honour" enters into the shabby politics of imperialism in Africa was demonstrated by the recent sessions of the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations. South-West Africa was "liberated" from German rule after the First World War and was made a South African mandate. For several years the Rev. Michael Scott, whose courageous efforts in the past on behalf of the Indian population in Durban, and the Negroes living in

(Continued on page 4)

THE NEW 'INTERNATIONAL'

IN 1946, when the workers of Germany were starving on rations little better than those the Nazis had given to the inmates of Belsen, a British miner wrote on behalf of forty of his fellows to Victor Gollancz's "Save Europe Now" organisation.

"Each of us is willing," he wrote, "to take an undernourished child from Europe into our homes, if they can be brought here, and to share our rations with them, if we have to. We don't mind if they are German."

That was the voice of the ordinary decent worker, but, at about the same time, Will Lawther, boss of the miners' union, was claiming that British miners had been generous to their foreign comrades in the past, but not a penny piece would they give to German miners in their need. It may be taken that his view coincided with the general opinion of trade union leadership in this country, and it showed a pretty disregard for international solidarity—especially as compared with what German miners had sent to British miners during the British General Strike of 1926.

Still the Same Men

This same leadership—Lawther, Deakin, Tewson, Bullock and the rest—are now among the leading lights of the founders of a new international federation of Trades Unions, formed as a rival set-up to the older World Federation of Trades Unions, from which Britain's delegates, together with those of the "free" countries of the West, walked out last February. The W.F.T.U., having become an organ for Cominform propaganda, was no place for the politically pure non-communists.

So, with the avowed intention of "avoiding national politics", the free trades unions come together to form yet another International to add to the long string of dismal failures and pressure groups that union leaders have created in the name of the working-class everywhere.

The First International was avowedly revolutionary—although it was split by Marx and Bakunin on issues relating to its attitude to the State and political power. But since then, these international get-togethers have steadily declined in revolutionary ardour as the organisations forming them have grown in terms of "national responsibility".

Mouthpieces for their States

To-day, it is perfectly true that the W.F.T.U. is simply a platform for Communism, which means another mouthpiece for the Kremlin, because in Stalinist countries the unions are completely under the thumb of the State. But are they not just as much so in the so-called democracies? Is not the T.U.C. hand-in-glove with

the Labour Government to the extent of completely abandoning the workers' interests for the sake of the "national economy"—i.e., capitalism?

Even in the U.S.A., the unions are playing an increasingly responsible part in national life, and although large-scale struggles with the employers can still be staged, the union leaders make it perfectly clear that they have no quarrel with capitalism—indeed they want it run more efficiently since, they say, bigger profits for the boss means higher wages for the workers!

In every country, the reformist T.U. officials are only too eager to show what good patriots they are—see Lawther's attitude to the German miners as quoted above. The "peace" people should go in for international organisations, then, would be laughable if it were not sinister. For they haven't a grain of real international solidarity in their smug characters. At the very times when internationalism is necessary, as when governments are starting wars, these T.U. internationals in the past have folded up—to reappear as large as life when the fighting is over. This happened in 1914-18 and again in '39-'45.

The only difference to-day is that the two internationals—the C.P. dominated W.F.T.U., and the new "democratic" set-up—are already lining themselves up on the sides of the two probable blocs in the coming war. Thus members of the same organisation are not likely to find themselves on opposing sides, nationally speaking, so embarrassment will be avoided—assuming they ever feel any.

It is Up to Us

No, these organisations are completely false to the whole concept of internationalism. When workers come together to pledge mutual aid across the frontiers—indeed to pledge the abolition of frontiers when they announce that their solidarity will lead them to refuse to go to war against their fellows in other lands; when they renounce their patriotism and their rulers, then we may see the creation of a valid International with real hopes for a free world. The working miner quoted in the opening paragraph obviously had at least the beginnings of these ideas. There are others, and it is up to them—and us—to strive to give real meaning and strength to a coming together of the peoples. P.S.

UNREST IN NIGERIA

IN Nigeria, which has a coloured population of 22 millions and a European population of 2,000, the miners of Enugu are demanding a daily wage of 5s. 10d., the present basic wage being 3s. 4d. The Government, which controls the coal mines, is resisting the demand which it claims will increase the price of coal (600,000 tons produced annually) by 2s. 6d. a ton. The miners' go-slow movement developed into a stay-in strike, and, according to press reports, on November 18th, police sent to remove explosives from the mine, clashed with strikers, and "at least 20 people were killed" and 30 injured. Rioting followed in several towns. In Aba, four people were wounded by police fire, and in Port Harcourt, where the police suffered a number of casualties, two were killed. In Calabar, crowds were dispersed with firing. In Onitsha, after the use of tear smoke and baton charges, the police opened fire and wounded three."

The Governor, after a week of sporadic rioting, declared a state of emergency, gave the police special powers of arrest, imposed a rigid press censorship on the East Coast, and instituted a curfew, while "fifty-six-seater planes stand ready to rush steel-helmeted police, with rifles and cudgels, to any trouble-spots". The Colonial Office has nominated a Commission of Inquiry to examine the causes of the disturbances. Arrests have been made in several towns in the Eastern Provinces, and five sentences, ranging from six months to five years, were imposed at Aba.

Although there is every sign of a widespread impending revolt in Nigeria, the Daily Express (29/11/49), anxious to assure its readers that in fact "all's well with the Empah", reported that "Broad African smiles greeted me against an exotic backdrop of palms, the smooth water of the lagoon, the eternal lizards twitching on the hot walls, and the restless throb of distant drums. In the club, the Britons bathed and changed, stretched their moist limbs and commented: No trouble to-day, old man. Good show."

Suspicion and Discontent

But, unfortunately for the defenders of the status quo, all is not well in Nigeria. Marjorie Nicholson, in last week's Tribune, described the underlying discontent and suspicion throughout the Eastern Provinces—high cost of food, exorbitant rents, shortage of land and soil erosion. "There have been strikes amongst railway and conservancy workers, a nation-wide strike was narrowly averted in June, and there is at present a strike in the Cameroons amongst the Development Corporation's workers." She describes the totally inadequate Ten Year Development Plan, and mentions that "In some districts the people have moved themselves, and are carrying out striking village development schemes". The Ibos, the largest tribal group, have, she says, made an extraordinary move forward in the last twenty years. "The Ibos have never developed any large-scale system of government of their own . . . But they have in recent years organised collective action on a surprising scale—funds for sending students abroad and for establishing schools are easily collected."

Finding a Scapegoat

As usual, everyone is most anxious to attribute the disturbances to agitators.

The Times see them as the work of mischief-makers among Ibo nationalists, and Sefton Delmer in the Daily Express (29/11/49), regards them as the result of Soviet propaganda, which he argues, having failed in Europe is turning to Asia and Africa. He poses the question: "Why is Soviet policy so much more effective with the Chinese, Indians and Africans than it is with Tito and Moscow's Slav brothers in Iron Curtain Europe?" and his answer is:

"Because the more primitive peoples of Asia need firm rule and we Westerners have not been giving it to them; because we have instead, encouraged nationalist and autonomist movements easily exploited by Communist agitation, and because the firm but benevolent despotism instituted by Communist régimes, like that in China, are the natural form of government at this stage for these countries."

The only conclusion we can draw from Mr. Delmer's curious analysis is that we should emulate what he euphemistically describes as the "firm but benevolent despotism of Communist régimes", a curious point of view to come from Lord Beaverbrook's mouthpiece (until we remember how well his lordship got on with Stalin during the war—truly brothers under the skin!)

Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Secretary, who used to be famous for his championing of the cause of the colonial people, told Parliament that: "I know of no evidence that these troubles have been fermented from outside," but, despite this, his department is evidently looking for a scapegoat, since the Daily Telegraph reported on the same day that Commander Burt, the head of Scotland Yard's Special Branch will report to the Colonial Office on people in Britain suspected of having fermented subversive acts in Nigeria from London.

★ . . . INSTEAD OF CHRISTMAS CARDS

We offer the attractive Porcupine Pamphlets at 1/- each (instead of 2/6), or 2/6 for the three

OSCAR WILDE'S *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*
SHELLEY'S *Defence of Poetry*
TOLSTOY'S *Slavery of Our Time*

Send to your friends these beautifully produced little volumes (edited, with introductions by George Woodcock), and keep one for yourself

LETTER FROM INDIA

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

PACIFISM—FAKE OR REAL

"Have a real good party and kill a lot of people"

EARLY in December, the Gandhians will hold a conference in Shantiniketan, in which foreign pacifists from various countries will take part.

is voluntarily accepted or not. Voluntary servitude is still servitude. A golden chain is still an instrument of slavery.

together, cannot be harmonised, are mutually exclusive, are contradiction in terms. But that does not worry them.

Tolstoy, from whom Gandhiji borrowed the ideas of refusal to pay taxes and refusal to obey laws (of course—

We know that among the foreign delegates, there are men who have gone to prison as conscientious objectors, refusing to carry arms.

I want to ask them if they are ready to abolish government if non-violent society requires that. They will say that society without business, and therefore the state, would not only be impossible, but would be mere savagery.

Gandhians do not know the nature of Governments: it is an instrument used by one group of people over all the rest.

The pacifist meetings organised by them are everywhere like hikers' parties in picnic. They have a pleasant, happy and peaceful time among themselves.

Rather they want a world government. What is world government?—they do not want to think that out either. If they thought about it they would see that it will be organised violence from one centre for all the world.

- Alex Comfort: BARBARISM AND SEXUAL FREEDOM Boards 3/6. Paper 2/4
Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM 1/-
George Woodcock: ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND 6d.
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY 3d.
HOMES OR HOVELS? 6d.
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY 2d.
WHAT IS ANARCHISM? 1d.
THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL LIVING 1/-
Rudolf Rocker: NATIONALISM & CULTURE 21/-
Herbert Read: POETRY AND ANARCHISM Cloth 5/- Paper 2/6
THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM Boards 2/6, Paper 1/-
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/-
John Hewatson: ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI 6d.
ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE STATE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-
Peter Kropotkin: THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE 1/-
THE WAGE SYSTEM 3d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 3d.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS (Chosen by Herbert Read) 3/6
ORGANISED VENGEANCE CALLED JUSTICE 2d.

* FREEDOM PRESS 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

THROUGH THE PRESS

THE REGULATED STATE

Sir Stafford Cripps offers us a reward for informing the Government on breaches of the currency regulations. If this democratic habit of our morally incorruptible leaders continues, we shall shortly be able to collect lump sums for informing on those of our neighbours who use a drop of red petrol, get an extra slice of meat, receive a food parcel from Ireland, forget their identity card, or contravene any one of the monstrous regiment of regulations under which we bear up with difficulty.

POLICE NOT SO WONDERFUL

More than 100 unemployed, mostly women, hunger-striking in a church near Pescara, on Italy's east coast, declared to-day they would not leave, for fear of the police.

SOB STORY

While telling the wonderful story of H.M.S. Amethyst to my seven-year-old son, with a lump in my throat, Illustrated plopped through the letter-box. I opened it at the photographs of Burnham Beeches. My "lump" melted and my tears flowed. Like the Amethyst story, the scene was so British and so majestic.

THEY SHALL HAVE

MUSIC (SACRED)

London's down-and-outs who sleep on Thames Embankment benches will have their own church and canteen in January. A £1,000 vehicle, ordered by the London Embankment Mission Headquarters, will broadcast sacred music and sermons near Somerset House.

GRIM REMINDER

Workmen in Frankfurt found more than 100 bodies in an air-raid shelter smashed by an Allied raid.

IMMACULATE DECEIVER

Salvador Dali stood alongside his latest painting, "Madonna of the Immaculate Conception", which he showed to the Pope yesterday, and said: "I'm through with my wild past, I am returning to the Catholic Church."

GET CRACKING!

Overseas Food Corporation. A vacancy exists for a Senior Statistician with a first or second class honours degree in statistics, mathematics or economics with statistics for service with the East Africa Groundnuts Scheme in Tanganyika.

PEASANT UNREST IN CHINA

THE needy peasants in Northern China initially were rather attracted by the Communist ideal. The influence of the nationalist was small among the peasant rank and file. The Kuomintang was considered to be an elitarian body of men giving a great deal of privilege to a few governing people.

THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS

EVER since the Japanese occupation, the natives of the Solomon Islands have been discontented with British rule, and a movement variously called Martin Lo or Marching Rule, which according to the press means "Marxian Rule", has been organising opposition to the authorities.

against the nations of Western Europe from any direction, we will have a real good party and kill a lot of people."

How easy it is for Field-Mmarshals who almost invariably die in their beds and who direct others to do the killing, to make a joke of the horrors of war.

But then, in this atom bomb business, the Americans are always a step ahead of all competitors, and do not visualise being at the receiving end of the bomb.

But, just in case things did not go all their way, our American cousins have already started work on Atomic Bomb resisting houses. At an annual meeting of 4,500 estate men held in Chicago last month, one of the treats awaiting them was one such house.

And so, piece by piece, they are putting together the jig-saw puzzle which, when completed, will spell World War 3. It will take time, perhaps, but it is inevitable so long as the decisions rest with the politicians and the militarists.

What is the alternative? We agree that it is Utopian to expect the "peace-loving peoples" to suddenly revolt against the war-mongers. The majority of people may be peace-loving, but they are also conditioned by upbringing and by every public institution to respect authority.

LIBERTARIAN.

RHODESIA: Federating Misery

SIR Godfrey Higgins, the Prime Minister, of Southern Rhodesia, is busily demanding that a Central African Federation be set up as a new dominion, consisting of Rhodesia, Nysaland and the protectorate of Northern Bechuanaland. His Minister of Justice is coming to London to press these claims, which are opposed by the native population who regard them as a step from the frying pan into the fire.

