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JOURNAL OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

NO. 2. APRIL 1953

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"LIBERATION" - A JOURNAL OF DEMOCRATIC  
DISCUSSION.

No. 2.

April 1953.

EPIITAPH FOR A PARLIAMENT.

"Parliament is surrendering its control over the executive, and the executive may do anything it likes....."

"Here, where Ministers are imbued with a police state mentality, who have developed the desire to destroy the authority altogether, this Bill is particularly dangerous to the maintenance of democratic life....."

"Tomorrow we shall be virtually in a police state. Tomorrow the Government can proclaim the whole Union to be in a state of emergency without giving any reason. It can suspend every newspaper, adopt the most drastic measures to curtail the freedom of every person, confiscate their property and suspend every law."

"Where a nation is willing to surrender all the sovereignty resident in the people of their own protection to a few members of the executive, we are not far from that famous day when Hitler proclaimed himself to be the source of all power and authority in the state."

"Yet, in spite of this abject surrender by Parliament of its authority at the behest of a Nationalist Government, the opposition has agreed to support this measure. It did so because it believed that European authority must be maintained in South Africa."

He wrote these words, not from a leading article in ~~the "Spear"~~, but from the speech of Senator Heaton Nicholls, leader of the United Party in the Senate, explaining on February 19th, 1953, why his party was supporting the third reading of the Public Safety Bill. His words may go down in history as the epitaph not only of the United Party, but indeed, of the Union Parliament itself.

It is true that Parliament has "surrendered its control". And it is a lesson which will be increasingly borne upon the country that this "object surrender" which the Senator so lucidly characterised was due to the belief "that European authority must be maintained in South Africa".

"European authority" - that is the maintenance of the dictatorship of a minority - cannot be reconciled even with the forms of democratic institutions. The 1910 Constitution was an attempt to reconcile that contradiction between the outward form of a parliamentary and constitutional liberties, and the underlying reality of a harsh and merciless colonial dictatorship over the non-white peoples of South Africa. Thus, the Union's Parliament has almost largely been a fraud and a sham. Even for the white minority, democracy has been shallow and illiberal. The succeeding Parliament has been more so, and has added of restraint than its predecessor. More laws have been retained and added to the mass of legislative discriminations against non-Europeans and tight binding the backs of pressure, against African workers and farmers to force them to labour under ever deteriorating conditions for the benefit of the goldmining and farming plutocracy.

Yet, because of a past bitter political battle, there have been democratic restraints and obstacles to the imposition of naked fascist dictatorship in South Africa. The people have had access to courts of law which, at any rate in their upper levels, have enjoyed some measure of independence. The South African press, although naturally it has been controlled almost entirely by those who have the financial resources essential to maintaining modern newspapers, has nevertheless enjoyed the freedom to attack and criticise the Government. However hemmed about by interference and legislation, the workers' Trade Unions have at least had the right to exist.

The Nationalist Government has shown itself increasingly impatient and intolerant of these rights of the people. They cannot tolerate the existence of law courts and newspapers which are not subject to their direct and immediate control.

They/...

They have said so, and continue to say so with increasing bluntness and rudeness. They have made their aim as clear as daylight: it is to abolish every vestige of democratic freedom in South Africa and to establish a total, terroristic, dictatorship of the sort which they so much admired in Germany between 1934 and 1944.

The United Party knows these facts. Senator Nicholls acknowledged that "tomorrow we shall be virtually in a police state". Yet the United Party, which claimed and still claims to have democratic pretensions, failed to oppose this law, as it has always failed and always will fail to defend democratic principle, because the bourgeois backers of the United Party are interested not in principles but in super-profits from the exploitation of cheap labour. Senator Nicholls sees the choice, either a real democracy; or a police state. And he chooses the latter.

The lesson is too plain to be misunderstood except by those who are hopelessly blinded by the spectacles of white Chauvinism and colour prejudice. "European authority" (that is the maintenance of political and economic privileges in the hands of a racial minority; the degradation and impoverishment of the majority) is incompatible in the long run with the preservation of any sort of democratic rights, forms of ideology - even in respect of the whites themselves. A nation which oppresses others cannot itself be free. The rights and the future of the peoples of South Africa, European and non-European, can never be advanced or defended by the colour-bar United Party, by the colour-bar Parliament, or for that matter by those self-proclaimed "liberals" who seek to conceal their own moral cowardice and subconscious Chauvinism by dishonest chatter about a "qualified franchise".

The task, the duty and the honour of defending the cherished liberties of the South African people, must fall on other shoulders; on the broad and worthy shoulders of the masses of non-European workers, peasants and middle-class people, and upon that honourable minority among the

Europeans which boldly and uncompromisingly takes up its stand for equality of rights and opportunities for all men and women in our country.

These classes, organised in the African National Congress, the Trade Unions, the S.A. Peoples Congress and other democratic militant organisations of the people can alone take up the banner of popular liberties and the defence of the people which Parliament has dropped into the mire.

Recent developments in the Union, particularly the unconquerable spirit that manifested itself at the mass conference held by the Congresses in Johannesburg and the Cape Provincial A.N.C. conference at Port Elizabeth, have made it clear that the ordinary people of our country are prepared to answer the call for sacrifices, endurance and courage which the protracted struggle demands of them.

It is for their leaders themselves to grasp the full earnestness of the situation, to combat all the elements of indecision and vacillation. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 has raised the liberation movement to unprecedented heights of organised strength and political consciousness. This alone has been a worthy achievement of the campaign, and the democratic people of South Africa will forever remain under a debt of gratitude to the gallant leaders whose courage and example have inspired, educated and revived the movement. Indeed, had it not been for the resistance movement of the non-Europeans, the Malanites would no doubt have long ago succeeded in setting up a full-fledged fascist state in the Union.

But a movement must MOVE. It must go forward with the changing situation, or go down to defeat. It was never envisaged that the campaign would remain forever confined to the first stage of groups of individual volunteers defying selected laws of a minor character. Not only do the savage provisions of the Criminal Laws Amendment Bill

now render a continuance of the first stage impracticable and defeatist, but, more important, the pressing needs of the new situation make it imperative for the peoples' struggle to adopt new forms based on mass action in town and country alike.

The Nationalist Party has succeeded in blackmailing "legal" authority to abolish the laws, from a wretched assembly of frightened men whose pretensions to be a Parliament of the South African people have thus forever been destroyed.

But before the Nationalists can exercise those powers they will have to reckon with the twelve million South Africans, whom we of "Liberation" believe, will never tamely bow their heads to servitude.

In sharp contrast to these critical realities now facing South Africa are the unrealistic, almost dreamlike, speeches and policies being now placed before the overwhelmingly white electorate in the present General Election. No party, indeed no candidate, unfortunately, has come forward with a truly democratic policy advancing the slogan of universal franchise as the alternative to a Police State: votes for all, or votes for none, as the real issue before South Africa. The elections cannot, therefore, be regarded as a decisive field in this major battle. Yet this should not imply that the democrats of South Africa, whether or not enfranchised, can regard the outcome of the election with indifference. We are writing on the eve of the election, at a time when the United Party is conducting its customary quinquennial competition with the Nationalists to see who can sink to lower depths in appealing to the basest colour prejudices of the electorate. These degrading antics cannot but undermine whatever lingering illusions may remain, at home or abroad, as to the invertebrate character of Mrs. Strass and his associates.

It is not surprising that the overwhelming mass of the South African people will rejoice at the electoral defeat of the Nats. Not because they have any confidence in or illusions about the so-called "United Democratic Front", but because they recognize the Nats as the most brutal and extreme enemies of democracy. The defeat of the Nationalists, therefore, will

It will not of itself lead to any democratic gains, cannot but be a stimulus and an encouragement to that mass movement of the oppressed which alone can achieve the true emancipation of South Africa from imperialist bondage.

Whatever the election results, however, there can be no slackening now in the tempo of organisation, preparation, vigilance and practical work, for those who stand with and for progress. Every Congress member an organiser; every member a teacher and propagandist; every non-European and democratic European an active participant in mass action - these must be our slogans for the difficult and crucial weeks and months ahead.

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Introduction

In order to realize the full gravity of the withdrawal of the American Seventh Fleet from Korea one has to consider it firstly from the historical events which led to the withdrawal and secondly from the point of view that this step is but part of the declared American policy to step-up and intensify the wars raging in Asia.

President Eisenhower's order is a sequel to a long list of provocations and actual acts of aggression against the mainland ever since the New China came into being three years ago. At first the United States encouraged the Chinese K'ai-Shak air and naval forces to bomb and blockade the South-East coast. But owing to the vigilance of the Chinese people this onslaught was halted. Then the Americans declared war against the people of Korea which is China's immediate neighbour and at the same time occupied the Chinese Islands of Taiwan (Formosa). The facts of these attacks once again to enrage the peoples of China and Korea are well known to all. In almost three years of war in Korea, fought with the aid of the supposedly superior military machine, the invaders have nevertheless been forced to give up their original intentions. The losses suffered by the United States soldiers approximate to the losses sustained by America in the whole of the last world war.

"WE ARE AT WAR WITH CHINA"

In addition to this they have repeatedly used their air force, engaged in the Korean war to invade the territorial air of China, bombing and killing Chinese people. "We are at war with the Chinese reds now", boasted Senator Taft, Republican Floor Leader in the Senate, in a television interview on February 8th. He added that the Manchurian bases "should have been bombed many months ago."

Besides these naked acts of aggression the Americans have imposed a blockade on trade with China. By means of blackmail and bullying tactics American satellites have been forced to end altogether help or to curtail trade with China. The most recent example has been the decision of the British Government to reduce

its trade with China after Eden's return from the United States.

The Washington Correspondent of the "New York Post" reported:-

"Admiral Radford, Commander of the United States 7th Pacific Fleet, advised making the blockade a United Nations project, but if that were not possible he urged the United States to take it up alone".

The "New York World Telegram and Sun" said that the blockade would be a logical follow-up of the Formosa decision. "The British will object" it said, "because they are doing a lucrative business with the goods, but that should not stop us when American lives are at stake".

In the meanwhile, British ships have been stopped not a few times by Chiang Kai-Shek's warships and forced to unload in Formosan ports their cargo of steel for China.

**"ASIANS FIGHT ASIANS"**. The United States is forcing Britain and France to intensify the Colonialist wars against Malaya and Viet-nam and is trying to convert these and other Asian countries into recruiting grounds for the pursuance of their draconic policy of "Asians fight Asians".

They are also using the peoples of Asia as victims to test their latest weapons of annihilation. They used the first atomic bombs against Asians, they have now used the first gas bombs and the dreadful napalm also against Asians. And further they have used Chinese and Korean prisoners of war as 'human guinea pigs' to carry out certain 'tests'.

In order to consolidate and centralise their sinister plans the Americans have launched the Pacific bloc which in effect will bring the wars at present raging in Asia and elsewhere under American command.

The meaning of the withdrawal of the 7th Fleet from Formosa and other aggressive acts in Asia is sufficiently explained.

explained by none other than responsible American leaders themselves. For instance, Senator Sparkman, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, said that President Eisenhower's order to the 7th Fleet "implies that we will furnish an umbrella for any attack that the Chinese Nationalists might make on the coast".

Senator Alexander Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early February called upon Chiang Kai-Shek to start bombing China's railways. "If Chiang has any strength at all", he said "and he is getting the plane", he will disrupt . . . the vital North-South railway on the Chinese mainland."

And of course it is a known fact that the United States Military Mission under General Glegg has been supervising the training and delivery of United States tanks, guns, landing craft and other invasion equipment.

Finally one must remember Wallace's recent declaration that he cannot envisage peace so long as Communist regimes exist in any part of the world. And also the fact that the denunciation of the Yalta agreement by Eisenhower was followed by a statement by Premier Yoshida of Japan announcing the aim to "recover the former Japanese territories of Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands".

#### HERBERT MORRISON SPEAKS OUT:

Just any of the readers have a mistaken belief that it is only the Communists who see evil where no cause for apprehension exists? Let us remember the statement of Herbert Morrison whose political background need not be amplified here. Mr. Morrison accused General Eisenhower of "betraying" Chiang Kai-Shek to attack the Chinese mainland. And he warned the United States Government not to be under any illusion about the British public opinion if such an attack took place. "We should think", he declared "that it had arisen from a mistaken policy on the part of the new President and his Administration. We should certainly think it wrong for British forces to be engaged in those operations should they occur".

Against this background of American designs against the peoples/....

peoples of China and Asia let us recall the oft-repeated declarations and peaceful actions on the part of the Chinese people.

Already on the occasion of the first anniversary of the New China, Premier Chou En-Lai declared that the Chinese people wanted to build their country in an environment of peace and free from threats. "But", he warned, "if the American aggressors take this as a sign of weakness on the part of the Chinese people, they will commit the same fatal blunder as the Kuomintang reactionaries. The Chinese people enthusiastically love peace but in order to defend peace, they never have been and never will be afraid to oppose aggressive war. The Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate foreign aggression, nor will they supinely tolerate seeing their neighbours savagely invaded by the imperialists".

TRADE: On the question of trade with other countries which the Americans want to put a stop to, Premier Chou En-Lai, in a report to China's Interim Parliament said on February 4th, 1953:

"We do not discriminate against any capitalist country that is willing to develop trade relations with us on terms of equality and mutual benefit. We believe that countries with different systems can co-exist peacefully. We firmly adhere to the policy of peace and oppose policies of war and aggression. We are willing to resume and establish trade relations, to develop a peace economy jointly with all countries willing to maintain peaceful relations with us".

#### ON AN HONOURABLE PEACE IN KOREA:

And only at the end of March once again Chou En-Lai declared the peaceful intentions of the Chinese people

have always held - and continue to hold - that the only solution to the prisoner question is to repatriate all of them. But, in view of the fact that the prisoner question now constitutes the only barrier to agreement, we are now prepared to eliminate the differences on this question to bring about an armistice in Korea".

Obviously this statement has had a bombshell effect on the "Western" world. Stock Exchange prices have suddenly fallen and there is general panic in the business world at this new "threat of peace". Since the arms manufacturers who really profit by war are now in the leading Ministries of the United States (including Defence); it will be interesting to see what these gentlemen are going to do lest peace breaks out.

#### OUR FOREMOST TASKS:

In the meantime it should remain the foremost tasks of the peace-loving peoples of South Africa and of the world today to demand an immediate end to the Korean war and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. We must call for the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the United Nations Organisation. We must mobilise South African opinion in solidarity with the Asian people in their struggle against the American policy of "Asians fight Asians".

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## THE "QUALIFIED" VOTE.

By A.P. O'DOM.

Once Cecil Rhodes was asked to define in a sentence his policy for South Africa. Without thinking about it very much, he replied, "Equal rights for all white men south of the Zambesi". If or someone pointed out that the African voters of the Cape would not like the use of the phrase "white men", so Rhodes, or someone acting on his behalf, amended the slogan to read, "Equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambesi". Thus originated the slogan which has since come to be regarded as epitomising the Cape Liberal tradition. It is often described as Rhodes' policy, but if Rhodes ever adhered to it at all, which is doubtful, he did so as a temporary election manoeuvre which he soon forgot about.

What was the concrete expression of this famous Liberal tradition? It was the carefully regulated "qualified franchise" by which African and Coloured men who passed certain tests were allowed to be voters. The tests did not remain always the same. They were raised from time to time in order to ensure that there should always be a comfortable white majority. The qualified franchise was in fact a rich man's franchise, and due care was taken to see that the rich remained mostly white.

The Cape Liberal system was merely a chapter in the history of white supremacy and white exploitation in South Africa. It was a less grim chapter than others and its closing was a matter for regret. Nevertheless it was not different in kind from the other systems of white rule which existed then and have existed since.

There is to-day a movement afoot to revive the slogan of "Equal rights for all civilised men" and to replace the "qualified franchise" which once existed in the Cape. The movement is finding some support among Europeans who have been taught by the events of the last few years that some change in South Africa's political set-up is necessary.

Its/....

Its supporters raise a number of arguments in favour of their policy as against the non-European liberatory movement's demand for full equality.

Firstly, they say that it is impossible to grant the franchise to uneducated people because such people do not understand how to vote or what issues are at stake in an election. This is an argument which, thirty years ago, would have had to be refuted by elaborate theoretical answers. Today, it can be very briefly disposed of. The franchise was granted to illiterate people in the early years of the Soviet Union; it has since been granted to illiterate people in India, Nigeria and the Gold Coast. In none of these countries has chaos resulted. The fact is that uneducated people often display more common sense about politics than semi-educated ones.

Then it is said that the qualified franchise must be adopted as an immediate objective because European opinion will not countenance anything more radical. There are two answers to this argument. Firstly, European opinion will not support even the qualified franchise until it is forced to do so. Secondly, Europeans will have to reconcile themselves in the end to the universal franchise, and the sooner they are familiarised with the idea, the better. The time is past when the Europeans, merely by saying "We do not wish it", could permanently hold up the progress of South Africa.

Lastly the fear is expressed that if large numbers of Africans are immediately enfranchised, they will vote as an African nationalist bloc, with the result that racial hostility will be increased. This is certainly a real danger, but the only way to combat it is to abolish discrimination as quickly and completely as possible. The danger of African Chauvinism will remain and increase as long as the legitimate national aspirations of the Africans are thwarted. If we do not wish to see African nationalist blocs operating in our political system, the most obvious step to take is to deprive such blocs of their reason for existence by ending national oppression.

It is not out of stubbornness or impractical idealism that the non-European peoples' movements demand full equality.

and reject any lesser concession. Their demand is based not only on democratic principles which are accepted the world over, but also on the hard facts of South African history. We have had qualified franchises before. While they lasted, they did little to improve the lot of the mass of the people. They did not last permanently because they created a privileged minority which was able at any time to take such steps as it saw fit to entrench its position more strongly. Power in the hands of a minority is usually abused. So it proved in South Africa before and so it is likely to prove again. The only way to build a real, stable democracy in South Africa is by adhering simply and honestly to democratic principles.

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WAR AGAINST KENYA.

By Hilda Bernstein.

Militarily and economically, Kenya is one of Whitehall's most valuable colonies.

It is strategically important as a corridor down the east coast of Africa from Britain's Middle East bases to her southern ally, South Africa. It is being built as a rear base for forces centred on the Suez Canal, and is a corridor between the Indian Ocean and the important central African areas round Lake Victoria.

Kenya exports, based on cheap labour, are valuable to Britain, and Kenya in return is a market for British goods.

Who is responsible for the terrorism in Kenya today? The Kenya African Union is the leading organisation fighting for the interests of the people in Kenya. There are believed to be 100,000 paid up members of the K.A.U. In its 15-point programme, the K.A.U. demands human rights, genuine elections, land for the Africans, equal education, democracy, equal pay, free trade unions, the repeal of repressive legislation.

Its six leaders are charged with organising the Mau Mau, a secret society engaged in conspiracy. The Government claims the Mau Mau is an anti-white terror organisation directed by the K.A.U. and its leader, Jomo Kenyatta.

There is doubt about the actual existence of the Mau Mau. It may be that such a terrorist organisation does exist - a sort of Stern gang of the African struggle. Yet even so, its influence must be very small. After months of newspaper headlines of Mau Mau terror, the Kenya Government announced that the Mau Mau had murdered nine Europeans and 193 Africans, while troops and police had killed 121 people, rounded up thousands more into concentration camps, imposed the terrible system of communal "punishment" on the people, depriving thousands of their bread-winners, their crops and land, their stock, their means of livelihood. In a newspaper report headed 'New Violence breaks out in Kenya', it is reported that a police patrol fired on 300 natives, including 100 women, holding an

illegal/.....

illegal meeting.

There is war today on Kenya's people. In 10 days alone, 3,600 Africans were arrested in a mass drive on the Aberdare mountains. Companies of the King's African Rifles and platoons of the Kenya Regiment beat their way through jungle, arresting every African they found. In other areas, thousands are 'detained' for questioning. In one raid on the Rift Valley, 7 Africans were arrested because a dead dog was found strung up in the area. Another time mass arrests were carried out because Africans were seen brandishing sticks at a passing plane. Lancashire Fusiliers patrol at night and shoot on sight Kikuyu who break the curfew regulations. Police and reservists fire and burn out lush land plantations.

Is there anything more cruel than the days of office punishment, of impounding cattle, seizing crops, closing schools, depriving thousands of women and children of any form of livelihood?

How many of the nine Europeans killed during Kenya's emergency were actual victims of a secret society, and how many were ordinary criminal acts, it is not possible to say. What is true is that the fierce repression in Kenya today is NOT AIMED AT ANY SECRET SOCIETY. It is aimed at putting under lock and key anyone who can be regarded as a leader, organiser or spokesman of the people. It is a frame-up, designed with the object of suppressing completely the African Liberation Movement. It is a cover under which to destroy the Kenya Africa Union, whose leaders were arrested without a shred of evidence against them.

### THE LAND QUESTION:

Behind the war between British imperialism and the people that is today being waged (at a cost of £250,000 a day!) is the basic issue of land. Kenya is an overwhelmingly agrarian country - more than 95 per cent of the population depend on agriculture for a living.

In Kenya the process of land expropriation or 'alienation' that began in South Africa 300 years ago, has been compressed into fifty years. In 1901 there were only 13 white settlers

in/.....

in Kenya. Today there are 30,000 and 2,000 of them hold 50,000 of Kenya's finest land, while over five million Africans farm 50,000 square miles of second-best land. In the space of nine years - from 1905 to 1914 - 4,400,000 acres of land were alienated.

The 'alienation' was swift and brutal. The land of the Kikuyu, the most fertile and best watered, was raped first. They lost nearly 500,000 acres. 100,000 Kikuyus found themselves as squatters on European-owned land - land that had for generations belonged to their fore-fathers. Many of the rest were forced through land shortage to become labourers to the new settlers.

The Kamba lost 300,000 acres of their most fertile land. The Masai lost most of all. They were deprived of their normal grazing lands by a series of tricks and broken promises that have few parallels in history. After a series of incidents during which the Masai protested strenuously at concessions of their land given to white settlers, the Government made a treaty with them in 1904, by which the settlers were allowed to cultivate specific parts of land in the Rift valley. The settlers soon began to demand more, and the Government turned the Masai out, transferring them to the border of Tanganyika. So the treaty was broken, and the Masai were robbed of the best of their land.

Agricultural labourers enter on contracts which entail their absence from the reserves for many months of the year. The law allows for children of all ages to be employed in agriculture, with only one safeguard - that children under 10 years must be accompanied by a relative. The tea estates, the Nyanza gold mines, the sisal and coffee plantations employ much juvenile labour.

Africans are driven off the land left to them by a system of hut and poll taxes, similar to those in South Africa. Their former method of shifting cultivation is no longer possible in the reserves because of land shortage; so the land is continually under crops, becomes exhausted, and this leads to erosion. The fact that so many adult males must leave the reserves to work elsewhere for a wage more than many of the heavy farming

task/...

tasks essential to good farming - the draining and fencing, for instance - are neglected, and poor farming methods add to the erosion.

The old cry - so familiar in this country - is levelled at the Africans: that their land is overstocked. Forcible culling increases the peoples' bitter resentment.

### WAGE WORKERS AND 'KIPANDE'.

No African in Kenya can work without a kipande - a registration certificate, the hated 'pass'. The kipande serves the same purpose as the pass in South Africa. It must be carried always, produced on demand.

There has been some growth of industry in Kenya in recent years. Wages are usually kept below subsistence level, based on the myth that the African worker obtains partial support from his family left in the reserves. In 1944, skilled workers earned an average of 45 shillings a month, unskilled 10 to 25 shillings.

Domestic labour is an important part of Kenya's economy. The economist Varga observed that one feature of imperialism in decay is a tendency for workers to 'pass over from the sphere of production into the sphere of circulation and into the personal service of the ruling class'. This is strikingly confirmed in Kenya. In 1945, 12% of all Africans employed outside the reserves were in domestic service. In that year there was an average of one servant for almost every white man, woman and child in Kenya.

Labour was conscripted in Kenya during the war, and this war conscription fixed the maximum number of male servants in Nairobi as three for a household of one adult, four for a household of two adults.

### HOW KENYA IS GOVERNED.

In Kenya today there are 30,000 Europeans, 24,000 Arabs, 100,000 Indians, and 5,250,000 Africans.

The Governor, appointed in London, has effective power.

He/....

He is advised, but not controlled, by an Executive Council of four Europeans.

The 'Parliament' is a Legislative Council, on which Europeans have 39 representatives, Indians 6, Arabs 2, and the Africans 6 - all the African members are nominated, not elected.

All local Government is run by Europeans, except in certain areas where local Native Councils run by chiefs friendly to the Government, are allowed to operate. But they have inadequate funds, and depend entirely upon the District Commissioners.

The Governor is usually appointed for five years, and depends largely on civil servants, drawn from upper-class British families.

Even the European section of the Legislative Council can hardly be called democratic. They are elected, it is true, but only a small percentage of the settlers are registered voters. In the General Election of 1944, for instance, the total number of votes cast was 1,465.

Typical of the members of the Legislative Council is Colonel E.S. Croghan, oldest member - 78 years old. He declared last November: "If this is rebellion, and obviously it is, then anyone taking part in it is guilty of treason and the proper punishment for that is to be hanged by the neck until dead."

The Colonel added: "About 100 of these rascals" should be charged with treason, and 25% of them hanged in front of the remainder, who should be sent back to the reserves "to tell the joyful news to the others."

### AFRICANS AND THE LAND.

Kenya is overwhelmingly an agrarian country - more than 95% of the population depend on agriculture for a living.

### LABOUR STRUGGLES.

1922 saw the first general strike in Kenya. Since then there has been a continuous history of labour

struggles..

struggles and attempted organisation. The 1922 strikers, who sat outside police headquarters in Nairobi holding prayer meetings and demanding the release of their leader, were fired on by the police, and the dead and wounded lay in the streets of Nairobi. The Chairman of the organisation - the East African Association - was deported without a trial.

There were two general strikes in Mombasa, in 1939 and 1944, which focussed attention on the deplorable living conditions, the terrible housing, starvation wages, long hours worked, and the infringement by employers of their legal obligations. The findings of a Commission of enquiry were kept secret, but African chiefs were hurried down to pacify the workers.

Another general strike in Mombasa in 1947 lasted for twelve days.

The East African Association was declared illegal, its leaders penalised. But the idea of union had taken hold among the people, and where they could not organise openly, they organised underground.

In 1948, 2,000 transport workers struck for 16 days. In 1950 there was a general strike in Nairobi in protest against the arrest of the secretary and president of the East African Trades Union Congress, formed the previous year. This organisation too, is now illegal.

### EDUCATION.

Education in Kenya has always been largely in the hands of the missionaries. When the land was opened up, the missionaries poured in to set about converting the heathen, and established schools to teach the catechism and the bible. Missionaries remained entrenched as the chief agents of African education, ensuring that the vast majority of Africans would never be educated, and those who were would be protected against 'dangerous ideas'.

Education for Europeans is compulsory from 7 to 15.

Indian/.....

High education is now compulsory for all Indian boys in towns. Not more than 18% of African children receive any education at all, while no more than .03% (in 1943) received junior secondary standard.

For every shilling the Government spends on an African child at school, 150 are spent on the European child (1945 figures). The expenditure on children of school age is even more revealing - £75.6 per head each year on Europeans, and on Africans 500 times less - 3.07 shillings.

A large proportion of African schools are sub-elementary. Many are bush schools, where the teachers have little education and no training and the schools are rarely visited. Even in elementary schools, such education is devoted to cultivating small garden plots and simple handicrafts, and the children emerge barely literate.

In 1930, an important movement started among the Africans to establish their own schools, independent of the missions. The Africans demanded secular schools, run either by the Africans themselves or by the Government. Three Native Councils actually voted £20,000 to establish such schools, and the Africans offered £200,000 in maintenance and capital costs. The reply of the Government was to throw all the weight behind the missions.

The Africans retaliated by setting up schools independent of Government and mission. The wrath of the authorities was great. Local Native Councils were prevented from making direct grants to these schools. Inspectors were hurried around to declare them unsatisfactory.

With restricted funds, and the target of much abuse, yet these independent schools progressed. In five years, 43 were established. By 1946, more than 100 were being maintained by the community, and in 1952, 300.

Everywhere else, except among the Kikuyu, opposition to the mission schools was overcome. But because imperialism chooses the mission as its instrument against independent

by subject matter, the Kikuyu independent school movement represented far more than a revolt against the teachings of a particular mission. It was a landmark of

the independent schools have been closed - on the pretext that they are "Mau Mau" institutions.

### KEY CONCEPT:

Africa is important in the world today. Too much of the world has been lost to the speculators, lost to capitalism. First a sixth of the world went out of their hands for all time - and they have never ceased trying to get it back. Then large areas of highly-industrialised Europe went over to the side of socialism and peace. And after that the vast lands of China, with its huge population and the oldest civilisation in the world.

All Asia is in ferment. India is no longer the happy hunting ground for British imperialism, the treasure house that it once was. Malaya cannot be wrested from its own peoples, in spite of all the might of modern military weapons and power. Vietnam continues to resist the imperial invader. Korea has not succumbed to them, in spite of the most terrible war ever to be fought.

### What is left?

Africa is left, with its vast, still largely unexploited stores of wealth, its minerals and man-power. Africa is essential for those planning a third world war. Britain can no longer make the appearance of concessions to colonial peoples. The liberation movement of Kenya must be suppressed at all costs - as in South Africa. Under these conditions, the exercise of a Mau Mau, or of poisoned water or a school of fire-bugs - anything goes. And those who believe in progress and the development of all humanity cannot hesitate in taking sides.



## STALIN AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

by D. TLOOME.

Joseph Stalin was a man of great intellectual ability, a profound thinker. He had the greatest love for human beings. There is not a single sphere of the life of the people which escaped his attention.

One of these was his famous work on the National and Colonial question. Joseph Stalin himself was born a member of an oppressed nationality. He was a Georgian, and under the Czarist empire, the Georgian people were treated with the same sort of contempt and bitter persecution, which we non-South Africans are familiar with in South Africa. He was, therefore, particularly interested in the problems of national emancipation. But Stalin did not approach these problems as a nationalist. His loyalty was to the working class of all countries, and he examined the problems of nationalism from the point of view of their relationship to the international labour movement.

Nations, he said arose from a particular period of history - the period of Capitalism. But not all nations were equally developed. Those which were more advanced, colonised and oppressed the people of other countries. Basing himself on the theory of Marx, that, "no nation which oppresses others can itself be free", Stalin declared that the labour movement in the dominant countries must positively ally itself with the national liberation movements in the colonies. They had a common enemy - Imperialism. But to form such an alliance, the working class had to adopt a positive policy on the whole question of relations between nations.

### IMPERIALISM.

"Imperialism cannot live without violence and plunder, without bloodshed and shooting," wrote Stalin.

"That is the law of capitalism - to beat the weak and backward. The wolf law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak, therefore you are in the wrong, therefore you can be beaten and subjugated. You are powerful, therefore

you/....

... are in the right, therefore one must beware of you."

In his last classic work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," he showed how the basic economic law of modern capitalism, the search for maximum profit

"through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries. ... It is precisely the necessity of securing the maximum profits that drives monopoly capitalism to such risky undertakings as the enslavement and systematic plunder of colonies and other backward countries."

Considering current events in Kenya, we may remember Stalin's words of 1927, on the occasion of the British-backed coup d'état of Chiang Kai-shek.

"British capitalism has always been, is, and will continue to be the most vile executioner of popular revolutions."

### "LABOUR" IMPERIALISTS.

Stalin sharply attacked and exposed the type of "Labour" and "Socialist" leaders in Britain, France, and elsewhere who supported imperialism in oppressing colonial peoples. In their theory, he said:

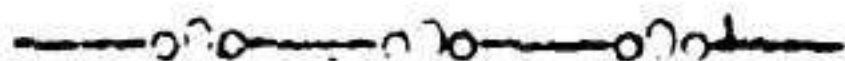
"It was tacitly assumed that although it might be necessary to strive for the emancipation of the European non-sovereign nationalities, it was entirely unnecessary for 'Labour' Socialists to speak seriously of the emancipation of the colonies, which were 'necessary' for the 'production' of raw materials."

"These apologies for Socialists did not even suspect that the abolition of national oppression in Europe is inconceivable without the emancipation of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa from

the oppression of imperialism."

In this sphere Stalin asserted the right of nations to self-determination. He outlined that the right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right forcibly to interfere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate its habits and customs, to oppress its language or curtail its rights. He proclaimed that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will, has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal. He showed how the policy of repression passes from a system of oppression to a system of inciting nations against each other; how in the absence of elementary civil rights - limitation of freedom of movement, disfranchisement - such a policy could assume terrifying proportions, and threatens to drown the cause of the unity of the workers in blood and tears.

Stalin left no room for doubt about the need for national equality in all forms - language, schools, etc. - as an essential element in the solution of the national problem. In this respect he strongly asserted that a state-law based on complete equality in the country was required, prohibiting all national privileges without exception, all kinds of disabilities and restrictions on the rights of national groups.



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