

**IN AFRICA TODAY:**

# IS COMMUNISM A REAL



**TOM MBOYA WITH KENYA CROWD: IT IS NATIONALISM, NOT COMMUNISM, THAT IS SWEEPING AFRICA**

**E**VER since the end of Great World War II, when Russia ceased to be a glorious ally of the West, the prophets of doom have wailed their warnings about Communism. No year passes without some new allusion to the "Red menace."

What is this "Communism" that people are so worried about? Some politicians use the word for anything they don't like, or are afraid of. The word is used in such varied ways that it is impossible to discuss it without some definition.

First, there are some things that Communism is not. It is not African Nationalism, democratic Socialism or passive resistance. A person who criticises a government is not necessarily a Communist.

A Communist is someone who holds certain rigid political beliefs. He wants an all-powerful state where all men are its equal servants. He does not mind what means are used to achieve his ends. He thinks that violence is probably necessary to attain his ends. He believes passionately in his Party, and wishes people who oppose it to be first subordinated, and then exterminated. He dedicates himself to the job of helping his Party gain control of the key positions in the state—especially in the trade unions, in industry and the civil service.

How far has Communism penetrated into

Africa? Ever since the war there have been large scale condemnations of Communism in Africa. Some of them have been directed against the *real* thing, but even more have been attacks on people and organisations to which the authorities were opposed—and which they liked to name as "Communist."

## No Communist Country in Africa

Sir Roy Welensky has been the most vociferous anti-Communist champion since the days of Senator McCarthy. His speeches continually refer to Russia's interest in Africa. In South Africa the government has done everything in its power to squash Communism or anything that looks vaguely like it. Kenya settlers in 1952 claimed that Mau Mau was "Communist-inspired."

Despite all this, the position today is that there is not a single Communist country on the whole continent of Africa. There is not one country, white or black, that has a sizeable Communist Party in it. There is no Communist trade union anywhere in Africa which does not have still more powerful non-Communist rivals.

But this does not mean that Communism is not making every effort to expand its influence in Africa. Russia sees far more

prospect now of winning over small independent nations, than it did of introducing Communism into the colonies.

Perhaps the most significant news is that arms and ammunition have been pouring into Guinea recently from countries in Communist Europe. Observers think an agreement may have been concluded between Guinea and Russia to provide arms and instructors.

In recent weeks Russia has made a deliberate effort to become friendly with Ghana, Liberia and the Congo. Ambassadors are now being exchanged between Russia and the two former countries, and Mr. Krushchev and Dr. Nkrumah have agreed to exchange visits. East Germany has agreed to educate Ghanaian students. Russia is also strengthening its economic ties with Ethiopia and has agreed to provide credit for an oil refinery at Assab, while Yugoslavia is helping with Assab port's development and planning. The Russians are also providing a 400,000,000-ruble low-interest loan, part of which will be used for a technical school, and the Czechs are helping with an arms factory.

But before these developments are taken as positive signs of Russian penetration, it must be remembered that Guinea, Ghana and Ethiopia, have all got strong ties with the West and it is only natural that Russia should want to have diplomatic relations with the

Alan Rake carefully examines the often repeated warning that Communism is on the march in Africa. He finds that the Communists are trying hard, but they are making little progress in the face of vigorous African nationalism, which is defeating Communism everywhere.

# THREAT?

## CHART INDICATING COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

Country	Any Trace of Communist influence on Government through:							Any Trace of Communist influence on citizens through:								TOTAL COMMUNISM EACH COUNTRY	
	GOVERNMENT	LEGISLATURE	MAJOR POLITICAL PARTY	ECONOMIC AID	MILITARY AID	EDUCATIONAL AID	POLITICAL TIES	MINOR POLITICAL PARTY	MAJORITY TRADE UNIONS	MINORITY TRADE UNIONS	MAJORITY CITIZENS	MINORITY CITIZENS	ECONOMIC AID TO CITIZENS	MILITARY AID TO MINORITY	POLITICAL TIES WITH CITIZENS		EDUCATIONAL AID TO CITIZENS
<i>Federalist</i> EGYPT																	9
ALGERIA																	5
TUNIS																	3
ETHIOPIA																	5
KENYA																1	
UGANDA																	4
CONGO																	6
U.R.A.C.																	4
CAMEROUN																	5
GHANA																	3
LIBERIA																	0
IVORY COAST																	3
MALI																	3
GUINEA																	9
S. AFRICA																	1

**KEY TO COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN COUNTRIES ABOVE**

- 1 — 6 Communism negligible
- 7 — 11 Little influence
- 11 — 14 Communism influential
- 14 — 16 Communist dominated

Communist points in the table indicate any sign of influence no matter how small or trivial. Some countries may have only the slightest contact with Communism and yet have a point. Thus a country which sends a single student to a Communist bloc country gets a point in the Education column. A country which receives £10 gets a point in the Economic Aid column. Countries not listed have so little contact with Communism they are not worth mentioning.

new Congo state. Ethiopia still has more American than Communist experts in the country, and was one of the first nations to send its troops to fight the Communists in Korea. Sekou Touré, of Guinea, has also been trying to get military assistance from the West.

Dr. Nkrumah is anxious to maintain friendly relations with Britain and the Commonwealth countries. He is also the father of the

Pan-African Movement which is suspicious of attempts by Arabs and the East to dominate Africa.

What are the other factors that give people headaches about Communism in Africa? One of the chief worries has been the strength of Communist ideology in the unknown French colonies. At one stage the Communists were well-organised, particularly in the trade unions of Senegal, the Ivory

Coast and the French Cameroons. The trade unions and the political parties were closely attached to parallel Communist unions and parties in France. But in 1950 M. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the Premier of the Ivory Coast, decided to break his R.D.A. Party's alliance with the Communists and to form an African Nationalist Party loyal to the French community.

PLEASE TURN OVER

People at the top care for their skin  
with Vaseline Blue Seal



**MRS. ELIZABETH MBATHA, B.A.**  
teaches at High School in Springs, and is well-known throughout South Africa for the part she plays in many Women's Organisations. She says: "Through my various activities I meet women from all over the country. They often ask me how I keep my skin so smooth. The answer is simple. I use pure Vaseline Blue Seal — it's the best way I know to stop my skin ever getting rough and dry."

keep your skin  
soft and smooth

with **pure**  
**Vaseline\***  
**BLUE SEAL**  
PETROLEUM JELLY



Use Vaseline Blue Seal for your hair, too

Keeps it soft, shiny black, easy to comb ...  
gets rid of that dry, dusty look.

\* Vaseline is a registered trade mark of Chesebrough-Pond's Inc

VPJ4015/3

## MOST AFRICAN LEADERS CONDEMN COMMUNISM:



**DR. KWAME NKUMAH**

Has warned about dangers of "other imperialisms" besides Western colonialism. Anxious to retain British, Commonwealth friendship for his country.



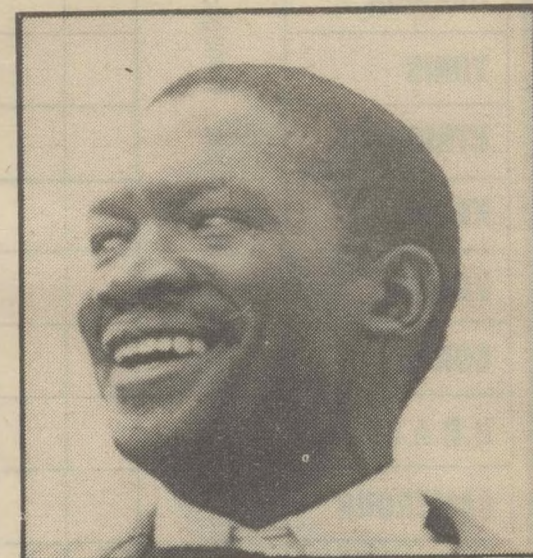
**SIR ABUBAKAR BALEWA**

The Nigerian leader is one of the most steadfastly anti-Communist leaders in emergent Africa. A firm democrat, nationalist. Mistrusts the Communists.



**MR. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY**

Premier in the Ivory Coast. He led many French Africans away from Communism, towards nationalism, friendship with France, and Western values.



**MR. MANGALISO SOBUKWE**

He thought the A.N.C. was being infiltrated by Communists. One of the reasons he broke away with the Pan Africanist movement in South Africa.

The result of this break with the Communists was dramatic. The Communist Party was against the De Gaulle constitution in 1958, but pro-Communist parties only gained 1.4 per cent of the votes in the Ivory Coast, and less than three per cent in Senegal. The African political parties had dramatically swept aside their affiliations to the French Communists in order to form their own nationalist parties.

The interesting thing is that it was the resurgence of African nationalism which smashed Communism. This is similar in many respects to the sudden growth of the Pan-Africanists in South Africa. A party that was militantly African nationalist showed itself keen to cut away from the A.N.C.'s co-operation with allegedly Communist-dominated organisations. This is in flat contradiction of the efforts commonly made to argue that African Nationalism is only Communism in another form.

The only place in old French Africa where the Communists retain some influence is in the now free Cameroon Republic.

The Communist Party has been banned since 1955, but Communists are probably now helping the insurgents.

There is possibly more danger in the reliance of some African political parties on funds from Egypt and possibly Russia. Joseph Kiwanuka has received large subsidies from Egypt for his wing of the Uganda National Congress. There are Kenya and Uganda students in Cairo backing those African political parties which are most sympathetic to Communism against the others. At the All-African People's Conference at Tunis this year, numbers of the delegates were approached by the Russians who offered to fly them for free tours behind the Iron Curtain. They also promised that they would not stamp their passports, so that the British colonial authorities would not find out about their visits. But all Africans who spoke to me say they refused this glorious offer of a free holiday and V.I.P. treatment.

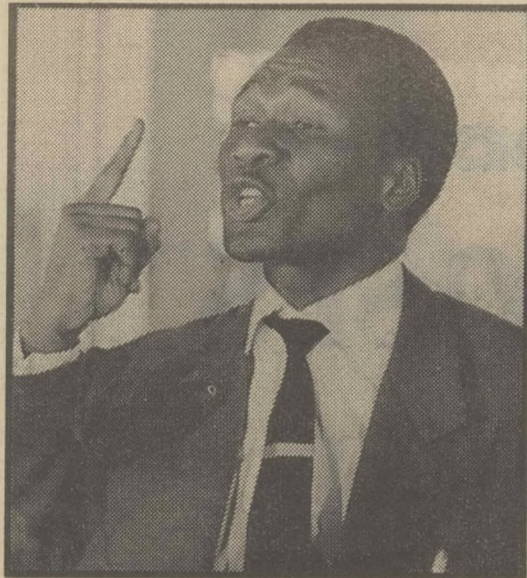
Another major worry for the West has been the trend at Pan-African conferences. The Afro-Asian conference has moved from Cairo in 1955 to Conakry in

# ONLY A FEW HAVE COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS



**DR. FELIX MOUMIÉ**

One of the few who spends most of his time in Cairo, Peking and Moscow. Behind trouble in Cameroon Republic.



**MR. SEKOU TOURÉ**

There are more signs of Communist influence in Guinea than in most countries. Sekou Toure plays both East, West.

Guinea, 1960. This has been taken as a sign that the Communists are opening a new front in West Africa, but in fact, their influence seems to be growing weaker as it is challenged by the stronger appeal of African nationalism.

Egypt is the country which the West likes to associate most closely with Communism. Both Russia and Egypt are behind the Afro-Asian conferences, and Egypt has accepted Russian and Eastern European economic and military aid. But the Communist Party has been banned in Egypt since 1953. All property of known Party members has been confiscated, and leaders have been tried and imprisoned.

In the African trade union sphere, the influence of Communism pales into insignificance compared with the influence of Western (particularly American) trade unions. Most of the major trade unions are affiliated to the American-orientated International Confedera-

tion of Free Trade Unions. Only a tiny number of unimportant unions belong to the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is a Communist-dominated body. As time goes on, the trade union body which is likely to gain most ground in Africa is the All-African Trade Union Federation. This is, as the name implies, a totally African body.

No place in Africa is so officially anti-Communist as the Union. Talk about Communism flourishes, and yet the Communist Party has never been active since the war. Nowadays those white and Indian organisations which still have Communist ties are ineffective. Some of them have been made powerless by the Government. Others have become hopelessly disillusioned with Communism, and have splintered away from the Party over Hungary and other issues.

But the worst fate for South Africa's Communists is that they have lost support of nationalists.

PLEASE TURN OVER



**DEATH IN THE CAMEROON REPUBLIC**

Probably the only trouble spot in Africa where blame can be laid on the Communists, is the Cameroon Republic. They assist rebel forces.

## The Businessman says:



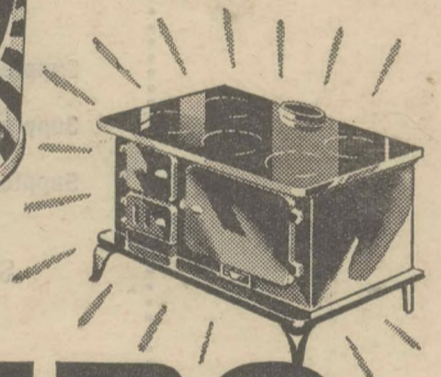
I sell stoves and I know all about them. The best way to keep your stove bright and beautiful is to polish it with ZEBO. My wife always does.



For a beautiful Black shine

For a dazzling Black shine

For a wonderful Quick shine



# ZEBO

Liquid Stove polish

OUTSHINES THEM ALL!

PNB4068-2N



**FIGHTING MAU MAU**

It was often claimed that Mau Mau was Communist-inspired, but there is no factual evidence to show that this claim is true.

One of the reasons for the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress was that the A.N.C. had been infiltrated to some extent with Communists. It is significant that Robert Sobukwe, leader of the most militant banned African organisation, should be strongly anti-Communist. He has repeatedly said that "Communism has been most unfortunate in its choice of representatives in South Africa." These are hardly words that will warm the hearts of the Red politicians.

It is this attitude of Sobukwe, added to the well-known views of Tom Mboya, Dr. Nkrumah, the French African leaders—even President Nasser—which shows that Communism has no major appeal when compared with African nationalism. African nationalism is the expression of the people's desire for freedom. It is the awakening of the "African personality" in the struggle to achieve recognition as human beings. It is these things which increasingly matter in Africa, not the worn-out and foreign doctrine of Communism.

The most significant thing about this rising African nationalism is that it has never been in alliance with Communism. On the contrary, it has been its most deadly enemy. Wherever Communist influence has made itself felt, African leaders have won the people away by offering them African nationalism instead.

There are signs that independent African countries are prepared to accept Communist economic aid, but this is only when aid from the West is lacking.

The popular idea is that countries like Egypt and Guinea are making themselves "pawns of Communism" by accepting their help. But the truth is the other way round, for these countries are only prepared to milk the Communist cow as long as it makes no demands on them. A cow's job is to yield food quietly. If it does not, it can be done away with.

It is inevitable that, if one looks closely enough, some signs of Communism can be found in Africa, as

**Like looking for ghosts**

anywhere else—but its influence is minute compared with that still exercised by the British, French or even the Americans. For every Communist-orientated political party or trade union, there are dozens of Western-type parties. For every Communist sympathiser, there are hundreds of African nationalists.

When the facts of Communist penetration are examined, it is remarkable the amount of fuss about so little fact. It is evident that any form of reaction—whether colonialism, imperialism or dictatorship—will naturally try to pin the stigma of Communism on genuine democrats, liberals and African nationalists.

Looking for Communism in Africa is rather like looking for a ghost. People talk about it. They weave theories round it. They tell you it is powerful, dangerous, evil—but when you look for it yourself, you either find nothing at all, or something very different from the reality of Communism.

Only Palmolive gives you this choice!



**NEW PINK PALMOLIVE**—made with rich Pink Beauty Cream



**FAMOUS GREEN PALMOLIVE**—made with pure, smooth Beauty Oils



2 lovely colours...

*each with a different beauty treatment...*

to bring new beauty to your complexion!

For the first time ever, you can choose a beauty soap made especially for *your* complexion! Glamorous new Pink Palmolive Soap, made with rich Pink Beauty Cream, or famous Green Palmolive Soap, made with pure, smooth Beauty Oils. Try the colour your love, with the beauty treatment that's best for *your* skin... New Palmolive's rich, creamy lather cream-

softens your skin—leaves it so smooth, so lovely!

**Doctors prove Palmolive's 14-day Beauty Plan can give you a lovelier complexion**... every morning and evening, smooth Palmolive's rich, creamy lather into your skin for 60 seconds. Rinse off and dry... from the very first day, Palmolive brings new beauty to your complexion!

**START PALMOLIVE'S BEAUTY PLAN TODAY**

with new Pink Palmolive or famous Green Palmolive

**Collection Number: AD1715**

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation*

*Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

©2013

**LEGAL NOTICES:**

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.