

No.7 2023

The **Kenya** SOCIALIST

A photograph of a person holding a flag with black, white, green, and red stripes. The person is looking upwards. The background shows a city with buildings. The flag is the central focus of the image.

The Palestine Question

CLAIM TO BE PAN-AFRICANIST? ZIONISM IS A LITMUS TEST

ZIONISM IS GENOCIDE

SOLIDARITY STATEMENTS



Never Be Silent Simama Imara

The Kenya Socialist is published by Vita Books, Nairobi, Kenya.
Editors: Shiraz Durrani and Kimani Waweru
December 2023

Uni.Way House, Second Floor, University Way
Next to Lilian Towers Hotel
P.O. Box 746-00200
Nairobi
Kenya
info.vitabkske@gmail.com
<http://vitabooks.co.ke>

The Kenya Socialist aims to encourage free flow of information, knowledge and discussion which can lead to a better understanding of socialism. It will seek to:

- Promote socialist ideas, experiences and world outlook
- Increase awareness of classes, class contradictions and class struggles in Kenya, both historical and current
- Expose the damage done by capitalism and imperialism in Kenya and Africa
- Offer solidarity to working class, peasants and other working people and communities in their struggles for equality and justice
- Promote internationalism and work in solidarity with people in Africa and around the world in their resistance to imperialism
- Make explicit the politics of information and communication as tools of repression and also of resistance in Kenya

The Kenya Socialist welcomes submission of relevant articles (normally up to 5,000 words) - send to The Editors at info.vitabkske@gmail.com. The submissions will be reviewed and the Editors reserve the right not to publish.

Vita Books or the Editors do not necessary agree with the views of contributors.

The Kenya Socialist is available at: <https://thekenyasocialist.org/>

Paper copies are available from African Books Collective (ABC)
<https://www.africanbookscollective.com/publishers/vita-books>

ISBN 978-9914-9701-4-2 (eBook)
ISBN 978-9914-9701-5-9 (Paper)

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL: We are All Palestinians	01
ARTICLES	
The Palestine Question – Let us know the Truth and Give Solidarity to Palestinians in their Struggle	02
Claim to be Pan-Africanist? Zionism is a Litmus Test	10
The Struggle for Palestine is the Struggle of Working People Worldwide	12
Until Everyone is Free, or Why You Should Care about the Occupation of Palestine	17
Zionism, Settler-colonialism and the Myth of Democracy	19
The Kenya Palestine Solidarity Movement	21
Kenyans For Palestine	22
The Young Communist League of Kenya	23
Pan African Socialist Alliance (PASA) Statement in Solidarity with Palestinian People.	24
Two Paths Ahead Reviewed	25
List of Books	28

Editorial

We are All Palestinians

While thousands of people in Kenya and Britain march to condemn Israel for its genocidal attacks on Palestine, the rulers of both countries side with Israel and give it material and/or moral support for its inhuman actions. Even the opposition Labour Party in Britain competes with the ruling Conservative Party in expressing its solidarity with the actions of Israel. The current situation has exposed the contradictions between US imperialism and its people, between the ruling classes and working people around the world, between the isolated imperialism-created 'Israel' and world opinion as expressed in many resolutions at the UN and millions of people on the streets around the world.

There are demonstrations in many countries around the world against the Israeli attacks on Palestine. Its illegal occupation of Palestine has stretched into decades. The very creation of Israel was based on stealing Palestinian lands and massacring or exiling its people.

This issue of *The Kenya Socialist* (TKS) focuses on occupied Palestine and the genocide carried out there by Israel, USA, and its allies, particularly Britain. The atrocities committed are difficult to report adequately as reporters are often killed to prevent such news. However, we carry some illustrations of the resistance to the Zionist attacks on Palestine.

The conflict in Gaza has been characterised by a lot of media manipulation, with Israel and its allies steering narratives to obscure the reality of a genocide taking place through mainstream media. In a span of just two months, the Israeli government has carried out attacks resulting in the death of thousands of Palestinians in Gaza, many being children and women. The indiscriminate nature of the attacks, which have claimed the lives of civilians, unequivocally constitutes war crimes under international law. Israel in its pursuit of military attacks, has dropped over 25,000 tonnes of explosives — equivalent to approximately 1.5 times the explosive force of the bomb unleashed on Hiroshima during the Second World War.

As the conflict persists, there has been great effort

on narrative control wielded by Israel and its allies — the categorising of those who advocate a ceasefire as terrorists. In the annals of 2023, it will be recorded that, alarmingly, a call for peace was equated with a call for genocide. This distortion of language and intent not only impedes progress toward a peaceful resolution but also contributes to a situation where Israel is not held accountable for its actions.

Compounding the issue, the United Kingdom and its allies have taken measures to attempt to ban the use of the phrase and chant “From the river to the sea,” misconstruing it as a call for genocide. This phrase, historically significant in the Palestinian struggle, has now become a victim of misinterpretation and censorship. The repercussions of such actions extend beyond mere linguistic control, encroaching on the fundamental right to freedom of expression.

Further, owners in the tech industry have become complicit in this narrative manipulation. Elon Musk, the CEO of X (formerly Twitter), has declared an intent to ban the use of the phrase from its platform.

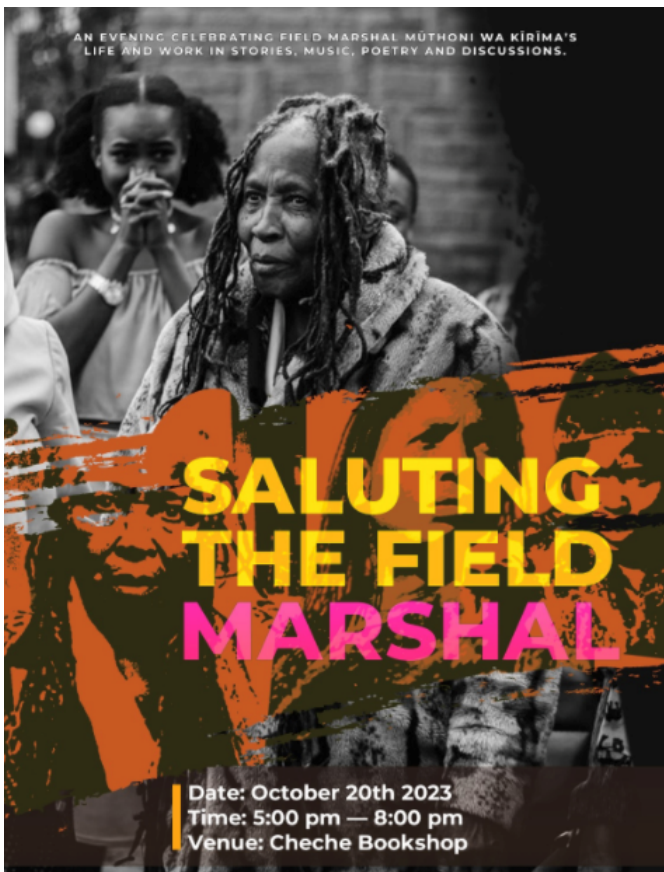
The stark contrast between the position of the ruling class and the people in Kenya is clear. While the government of President William Ruto welcomes Israeli aggression and massacres, the people of Kenya show clear opposition to the government's position through demonstrations and statements. The people, indeed, are aware of the real power behind the war.



Brazilian artist: Carlos Latuff



The full history of Kenyan resistance to imperialism and to the comprador rule imposed on the people has yet to be written. This is particularly necessary as key activists age and pass on, as did Mashujaa Micere Mugo, Field Marshal Muthoni and Professor Shadrack Gutto. The Editors of TKS express their condolences to their families and to comrades saddened by their deaths.



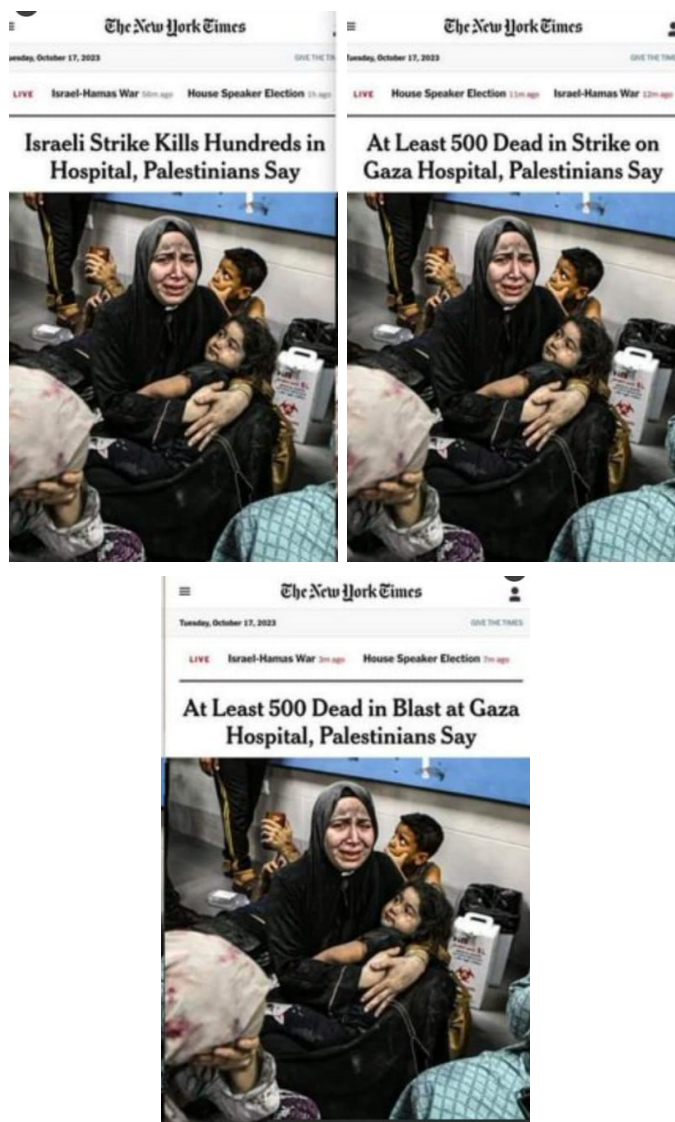
This issue of TKS ends with a review of the book, *Two Paths Ahead*, by John Graversgaard. Another review of the same book, by Tom Odhiambo, was carried in Issue No.6 of *The Kenya Socialist*. This indicates the need for further studies on the ideological struggle in Kenya between capitalism and socialism — a subject almost entirely ignored by researchers and historians.



The Palestine Question – Let us know the Truth and Give Solidarity to Palestinians in their Struggle

Introduction

The Palestinian question needs to be tackled soberly, devoid of anti-Palestinian propaganda channeled into the minds of people worldwide by some media. Big media around the world are headed by Jews¹ and, in many cases, unjustly promote versions of Zionism on the issue of the Jewish occupation of Palestinian land. A case in point is when the *New York Times* kept changing headlines after Israel bombed a hospital, killing hundreds of Palestinians. This was meant to promote the version of Israel that the killing resulted from a misfired rocket by the Palestinian Resistance forces and not the Israel army.



1 Blankfort J. Rense.com, [Online]. Available at: <https://rense.com/general60/stun.htm>, 12 June 2004 (Accessed: November 8, 2023)

The Kenyan media, on its part, continues to promote this version by copy pasting what comes out of the said media and feeding it to its citizens. Another group that has added confusion to the occupation is a section of the religious community, which has unquestioningly embraced the biblical (Old Testament) interpretation of the issue thus justifying Israeli illegal occupation of Palestinian land and the eviction, killing, and suppression of innocent Palestinians. It is no surprise to hear comments to the effect that Jews were blessed by God who promised them land in Palestine, and that they have a divine right to the land and it must not be given back to the Palestinians. Therefore, according to these groups, there is a need to seek the truth of the whole issue, which can be achieved by analyzing the facts objectively; by gathering evidence and facts that correspond to the actual situation in Palestine. One of the ways of doing this can be through revisiting the history of the region to understand the origin of the occupation. It is from this knowledge that the answers to the occupation will be found and could assist in bringing freedom to the oppressed.

History of Occupation

The Palestinian land was originally called Canaan in the early days and was the home to the Canaanites, who are today called Palestinians. About 3,500 years ago, the Semitic Hyksos (rulers of foreign lands), who had ruled Egypt for a hundred years, were expelled to Canaan where they conquered the land of Canaanites and called it Israel. In 135 AD, the name was changed to Palestine after Emperor Hadrian of the Roman Empire conquered it. In 1517, the Ottoman Empire captured the land and ruled it up to 1922 as its province. For centuries the land was inhabited by Jews, Christians and Palestinians, who were the majority (80%). They all lived in harmony with mosques, synagogues, and churches spread over the entire territory. A problem arose in the 1880s after the formation of a movement called Zionism, which campaigned for the creation of a Jewish nation in the land of Palestine. Its main argument was that Jews were for many centuries discriminated against and were frequently the target of murderous

pogroms and therefore this meant that Jews could never be accommodated by other countries, hence the solution was to have their own state. But one thing that needs to be understood is that the said pogroms were sponsored and organized by the ruling class to divide and keep down the oppressed and exploited. Examples of these are the massacres that occurred in Russia in the 18th century, which were a result of the Tsarist monarchy and the capitalists who had sowed the seed of discontent among the ignorant workers and peasants, and rallied them against the Jews. They did this to save the decaying monarchy and continue living off the wealth that was produced by the same workers and peasants. This is still prevalent even today among sections of leaders across the world who, when faced with a crisis resulting from their misrule, divide workers along ethnic and religious beliefs to make them passive to their predicament so that they can continue to exploit them.

Jews Migration

The idea of relocating Jews to Palestinian land, then under the Ottoman Empire, was not embraced by the majority of the Jews. Rather, the said Jews preferred to escape to other countries such as the USA. Many countries in Western Europe and the USA had opened their doors to Jews but the Zionist leadership, knowing too well that their scheme was to fail, frustrated such efforts. In 1884, the French government framed Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer, for treason, and convicted him. Though the officer was later acquitted, the Zionists used the case to justify their claim to land in Palestine. An Austro-Hungarian Zionist journalist by the name Theodor Herzl exaggerated the story to show that Jews could never be treated fairly even if they were assimilated by the world, and in this article insinuated that the creation of a Jewish state was the only solution. In 1886, he came up with a book-cum-manifesto entitled *The Jewish State* for the Zionist movement, and organized the Zionist first congress in 1897.

The Zionist movement continued to hold its congress meetings and it was during these meetings that it listed territories where its dream could be realized. Among the areas earmarked were Argentina, Palestine, Cyprus, parts of western Kenya and Eastern Uganda. Since the movement had used Jewish religion and tradition to justify their argument, they settled on Palestine. But it should be understood that the movement was purely secular

and it only used a religious argument to accomplish its mission.

The movement, then under the tutelage of Herzl, embarked on meeting people who mattered to negotiate with them Jewish resettlement on Palestinian land. Herzl visited the head of the Ottoman Empire and Russia, which was under the Tsar monarchy, and which had committed atrocities against the Jews. For him, it didn't matter who he was meeting provided his dream could be accomplished.

During the fifth Zionist Congress held in 1901 in Basel Germany, the idea of forming a Jewish National Fund was mooted. This fund was meant to buy land in Palestine from the absentee landlords who lived in Cairo, Beirut and Damascus. This was resisted by the Palestinians who were living on those lands. Unfortunately, their resistance was subdued by the Turkish Ottoman authorities, who evicted them. The Zionist movement masked its colonial project and hoodwinked the innocent Jewish diaspora to return to the "Promised Land", and take it over as though the land was empty

When the First World War started in 1914, with various imperialist countries at each other's necks, there were various united fronts; one camp had the Britons, France and Russia, while the other had the Germans, Austrians and Ottoman Turks. As the war progressed and Germany appeared to be the country that could emerge as the victor, the Zionist movement led by its chairman Chaim Weizmann, approached the British government and proposed that it drag the USA (which had remained neutral by capitalizing on selling weapons to both sides) into the war to fight on the side of British allies, provided that Britain would guarantee Palestine land -- which at that time was under the Ottoman Empire. By then, Britain was planning to give the Zionists land in Africa, possibly in Uganda or Kenya. When the deal between the Zionists and Britain was sealed, prominent and influential Zionists were sent to the USA, and among them was Samuel Untermyer a prominent lawyer who had contributed funds to the National Democratic Committee which had facilitated the election of President Woodrow Wilson. After negotiation President Wilson agreed to the Zionists demands, and to facilitate them, he appointed Louis Brandeis, a Zionist lawyer, to the Supreme Court. It was Bradel who then advised the president to join the war, ostensibly, because the Germans had sunk a USA ship, the *SS Sussex*. In reality, no USA ship was sunk and no lives of Americans were lost as it

came to be noted later. The president then called congress and pleaded with it to declare war, which it did on April 6, 1917. The USA joined the war the same year and shifted the balance in favour of the allies. The then British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour wrote a letter (Balfour Declaration) to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community, and issued a declaration in November 1917, which gave Zionists the right to establish a state in Palestine. It should also be noted that Britain had in 1915 promised Arab countries, then under the Ottoman Empire, independence if they supported them against the Central Powers. This had been put in writing by Hussein Sharif a leader of the Arab independence movement of Mecca, and Sir Henry McMahon, a British High Commissioner in Egypt in an agreement commonly known as McMahon-Hussein. It should also be noted that France and Britain had signed a secret agreement (known as the Sykes-Picot agreement) in 1916, which stipulated how the two countries were to share Arab territories under the Ottoman Empire upon its defeat. Under the said agreement Britain was to get Transjordan (today Jordan, Israel, West Bank, Gaza Strip and Southern Iraq) while the French were to get Syria, Lebanon, Northern Iraq and South-Eastern Turkey. Russia was allocated the Turkish Straits and Ottoman Armenian Vilayets. Palestine was to be under international administration, meaning that any allied power could administer it. The three countries did not want any Arab country to know about the agreement because if they would have refused to revolt against the Ottoman Empire. After the Russian Revolution, Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik party, made the agreement public which brought about tension since the Arabs realized that they had been duped.

After emerging victorious, the allied forces organized the San Remo conference in April 1920, where Britain was mandated to administer Palestine. Britain then appointed Herbert Louis Samuel, a Jewish Zionist, as its first High Commissioner. By appointing a Zionist, Britain proved how determined it was to facilitate the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. Furthermore, Herbert made Hebrew the official language along with English and Arabic. The Jews in this period were streaming into Palestinian land in the thousands, and, for example, a total of 99,808 Jews migrated to Palestine in a period of 10 years (1920 to 1929). This raised suspicion among the Palestinians, who reacted by holding demonstrations. Their resistance was violently repulsed by the Britons and the Haganah, a Jewish

paramilitary organization, who worked closely together in countering the protests. The migration forced the Palestinians to send their representatives to Britain in 1922 to argue their case with regard to halting the large immigration of Jews into their territory and also to press for their independence. Meanwhile, the Zionists and the Britons continued to work closely and were using all means possible to crush any rebellion in Palestine. This is attested to by the execution of Farhan al-Sa'di, who had led the powerful protest (Barack revolt) in August 1929. In the 1930s the protests intensified and many Palestinians, including women, were arrested, killed and had their houses demolished. The protests forced the British government form a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Palestine (Peel Commission) in 1936 ostensibly to investigate the cause of the protests. The following year, the commission gave its report and recommended the partitioning of Palestine into three parts, and also the removal of Palestinians from land allocated to Jews. The report was well received by the Zionists while the Palestinians were dismayed by it. This led to more protests, which were mercilessly repressed, and forced the protest leaders to seek asylum in Lebanon -- leaving Palestinians without leadership. As this was going on, the British were disarming the Palestinians while allowing the Jews to carry weapons, claiming that the latter were the minority.

The Palestinians were then forced to defend their land and themselves against further suppression by Britain, and they did this by forming a guerrilla movement. This made the British bring thousands of its troops to Palestine to crush the revolution. The Zionist paramilitaries (Irgun, Stern Gang, Haganah, Hadera) with British blessings, executed their terrorist activities against Palestinians by bombing their villages. Due to British support, the Jewish paramilitary grew more powerful and when the Second World War started, about 15,000 of them joined the British side and acquired great experience which they used to conquer more Palestinian land. It was during the Second World War that German leader Adolf Hitler killed millions of Jews as he blamed them for the economic problems afflicting his country. These killings are also attributed to the support that Jews gave to the Russian government during the war since most of them were carried out after Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941². It should be noted that Russia by then had outlawed

2 Mayer, A.J (2021). *Why did the Heavens not Darken? The "Final Solution" in History*. New York. Pantheon Books

any anti-Semitism and had granted equality to Jewish people. The killings, which were called the holocaust, led to an increase in Jewish migration to Palestine.

After the war, the USA emerged as the most powerful country replacing Britain, and this made the Zionists start courting them. The Zionists also reached out to the Jewish community in America for assistance, and this came in handy. With the support of the USA, the Zionists gained a lot of confidence and started to frustrate British rule by carrying out terrorist activities. On Monday, July 22, 1946, the Zionist terrorists bombed King David Hotel in Jerusalem killing 91 and injuring 45 people. This building was targeted because it hosted the British administrative headquarters for Palestine. Jewish terrorism continued and surprisingly the British did not use any force to counter the terrorists as they did when the Palestinian revolutionaries resisted. This was attributed to the strong Zionist connection with diaspora Jews who had great influence in the British Government. Zionist lobbies in the USA and Britain made the British refer the Palestinian matter to the United Nations in 1947. And on November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly was held with the main agenda being Palestinian land. After this deliberation, the Zionists, who used to occupy 5.5 percent of Palestine, were unjustifiably given over 55 percent of Palestinian land. The assembly scrapped the word Palestine and instead used "Arab state." The USA, which was the main architect of the resolutions, lobbied other countries by bribing and pressurising them to pass the resolution giving Jews 55 percent of Palestinian land. The resolution angered Arab countries, whose representatives stormed out of the assembly, and demonstrations were held all over the Middle East in protest. The passing of the resolution forced the Palestinians to begin to organise themselves militarily for their liberation, but this did not work out as they were militarily handicapped due to the disarmament carried out by the British. Their brothers in Arab countries volunteered to train and equip them, and on the other side, the Zionists turned their paramilitary terrorist groups into a modern army with over 40,000 fighters, 35,000 of them being Haggah. This was a large force, compared with the Palestinians whose armed force was around 2,000. The Zionists having the upper hand, planned executions and the demolition of Palestinians' homes (Nakba). And the British, who by then were mandated to rule in this area, did nothing to protect the Palestinians. In May 1948, the British left Palestine and the Zionists

inherited the state and continued the massacre and expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland. Over 700,000 Palestinians were violently evicted and forced to become refugees in neighboring Arab states.

Renaming of Palestine as Israel

On May 5, 1948, the Zionists renamed Palestine Israel and declared it a free country. This forced other Arab countries, except Jordan,³ to organize armed forces of about 24,000 armed soldiers to help their brothers in reclaiming their homeland. The joint Arab army could not match the Zionists in terms of numbers, organizationally (as they did not fight as one unit), and weaponry, and due to this they sadly lost. After the war, Jews occupied 78 percent of the land leaving Palestinians with 22 percent. The war precipitated the 1949 Armistice Agreement, which saw Egypt retaining control over Gaza, while Jordan controlled the West Bank. Israel was later admitted to the United Nations on May 11, 1949 during the UN General Assembly even after dispossessing Palestinians of their homeland and massacring tens of thousands of them. This decision infuriated the Arab representatives, who stormed out in protest. Israel then embarked on erasing Palestine from the world map by renaming towns that had Palestinian names with Hebrew ones. The Palestinian refugees who had left were then denied the right to return to their homes, and still live as refugees in neighbouring countries such as Jordan and Lebanon.

In 1967, Israeli generals convinced their government to attack Egypt because they argued it was ill-prepared and the chances of defeating it were real. The government agreed and they attacked Egypt and occupied the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza strip. They were determined to extend the war and attacked other Arab neighbours, killing over 15,000 Arab soldiers while they lost 700 in six days. By this action, they were able to occupy the West Bank and the Golan Heights in Syria. This went against the United Nations charter that forbids the acquisition of territory by military conquest. During this time, propaganda was manufactured that the Arab states were the ones that attacked Israel, and they only responded in self-defense. Israel also deliberately attacked a US Navy ship, which was in international waters, killing 34 US servicemen and injuring 174.

³ Jordan King Abdallah had signed an agreement with David Ben-Gurion, a Zionist who later became the Israel president, and agreed that half of Palestine was to be shared by the Zionists and Jordan.

The Israelis did this to prevent the ship from reporting a deliberate massacre of 14 Indian United Nations peacekeepers that took place in Gaza shortly before Israel attacked *USS Liberty*. The Jewish lobby made sure that the facts were hidden, and instead a version of an accidental attack was promoted. The acquisition of the West Bank and Gaza meant that Israel was in total control of Palestine. It unashamedly started to construct homes for Jews in the said territory to erase Palestine history further.

In 1964, Palestinians formed the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) to fight for the rights of all Palestinians. It called for a unified Palestine with rights for all and a state where Palestinians and Jews could live together. The organisation was first based in Jordan but it left in 1970 after its guerrillas clashed with the Jordanian army. It was forced to station itself in Southern Lebanon until 1982 when Israel invaded Lebanon in an attack aimed at ending the PLO. This operation succeeded in making the movement relocate from Jordan to Tunisia.

In October 1973, Syria and Egypt attempted to reclaim their land (the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, respectively) acquired during the 1967 war. They made progress initially but due to the assistance that Israel received from the USA, were defeated in due course. This war precipitated the Camp David Accord, signed between the Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israel Prime Minister Menachem Begin, which stated that the Sinai Peninsula be returned to Egypt. This agreement is believed to have led to the assassination of Sadat in 1981 by people who thought he had betrayed the cause of the Palestinians. Israel continued to capitalise on its military prowess by inflicting harm on Palestinians, and especially the refugees in Southern Lebanon. In 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon and occupied a 10-kilometre-wide strip north of the Lebanese border killing hundreds of mostly Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. Furthermore, it invaded Lebanon for the second time in 1982 and, according to *Ravcom* newsletter, its troops stood guard outside the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut as Phalangist (pro-Israeli fascist militia) allies went door to door gunning down whole families, raping women and girls before murdering them, and castrating men and boys. Thousands of Palestinians lost their lives⁴ during this invasion. It was these heinous acts in 1982 that facilitated the birth of the

4 Revolution #213 [Online]. Available at: <https://revcom.us/quick/213en.php#a7>, 10 October 2010 (Accessed: November 8, 2023).

Hezbollah movement, which resisted courageously and became the first Arab military group to force the Israeli army out of the occupied territory (Southern Lebanon) after 18 years of occupation. Since then, and up to the present, Hezbollah has enjoyed great respect among the Arab countries for its stand and determination in resisting external aggression, particularly from Israel.

Since the creation of the state by Zionists, Israel has never thought of resolving the issues with Palestinians peacefully, but ironically it has sought peace with other Arab neighbouring countries such as Egypt and Jordan among others. When it comes to Palestine, Israel has always used violent means, and with the assistance of its main financier USA. In the late 1980s, after making sure it had sealed all avenues for achieving a Palestinian state (i.e., building Jewish settlements in the West Bank etc.), Israel ostensibly agreed to peaceful negotiations with the Palestinians. It is believed that Israel agreed to make peace with Palestinians after making sure that they had made the conquest and occupation of Palestine irreversible. This can be demonstrated by looking at some of the resolutions of the 1993 Oslo Accord, which were unfortunately deliberately dishonored by the Israelis. The said accord had stated that Israel was to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza within five years to pave the way for an independent Palestine state. Ironically, the Israeli government continued to build more Jewish settlements and to demolish Palestinian homes. When the PLO, which was representing the Palestinians in the Oslo Accord negotiations, objected to this, the media and the US president blamed Yasser Arafat, the then PLO leader, for frustrating the peace process. The victim became villain yet Arafat had agreed to forego 80 percent and take 20 percent of the original Palestinian land, and have a guarantee of the right of return for 4 million refugees for the sake of peace.

Ever since, there have been several peace agreements, but due to dishonesty within the Israeli leadership, all of them have flopped. The Palestinians have lost confidence in the PLO and Fatah (Palestinian National Liberation Movement) party for being too gullible and consistently falling into the Israeli trap as far as negotiations are concerned. The USA, a great financier and supporter of Israel, got very concerned about the unpopularity of Fatah and it was on this basis that it started pressurising Fatah to organise Legislative Council elections. The USA was very confident that Fatah would emerge victorious and thus embolden its legitimacy. This was not the

case because when the said elections were held in January 2006, the Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) won 74 out of 132 seats, thus forming the government in Gaza. Hamas' win surprised the US, Condoleezza Rice the then Secretary of State was quoted telling the press: "I don't know anyone who wasn't caught off guard by Hamas's strong showing". The win also caused a rift in the US administration (the Department of Defense) for failure to adhere to intelligence advice that had predicted a win for Hamas. Hamas was established in 1987 in Gaza by Imam Sheikh Ahmed Yasin and his assistant Abdul Aziz al-Rantissi after the start of the first Intifada, or Palestinian uprising against Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories. Hamas started as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood but in 2017 it broke ties with group.⁵ Hamas has, since the time it was formed, been very critical of Israel's deception when it comes to peace negotiations. It has always said that it is ready for genuine peace negotiations based on pre-1967 borders and the return of all refugees. Hamas has on many occasions said it does not have a problem with either Jews, Christians or Arabs and that it strives for a peaceful coexistence among all the people in Palestinian land. This fact is authenticated since one of its contenders (Hosam al-Taweel) for the 2006 elections was a Christian.⁶ Rather, what Hamas is against is Zionism, which continues to kill, detain, and imprison the Palestinians for demanding their right to ancestral land. It is unfortunate that imperialist countries, led by the USA, continue to term Hamas resistance as an act of terror, and thus labeling it a terrorist group.

There have never been Palestinian elections since 2006 due to the differences between Fatah and Hamas; both presidential and legislative elections have been postponed several times. Fatah's leadership has lost confidence among the Palestinians both in Gaza and the West Bank. The leadership is afraid of calling elections because they know they will lose dismally: no wonder it keeps postponing the elections. On April 23, 2014, both parties agreed to end their differences by proposing to form a unity government in five weeks. The said government was sworn into office in June 2014 and one of its mandates was to

5 Al-Jazeera [Online]. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/10/12/hamas-and-fatah-how-are-the-two-groups-different>, 12 October 2017 (Accessed: November 8, 2023)

6 Aljazeera [Online]. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2006/1/25/christian-candidate-on-hamas-ticket>, 25 January 2006 (Accessed: 8th November 2023)

organize presidential and parliamentary elections within six months.



Fatah and Hamas representatives after signing a deal to work together on April 23, 2014. (Photo credit: AFP)

The reconciliation was coldly accepted by both the US and Israeli governments, and the USA said that it was "very disappointed" while Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called for a halt to the so-called peace talks with the Palestinian Authority (PA) President Mahmoud Abbas unless he disowned the pact with Hamas. However, what both countries failed to tell the world was that their reason for opposing the pact was fear of Hamas's established position concerning negotiations with the Israeli government.

Imperialist pressure on Fatah is one of the many reasons why the reconciliation has never prospered since. The Fatah has all along demanded the disarmament of Hamas so that it can take control of the Gaza Strip. While Hamas has been refusing saying it needs its security due to mass killings being carried out by the Zionists. In 2017, after realising that there was no way the 2016 Hamas victory could be snatched, the Israeli government turned Gaza into an open-air prison. Palestinians living in Gaza since then have been blocked by Israel from leaving Gaza unless they have a permit issued by the Israeli government. This has prevented many Palestinians from visiting their families in the West Bank. According to Human Rights Watch, this imprisonment has also prevented professionals, artists, athletes, students, and others from pursuing opportunities that cannot be found in Gaza and thus restricting their rights to work and education.⁷ Those

7 Human Rights Watch [Online]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/14/gaza-israels-open-air-prison-15>, June 14, 2022 (Accessed: November 8, 2023)

who dare to use *panya routes* (unauthorised routes) are indiscriminately shot dead by Israeli security. Things are not that good on the border between Gaza and Egypt (Rafah), especially since 2013 when the military overthrew President Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood. The military government accused Hamas of aiding Morsi and thus came up with their restrictions. Many deserving Gaza residents are denied visas or permits by the Egyptian government to transit through or visit Egypt. This imprisonment hardship by Israeli Zionists is the one that forces the Hamas resistance movement like any other resistance to defend its people as well as to fight for the liberation of Palestine.

Conclusion

Both Palestinians and blacks in South Africa under the apartheid regime shared common experiences, and if apartheid was defeated, likewise Zionism will ultimately be defeated. Though these two countries are different, they share similarities. One of these is that both the majority of Jews in Israel and the Boers in South Africa came from Europe. Also, the Boers do not have many current connections to their European roots aside from a cultural heritage. Likewise, the majority of Jews were born in Israel thus they do not have any connection to their European roots. Therefore, a need to create one state that will accommodate Palestinians and Jews in the occupied territories as well as Palestinian refugees in neighboring countries needs to be emphasized. Though this will not be easy because of the fact that since the creation of Israel in 1948, Israeli Jews have been indoctrinated that they are superior and chosen by God to have privileges over the Palestinians (and everyone else). On the optimistic side, there is a section, though minority, that believes both the Palestinians and the Jews can live in one state. This minority needs to be encouraged that it is their belief that can bring equality and solidarity between the Jews and the Palestinians. Not many people, especially in the USA, believed that Jim Crow laws⁸ were to be abolished and segregation between blacks and whites was to end though racialism still exists today. Likewise, many people never imagined that the Pale Settlement in which Russian Jews were forced to live in the 18th century and the anti-Jewish discrimination and persecution laws in the same country were ever going to be abolished. Yet in 1917, after the Russian

revolution, they were done away with.

It is important for all peace-loving people of the world to exert pressure on the Israeli government so that it stops killing people and destroying the homes of Palestinians on the pretext of defending itself from terrorism. One of the ways to do this is by supporting the global movement for a campaign of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law and Palestinian rights. Kenyan leaders have the habit of using taxpayers' money to visit Israel ostensibly to learn from the country. This needs to stop as doing so legitimises the evil actions of the Israeli government against the Palestinians. Kenyans should unite in this by demanding that the government disassociate itself from the Zionist state until it respects the rights of the Palestinians and stops genocidal atrocities directed at the subjugated Palestinians.

The Kenya government needs to join other countries, among them Colombia, Bolivia, and Chile, who have cut ties with Israel over genocidal activities in Gaza. This will not be the first time for such an action as in 1973 the Kenya government followed other countries in recalling its ambassador to Israel. This was after the Zionists had refused to give back the occupied Arab land (the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights). Sadly, today, the Kenyan government has become, as Mao Tse Tung said, an "imperialist running dog". It seems to be dictated to by imperialism on how to run the country and no wonder it issued a statement condemning Hamas and terming it a terrorist group to please its imperialist masters. Forgetting that the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) bears similarity with Hamas in that Mau Mau was resisting the occupation of Kenya's land by Britain. Likewise, Hamas is a resistance movement fighting against the occupation of their land by the Zionists. The government having condemned Hamas contradicted itself by stating that Kenyan people share the same history of colonial rule with the Palestinian people. The statement even contradicted that of the African Union, of which Kenya is a member.

8 Racial segregation laws which operated in USA from 1880s to 1960s



The Palestinian occupation and genocide, though painful, have also exposed the hypocrisy of Western imperialist countries and the United Nations, particularly the Security Council. The Security Council consists of 15 members -- five permanent members (USA, Britain, France, Russia and China) and 10 members elected every two years. The permanent members are the only ones with veto powers, meaning that any of the five members can veto any resolution passed. This fact complicates the Palestinian issue because the US always vetoes every resolution that condemns Israel for its atrocities against Palestinians or calls for Israel to adhere to international laws. For example, since 1945 US has vetoed 34 out of 36 resolutions related to the Palestine occupation.⁹ This means that for Palestinians to get justice from the UN, the reconstitution of the Security Council is important. There is a need to democratise the UNSC by removing veto powers and adding permanent members from the Global South to it with all equal voting rights. The composition of the Security Council needs to be based on the population of the countries.

Let us educate other Kenyans who have fallen prey

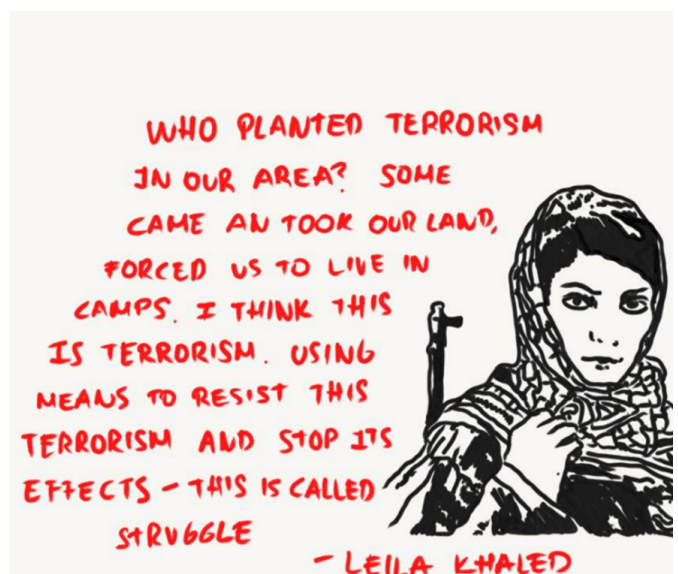
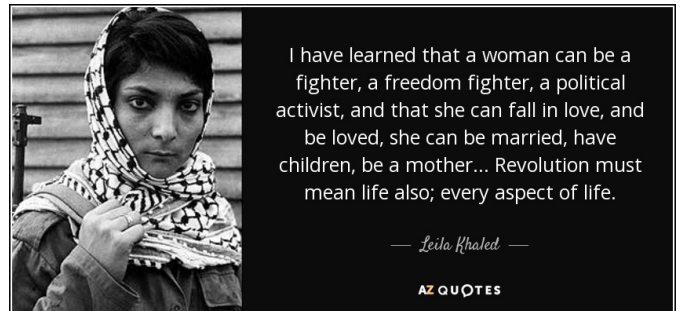
9 Aljazeera [Online]. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/26/how-the-us-has-used-its-veto-power-at-the-un-in-support-of-israel>, 26 October 2023 (Accessed: 8th November 2023)

to the Zionist propaganda so that solidarity with the Palestinian people can have multiple voices and contribute to bringing change to the Palestinian people. Since, as Nelson Mandela said, our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians.

Kimani Waweru

References

1. Vanity Fair [Online]. Available at: <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2008/04/gaza200804>, 3 March 2008 (Accessed: 8th November 2023)
2. International Crisis Group [Online]. Available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/east-mediterranean-mena/israel-palestine/238-managing-palestines-looming-leadership-transition>, 1 February 2023 (Accessed: 8th November 2023)
3. Sand, S. (2010) *The Invention of the Jewish People*. London: Verso.

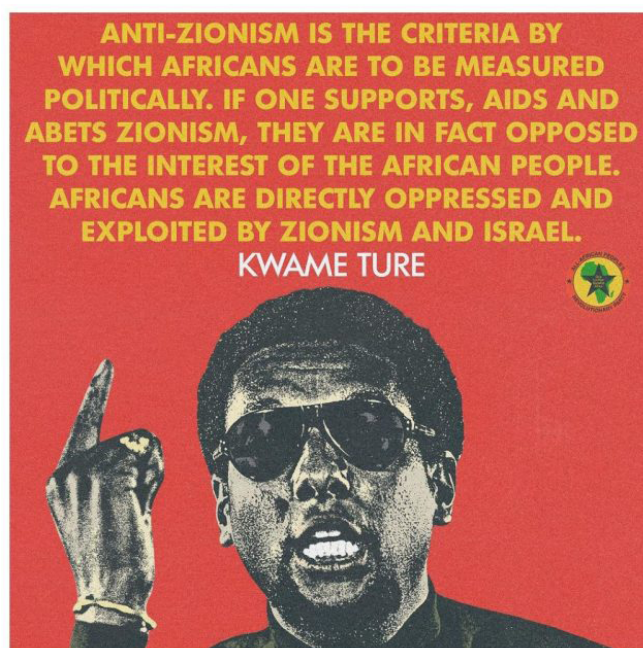


Claim to be Pan-Africanist? Zionism is a Litmus Test

by Ahjamu Umi

In the 1980s, the title of this article was a commonly stated refrain to express the extent to which Zionism was shielded and protected in ways different from how all other forms of settler colonialism were treated. The then settler colonial regimes in apartheid ruled Azania (South Africa), the Americas, and Australia, were generally accepted and criticised as crimes against humanity (at least on some level), but the issue of Palestine was still viewed by many, even on the so-called left, as something different. For example, there was a specific event organised at Cal State University, Sacramento, in the spring of 1988 that featured women organisers from the Irish Republican Socialist Movement, the Palestinian Liberation Movement, the Indigenous Movement of the Western Hemisphere, and the Pan-African Movement. Even during this event of freedom fighting women, there were attempts to centre whether Ashkenazi (European) Jews had some religious and/or ethnic right to the land of the Palestinian people. Even in 1988, no one present at such an event would raise the question of whether the European colonisers in Africa or the Americas were actually right in their crimes.

It was Ahmed Sekou Toure who once said, “Truth crushed to earth will rise a thousand times!” Today, in 2023, the truth of the settler colonial oppression of the Palestinian people is being opposed by millions of people all over the planet. There is also a developing interest in the role the Zionist state of Israel plays in exploiting Africa’s resources to finance their terror against the Palestinian people. This is an extremely important aspect to anti-Zionist work because Israel’s has a long history of destabilisation work throughout Africa. After all, Israel must protect its ability to produce upwards of 40 per cent of the polished diamonds on the world market today, diamonds that originated from Central and Southern Africa. This destabilisation is done in order to maintain a dis-unified and dis-organised Africa, and is crucial to the Zionist state’s ability to function as it does.



Still, there is significant weight to that age-old statement about Zionism and the litmus test for settler colonialism and this is evident by the number of African people who are expressing support for the Zionist state of Israel. African people from Europe, Africa, and the West can be seen all throughout corporate media sources and especially on social media, TikTok, etc., providing hot takes on Arab racist attitudes against African people, xenophobic rants claiming “No one cares about us except us” (so why should we care about Palestinian suffering?), etc. There are theories that much of this propaganda is being financially supported by interests tied to Zionism, and this may one day turn out to be true, but for now, we should focus on some irrefutable facts that should help us understand how to properly contextualise these issues in logical ways.

On Religion

First, we have to acknowledge that faith and history are not the same thing. Biblical prophecy is just that, ideas and beliefs. It is not history. In other words, there is absolutely no evidence that Ashkenazi Jews were present in the Middle East in 1200 BC. There is plenty of historical evidence that Arabs were there and African people were there as well, and that these

people practised all types of faith from Christianity, Judaism, Islam, to other traditional African spiritual belief systems. Some of this evidence can be found in books like Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*, where Freud takes great chronological steps to prove that Moses' mother Jochebed or Asiya (depending upon which source you study), never spoke Hebrew, but instead spoke Amorite language used in the lands of Caan. In other words, an African language.

Roots of Zionism

Next, since we are relying on history and not faith to guide our understanding, we have to go to the first Zionist conference in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897. The Balfour Declaration from Britain in 1917, and the work of the World Zionist Congress (WZC) throughout the first part of the twentieth century. The work of the WZC is very comprehensively spelled out by anti-Zionist Jewish scholar Lenni Brenner who explained in his well-documented book *Zionism in the Age of Dictators* how the WZC negotiated with anti-Judaic states like Romania, Russia, Poland, and yes – Nazi Germany – to encourage those states to terrorise their Ashkenazi Jewish populations into wanting to flee, thus boosting support for the establishment of the state of Israel.

All of this historical information comes to point out the obvious facts that Ashkenazi Jews who descend from the Holocaust in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s have a very strong grievance against western and eastern Europe. They have absolutely no claim against the Palestinian people, whose land they officially took in 1948. Palestinian people were nowhere to be seen anywhere around the crime scene of the Holocaust. The historical argument used by Zionists to justify their theft of Palestine has no value to anyone who refuses to believe their made-up historical fantasy.

African Opposition

And certainly, conscious African people have our own concrete historical reasons for being opposed to Zionism that are connected to the Zionist state of Israel's reliance on exploiting Africa's natural and human resources. Again, this point is very under-represented and of high importance because it explains why and how the Zionist movement has been a key player in helping imperialism dominate

Africa and African people for decades. A weak and disorganised Africa is essential for maintaining Zionist dominance within the Middle East. So, any efforts by the African masses to organise against this Zionist exploitation will place those Africans within the crosshairs of international imperialism and Zionism.

Therefore, despite the ramblings of some Africans on social media expressing disdain for protests supporting Palestinian self-determination, any African who woke up this morning should have enough intelligence to understand that our struggle for justice is objective and without sentimentality. The Palestinian people winning their fight against Zionist Israel would severely weaken the same international capitalist and imperialist interests that keep Africa and African people exploited. Without question, a Palestinian victory is a victory for Africa and African people because a defeated Israel cannot cause havoc throughout our communities worldwide. This would remain objectively true even if every single Palestinian on the planet hated everything African from the drum to jollof rice. We still benefit from their victory, as they will benefit from ours.

This is the food we use to nourish the spirits of our people, especially those who are online asking why we should support the Palestinian struggle. Even in 2023, with the high levels of organisation that the Zionist movement has always operated with, the Palestinian question still remains the litmus test on white supremacy. Settler colonialism is bad for the planet and no lies about God's promises can ever change that. We need to operate as if no other colonised people should ever have any issues understanding this.

Ahjamu Umi is revolutionary organiser with the All African People's Revolutionary Party, adviser, and liberation literature author.



The Struggle for Palestine is the Struggle of Working People Worldwide¹

by Shiraz Durrani



The attacks by 'Israel' on the people and the country of Palestine have increased in intensity in the past month. Palestinian resistance has once again forced the attention of the world on the plight of a people facing another massacre and a country being destroyed. At the same time, the Zionist state has begun yet another move to displace Palestinians and steal even more of their land. What is going on is nothing short of genocide.

Imperialism and its media show the 'problem' of Palestine as confined to West Asia and as an isolated conflict. Yet it is a global issue that needs fuller scrutiny and understanding of the trends that have been going on for centuries. The destruction of Palestine and the massacres and exiling of its people is not an isolated event in the history of imperialism. It is one of the latest in a long chain of similar attacks on people and lands all around the world. Not to see this trend of imperialist actions can mean misunderstanding the real nature of imperialism and its long history of the capture of lands and massacres around the world.

What is Palestine being subjected to is no different from what imperialism did to the people and country of what is now called the United States of America. Here is their grim story as told by NativeHope:

The Untold History of American Indians

¹ First published in <https://countercurrents.org/2023/10/the-struggle-for-palestine-is-the-struggle-of-working-people-worldwide/>

The arrival of European settlers had a devastating impact on Native Americans.

Before the arrival of Europeans, 600+ unique Native tribes lived in eight rough geographic and cultural regions across the United States. Their cultures and languages were highly developed and diverse. Each tribe has its own history, its own stories, and its own forms of spiritual practice.

When settlers arrived, hundreds of these tribes died out over the course of a hundred years. The Europeans brought germs over that Native Americans had no immunity to. Between 1492 and the late 1500s when large numbers of settlers began to arrive, historians have estimated that up to 90% of the Native population was wiped out by the introduction of measles, smallpox, tuberculosis, and other Western diseases. Some scholars estimate that the original population of Native Americans in North America before Columbus was somewhere around 10 million people.

Similar massacres took place in Australia against the Aboriginal people and their lands. Allam and Evershed (2019) tell their story:

The Killing Times

Starting in 1794, mass killings were first carried out by British soldiers, then by police and settlers – often acting together – and later by native police, working under the command of white officers, in militia-style forces supported by colonial governments.

These tactics were employed, without formal repercussions, as late as 1926 ... Government forces were actively engaged in frontier massacres until at least the late 1920s. These attacks became more lethal for Aboriginal people over time, not less. The average number of deaths of Aboriginal people in each conflict increased, but from the early 1900s, casualties among the settlers ended entirely

– with the exception of one death in 1928. The most common motive for a massacre was reprisal for the killing of settler civilians but at least 51 massacres were in reprisal for the killing or theft of livestock or property.

Of the attacks on the map, only once were colonial perpetrators found guilty and punished – in the aftermath of the Myall Creek killings in 1838. In New South Wales and Tasmania between 1794 and 1833, most of the 56 recorded attacks were carried out on foot by detachments of soldiers from British regiments, and an average of 15 people were killed in each one. The weapon most often used was the “Brown Bess” musket, which was issued to British forces in the Napoleonic wars. In NSW and Victoria, between 1834 and 1859, horses and carbine rifles were used in at least 116 frontier massacres of Aboriginal people in mostly daytime attacks, with an average of 27 people killed in each attack. From the late 1840s, massacres were carried out as daylight attacks by native police, sometimes in joint operations with settlers. They most often used double-barrelled shotguns, rifles and carbines. Preliminary data from Queensland shows that between 1859 and 1915, an average of 34 people were killed in each attack. There are at least nine known cases of deliberate poisoning of flour given to Aboriginal people.

There were also efforts to cover up these atrocities.

We then turn to Africa. Many massacres took place here, too. Massacres of millions of people took place in Congo, Angola, Algeria and Kenya, among other places. However, the European imperialist countries failed to eliminate entire populations as they did in USA and Australia. Africa was too vast a continent and resistance was also high. Facing increasing difficulties in carrying out their elimination policies, imperialists came up with an alternative to killing and enslaving people: use local people to subjugate local people, all in the interest of imperialist profits. This involved installing ‘leaders’ such as Joseph Mobutu and Jomo Kenyatta, and killing leaders who opposed imperialism, such as Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah and Pio Gama Pinto.

Durrani (2022, pp. 9-19) shows the horror of European imperialism in Africa:

Imagine this: You and your family are sitting quietly at home; some strangers break down the door, rape, kill and enslave your children and ship them to a faraway country;

then take over your house, steal your land, wealth and property and start ordering you around. All because they have guns and you have none. You are a peaceful family; you do not attack others and you do not need weapons of mass destruction. Multiply your one family by millions and you see the real horror of what has been done to Africa. It is difficult to believe that just a few hundred years ago, almost all the people of Africa were either enslaved or colonised by people coming from Europe. Was it a nightmare or reality? What can motivate such industrial-level savagery? Such atrocities are not seen even in the animal world. Africa is still angry. Very angry. Still suffering. Still trying to come to terms with this genocide. Still trying to recover from the damage done to its economy, industries, culture and dealing with depopulation and the constant on-going attacks.

And yet, there are even more atrocities:

Terrible as the fate of Africans was, they were not eliminated totally as were the people of Americas and Australia. Some of the oldest civilisations in the world were ruthlessly looted, people systematically massacred and customs and culture, which had survived for centuries, condemned as savage and destroyed. The few people from the original populations who remain today are now the abandoned and oppressed minorities in a land which once belonged to them. Their land, country and resources have been taken over by European tribes, which rule with an iron fist -- funded from looted labour and wealth. This was the ‘achievement’ of European civilisation. It was no ordinary warfare. Nothing on this scale had even been witnessed in the history of the world. This was the first globalisation, a globalisation of death and destruction for the people of Asia, Africa and Americas. The beneficiaries of this murderous regime of terror live in luxury in Europe and USA, plotting more economic, political and cultural wars on working classes around the world. The engine of this global destruction and death is powered by capitalism and imperialism, which get more murderous as they face increasing resistance from around the world.

The experience in South Africa was a little different as attempts to create settler colonies like in Canada and Australia met fierce resistance. The apartheid regime was ultimately defeated and the nation of

South Africa was finally born. But the South African apartheid regime had the full support of imperialism and the newly created country of 'Israel' — an outpost of imperialism in the Global South.

Palestine had existed over many centuries. Imperialism decided to brutally destroy it and replace it with an artificial country, 'Israel'. The pretext of saving the holocaust victims was an easy way to try to justify its creation. The lessons of apartheid were perfected and implemented here. Millions of Palestinians were exiled, massacred and their homes and lands were taken over by the new 'owners'. The process continues to-date. So severe was the oppression here that it cannot be called apartheid. It is much worse. It is more like what Hitler did to the Jews, Travellers, communists and others under Nazi Germany. Yet even making this comparison is likely to be condemned by the all-powerful Zionist lobby around the world.

The Palestine 'problem' is not just a local issue. In order to survive, Zionism needs to control opinion, not only in 'Israel', but in every capital of the world. It knows that people of the world are against its takeover of Palestine and against keeping its citizens in conditions worse than the worst prisons in the world, against the genocide it is undertaking. It has to control working people around the globe in order to ensure the support of the ruling class in each country. Its main target is the people and politics of USA, which is its largest financier and arms merchant. But it has to ensure that any progressive leader in any country agrees with its policies to eliminate Palestine. A stark example is the way it hounded out Jeremy Corbin from the leadership of the Labour Party in favour of Kier Starmer, who openly supports the oppressive Israeli policies against Palestinians.

If the working people of the world want to re-establish democracy in their own countries, their first step should be to liberate the control of their leaders from the deadly clasp of the Israeli lobby. There is no real democracy when Western politicians are directly or indirectly forced to support Israeli aggression of Palestinians. There is no democracy when Western leaders ignore the wishes of millions of their own people, the decisions of the United Nations and international bodies in order to follow the dictates of the Zionist lobby. It is in that sense that the Palestinian struggle is the struggle of working people everywhere. People everywhere need to liberate themselves from the Zionist control

by supporting the struggle for liberation of the people of Palestine. The two struggles — that of the people of the capitalist world and that of the people of Palestine — are linked but the links are hidden by the ruling class, and their media with the support of 'Israel'.

The struggle of the people of Palestine is not an easy one. The brief record of imperialist massacres of people over a long period of time shows what is in store for Palestine. That they have stood against the oppressors for over 70 years is a great achievement. But the enemy has not given up either and is inching on with its destructive policies with the full support of USA and its followers. It has increased its attacks recently. At this time of the greatest danger to the people of Palestine, people everywhere need to increase their support even more. It is not only the struggle of the people of Palestine. It is the struggle of working people everywhere.

The struggle is hard and it is the people of Palestine who are sacrificing the most to defeat an enemy of people. The struggle is hard. The struggle is long. The world needs to unite and fight with Palestinians. They cannot be left alone to fight, or else they will be annihilated.

Long live the struggle of the people of Palestine!
We are all in it until Palestine is free.

References

Allam, Lorena and Nick Evershed (2019): 'The Killing Times: the Massacres of Aboriginal people Australis Must Confront'. *The Guardian* 03-03-2019. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/04/the-killing-times-the-massacres-of-aboriginal-people-australia-must-confront?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other [Accessed: 13-10-2023].

Durrani, Shiraz (2022): 'Forward to a Socialist Pan-African Movement: Lessons from History'. In: Durrani, Shiraz (Ed, 2022): *Essays on Pan-Africanism*. Nairobi: Vita Books.

NativeHope: 'The Untold History of American Indians'. Available at: <https://www.nativehope.org/the-native-story#history>. [Accessed: 13-10-2023].

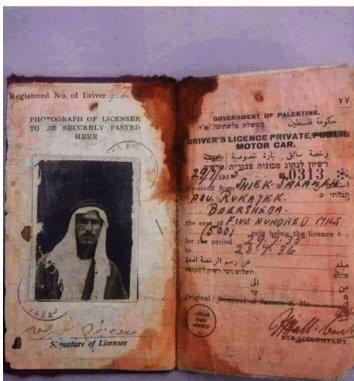
15-10-2023



Palestinian artist: Omar Bdoor
Instagram: obdoor



Palestinian driving license, In 1936.



Younis Tirawi | يونس
@ytirawi

Al-Omari Mosque, which was built 1,400 years ago and is the third oldest mosque in Historic Palestine after Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem and Ahmed Al-Jazzar in Acre, has now been leveled to the ground by Israeli bombing.



Author
Shiraz Durrani

Jo Alexander and yet history is being destroyed to be replaced by that of 'Israel'. The next generation will be either in exile or fighting for survival. Thus dies a culture, a people and a country. All clearly calculated.

A worldwide social media campaign to spread the historical map of Palestine 🇵🇸



Pro-Palestinian protesters gather outside the Israeli embassy in London. Photograph: Vuk Valcic/Zuma Press/Shutterstock



Rabat, capital of Morocco, today.
[Rate this translation](#)



"A bomb that costs 100 thousand dollars, starts from a plane that costs 100 million and flies at a cost of 42 thousand dollars per hour, to kill people living on less than a dollar a day..." 🙄🙄

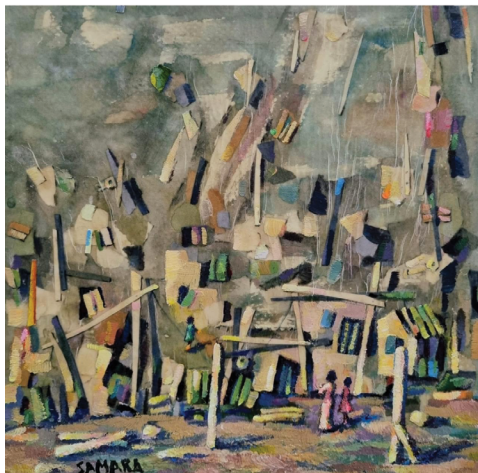
Written by our good friend Stefanos Kargakis
 🙏🙄
[Rate this translation](#)



Nairobi

KPSM in candle light solidarity with Palestine
 Cheche i

Palestinian artist Mohamad Samara



Until Everyone is Free, or Why You Should Care about the Occupation of Palestine

by Wairimu Gathimba, gathimbawairimu@gmail.com

Over the past 75 years, the Israel settler colony has denied Palestinians their fundamental rights, including the right to self-determination, and subjected them to an institutionalised and systemic regime of racial domination and oppression. Palestinians have resisted this dispossession since its imposition in 1948, both through legal means, including UN-led negotiations whose resolutions Israel has repeatedly failed to respect, and armed resistance.

This is a story Kenya is all too familiar with. In our struggle for independence from the British settler colony that treated us as subhuman on our own land, our freedom fighters first pursued non-violent means, even in the face of quotidian settler violence. And like in the case of the non-Islamist, non-violent Palestinian resistance, organisers such as the Young Kikuyu Association and the East African Association were subject to the same violent repression despite pursuing non-militant means (remember [the massacre following the general strike of 1922](#) after the arrest of Harry Thuku who was himself an advocate for peaceful negotiations for independence). As our ancestors were to discover, there is no way to appeal to a coloniser's sensibilities; decolonisation is often a violent struggle.

Disillusioned by unforthcoming change, our ancestors took to armed resistance under the Kenya Land and Freedom Army in a fight that heavily weakened the settler colony's hold and led to our sovereignty less than a decade later. This is common knowledge to us Kenyans, heavily featured in our history textbooks. President Ruto himself has made statements reflective of this knowledge, even promising to build a museum in Nyandarua to honour the Mau Mau who contributed immensely to the struggle for independence. How can the president acknowledge the role of armed resistance in freeing Kenya and then proceed to proclaim solidarity with Israel?

In an act that echoes our own Dedan Kimathi's sentiment of "It's better to die on your feet than to live on your knees", Hamas, a faction of Palestinian resistance, took to fight back against the most religious and hardline right-wing government in

Israel's history on October 7. Since then, we have seen Hamas branded "terrorists" who seek to "kill Jews," most notably by the United States (the words in quotes are words US President Biden used in [his statement](#) on the 7th October attacks).

Given the use of such language to describe Palestinian armed resistance, you would be forgiven to think that the violence in Israel began that day. Still, a quick social media search would suffice to convince you otherwise. In July this year, a video of Israeli settlers pouring concrete into a Palestinian well was trending on Twitter. Just four days before the October 7 attacks, [Al Jazeera](#) featured a story on the storming of the Al-Aqsa mosque by Israeli settlers. The West does not condemn such violence -- and why would they? A quick look into the history of the Israeli state will reveal that Israel exists only because of European antisemitism; Jews only felt forced to seek a national home because of the attacks they were subjected to in Europe in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Many antisemites who believed that Jewish people did not belong in Europe supported the establishment of an ethno-state for them. And in true British imperialist spirit, Palestinian land occupied by Arab people was considered empty, in the same way that "[wasteland](#)" and "[unoccupied](#)" [land in the East African Protectorate](#) "[occupied by savage tribes](#)" had been declared empty, justifying its fall under the control of the crown two decades earlier in 1899. Arthur Balfour, famous for the Balfour Declaration, which promised Palestine to Zionists in exchange for allyship during the First World War himself, passed the 1905 Aliens Act to stop Jewish people fleeing attacks in Eastern Europe from getting asylum in Britain. For European countries, to confront Israel and its violence would be to acknowledge the role of their antisemitism in its creation.

Of course, there is also the issue of Israel serving as an imperialism outpost for the interests of the United States and Europe in a sea of undependable Arab allies. In his book, *Orientalism*, the British governor for Jerusalem at the time Ronald Storrs wrote in support of the establishment of a Zionist colony there, claiming it would be "[forming for England a little loyal](#)

Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism. Israel, since its inception, has been a vanguard of Western imperialism in the Middle East. Israel has served this purpose well, from its collaboration with Britain and France in attacks against Egypt to prevent the nationalisation of Suez, intervening militarily in neighbouring Arab countries numerous times, and acting as a conduit for the US to sell weapons to countries it couldn't openly be seen to support, including apartheid South Africa. In fact, Israel is so integral to the United States' interests that Joe Biden has said not once but twice (in 1986 and in 2022) that "Were there not an Israel, the United States of America would have to invent an Israel to protect her interest in the region."

This is why the West is so quick to label Hamas resistance terrorism, to use a word meant to raise bias and kill empathy towards Palestinians. A free Palestine threatens the hold of the West and its interests in the Middle East. What do the words terrorist and terrorism even mean anyway? Who is and is not a terrorist, who decides, and why does it matter? Our own forefathers were called "terrorists" in their fight for independence against British settler colonialists. Assuming a monopoly on violence and its deserving applications (to serve the interests of capital), the West is quick to label any violent actions inconsistent with its interests as terrorism.

In telling the story of Palestine and its struggles for independence alongside parallels from our country's struggle, our podcast 'Until Everyone is Free' seeks to reject the revisionism of a people's history and the deradicalisation of their resistance and independence struggles. Our latest episode titled 'Uhuru wa Palestina ni Uhuru Wetu' traces the story of Palestine from its existence as part of the Ottoman Empire and the continuous loss of its land from the UN 1947 partition and the subsequent annexation of its land till its existence today in the form of "bantustans" in West Bank and the Gaza Strip. We discuss the growth of Zionism, its attempts to acquire a Jewish ethno-state since the 19th century (including how part of the British East Africa Protectorate was proposed as a Jewish national home in a desperate move by Joseph Chamberlain to get returns on the Lunatic Express that was proving to be a bad investment). We highlight the role of Western imperialism in Kenyan and Palestinian struggles, including little-known information such as that the tactics used by the British coloniser in Operation Anvil, which was used to suppress the Mau Mau, were based on Operation Shark, which was used to suppress

Palestinian uprisings in 1946. By invoking the story of Kenya's struggle for independence, we hope to remind our audience that the issue of Palestine is an unfinished drive towards sovereign nation states for all colonised people that began in the last century. This is no "conflict"; it is a settler colonial struggle that will only end with the decolonisation of Palestine and a democratic state for all.

Solidarity with Palestine and all other oppressed people!



Zionism, Settler-colonialism and the Myth of Democracy

Genocide is the Ultimate Terrorism

By Sobukwe Shukura

Zionists are waging genocide in Palestine, according to the United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect.

Zionism is settler-colonialism. Settler-colonialism is an act of genocide. The current wave of massacres of Palestinians in Gaza is part of a long process of ethnic cleansing, beginning with murderous attacks on Palestinian villages prior to and in 1948, then proceeding to the expulsion of more than 700,000 Palestinians from the Nachbar. The ethnic cleansing is all the acts of settler-colonial dispossession and deprivations, including random and organized military assaults, destruction of homes, crops and cultural sites, arrests, rape and torture, blockades and denial of water and food, and the killing of women and children.

In the age of capitalist imperialism, settler-colonialists went from national to international projects. The early settler projects in Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia were national projects and even in competition, the French settlements fighting with the Spanish and English, the Catholic settlements warring with the Protestants, etc. Indigenous and Pan-African resistances took advantage of these inter-settler wars to advance their struggles for freedom. Enslaved Africans in Haiti were able to defeat both the French and the Spanish settlers.

The genocidal process in Palestine, like that in Southern Africa, is a collective of “Western” sanctioned genocides. Zionism is a capitalist imperialist settler-colonial project and ideology. This genocide is being directly carried out by the United States, Western Europe and the Zionist settler government in Palestine, with the passive consent of the United Nations Security Council. The United States provides close to US\$4 billion in military aid to Zionist Israel annually. As this genocide in Gaza escalates, the United States and Britain send more ammunition. All those who support the Zionist state’s right to exist support this genocide.

No genocidal government, ideology (except in our imagination), has the right to exist. People have

the right to exist. Genocide negates this right. No genocidal process is democratic, whether approved at the level of the Zionist Israeli state, the UN Security Council or any other international body. The use of Apartheid, Jim Crow practices in Zionist Israel’s occupation of Palestine only further illustrates its anti-democratic nature. The Palestinian people have every right to resist their genocide ‘by any means necessary’. Algeria, Azania (South Africa), Namibia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, defended their national identities with force of arms against the settler populations.

Africa’s national liberation struggles were keenly aware of the role of Zionism and settler-colonialism in general in committing genocide and aiding imperialism’s economic exploitation of Africa. The Organization of Africa States was one of the first continental bodies to pass a resolution against Zionist Israel and their settler-colonial partners in Southern Africa in 1975 -- Zionism is Racism - All-African People’s Revolutionary Party (aapr-intl.org). Today, we can measure the level of neo-colonial leadership and economic dependency of an African country by its relationships to Zionist Israel officially and/or unofficially. The supporters in the African Union of Israel having “Observer Status” and the re-instatement of Morocco are a further betrayal of the original Organization of African Unity charter, which claims to oppose all forms of imperialism and violations of human rights.

All forms of imperial expansion, including capitalist imperialism, require terrorism. But, settler-colonialism requires the ultimate level of terror: genocide, the willingness to exterminate either part or the whole of a people. Because settler-colonialism is not just the subjugation of an indigenous people, but the elimination, negation, and disappearance of their physical and cultural existence. Settlers, under settler-colonialism, come to steal the whole of the land. A settler-colonial state cannot be a democracy. To call Zionist Israel or any other settler-colony a democracy is a crime against humanity.

The genocidal crimes in settler-colonies in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, etc.) are the suppression of the most basic democratic rights, self-determination and in most cases, even the right to live. The killing of

Palestinians is an extension of the ongoing genocide of the indigenous and African peoples in the United States. The misnamed Israeli Defense Force, like the US police, grow out of settler terrorist gangs. In the United States it was the slavecatchers and Indian killers. In Israel, it was the Stern and Irgun gangs that terrorized, slayed and expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. Now these settler forces, the IDF and US police, train and cooperate together in terrorizing their indigenous and African populations. They collaborated in training and supporting death squads in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Chile, and El Salvador, among other places. (How Israel helped Latin America's death squads – part 1 – Middle East Monitor)

Western Europe is part and parcel of this genocide on indigenous people in Ireland, Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe, New Zealand, and Australia, among others. Britain is central to the development and maintenance of Zionism from the Balfour Declaration to the United Nations' brazen partitioning of Palestine. Today, some of the most antisemitic countries on earth -- Britain, Germany, France, and the United States -- condone and wantonly aid in Palestinian genocide. The propaganda is thick. It is only in imperialist logic that the colonizer has the right to commit genocide and the colonized have no right to resist.

The Zionist settlers supplied weapons and nuclear technology to prop up Apartheid South Africa. You see one genocidal regime supports another. AFRICOM, NATO, and their political institutions; the European Union and the United States government support the right of settler-colonial states to exist and to commit genocide in their defense. This is not about Benjamin Netanyahu or Joe Biden, but about the settler regimes in Washington, Tel Aviv and around the world committing genocidal acts. No matter who is elected in a settler-regime or any imperialist government, they must accept imperialist ideology, the right to commit genocide against indigenous people, to maintain and exploit labour in the interest of an elite class of settlers, colonizers, neocolonialists, capitalists, patriarchs and their imperialist wars of occupation. Settler-colonialism and imperialism have no right to exist. People have a right to exist in non-exploitive societies and only ideologies that affirm this have a right to exist.

These settler genocides account for millions of deaths in the Americas: More than 12 million and counting in the United States alone. Whole islands

of indigenous peoples were killed off by settlers in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The European slave trade supplied African labour to the colonies, killing millions more. It continued by lynching Africans, and now genocidal police murder thousands of African youth in Brazil, Columbia, and the United States. This bloodshed is the basis of the wealth of the West and the underdevelopment of the Global South. Settler ideology and practice continues. Although national liberation pushed back settler-regimes in Africa, Asia and the Americas, many racist settler-regimes still exist. In Sahrawi, Morocco took over from the Spanish.

When so-called socialist and communist ideologies cave to liberal notions of the right to self-defense of exploiters they have abandoned their core principles; they encourage peace without justice. This is akin to the patriarchal logic that condones rape if the rapist marries or is married to the victim. The settler-regime, the imperialist, the rapist have no right to exist. The power to impose your reality on others does not manufacture consent. It only breeds resistance. Slaves rise up against slave masters, serfs against feudal lords, wage slaves against capitalist, exploited genders against patriarchy and certainly indigenous peoples against settler-regimes.

The struggle against Imperialism, in general, and settler-colonialism in particular is a struggle for the survival of humanity. The theft and exploitation of indigenous peoples' resources is not only destroying the planet but bringing untold suffering on its people. Palestine in general, and the open-air prison, "Gaza", is one of the most horrifying examples of the attempted extermination of a people in history. Yet, their continued resistance is a testament to human dignity. Palestinian resistance is our resistance. Our solidarity with Palestine and resistance to all forms of genocide is the measure of our humanity.

The just solution to the problem of Palestine is the dismantling of the Zionist State and the implementation of a "One-State Solution", which includes the right of return for Palestinians. Palestine was a secular state prior to its occupation, a place where all ethnic groups could live with the same democratic and human rights.

The role of African, revolutionary and humanist solidarity with Palestine has to be rooted in Palestine's right to self-determination, the right of return of Palestinians from exile and their right to conduct the national liberation struggle by any means necessary.

The Kenya Palestine Solidarity Movement



14 October 2023

The Kenya Palestine Solidarity Movement (KPSM) stands in unwavering solidarity with the legitimate and lawful Palestinian liberation struggle. We acknowledge the resilience of our sisters and brothers in Palestine and the need to address the ongoing oppression and human rights violations.

Palestine has endured over 75 years of occupation, ethnic cleansing, genocide, murder, apartheid, administrative detention, forced evictions, blockades, destruction of homes and farms, illegal settlements, and land grabbing. The injustices faced by Palestinians continue unabated, despite international law and United Nations resolutions.

In 1948, during the Nakba, approximately 700,000 Palestinians were uprooted from their homeland. Today, externally displaced Palestinians number around 6 million, and the right of return, as per UN Resolution 194 (iii), remains unfulfilled.

The recent Al Aqsa Flood attack by the Palestinian Resistance on October 7, 2023 has exposed the vulnerability of the Israeli regime, and labelling Palestinians as terrorists for exercising their right to resistance and self-defence is hypocritical. President Biden's support for Israel only perpetuates these injustices, and the world must hold all perpetrators to account.

KPSM regards the Palestinian struggle as legitimate, similar to the Kenya land and freedom struggle and the Mau Mau freedom heroes and sheroes. Injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere. We call upon:

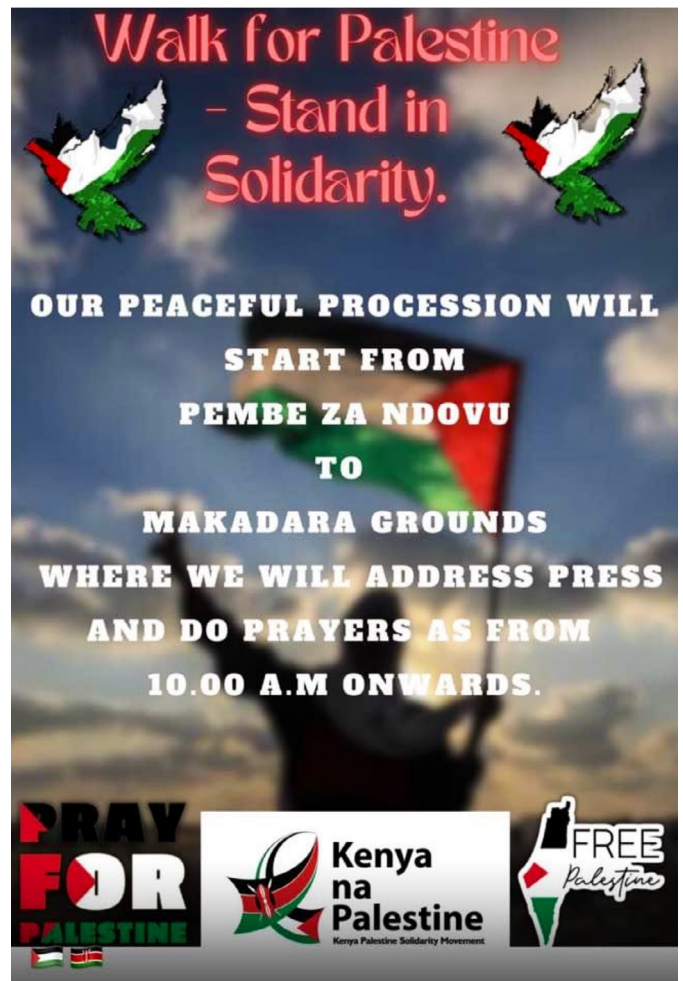
- a) The United Nations to take effective action against Israel and end another colonial apartheid state.
- b) Mainstream media to stop propagating colonisers' narratives.
- c) African governments to publicly condemn Israel's atrocities and revoke their observer status at the African Union (AU).

- d) KPSM members and supporters to remain steadfast in supporting our Palestinian brothers and sisters. Encourage religious leaders to speak out, engage with your political representatives to condemn Israeli actions, and continue raising awareness and advocating Palestinian rights until complete liberation is achieved.

Together, we stand against injustice and support the Palestinian people in their struggle for freedom and self-determination.

Issued by

Kenya Palestine Solidarity Movement/Kenya na Palestine (KPSM)



Kenyans For Palestine



kenyapalestine

Kenyans For Palestine (K4P) Stand in Solidarity with Palestine

Kenyans for Palestine (K4P) is a nationwide grassroots network of activists standing in anti-colonial solidarity with the Palestinian people. As anti-Zionists and internationalists, we shall educate and agitate for the full human rights and complete liberation of all who live under the racism of Israel's ethno-nationalist apartheid state by building bonds of common struggle and opposing Israel's economic and political interests in Kenya and beyond.

In Solidarity with the Palestinian people in pursuit of Justice, Liberation and Self Determination

Kenyans4Palestine stands in solidarity with the Palestinian people as they wage a war for liberation against an occupying force. This is not a war of 'terrorists' but a struggle against the apartheid state of Israel and its colonial project. Israel's supporters in the West and beyond have been complicit in this crime against humanity and their continued financial, moral and military support of the murderous regime of apartheid is atrocious and unforgivable.

We have witnessed the ruthless demolition of Palestinian homes and farmlands, the theft of their water sources, the conversion of Gaza into the largest open-air prison in the world, the killing and imprisonment of Palestinian children, the elimination of journalists who expose these crimes against humanity, the relentless building of new settlements in spite of them having been declared illegal by the UN, the refusal to allow Palestinian exiles to return to their homes, and so much more.

We, therefore, express our deepest disappointment with President William Ruto for expressing 'solidarity with the State of Israel' and condemning the Palestinians as "terrorists". We in Kenya remember that our freedom fighters were also branded 'terrorists' by colonial Britain as they waged their own heroic struggle to overthrow colonialism. How can our leaders now call for the "de-escalation of violence" while Israel's decades-long

violent subjugation of the Palestinian people since 1948 goes unanswered?

K4P once again calls on Africa as a whole to stand up to the settler-colonial state that is Israel, to oppose the normalisation of diplomatic ties, and to refuse Israel access to our institutions and economies.

We salute the courage and resolution of those fighting the occupation from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea and reaffirm the right of an occupied nation to resist its occupier and coloniser.

The Truth will prevail. Viva Palestine!
#PalestineWillBeFree!

K4P Steering Committee

Nairobi

October 8, 2023



The Young Communist League of Kenya



The Young Communist League is an anti-imperialist, Marxist Leninist organisation comprising of militant youth organisers based in the working class neighborhoods in Kenya. It is also the youth league organisation of the Communist Party of Kenya, the progressive anti-Ruto faction. It has held solidarity campaigns to build an internationalist front with progressive organisations in the country and other parts of the world. <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100078243486467>

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF KENYA SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE

The Young Communist League of Kenya stands with the progressive masses of the world in these times of tumult and the aggressive wrath of the exploiting forces of domination. We express our total commitment to the developments witnessed in the recent times in the political spectrum which carry a resounding significance to the quest for justice and freedom. We continually express our disapprobation towards the violence that has been unleashed against the people of Palestine and their sovereignty.

We, therefore, resolutely express our unwavering support to the people of Palestine as they face the fascist Zionist state of Israel, the recent uprising is a reflection of the sharpening contradiction of the national question and struggle for self-determination of the people of Palestine who have experienced colonial domination after the 1947 UN General assembly Resolution 181 called for the partition of Palestine and the creation of two states for the Jews and the Arabs. We hold that the efforts upheld to crush imperialism by the struggling masses of Palestine are a reflection of the desire for a people to be free. This is a struggle between an occupier and the occupied, it is a struggle against settler colonialism. The Palestinians have all the rights to believe that their freedom will be a result of struggle.

We, in the same breath, condemn all attempts by the imperialist alliance targeted upon the innocent Palestinian population. The war against democracy has ironically been waged by the preachers of

democracy and humanity. We strongly hold that a two-state solution is no longer a viable option and that a one-state solution of Palestine remains the only solution. The Palestinian land should and will always belong to the Palestinians. All efforts by the Zionist state and its Western supporters can only lead to a total failure.

We encourage and support the defence of the Palestinian territory and its people. We also call on all progressive fronts to stand with the struggling masses of the world in challenging imperialism and all its manifestations. A determined mass of a people can crush any fortress of oppression and exploitation. The courage and bravery of the Palestinian people motivates and lifts our spirits.

From the Land to the Sea, Palestine will be Free!

Long Live the Struggle of the Palestinian People against Zionism!

Young Communist League - Kenya
15 October at 07:46 · 🌐
We send our unconditional solidarity to the masses of the Palestinian people and the revolutionary forces during this daring, and necessary struggle against apartheid. Zionism shall fall!
#FreePalestine



12th October 2023. YCL-KE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Young Communist League - Kenya
15 October at 09:20 · 🌐
From the land to the sea, Palestine shall be free from all shackles of Zionist domination. Palestinian land belongs to the Palestinians. Our comrades join comrades of the Mathare Social Justice Centre - MSJC in a solidarity event with the Palestinian people!
#FreePalestine



Pan African Socialist Alliance (PASA) Statement in Solidarity with Palestinian People.

November 28th, 2023.

In the spirit of those who struggled and were victorious against foreign domination in Kenya, The Pan African Socialist Alliance – Kenya condemns and expresses our horror at the ongoing massacre and dehumanization of Palestinians by the Zionist and apartheid state of Israel.

Over the past month, we have seen the heartbreaking and terrible war of the indiscriminate ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. Israel has imposed a collective punishment of Palestinians through the use of a genocidal strategy of weaponization of food, medical supplies, water, electricity, and fuel supplies.

For decades, the West has not only materially supported Israel which is maintained on ethnic cleansing, land dispossession, and the denial of inalienable rights and sovereignty of Palestinian people, but also turned a blind eye to countless human rights violations inflicted on innocent civilians. Israel has continued to use violence to inculcate fear intended to coerce and intimidate Palestinians resisting structural colonial violence.

We also condemn ongoing media propaganda against the Palestinian people. Framing this heroic and historic struggle for liberation as “terrorist” is meant to tilt public opinion and moralize the indiscriminate killing happening. This is a well-known tactic of the oppressor, the Mau Mau, ANC, SWAPO, MPLA, and other liberation movements were branded “terrorist organizations” for demanding an end to colonial domination. The right to resist illegal occupation is enshrined in the Geneva Convention.

Additionally, we refuse the media deception that the question of Palestine is a religious one. This is beyond religious beliefs, this is humanity, it’s about a people fighting for their right to exist. Israel continues to indiscriminately target mosques, churches, schools, and hospitals, no matter which religion is under the roof. We honor and admire the courage and resistance of Palestinians, their profound love for their historic land, and their refusal to be erased despite Israel’s horrific genocidal acts of violence. We believe that however protracted and difficult this liberation struggle may be, a just struggle ultimately triumphs. We reiterate that however strong the Israeli military appears; it will not rob Palestinians of their freedom and right to their ancestral land.

We stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle against settler colonialism and ethnic

cleansing, we restate that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of Palestinians. In light of this, we condemn the manner in which the Kenyan state has continued to suppress any form of activity in solidarity with Palestine.

Continually we urgently call on the Kenyan Government to:

1. Issue an unequivocal condemnation of Israel’s colonial and genocidal occupation of Palestine.
2. Indefinitely suspend all diplomatic relations with Israel.
3. Order the closure of the Israeli Embassy in Kenya.
4. Order the closure of Kenya’s Embassy in Israel.
5. Present a parliamentary motion condemning the Israeli occupation of Palestine.
6. Advocate at the African Union and United Nations for:

Immediate and unrestricted access to Gaza for humanitarian aid.

- UN protection for the 2.3 million Palestinian civilians in Gaza.
- An end to the siege on Gaza and a rejection of ethnic cleansing.
- A swift investigation by the International Criminal Court into war crimes and crimes against humanity, as per the relevant UN and international laws.
- Activation of UN mechanisms to end and punish crimes against humanity, holding perpetrators and enablers accountable.
- A comprehensive military embargo on Israel.

Furthermore, we invoke the principles of the United Nations that grant the right to occupied people to resist occupation by any means necessary. We highlight the ongoing carpet bombing of Gaza as a violation of these principles and call for immediate action.

We also draw attention to the Nuremberg Principles on war crimes and the Mandela Principles on the right of Palestinian political prisoners illegally held in Israeli prisons. The Kenyan Government is urged to address these violations in alignment with international law.

From the river to the Sea, Palestine shall be Free.

Two Paths Ahead Reviewed

by John Graversgaard¹

Shiraz Durrani (2023): *Two Paths Ahead in Kenya. The Ideological Struggle between Capitalism and Socialism in Kenya, 1960-1970.* Nairobi: Vita Books.

Available at: <https://www.africanbookscollective.com/books/two-paths-ahead>

Shiraz Durrani's book, *Two Paths Ahead* is a crucial work to understand the tragedy of an African liberation being stolen and degraded to the benefit of a new African ruling class. This was to the satisfaction of British imperialism, which wanted to keep its key position in support of the white settlers and capitalism.

Kenya was part of the British Empire and in 1963 it became an independent republic. The book documents the long struggle for freedom and land before independence and after. It uses and reproduces key documents from the main conflict between capitalism and socialism. The treason of the new black bourgeoisie is revealed: Imperialism was able to take the air out of the liberation by using all kinds of violent and dirty tricks.

Socialism was popular after the Second World War and workers and peasants wanted a people's republic with nationalisation of land, free education and health. But the white settlers were not willing to give up their privileges in the form of stolen fertile land and control of the state. For the local people, expulsion from their lands and being reduced to servants of the white rulers meant that there were constant rebellions against this tyranny. This land-grabbing was systematic and the Pan-Africanist WEB Du Bois wrote about this as the Africans in the 1920s protested the land-grabbing by the British colonialists. In the book *The New Negro: An Interpretation* by Alan Locke (1927):

Here was a land largely untainted by the fevers of the tropics and here England proposed to send her sick and impoverished soldiers of the war. Following the lead of

¹ John Graversgaard is a political activist in Denmark.

South Africa, Britain took usurped five million acres of the best lands from the 3,000,000 native inhabitants, herded them towards the swamps giving them nothing as compensation, even there, no sure title; then by taxation the British forced sixty per cent of the black adults into slavery for the ten thousand white owners for the lowest wage. Here was opportunity not simply for the great landholder and slave-driver but also for the small trader, and twenty-four thousand Indians came. These Indians claimed the rights of free subjects of the empire—a right to buy land, a right to exploit labor, a right to a voice in the government now confined to the handful of whites. Suddenly a great race conflict swept East Africa—orient and occident, white, brown and black, landlord, trader and landless serf. When the Indians asked rights, the whites replied that this would injure the rights of the natives. Immediately the natives began to awake. Few of them were educated but they began to form societies and formulate grievances. A black political consciousness arose for the first time in Kenya. Immediately the Indians made a bid for the support of this new force and asked rights and privileges for all British subjects—white, brown and black. As the Indian pressed his case, white South Africa rose in alarm. If the Indian became a recognized man, landholder and voter in Kenya, what of Natal?

The British Government speculated and procrastinated and then announced its decision: East Africa was primarily a “trusteeship” for the Africans and not for the Indians. The Indians, then, must be satisfied with limited industrial and political rights, while for the black native—the white Englishman spoke! A conservative Indian leader speaking in England after this decision said that if the Indian problem in South Africa were allowed to fester much longer it would pass beyond the bounds of domestic issue and would become a question of foreign policy upon which the unity of the Empire might founder irretrievably. The Empire could never keep its colored races within it by force, he said, but only by

preserving and safeguarding their sentiments”.

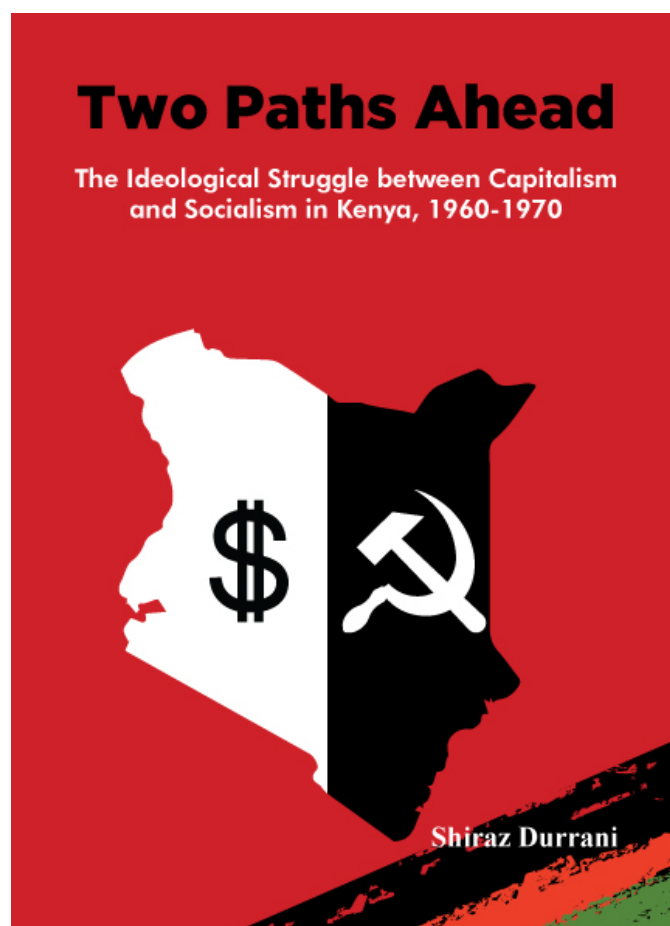
Tired of the humiliations, a more open liberation struggle against the British started with the so-called Mau Mau. The British tried by propaganda, splitting and harsh repression, like hanging, to subdue the militants.

The rebellion, also called The Land and Freedom Army, gave hope to millions of Africans tired of the foreign rule of white racism. The settlers also turned to psychiatry to reduce it to “an irrational force of evil, dominated by bestial impulses and influenced by world communism”, according to Carothers (1947). They used not only racism, reducing the fighters to the status of animals, and claimed it was a battle between the ‘civilised’ against the ‘uncivilised primitives’. This was a cold war rhetoric to gain support from white racists and imperialism.

The colonial narrative placed Jomo Kenyatta in an important role. Kenyatta became a willing tool of the British and was able to sideline his opponents who wanted justice and land reform. He was able to profit by becoming a big landowner and using the tribal card of divide and rule to privilege his own tribe and loyalists with positions and land. The party, KANU (Kenya African National Union), was divided on ideological grounds on the future of a liberated Kenya. British intelligence was hard at work to corrupt the incoming African politicians and Kenyatta, who the British had earlier imprisoned, became their favourite. The opposition, with people like Pio Gama Pinto and Oginga Odinga, challenged the land and money-grabbing they could see. Pinto became a key enemy for the new rulers and was brutally assassinated in 1965. This was a hard blow for the socialist collective that Pinto was part of. KPU (Kenya People’s Union) was formed in 1966 as a protest against Kenyatta and his capitalist policies. Imperialism tried to reduce the struggle to a tribal warfare or a struggle between personalities, but for the first time in Kenya, a political party, openly advocating socialism, was formed. In 1969, the Kenyatta government banned KPU and arrested its leaders.

One of the tricks of Kenyatta was to talk of his policy as an ‘African Socialism’. The KPU Manifesto (p.194) from 1966 talks about this ‘African Socialism’ as a meaningless phrase and a cloak for the practice of total capitalism, promoting the development of a small, privileged class of Africans. This led to the

control of the economy by foreigners growing every day and without any nationalisations. This was in contrast to socialism’s basic principles on equality in the distribution of income, control over the means of production and the minimisation of foreign capitalist control of the economy. KPU put the finger on the fact that ministers owned big estates, and demanded that land be available for the Wananchi (the masses). Durrani sees the murder of Pinto as crucial in the class struggle for Kenya’s future. KPU’s Wananchi Declaration of 1969 says more clearly that the people wanted their land returned to the owners and that they wanted all Mau Mau fighters to be restored to their land, which they had fought for. They wanted economic and social changes, fulfilling KANU’s earlier pledges to the people. This progressive nationalism was met with terror and arrests, to the delight of the British settlers and imperialism. One of the more shocking details in Durrani’s book is the scorn and contempt that Kenyatta expressed, shortly after his release from prison:” «At Githunguri, an African-run Teacher Training school turned into a butchery during the revolt, where over one thousand Kikuyu were hung by the British forces of law and order, Kenyatta referred to the Mau Mau as `a disease which has been eradicated and must never be remembered again`”(p.178).



Kenyatta made deals with the British that forced people to take loans if they wanted to buy their stolen land back. He created a system whereby he and his loyalists profited and installed a regime where looting, land-grabbing and corruption became systemic. Market principles with the ‘willing buyer/ willing seller’ were introduced -- a disgrace to the freedom movement where land rights had always been at the very heart of the struggle. Kenyatta was giving himself and his loyalists the same privileges for land grabbing as the British. The rights of the British Governor were transferred to the President, and destroyed the prospect of a more just and equal Kenya.

This was a betrayal that continues to this day, as the class struggle in Kenya to a high degree concentrates on the land issue, see Klopp & Lumumba (2017), who argue “that post-colonial elites never fundamentally reformed a system of land expropriation for the few and powerful. The challenge for reformers is to overcome these powerful forces arrayed against change with creative mobilisation strategies”.

Kenyatta was chosen and picked by Britain to ensure their interests, but USA was also involved in promoting the acceptance of capitalism and Western economic interests. The activist trade union movement had to be controlled and here Tom Mboya played a crucial role (p.130). Through him, the CIA poured money into the country to support capitalism and at forming an African elite against the demands from the people who wanted to break the chains of colonialism. Susan Williams (2021) documents this in her important book: *White malice. CIA and the covert neocolonisation of Africa*.

Two Paths Ahead brings justice to the brave people of the Land and Freedom Army and to people like Oginga Odinga, Pio Gama Pinto, Bildad Kaggia, Makhan Singh and many others fighting for justice and socialism. It also contains central documentation on their political position.

Thanks to Shiraz Durrani and Vita Books for publishing this important book. It needs to be widely read by the young people of Kenya in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

References

Jaqueline M. Klopp and Odenda Lumumba (2017): ‘Reform and Counter-reform in Kenya’s Land Governance’. *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 44, No. 154, 577-594 (2017).

Du Bois citation is from Wikipedia Kenya Colony – Wikipedia, citing:

Du Bois, WE Burghardt (1 April 1925). ‘Worlds of Color’. *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 3, no. 3. ISSN 0015-7120. (1925).

‘The Negro Mind Reaches Out’. In Locke, Alain LeRoy (ed.). *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (1927 ed.). Albert and Charles Boni. pp. 404–405. LCCN 25025228. OCLC 639696145.

Carothers, John Colin cited in Mau Mau rebellion - Wikipedia

Williams, Susan: *White malice. CIA and the covert neocolonisation of Africa* (2021), New York, Hurst.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism in Kenya has been long, bitter and violent. Capitalism won with the active support of USA and UK governments at the time of independence in 1963. Yet the original (1960) Kenya African National Union (KANU) Party was in favour of socialism. It was Presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi who used violence to suppress those advocating socialism. They used their power to massacre, assassinate, exile, imprison and disappear people and created a state of terror to silence their opponents. Capitalism became the unstated state policy. Thus, imperialism won and the aims of Mau Mau were brutally suppressed. However, the desire for socialism never died. Resistance movements and opposition parties made socialism their aim, reflecting people’s desire for justice, equality and empowerment.

Many studies on Kenya focus on personalities or ‘tribes’ or race as driver of events, ignoring the all-important class and ideological positions of leaders and their Parties. *Two Paths Ahead* reproduces and comments on the documents from the opposing sides in the battles between capitalism and socialism — the original Kenya African National Union (KANU), its successor, KANU-B, and the Kenya People’s Union (KPU) on economy, land, labour, and social policy. It also touches upon the demands of the organisers of the 1982 Coup and traces the political stand of key leaders as proponents of capitalism or socialism. The final section reproduces some of the documents on this ideological struggle. The book exposes the hidden hand of imperialism in the country’s rush to capitalism. It fills a gap in understanding the real contradictions that divide Kenya to this day.

This is an excellent exposition, in simple and clear terms, of the fundamental problem behind Kenya’s failed independence, entrenched misrule and mass poverty. Kenya’s underdevelopment, corruption and state capture by the elite will never be understood and properly tackled until their ideological foundations are appreciated. The struggle against British colonialism and the struggles that Kenyans have waged since formal independence are decidedly socialist endeavours. They have not succeeded precisely because capitalism is hidden and always fights back.

A radical public education in the sense of going to the roots of the problem is urgently needed in order to a) re-school and awaken the vast majority of Kenyans who have been misled about the true nature of their deepening predicament, its causes and remedies; and b) to develop new arsenals to dismantle the capitalist order and establish a socialist government. Durrani makes an important contribution in this regard — Henry Makori, journalist, The Star (Nairobi) and consultant editor with the Media Council of Kenya. Previously with Pambazuka News.



Never Be Silent. Simama Imara

ISBN 978-9966-133-12-0

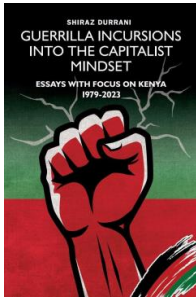
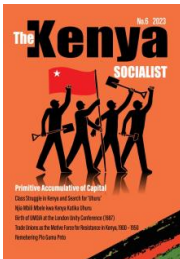
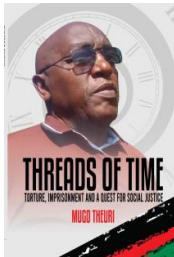
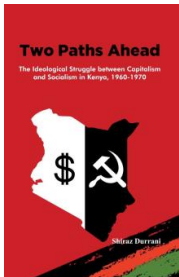
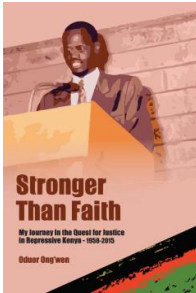
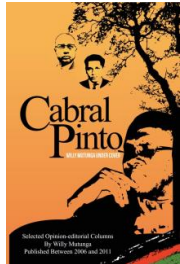
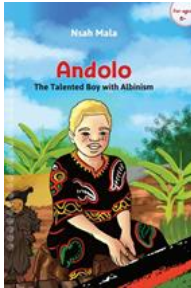
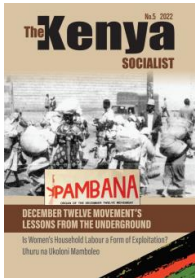


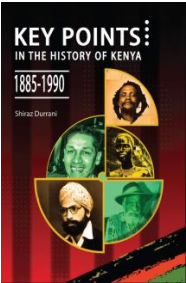
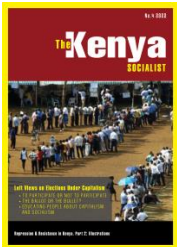
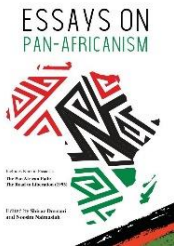
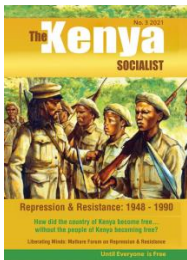
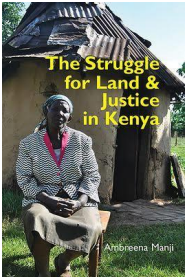
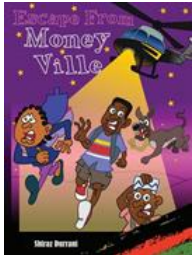
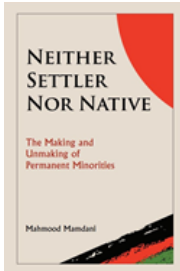
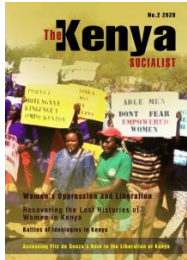
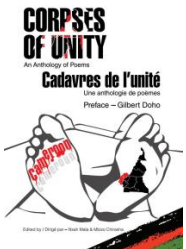
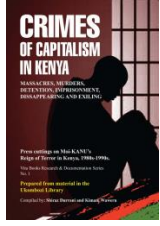
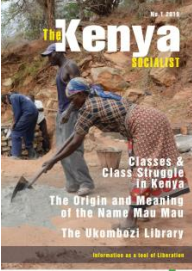
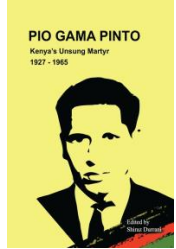
9 789966 133120

VITA BOOKS



LIST OF BOOKS & PRICES (VAT EXCLUSIVE)

<p>GUERRILLA INCURSIONS INTO THE CAPITALIST MINDSET by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2023 ISBN 978-9914-9701-9-7 Pages 451 Kshs. 2,500</p>	<p>THE KENYA SOCIALIST Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru No. 6</p>  <p>2023 ISBN 978-9914-9621-0-9 Pages 60 Kshs. 600</p>	<p>THREADS OF TIME The Ideological Struggle between Capitalism and SoTorture, Imprisonment and a Quest for Social Justice by Mugo Theuri</p>  <p>2023 ISBN 9789914962130 Pages 228 Kshs. 2,000</p>	<p>TWO PATHS AHEAD The Ideological Struggle between Capitalism and Socialism in Kenya, 1960-1970 by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2023 ISBN 978-9966-133-12-0 Pages 313 Kshs. 2,000</p>
<p>STRONGER THAN FAITH - My Journey in the Quest for Justice in Repressive Kenya - 1958- 2015 by Oduor Ong'wen</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 978-9914-9621-9-2 Pages 540 Kshs. 2,500</p>	<p>CABRAL PINTO WILLY MUTUNGA UNDER COVER - Selected Opinion-Editorial Columns By Willy Mutunga Published Between 2006 and 2011</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 978-9914-9921-9-9 Pages 505 Kshs. 2,500</p>	<p>ANDOLO – The Talented Boy with Albinism by Nsah Mala Illustration – Akila Junior</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 987-9914-9921-7-5 Pages 28 Kshs. 500</p>	<p>THE KENYA SOCIALIST Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru No. 5</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 978-9914-9921-1-3 Pages 39 Kshs. 600</p>

<p>KEY POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF KENYA, 1885-1990 by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 978-9914-9875-7-7 Pages 158 Kshs. 1,200</p>	<p>THE KENYA SOCIALIST Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru No. 4</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 978-9914-9921-1-4-4 Pages 39 Kshs. 600</p>	<p>ESSAYS ON PAN-AFRICANISM Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Noosim Naimasiah</p>  <p>2022 ISBN 978-9914-9875-6-0 Pages 271 Kshs. 2,000</p>	<p>THE KENYA SOCIALIST Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru No. 3</p>  <p>2021 ISBN 9789914700893 Pages 40 Kshs. 600</p>
<p>THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND & JUSTICE IN KENYA by Ambreena Manji</p>  <p>2021 ISBN 978-9914-9875-8-4 Pages 208 Kshs. 2,500</p>	<p>ESCAPE FROM MONEYVILLE by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2021 ISBN 9789914987508 Pages 69 Kshs. 800</p>	<p>NEITHER SETTLER NOR NATIVE - The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities by Mahmood Mamdani</p>  <p>2020 ISBN 9789914987546 Pages 401 Kshs. 2,200</p>	<p>THE KENYA SOCIALIST Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru No. 2</p>  <p>2020 ISBN 9789914700893 Pages 26 Kshs. 600</p>
<p>CORPSES OF UNITY – An Anthology of Poems Edited by Nsah Mala & Mbizo Chirasha</p>  <p>2020 ISBN 9789966133991 Pages 105</p>	<p>CRIMES OF CAPITALISM IN KENYA - Press Cuttings on Moi-KANU's Reign of Terror in Kenya, 1980s-1990 Compiled by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru</p>  <p>2020 ISBN 9789966133113 Pages 224 Kshs. 1,500</p>	<p>THE KENYA SOCIALIST Edited by Shiraz Durrani & Kimani Waweru No. 1</p>  <p>2019 ISBN 978-9966133816 Pages 37 Kshs. 600</p>	<p>PIO GAMA PINTO Kenya's Unsung Martyr. 1927 - 1965 Edited by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2018 ISBN 9789966189004 Pages 391 Kshs. 2,200.00/=</p>

<p>Kshs. 1,000</p> <p>MAU MAU THE REVOLUTIONARY, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCE FROM KENYA: 1948-1963 by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2018 ISBN 9789966804020 Pages 154 Kshs. 800/=</p>	<p>TRADE UNIONS IN KENYA'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2018 ISBN 9789966189097 Pages 118 Kshs. 800/=</p>	<p>PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN KENYA by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2018 ISBN 9789966114525 Pages 124 Kshs. 800/=</p>	<p>KENYA'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE - Mau Mau and its Legacy of Resistance to Colonialism and Imperialism, 1948-1990 by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2018 ISBN 9789966189011 Pages 450 Kshs. 1,500/=</p>
<p>LIBERATING MINDS, RESTORING KENYAN HISTORY - Anti-Imperialist Resistance by Progressive South Asian Kenyans 1884-1965 by Nazmi Durrani</p>  <p>2017 ISBN 9789966189097 Pages 202 Kshs. 800/=</p>	<p>MAKHAN SINGH. A Revolutionary Kenyan Trade Unionist Edited by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2016 ISBN 1869886135 Pages 194 Kshs. 1,200/=</p>	<p>PROGRESSIVE LIBRARIANSHIP Perspectives from Kenya and Britain, 1979-2010 by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2014 ISBN 9781869886202 Pages 446 Kshs. 1,600.00/=</p>	<p>INFORMATION AND LIBERATION Writings on the Politics of Information and librarianship by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2008 ISBN 9789966189073 Pages 384 Kshs. 1,500.00/=</p>
<p>NEVER BE SILENT Publishing and Imperialism in Kenya 1884-1963 by Shiraz Durrani</p>  <p>2008 ISBN 9789966189073 Pages 280 Kshs. 1,200.00/=</p>	<p>KARIMI NDUTHU: A Life in Struggle</p>  <p>1998 1869886127 Kshs. 300.00/=</p>	<p>Vita Books are available at Ukombozi Library or from the following Bookshops</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prestige Booksellers, Mama Ngina Street next to 20th Century Cinema • Bookstop, 2nd floor, Yaya Centre, Argwings Kodhek Road, • Comrades Book House-Mwimuto Shopping Centre, Lower Kabete • Cheche Books & Coffee-Intertrade Africa. Lavington • Nuria Bookstore, Moi Avenue. • Chania Bookshop, Moi Avenue, Tumaini House, Ground floor <p>Available Worldwide from African Books Collective http://www.africanbookscollective.com/publishers/vitabooks</p>	



“We are a people of strength, of will, of dignity, of humanity. We are defending humanity in Palestine. If Palestine is occupied, there is no peace in the world. Palestine is not only for Palestinians, it is a human cause,”
2023- Dilemma’s of Humanity Conference

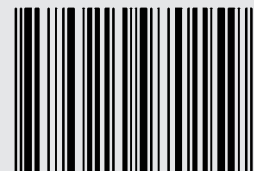
Leila Khaled



Never Be Silent. Simama Imara



ISBN 978-9914-9701-5-9



9 789914 970159