

SEPTEMBER 2020/ KES 500

ITIKADI

SOCIALISM, THEORY AND PRACTICE

2022 ELECTIONS

THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP FROM
THE LENSES OF HISTORY

NEOLIBERALISM

WHY KENYANS MUST
REJECT PRIVATISATION

BUDGET 2020/2021

FIRMING MONOPOLY CAPITAL, BAILING
OUT THE RICH, LEAVING OUT THE
WORKERS

PUBLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA



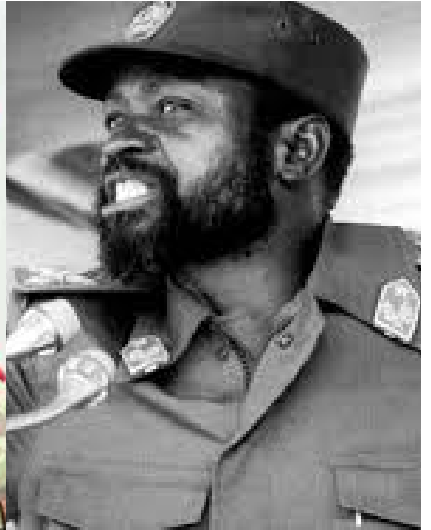
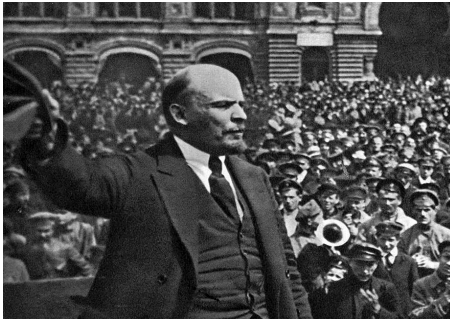


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ABOUT

ITIKADI: Socialism, Theory and Practice is published every two months in print and digital formats by the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought in Kenya and the Eastern African Region.

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THE HISTORY AND VOICE OF SOCIALISM IN EASTERN AFRICA

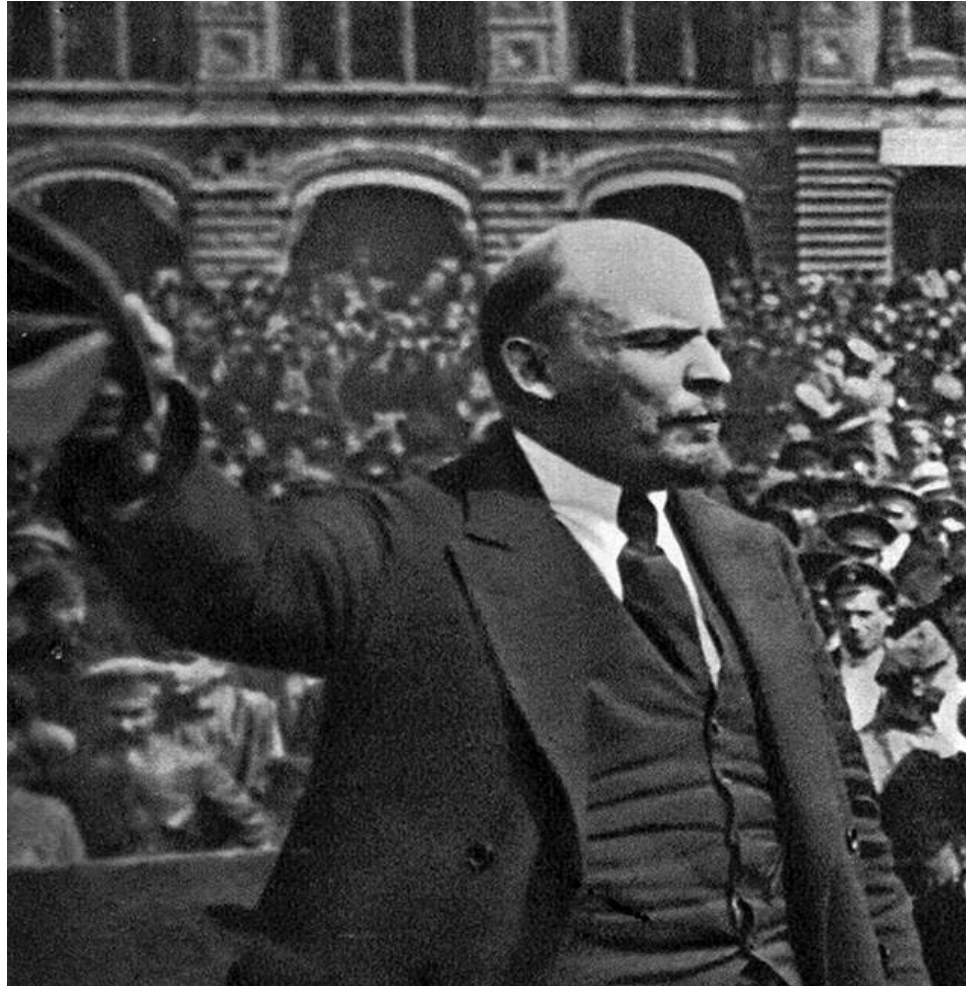
This is the first publication of ITIKADI: Socialism, Theory and Practice. Itikadi is about the history of the struggle for socialism in Kenya and the East African region. It will be a platform and voice of discussing the past and present theoretical and practical experiences of the struggle against capitalism, neoliberalism, and imperialism in the country today, and the prospects and problems for a socialist alternative.

Itikadi will also provoke criticism and self-criticism of the socialists in the region who played a revolutionary role in the past but have today abandoned socialism or given in to capitalism and neoliberalism. Socialism has never died, it is still alive and kicking in Kenya, Eastern Africa, Africa, and the World. Itikadi will express this truth and spirit by documenting socialist struggles.

Currently, neoliberal ideology and praxis dominate politics, economics, cultures, and education in Eastern Africa. Politicians, intellectuals, top civil servants, and the elites of civil society organisations who depend on funding from imperialist governments and organisations, adopt, perpetuate, and impose neoliberalism upon the people of the countries.

Neoliberalism is presented as though it is inevitable and therefore cannot or ought not be challenged or changed. Its failures are solely blamed on the bad governance, corruption, and ineptitude of states and leaderships and not on the capitalist system itself.

Neoliberalism embodies multiparty democracy that replaced one-party systems in the 1990s. This followed after long and protracted struggles of the masses for political reforms. Socialists and progressive individuals, parties, and organisations played active



Vladimir Illych Lenin addressing a rally (*FILE PHOTO*)

“Itikadi will also provoke criticism and self-criticism of the socialists who played a revolutionary role in the past but have today abandoned socialism”

roles in the struggle for democracy and human rights that included multi-partyism and constitutional reforms.

Socialists participated in this struggle mainly from the numerous underground movements and organisations that were formed within the countries, in prisons, and exile. This struggle demanded a lot of sacrifices from the socialists. Many of them were arrested, detained without trial, jailed by kangaroo courts, denied employment, forced into exile, assassinated, and persecuted in all ways by the successive dictatorial, corrupt, and pro-capitalist regimes.

But multiparty democracy has proved to be elusive to the majority of the citizens of the region.

The national elections that are held after every five or so years are used to legitimise and perpetuate the ruling elites in power. For that matter, nearly all the registered political parties in the Eastern African region, except the communist parties of Kenya, Sudan, and South Sudan embrace capitalism and neoliberalism ideology and praxis. The numerous registered parties differ only in form while in the content they are united in their capitalist and pro-imperialist ideology. They view bourgeois democracy - which they only pay lip service to - as the Alfa and Omega of democracy. They worship capitalism which they claim to be inevitable and necessary while adopting it as their visions, missions, and models of development expressed in their party manifestos, constitutions, websites, and other documents.

Again, the multi-partyism practiced in most cases is limited and appears only as a propaganda tool for pleasing their Western imperialist masters and for raising funds from the capitalist countries that impose dependency and neoliberalism upon the nations and the citizens.

Multi-partyism is also used to fool the masses by periodically giving them hope that they will end all their problems only if they vote wisely - the capitalist system notwithstanding. Yet, dictatorship is still rife in nearly all countries of the region despite the claim of the existence of multiparty democracies. In most cases than not, registration of political parties does not mean political liberty as they are not even allowed to operate freely. Dictatorship and violations of human rights remain under the so-called multiparty democracy, the extent of which differs from country to country.

The neoliberalism catch-words repeated every day that include transparency, accountability, good governance, gender equality, democracy, human rights, equity, equality, and sustainable development have proved to be empty platitudes that have little to do with the reality of life in the countries dominated by neo-colonial capitalism.

Under neoliberalism, corruption is endemic and has become a culture imposed by the ruling class upon whole societies. Existing laws, including constitutions, are violated with impunity while the judiciaries are either controlled, sabotaged, or blackmailed by the elites who control state power. National values and principles of governance that are printed and displayed in the constitutions are realised more in their breach than in their observance.

But it is also true that capitalism/neoliberalism in East Africa has been challenged, is being challenged, and ought to be challenged by socialists with socialist theory, ideology, and practice at the vanguard. Itikadi will engage in the battle of ideas to challenge capitalism and its neoliberal form while struggling for a socialist alternative.

During the struggle against colonialism, progressive nationalists presented socialism as a socio-political system that would bring about true decolonisation and national liberation. The ideology of scientific socialism had already appeared during the struggle

for independence in Kenya, Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia.

Before and during the struggle for independence from colonialism, there was the ideological struggle between the pro-capitalist nationalists and the pro-socialist liberation forces in the region. Classes and class struggle among the colonised Africans were manifested in various ways and forms during the struggle for national liberation.

In Kenya, after independence from classical colonialism in the 1960s, reactionary nationalist forces took over the leadership from colonialists and established the neo-colonial pro-capitalist state and regime. But even then, side by side with neo-colonial capitalism, there was a three-tier complementary economic system composed of the state, cooperative and private sectors. The state played the most significant role in the economy with the establishment of state parastatals in industry, agriculture, trade, services sectors. Tea, coffee, cotton, pyrethrum, milk, sugar, while other agricultural cooperative societies were established and developed and made to play key roles in the development process in the region in this period.

The progressive sections within the independence governments ensured that welfare in health, education, extension services were part and parcel of the economic and social policies that manifested the horizontal distribution of wealth and development. There also existed a more patriotic, honest, diligent, professional, and pro-people civil service.

Tanganyika set off like Kenya until 1967 when Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) led by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere pronounced the radical Arusha Declaration with Ujamaa socialism. The Arusha Declaration was a strong, socialist, ideological, and revolutionary statement that remains relevant and inspirational today as it was then.

However, the implementation of the Arusha Declaration faced subjective and



objective challenges that worked against the triumph of socialism in Tanzania. The objective challenges included economic sanctions and other sabotage actions imposed by neo-colonialism and the emerging local petty-bourgeois class. The subjective factors that hindered the implementation of the Arusha Declaration included Nyerere's adherence to the religious ideology of Catholicism and to the so-called African socialism that refused to adhere to scientific socialism, and in

the process failed to address the question of class and class struggle in the country. All this will be discussed at length in the successive publications of Itikadi.

Be it as it may, it is correct to conclude that Tanzania under Nyerere and ujamaa was the most progressive state and society in the region then. It made a lot of economic, social, and cultural achievements in favour of the masses of the country. The Tanzania of those days under Nyerere was also the true hub of Pan - Africanism and internationalism and

it played a leading role in the anti-colonial national liberation struggles of Africa, especially of Southern Africa. It provided solidarity to Kenyans who were struggling against the Kenyatta and Moi dictatorial and neo-colonial capitalist regimes. Nyerere's Tanzania was a true friend of the people of Palestine and all people in the World struggling against racism, colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism.

Unfortunately, Tanzania has today declined into the ranks of the most retrogressive states in Africa where blatant suppression of the opposition, the media, and of alternative voices is the order of the day. With each successive election, the most progressive state of yesteryears is sliding into dictatorship and deeper into neoliberalism.

Under Milton Obote and Uganda People's Congress (UPC), Uganda immediately after independence followed a development path similar to that of Kenya. It was then led by progressive nationalists and Pan - Africanist policies of President Milton Obote. Then Obote was overthrown and thereafter Uganda recorded coups after coups and the country plunged into dictatorships akin to fascism under Idi Amin.

The return of Obote after the overthrow of dictator Idi Amin with the help of Tanzania under Nyerere did not return the country to the better days of Obote one either. It was the National Resistance Movement (NRM) that led a revolutionary military struggle against the Obote dictatorship that promised political liberty with a socialist content.

However, today, Museveni and NRM are a reactionary regime that has not only embraced neo-liberalism but has eroded the democratic gains that were achieved by the people of Uganda after decades of suffering from the post-independence oppressive regimes. The Museveni regime is characterised by dictatorship, corruption, greed, tribalism, nepotism, reactionary militarism, and adherence to neo-colonialism and imperialism.

During the struggle for independence

“The Mengistu administration made revolutionary land reforms that provided land to the peasant tillers.”

from colonialism, slavery, and feudalism in the 1950s and early 1960s, revolutionary class struggles in Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia were leading towards making the Islands emerge as what was referred to as the “Cuba of Africa”. There was a sharp ideological and militant struggle between bourgeoisie oriented nationalist forces on one hand and organised communist revolutionary forces on the other. The nationalist forces that even collaborated with colonialists, feudalists, and (strangely) with TANU under Nyerere emerged victorious over the revolutionary forces. Why this happened, what stopped Zanzibar from becoming a Cuba in East Africa, the role of Nyerere in this regard, and where the Island’s communist revolutionaries, their parties, and organisations disappeared to, will be discussed in successive Itikadi publications by various articles including those by participant writers from Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia.

In Ethiopia, the Marxist inspired military coup under the leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam overthrew the centuries-old successive feudalism. After they overthrew King Haile Selassie who had oppressed the peasants and workers for decades, the Mengistu administration made revolutionary land reforms that provided land to the peasant tillers. The Mengistu government

not only started the process of building the communist party in Ethiopia but it led the communist ideological struggle in Eastern Africa through its Marxist publications, the Ethiopian Herald and Meskerem.

The Mengistu leadership posed a great threat to capitalism and imperialism in the region and was sabotaged and fought politically, economically, and militarily by imperialism, the reactionary regimes in the region, and by reactionary ethnic forces supported by imperialism within Ethiopia. Mengistu had to abandon leadership and go into exile in Zimbabwe to avoid causing a blood bath among Ethiopians. However, the progressive land reforms made by Mengistu and his comrades remain even as Ethiopia implements neoliberal policies amidst dictatorship and ethnic wars.

The most important thing to observe in all these is that all the progressive political, economic, social, and cultural gains made in favour of the masses of the East African region immediately after independence were greatly interrupted, eroded, and stopped by the imposition of neoliberalism starting especially from the 1980s.

The ideology of capitalism in the form of neoliberalism was translated and implemented through the imposition and implementation of the imperialist’s policies of the Bretton Woods institutions of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and also the World Trade Organisation, among others.

The neo-colonial policies were resisted by the governments and people in the beginning. But gradually the corrupt and greedy political and intellectual elites who control political, economic, educational, and state power adopted and embraced the reactionary policies. They continue to implement the structural adjustment programs that not only push the countries deeper and deeper into dependency, debt burden, and underdevelopment but also give birth to a plethora of cycles of social contradictions and problems.

There are commendable socialist strug-

gles and progress that has taken place in the region in the recent past. The Communist Party of Sudan, which is the oldest in Africa only second to the South African Communist Party, played a true vanguard role in the protracted struggle for the removal of the Omar El Bashir regime from power giving way to progressive political reforms in the country.

The Communist Party of South Sudan was born out of the Communist Party of Sudan and has been the voice of sobriety in the reactionary power struggles imposed by the greedy tribalist military elites.

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) was also “re-born” in January 2019 but not without undergoing a sharp struggle with reactionary state officials who believe that communism has no right to exist in the politics dominated by the various forms of capitalism.

CPK is a revolutionary party which is fully conscious of the fact that without revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolutionary party. That is why we recruit our members, and particularly cadres and leaders, through organised study circles. At the same time, we are also aware that revolutionary ideas become a revolutionary force only when they reach the masses. Itikadi is the organ of CPK of disseminating socialist ideas among the masses of Kenya and the East African region.

Itikadi will solicit articles from fraternal communist parties, movements, and organisations throughout the region to strengthen the voice of socialism in the battle of ideas with capitalism and imperialism. Itikadi: Socialism, Theory and Practice will be a theoretical weapon of all people exploited, oppressed, and marginalised by the pro-capitalist regimes in Eastern Africa, and even beyond.

Long live Itikadi: Socialism, Theory, and Practice!

Editors

KENYA'S 2022 ELECTIONS: THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE LENSES OF HISTORY



By Mwandawiro Mghanga

Of late a question has emerged in the Kenyan print, electronic and social media regarding who is best suited to be the President of Kenya in 2022 and beyond. Simply put: Will the President come from the sons and daughters of millionaires and billionaires who inherited their money, property, and political leadership positions from their parents who acquired their wealth through primitive accumulation, state positions, corruption, and unbridled capitalism consequently ravaging the country and the masses to this day?

Or should the President emerge from the sons and daughters of the poor peasants and workers who rose from the underclass and somehow managed to acquire and own billions of money and im-

mense properties which helped them to wriggle themselves into the positions of political and economic power that they occupy in the country today?

To be specific, is it the likes of Uhuru, Raila, Gideon or Musalia, the sons of Kenyatta, Odinga, Moi, and Mudavadi respectively, who inherited and benefited immensely from their fathers' political positions, influence and wealth and who are today conspiring to unite so that they can perpetuate the political dynasties through the so-called Handshake, Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) constitutional amendments, and other arrangements for the coming 2022 national elections?

Or is it the so-called hustlers, the likes of William Ruto, Kalonzo Musyoka and Co, the sons and daughters of poor

peasants and workers and who claim to have earned their wealth and political positions not from inheritance but “through hustling and solid personal efforts and initiatives”?

These questions are discussed and debated every day in public platforms including public meetings, media, churches, mosques and funerals. President Uhuru Kenyatta too entered this debate a few months ago during his late father’s “last national anniversary”. He said that to be a leader in and for Kenya, it does not matter who is or was your father or mother or what social class you come or came from. The most important thing, he said, is that you are ready and committed to serve Kenyans as a good leader. His concept of a good leader is not, of course, similar to that of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK).

The President’s Handshake - BBI friend, conspirator and co-laborator ODM leader Raila Odinga, the populist politician son of the progressive nationalist, the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, the first Vice President of Kenya, entered this debate too, several times with similar views as Uhuru’s. He repeated the question during the burial of the second President of Kenya, Daniel Moi, to defend the right of Kenya’s ruling class to perpetuate their reactionary political and economic dynasties in power claiming that all Kenyans originated from poverty and therefore have equal rights and opportunities in the struggle for political power through multiparty elections!

At the same time, the so-called hustlers, William Ruto and his supporters, have been warning Kenyans against perpetuating the political and economic dynasties of Kenya in power if the country is to change and move forward. They have been calling upon Kenyans to use their votes to stop the continuation of political and economic dynasties in 2022 by electing Ruto, the son of a peasant, to be President of Kenya - a person of their class origin. What they do not say, however, is that originating from the same class does not necessarily mean we belong to the same class today.

Ordinary people too have also not been left out of the debate either: is it a rich or poor person who will save Kenya? Who is best suited to be Kenya’s President after Uhuru’s term expires? Should it be a person from the class of the rich or that of the poor? From the working class or the capitalist class? From the common men and women or the wealthy elites?

It is for the above reasons, and the importance of the question of leadership in the struggle for social and national liberation, that we wish to state the position of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) in this debate. CPK’s position also appears in the article “2022 Elections, Kenyans think out of the box!” which is published in the Website of the party:

<http://www.communistpartyofkenya.org/>. It is the Marxist Leninist position regarding revolutionary struggles, leadership, and political power which is informed by historical materialism.

To begin with, history has shown that being from a rich or poor class does not automatically determine the role an indi-

vidual could or could not play in progressive or revolutionary struggle and leadership. What is important is what class position and ideology one embraces and identifies within the struggle for leadership, and what socio-economic system the leadership contest is all about. It is a question concerning whether the leader is progressive or reactionary, revolutionary or counterrevolutionary, in a specific material and historical conditions.

A few examples from history will suffice to elaborate on this. In history, Jesus Christ who was the son of poor parents from the class of slaves in the nation then under Roman colonialism decided to identify with his class of slaves and fought against the reactionary ideas and practices of maintaining the status quo of slavery and colonialism.

Jesus always identified with his class and struggled for the liberation of poor and common men and women. He was a revolutionary of his time who always combatted reactionary ideas and the oppressive system of slavery and colonialism. For this, he was condemned to death by the class of Jew slave owners and the Roman colonial authorities both of who he threatened and who crucified him on the cross as a consequence.

Fortunately, history is always kind to revolutionaries and people’s heroes who sacrifice for the freedom and liberation of the majority: thus for his heroic revolutionary contribution and sacrifice for the masses of his time, Jesus Christ the son of a poor carpenter who was murdered when he was only 33 years old left a great historical legacy. Today 2020 years after his death Jesus Christ is still remembered and is even worshipped as God.

Now, had Saul not lived and turned into Paul by abandoning the reactionary ideas of the class of slave owners to which he was born, and had he not renounced the slavery and colonial systems of the exploiters and oppressors, there would not have been Christianity today.

Unlike Jesus, Paul was born from the privileged class of slave owners and as a consequence was able to receive good education to become a great intellectual, thinker, and philosopher of his time. After opposing the revolutionary ideas of Jesus and persecuting his disciples he one day saw the light, committed class suicide, and joined the class of the poor and oppressed of his time in the liberation struggle against slavery and Roman colonialism.

Paul’s commitment to his Christian ideas - that were progressive and even revolutionary then - that he not only articulated, wrote about and preached eloquently while spreading the Christian gospel in the course of his extensive travels throughout the region then, threatened the Jewish slave owners ruling class and the state of the Roman empire.

As a consequence, Paul was arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and persecuted many times over before he was finally brutally executed for his militant Christian ideas and activities that he refused to denounce.

But for his Christian ideology and leadership at the time, Paul managed to leave behind the legacy of salvaging Christianity by taking it from the Jews and spreading it to the whole World. Today he is celebrated as a saint. Paul is in the Bible and his ideas which form the basis of Christian philosophy are read and studied every day.

Karl Marx did not come from the class of the poor but from the middle class. His parents were educated civil servants of the royal administration. But this did not stop him from becoming the founder of scientific communism. Marx who achieved higher university education at a young age identified his role as a human being: an independent, conscious, creative social being, and committed himself to his revolutionary obligations under the historical and material conditions of his time. He stretched his intellectual capabilities to unimaginable levels in the service of the struggle for total freedom and liberation of human individuals and society: communism.

Marx not only founded the revolutionary theory and ideology for the liberation struggle of the working class and all the exploited and oppressed, but he was also a militant mobiliser, organiser and leader of international worker's political parties and organizations. For this, he was feared by the authorities of the feudal and capitalist classes and was always persecuted throughout Europe.

Despite the life of hardship and poverty that was imposed upon him by the states of the exploiters and oppressors, Marx, by sheer persistence, struggle, commitment, and revolutionary resilience managed to leave to the World the legacy of the theory and ideology of scientific communism that guides socialist revolutionary struggles to this day.

Marx's lifetime friend, comrade, and devoted collaborator in founding sci-



Jomo Kenyatta



Oginga Odinga

entific socialism and in organising and leading workers' revolutionary struggles was Fredrick Engels. Fredrick Engels, an organic great communist intellectual, was the son of a rich industrialist. He was from the bourgeoisie class. But this did not prevent him from identifying with the working class and socialist revolutionaries and with Marx in fighting for communism, freedom, and liberation of the poor in theory and practice. Were it not for his frequent financial and moral contributions to Marx and Marx's family, Marx would not have been able to accomplish the great revolutionary tasks he did despite his unsurpassed resilience. After his death, Fredrick Engels remains a communist legend side by side with Karl Marx.

Vladimir Lenin was the son of a middle-class family that was even known to the royal class of Russia of Tsar Nicolas. However, this did not prevent him from identifying with the workers and working-class and organising and leading their revolutionary struggle that ultimately triumphed as the first socialist revolution in the World, the Great October 1917 Revolution. Lenin the leader of the first socialist country in the World made such a significant contribution to the theory, ideology, and practice of socialism that today his name appears side by side with that of the founder of scientific communism: thus Marxism Leninism.

Joseph Stalin was the son of a shoemaker and a mother from a humble working-class background. His family was always living and struggling with the social contradictions and hardships of the families and homes of the working class and the poor. Despite this and early religious influence, Stalin gained class consciousness, identified with his class origin, adopted communism, and became one of the greatest communist underground mobilisers of the workers in the struggle against Tsarist feudalism and capitalism. He was a distinguished follower of Lenin and Marx in theory and practice and left

a wealth of literature in this regard.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin, despite having been born in Georgia, took over from Lenin as the leader of the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Union. It was Stalin and his leadership that mobilised communists, the working class, and the anti-fascist forces of Russia, Soviet Union, Europe, and the World that after one of the greatest sacrifices ever made by human beings, managed to defeat Hitler and liberate the World from fascism.

Apart from his contributions to the theory and practice of socialism and socialist internationalism, Stalin led Russia towards becoming a great scientific, technological, industrial, and military superpower in the World. Thus despite his humble background Stalin is remembered as a communist revolutionary leader and legend.

Mao Tse Tung was the son of a rich farmer and peasant. However, Mao identified with the peasants, workers, the poor, and all the people of China exploited and oppressed by feudalism, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism.

Having adopted communism as the ideology of the struggle for the liberation and freedom of the exploited and oppressed, Chairman Mao expounded Marxism - Leninism in theory and practice, making a huge and significant contribution to its scientific development and application to the revolutionary struggle of his country and the World.

Mao perfected the theory of peoples' war and created a large communist army, movement, and party that applied guerrilla war tactics and strategies, and defeated feudalism, capitalism, Japanese and US imperialism, and established the socialist state in China in 1949.

A comrade of Joseph Stalin, Chairman Mao was a great communist internationalist who provided theoretical, moral, and material support to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles in the World. Under his communist leadership of China, Mao led the building of the foundation of the socialist development path that transformed China from a peasant and feudal economy into a great scientific, technological, industrial, military and economic superpower it is today.

Kim Il Sung was the son of poor working-class parents but who were educated and had always been patriots and revolutionaries. His family made great sacrifices in the course of the struggle for the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonialism, feudalism, and capitalism.

A great example of a communist hero from a tender age, Kim Il Sung formed, organised and led Korea's national liberation struggle and communist army and movement that was at the vanguard of the war that liberated North Korea from Japanese fascist colonialism.

After independence from Japanese colonialism, Kim Il Sung also led the war that defeated the invasion of his country by

US imperialism. His juche communist ideology has transformed North Korea from a poor and backward feudal peasant economy dominated by foreign capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism into a true independent industrial self-reliant socialist nation that makes imperialism tremble.

A communist internationalist leader, Kim Il Sung was always at the forefront of offering moral and material solidarity to the people and nations in the World struggling for social and national liberation. After independence, many Kenyans received higher and technical education from North Korea.

Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban revolution, was the son of a Spanish immigrant who became a big landlord owning thousands of acres of land in Cuba. Yet, Fidel and his brother Raul denounced the privileges of the ruling class and joined the poor masses of Cuba from the class of peasants, former slaves and workers to fight against dictatorship, US colonialism and for democracy, social and national liberation.

After the revolution and the declaration of socialism and implementation of land reforms which included nationalisation of large estates, the Castro family land was also nationalised. Thus Fidel and his brother committed real class suicide to spearhead the socialist revolution in Cuba together with the masses and other Cuban revolutionaries.

Today Fidel, his comrades, and brothers, amongst them a medical doctor and communist internationalist who was born in a middle-class family in Argentina - Ernesto Che Guevara - are communist heroes and icons of their kind. They have left a country that is independent, resilient, and respected amidst the longest and most brutal economic, commercial, and financial blockades ever imposed against any country by imperialism led by the United States of America. The leadership of Fidel and the Communist Party of Cuba continues to teach the World by example and selfless sacrifice how we should strive to build a society that nurtures socialist internationalism to recreate people of high moral values that use their abilities to sacrifice, work and serve humanity in their countries and World.

The Cuban doctors who volunteer and sacrifice to provide medical services to the people in need and during calamities not only in their own country but also throughout the world, including Kenya, are an example of the legacy of the communist leadership of Fidel Castro and his comrades.

In Africa, Julius Kambarage Nyerere was the son of a traditional Chief of the Zanaki in Western Tanzania near Lake Victoria. Yet, after he returned to Tanganyika from higher education studies in the United Kingdom he immediately joined the masses of his country who were then being exploited and oppressed by colonialism. Nyerere went to the forefront of the national liberation struggle of not only Tanganyika but the whole of East Africa. A convinced Pan Africanist, Nyerere was ready to delay

the declaration of the independence of Tanganyika so as to declare it together and at the same time with that of Uganda and Kenya and form the united nation of East Africa immediately after Uhuru.

After Independence and particularly in 1967 under his guidance, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) made the Arusha Declaration that ushered Tanzania along the development path of socialism, Ujamaa. He then united Tanganyika and Zanzibar to found Tanzania and Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) which was then a socialist party.

Under the leadership of Nyerere, Tanzania played a leading role in offering moral, political, material and military support to the struggle of the people of Southern Africa and all the people the continent and World struggling to liberate their people and nations from racism, colonialism, and imperialism, including Palestine.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, as he was popularly known, was a prolific writer and teacher of African socialist morality and culture. His leadership and teachings form a great legacy of revolutionary leadership that inspires the people of Tanzania who are today struggling against dictatorship, state corruption, tribalism, neo-colonial capitalism and reactionary leadership, all which is ravaging the majority of Tanzanians today and has destroyed all the socialist achievements made by Nyerere's leadership.

Like Nyerere, Nelson Mandela was the son of a traditional Chief. Yet, from a youthful age, Mandela joined South Africa's national liberation struggle on the side of the discriminated, exploited, and oppressed majority people of South Africa. He militantly struggled against the brutal systems of apartheid, capitalism, and imperialism. As a young lawyer, he defended the poor in the courts free of charge. Mandela became a member of the African National Congress (ANC), an avid defender and mobiliser of the popular masses of his country and a founder and organiser of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP).

Mandela was arrested and tried for treason. He refused to denounce the ANC and the armed national liberation struggle - and despite his principled, articulate, and fearless defence akin to that of Fidel Castro - he was sentenced to prison for life. He served 27 years in prison for refusing to denounce the armed struggle, even after becoming the most important political pris-

oner in the World.

When he was finally released from prison, Mandela then at an old age reluctantly accepted to become the first Black president of South Africa. He served as President for five years. When he died Mandela left behind an everlasting legacy about the extent of which an individual can sacrifice for the cause of freedom and humane society and World.

Kwame Nkrumah, the greatest Pan - Africanist and founder President of independent Ghana, the first country in Africa to free itself from colonialism, was the son of a fishmonger father and a hawker mother. Having identified with the class of the poor and oppressed of his country and continent, Nkrumah in his later years became a committed communist. He made contributions to the theory, ideology, and practice of Marxism Leninism which he applied to the African conditions. He led the liberation struggle of Ghana and became the founder President of the country. He believed and struggled for a united socialist Africa. Nkrumah was overthrown from power by neo-colonial puppets in the service of US imperialism but his socialist vision of a United States of Africa remains as firm as a rock and will continue to inspire the unity of African revolutionaries.

Samora Machel was the son of peasant parents. He, a migrant worker in South Africa, became a communist and was one of the founders of the FRELIMO party and movement that led the national liberation armed struggle that ultimately liberated Mozambique from the Portuguese colonialism. Samora was a committed communist, Pan - Africanist and internationalist who after the independence of Mozambique offered moral, material, and military support to liberation struggles in Southern Africa and built strong revolutionary solidarity with the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Guinea Bissau, Principe and Sao Tome.

Samora was assassinated by the apartheid and imperialist forces while spearheading the anti-imperialist and anti-racist war and consolidating the freedom gains made by Mozambique through following the socialist path of development.

Chris Hani was the son of a migrant worker. His mother was a farmworker who struggled to eke a living to raise her poor and impoverished family. All this did not stop Chris from becoming an organic revolutionary intellectual, underground struggle organiser and mobiliser. Chris rose to become the commander of the military wing of the ANC. He also became the Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party (SACP). On the eve of South Africa's independence from apartheid and colonialism, Chris was assassinated by the apartheid and imperialist forces to prevent him and the SACP from taking over leadership and political power from Mandela hence becoming the second Black President of South Africa who would have led South Africa along the development path of socialism.

"Samora was assassinated by the apartheid and imperialist forces while spearheading the anti-imperialist war and consolidating the freedom gains made in Mozambique by following the socialist path of development."

“Mekatilili wa Menza stands out as the great woman leader of the Mijikenda who bravely led men and women to rebel against British colonialism.”

Amilcar Cabral was the son of a wealthy landowning family that was also very well educated. Amilcar went into the best schools that enabled him to obtain higher education and training. Yet, Amilcar became the political and military leader of the national liberation war of the people of Guinea Bissau against Portuguese colonialism. He was a committed internationalist and socialist revolutionary and fought for the social and national liberation of the poor and all exploited and oppressed people in Africa and the World.

Amilcar was assassinated by colonial and imperialist forces on the eve of the independence of Guinea Bissau. He left a wealth of literature on the theory and ideology of socialism and people's war as applied in African conditions that we still use in our revolutionary struggles today.

Kenya has also produced its own people's leaders and heroes who identified and implemented the historical tasks of their time and circumstances and made significant contributions and sacrifices for freedom and national liberation in the process. The majority of these people's heroes, who rolled forward the wheel of Kenya's history, emerged from poor peasants and working-class backgrounds to identify and perform their historical tasks for Kenya's and Africa's freedom. They were motivated not by egoism but by the desire to contribute to the struggle for freedom, social and national liberation and for human dignity that Africans were robbed of by European colonialism.

We remember our ancestors who led the resistance against Arab, Portuguese and British invasion and colonialism from early times of Kenya's history. We mention names such as Shee Mvita who was the last king of Mombasa murdered by the Portuguese invaders defending his people and

nation. Mekatilili wa Menza stands out as the great woman leader of the Mijikenda who bravely led men and women to rebel against British colonialism. Mwangeka wa Malowa the militant warrior from Taita Hills refused the colonial invaders from crisscrossing Taita land as though it had no owners. We celebrate Waiyaki wa Hinga from the Kikuyu who resisted British capitalism and imperialism in the early times. We are proud of Koitalel Arap Samoei who led Nandi warriors to fight and defeat the colonial invaders in the Rift Valley. Each Kenyan ethnic group resisted colonialism in its own way and produced its leaders and heroes accordingly.

We also celebrate the heroes of the 1920s who included Harry Thuku and Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru who led demonstrations in the streets of Nairobi and other towns against racial discrimination, the humiliation of carrying colonial passes and for worker's rights and freedom from colonialism and for the dignity of Africans in their own country. We remember their courageous struggles against the arrogance and racism perpetrated by British settlers and colonial laws against Kenyans. The blood they shed for our country in the process was not for nothing.

We do not forget the nationalists of the 1940s who provided leadership in the anti-colonial struggle by writing numerous petitions to the colonial government exposing the atrocities that were being perpetrated by the British settlers and state against Africans. Their petitions and appeals to the colonial oppressors were the seeds of the revolutionary struggle for national liberation to come. Johnstone Kamau - later known as Jomo Kenyatta - was sent to Britain by these leaders of the Ken-

yan masses. They raised money to send him to London to deliver these appeals directly to the British government.

We shall forever celebrate the memory of the radical trade union leaders who used to meet at Kiburi House Nairobi to strategize about the struggle of worker's rights and also national liberation by using all means possible, including armed struggle. These militant leaders who included Bildad Kaggia, Eliud Mutonyi, Chege Kibacia, Makhan Singh, Isaak Gathanju and Pio Gama Pinto, were inspired and motivated not by egoistic interests but by the desire to realise worker's rights and Kenya's freedom from colonialism and the system of exploitation and oppression of person by person. It is for these reasons that they were part and parcel of the Mau Mau movement. They also disagreed with the opportunistic and selfish motives of Jomo Kenyatta before and after the independence of Kenya from British colonialism.

The Land and Freedom Army and Movement (popularly known as Mau Mau) was the highest form of the struggle for the national liberation of Kenya. In the early 1950s, when it had become apparent that Kenya would not achieve its independence through peaceful means which had been tried but violated by the colonial oppressors for several decades, the sons and daughters of Kenyan peasants and workers decided to take up arms. Thus the gallant Mau Mau military leaders launched one of the first and most famous anti-colonial wars in Africa. The leaders and generals of the guerrilla war were semi-illiterate peasants' youth but despite this, they organised and fought the war that defeated the mighty colonial British army in Kenya.

The valiant Mau Mau national liberation army and movement produced some of the greatest heroes and leaders in the history of our country. These included Field Marshal Dedan Kimaathi wa Waciuri, Stanley Mathenge, Alice Mukami Kimaathi, Muriuki Kimotho - General Tanganyika, General Kariba, General China, Genera Kariuki Kago and many others. They were people's leaders and heroes because they identified their task set for them by historical circumstances and made great sacrifices in the

war of national liberation of Kenya. They gave all they could to accomplish their historical obligations.

These heroes entered the forests and the underground and endured unimaginable difficulties and sufferings without giving up for the sake of the liberation of Kenya. When they were arrested, tortured, detained, and imprisoned by the colonial state, they refused to denounce the national liberation war. Many of these patriots were tortured to death or executed by the enemy in the process. They were progressive nationalists and revolutionaries with a vision of a Kenya made up of all ethnic groups of the country living and developing peacefully and united in a free and independent nation.

The Mau Mau fought for the return of the land of Kenyans, stolen by the European settlers and colonialists, to the peasants to whom it belonged and to the tillers who needed it. Their leaders dreamt of, fought for, and shed their blood for a Kenya where all citizens would live in peace, equality, and freedom with social justice without exploitation of person by person.

Those who took over the leadership of Kenya after British colonialism was forced to give Kenya her hard-won independence betrayed the struggle and vision of Mau Mau and the Kenyan heroes who had always resisted and struggled against the colonisation of our country. The present Kenyan leadership that started with that of the founder President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, is part and parcel of this betrayal as they are the root cause of the political, social and economic problems of Kenya today.

Immediately after independence in 1963, there were two opposing factions of leadership in Kenya. There was the pro-

gressive leadership led by the first Vice President of Kenya Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and the other led by President Jomo Kenyatta.

Odinga was the son of peasants. He received a good education and professional training. From his student and youthful age, he rebelled against colonial establishment, rule, and culture. He was a successful businessman too and became one of the richest Kenyans before and after independence.

However, all this did not stop Odinga from being a radical progressive nationalist who was at the forefront of the national liberation struggle. Being an anti-colonial militant and mobiliser he was feared and hated by the colonial authorities. Odinga played the role of organising, mobilising and uniting progressive and revolutionary organisations and forces in Kenya, Africa, and the World to demand the release of political prisoners, including Kenyatta. He refused to form a government without Kenyatta.

After independence, Odinga became the Vice President of Kenyatta. But it did not take long before the two differed and formed different political factions. The faction of Kenyatta retained the then ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) political party and state power alongside that of second President of Kenya Daniel Arap Moi's Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) party.

Odinga had strong links with progressive and revolutionary people, leaders and organisations in Kenya, Africa, and the World. He had connections with the Soviet Union and socialist countries. Because of this, he sent many Kenyans to study in Russia, Eastern European countries, and North Korea. Among those

students were his sons, Oburu who studied in Russia and Raila in East Germany. Unfortunately, like most of the students who benefited from the scholarship of the socialist countries, Odinga's sons too did not use their knowledge and experience to struggle for socialism in Kenya as Odinga would have wished. His sons returned to be defenders and beneficiaries of the neo-colonial capitalist system. The sons perpetuate reactionary tribalism politics driven by greed and self-aggrandizement while misusing their father's political legacy.

As a consequence of his Pan Africanist and communist links and for being the leader of the Kenyan patriotic and progressive forces from all over Kenya, Odinga was not only a threat to the reactionaries in KANU led by Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya but also to imperialism led by the United States of America. Through the intrigues manufactured by the US intelligence services and executed by, among others, Tom Mboya, Odinga, and his comrades were frustrated out of the government and KANU.

When this happened Odinga and his comrades immediately formed Kenya People's Union (KPU). KPU gathered together Kenyan patriots, progressives, and revolutionaries from all ethnic groups and demanded the end of the dictatorship, land grabbing, corruption, greed, tribalism, and nepotism of the Kenyatta regime. Odinga was arrested and detained many times by the Kenyatta regime as other progressive patriots including Bildad Kaggia, Peter Young Kihara, and Oyangi Mbaja. Others like Pio Gama Pinto, Kungu wa Karumba, and later Josiah Mwangi Kariuki were assassinated by the regime that was determined to maintain its dictatorship and tribal-based neo-colonial capitalist system at all costs.

Yet, Jomo Kenyatta was the son of ordinary peasant parents. He was a worker at

“Those who took over the leadership of Kenya after British colonialism was forced to give Kenya her hard-won independence betrayed the struggle and vision of Mau Mau and the Kenyan heroes who had always resisted and struggled against the colonisation of our country.”

the City Council of Nairobi. Because he was educated, the anticolonial petitioners who were illiterate or semi-illiterate singled him out and mobilised funds and sent him to London to take their petitions directly to the British government from there. While in the UK he met and mingled with many Pan Africanists and even communists. Upon return to Kenya in the early 1950s at the eve of Mau Mau uprising, Kenyatta was associated with Mau Mau and militant nationalists and imprisoned. He was a very popular political prisoner and people from all over the World demonstrated demanding his release.

The Kenyan masses loved and believed in Kenyatta so much that when he was finally released from prison they built a house for him. Odinga, Kenyan nationalists, and patriots made him the leader and the first President of Kenya. But no sooner had he become President than he betrayed the wishes and aspiration for the independence of the Kenyan masses. He became the leading land grabber in the country. His regime is remembered for dictatorship, tribalism, nepotism, corruption, greed, political assassinations, and the system of exploitation of person by person. The foundation of neo-colonial capitalism impeding sustainable development, social and national progress of

Kenya today was constructed by colonialism and sustained by the Kenyatta regime.

The successive Presidents and their regimes from Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta follow the nyayo or footsteps of Jomo Kenyatta to maintain the status quo of neo-colonial capitalism that continues to marginalise and ravage the majority of Kenyans who languish in the cycle of poverty and underdevelopment in a country which is the largest economy in the region.

This brings us back to the original question, who is best suited to be the President of Kenya in the 2022 national elections? Is it the sons and daughters of millionaires and billionaires who inherited their money, property, and political leadership positions from their parents who acquired them through primitive accumulation, state positions, corruption, and unbridled capitalism ravaging the country and the masses to this day?

Or should the President emerge from the sons and daughters of the poor peasants and workers who rose from the underclass and somehow managed to acquire and own billions of money and immense properties which helped them to wriggle themselves into the positions of political and economic power in the country that they occupy today?

We have seen from examples cited in

this article that being a progressive or reactionary leader does not necessarily depend on the class origin of the person. Rather it depends on the class position the person identifies with, his ideology, and the political system adopted by his leadership. A person from the ruling class of exploiters and oppressors could become a people's leader if he or she joins the class of the exploited and oppressed and champions their class struggle aimed at overthrowing the reactionary system and instead establish a progressive one without exploitation of person by person.

On the other hand, a person may be born of the class of the poor exploited and oppressed but adopt the ideology of the exploiters and oppressors and take the side of maintaining the status quo of the capitalist system.

The capitalist system is reactionary as it is based on the exploitation of person by person. The socialist system is progressive as it is based on class equality and the elimination of exploitation of person by person. Leaders who strive to maintain the capitalist system are the enemies of the majority of the people and impede freedom, liberation, and social progress. Leaders who join the masses to struggle for and build socialism are people's leaders and heroes as they are on the side of history and that of the majority of the people.



Field Marshall Musa Mwariama inspects a Guard of Honour mounted by Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau)

The current crop of politicians and their political parties that Kenyans are made to choose from by the press to vote for as President in the 2022 national elections - Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, William Ruto, Kalonzo Musyoka, Gideon Moi, Musalia Mudavadi and Moses Wetangula - are not suitable leaders for the majority of the people and country. They will add no value to the struggle of uniting the country and of using the country's rich human and natural resources sustainably to eliminate poverty, landlessness, inequality, and underdevelopment. These reactionary leaders strive to stop the wheel of history from rolling forward. They use the capitalist system that includes the state to roll back the progressive reforms made by Kenyans hitherto.

Some of these leaders inherited thousands of acres of land stolen by their parents from Kenyans many of who are either squatters, landless or poor peasants with hardly enough land to eke a living. They wish to be in power to protect the land and property that was grabbed by their parents. They are therefore an impediment to the struggle for progressive land reforms. They are motivated by greed, egoism, and the worship of money and therefore work to conserve the neo-colonial capitalist system in Kenya.

Those like Kalonzo Musyoka, William Ruto, and Moses Wetangula who are sons of peasants and workers have amassed land, property, money, and wealth and have abandoned their class origins and joined the ruling class of Kenya to defend the capitalist system of exploitation of person by person. Like the leaders of Jubilee, KANU, and ODM political parties they are now part and parcel of the reactionary politics of tribalism, corruption, and reaction.

There also are governors and members of the civil society that are preparing to join the race of the Presidential elections in 2022. Some of them are still members of the parties of the ruling classes of Kenya and hope the parties will nominate them to vie for the seat of the President when the time comes. Others are searching for parties or coalitions outside those of the ruling classes to offer them the tickets to vie with.

The individuals in these categories cite what they think is their good performance as governors of their counties as enough reasons to be trusted with the top leadership of Kenya. The problem is that they also believe that the capitalist system that has failed to bring freedom and development to the majority of Kenyans hitherto could be reformed to liberate the country. Yet, the progressive reforms made by and through the Constitution of Kenya of 2010 - and that the ruling parties of the ruling classes led by Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga through Handshake and BBI are already dismantling - have not succeeded to remove the system of exploitation of person by person.

History continues to reveal that the majority of Kenyans cannot be liberated within the capitalist system. Capitalism and its inherent social contradictions are so entrenched in our coun-

try that ultimately it does not need to be reformed but must be annihilated and replaced by socialism for the country to progress. Leaders who are afraid of this truth are not and cannot be the saviours of the majority of the people of Kenya. We should not elect the next President of Kenya from among them.

CPK's candidate for President of Kenya in 2022 will be a person committed to transforming Kenya from a capitalist state and society into a socialist state and society. It does not matter which ethnicity or race he or she comes from, we shall embrace him or her as our candidate as long as he or she is committed to leading Kenya along the socialist path of development. He or she may be from a working-class or capitalist class background. We shall vote for him or her as long as he or she is a person committed to the cause of moving Kenya towards socialism.

Yes, the road towards socialism in Kenya as elsewhere in the world will not follow a straight line. It will of necessity take into account the historical and material conditions of Kenya. It will also demand the creative application of scientific socialism. Socialism will develop not in a straight line but zigzags, leaps and bounds, one step forward two steps backward while passing through the progressive reforms made hitherto by the national constitution of 2010, with the ultimate destination being socialism.

I reiterate, to find and get a suitable President for Kenya in 2022 national elections Kenyans must choose from outside the box. Choosing from outside the box must mean rejecting the present package of leaders and parties popularised by the press, intelligence services, and public money. It must mean electing a President committed to transforming Kenya from a capitalist oriented country to a socialist-oriented country.

The writer is the Chairperson of the Communist Party of Kenya

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BUDGET 2020/2021: FIRMING MONOPOLY CAPITAL, BAILING OUT THE RICH, LEAVING OUT THE WORKERS

The treachery in the budget for the financial year 2020/2021 was not how the treasury kept the tradition for capitalist planning by prioritising the profiteering and monopoly capital, but how the budget statement presented to parliament and the public through live broadcast was coached to sound progressive.

The most conspicuous elements of the budget are the allocations made by the treasury for the rescue of big businesses from the ravages of the Corona

Virus pandemic. Flower farmers were allocated Sh1.5 billion as a COVID 19 recovery package while tourism has been allocated Sh3 billion for “renovation and recovery.”

Let us look at the flower farms bailout critically. The flower farms in Kenya are owned by multinationals such as Unilever, Finlays, and connected political families such as the Kenyattas, the Moisi, the Kuleis, and the Biwotts. In other words, the bailout package for the flower farms is aimed at benefiting the business interests of the capitalist class

that continues to have overbearing weight on the working class in Kenya.

It is important to remember that the big flower farmers were very quick to fire workers, who are among the worst paid in Kenya, when international flights were grounded globally. Compared to the handful of wealthy flower farmers, the workers in the floriculture industry are estimated to be slightly over 100,000. Most of these workers are currently jobless and, in some cases, homeless (especially those who

live outside the flower farms and could not afford to continue paying rent) and with no safety net package. The biggest proportion of workers in the industry are women.

A structure similar to the floriculture industry is replicated in the tourism industry. The tourism sector is largely owned by multinationals (Intercontinental hotels, Hilton, Radisson Blu, Kempinski, Fairmont, Sheraton) and the powerful political families such as the Kenyattas (Heritage). All these hotels predictably dismissed their workers on the first



signs of COVID 19 economic stress.

Conservative estimates put the number of workers in the hospitality (hotels and restaurants) at 2.2 million. In line with the capitalist tradition, while Treasury was quick to allocate the “renovation and restructuring” package to the hotel industry owners, it conveniently forgot to allocate anything to provide the hotel workers with a safety net to help them cope with their new status as unemployed workers.

Treasury appears to have spent sleepless nights charting new ways to elevate and expand the interest of both local and international capitalists. For example, Treasury has given conservancies a thumbs up with an allocation of Sh2 billion. Most conservancies are established by rich foreigners who use the cover of conservation not only to extract and expatriate money to foreign countries but also to steal land from pastoralist communities in Kenya.

Through the finance Act 2020, Treasury is seeking to open the road for the capitalists to use workers’ savings for their speculative adventures. One of the proposals that may have escaped the notice of trade unions is the revision of pension funds regulations to allow pension managers to invest 10 percent of the funds in private equity and venture capital.

To understand the full import of this proposed revision, one has to look at the struc-

ture of the pension industry in Kenya. The pension industry in Kenya has assets valued at Sh1.1 trillion according to the pension industry performance report of 2018. Out of this, only assets valued Sh221 billion are held by the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). The rest of the assets (Sh990 billion) are held and managed by private fund managers who include asset management firms established by both local and multinational insurance groups, banks, investment banks, and stock brokerages.

These fund managers will now be allowed to invest over Sh116 billion of the workers’ savings into the riskiest businesses locally and internationally. Private Equity, in short PE, and Venture Capital are generally speculative business activities that combine lending and purchase of shares to get a return from promising businesses over a defined period usually between five to ten years.

Organisations or individuals who put their funds in PE or Venture Capital Funds are not guaranteed that they will not lose their money although the PE Firm owners guarantee that they will conduct due diligence before investing in a company. Losses are very common in the Private Equity activity and happen to firms with the biggest names in the industry. Usually, the biggest PE

firms are operated by capitalists with very heavy connections in governments. That is the case for Carlyle Group for example which is a firm set up by former US Government Officials. The range of businesses that PE firms invest includes ordinary and simple operations businesses such as Chemists and shops to complex businesses such as manufacture and trade in military equipment and services.

It is in this sophisticated and risky environment run by powerful and sometimes untouchable forces that Treasury now wants Sh116 billion worth of Kenyan workers’ savings to be invested for non-guaranteed high returns.

It should not be lost to the readers that PE and Venture Capital are deemed as effective tools for the implementation of neo-liberal policies. Because they invest over a defined period, the PE and Venture Capital employ aggressive tactics in companies where they invest to get the highest returns over the shortest period possible. Such tactics include retrenchment of workers, conversion of employment terms from permanent and pensionable to short contract terms, low wages for lower cadre workers, and payment of poor prices to suppliers.

Still in the Finance Act, Treasury has revised provisions on revenue collection to allow private sector players who participate in the public-private partnership (PPP) ven-

tures to collect road tolls from the public. In his budget statement, Treasury CS explained that this was a logical step given that the government had fully embraced PPP. He mentioned that there are transport, energy, health, housing, and manufacturing projects worth Sh200 billion under the PPP pipeline.

What the CS did not say is that the private firms that will undertake the PPP projects will only undertake the implementation of the projects with loans guaranteed by the same government. He also did not mention that the private firms that will undertake the project will be largely foreign and loans will come from home countries of the companies involved. In short, the CS failed to mention that the entire PPP project is largely beneficial to monopoly capital and will be to the disadvantage of the Kenyan workers and peasants who provide the biggest contribution to the tax basket.

One confounding aspect of the budget is the increased role that Treasury has given to monopoly capital. Take the case of Kenya Mortgage Refinancing Corporation for example. The Firm's role is to reduce the interest rates for mortgages to "affordable levels" for households with incomes less than Sh150,000 per month. In this year's Budget, the government has allocated the firm Sh2 billion. At the same time, the CS says the government has mobilized another Sh35 billion from "development partners."

The plan for the Firm looks all noble and decent until the Firm is unbundled from a non-capitalist lens. From the outset, it must be stated that the company is a product of the lobbying by Kenyan banks where the Kenyattas have a huge interest. The Firm is owned by the banks and Saccos.

However, the operations of the Corporation are largely dependent on Sh25 billion loan from the World Bank which will be wired in the course of the financial period. There is also a Sh10 billion loan from African Development Bank which is expected to be wired during the financial year.

The most curious aspect of the Corporation development is that International Financial Corporation (IFC), the World

Bank private-sector lending arm will be handed shareholding in the Corporation.

In other words, the Kenyan housing and mortgage market is just about to be handed to the World Bank. The full import of the huge influence of World Bank funding to the firm is two-fold. First, all current homes on a mortgage will be transferred to the Corporation which is equivalent to handing over the properties of Kenyans to a corporation that will be largely owned by the World Bank. Secondly, workers who acquire homes through mortgages envisaged in the affordable homes programme will be directly indebted to the World Bank.

In the meantime, it should be remembered there has been a coordinated plot by the World Bank and Kenya government officials to lock out workers from controlling the housing market through pension funds. Traditionally, NSSF has been a big player in developing working-class homes. But corruption and government interference in the fund has meant that the fund cannot plan and see through its social transforming programmes.

Having looked at how the bulk of the budget and the financial Act 2020 entrenches the interests of both local and international capital at the expense of the workers and peasants, we will now focus on Treasury's poor attempt to fuse in progressive tone in the budget.

From the theme to the meat of the statement presented on the floor of parliament on July 1, 2020, by Cabinet Secretary for Treasury Ambassador Ukur Yattani, the budget statement is a clear case of bite and blow.

The theme "Stimulating the Economy to Safeguard Livelihoods, Jobs, Businesses and Industrial Recovery," had all the sounding of progressiveness with words carefully selected to fit in the lingua used in social justice and human rights-based approach to development. Buzz words such as safeguarding livelihoods give the impression of a government plan modelled around the needs of the people whose livelihoods have been severely threatened. Of course, there is no doubt that Kenyans livelihoods have been put on the edge since the emergence of the nov-

el coronavirus.

To give the words real meaning, the statement outlined some measures that the government has factored in the financial year plan. The measures include an economic stimulus package that will see the government pushing funds to the economy. Included in the package are the allocation of Sh2 billion for additional classrooms in secondary schools, Sh1.9 billion to purchase school desks from local artisans, Sh2.1 billion to recruit 10,000 intern teachers and Sh700 million to recruit ICT interns for digital learning in public schools.

Then there is also the allocation of Sh500 million for the purchase of hospital beds from local artisans, Sh25 million to purchase walk-through sanitisers (never mind that the ministry of health has warned against the use of the walk-through sanitisers), and Sh1.2 billion to recruit 5,000 health workers for one year. For small businesses, Treasury has allocated Sh3 billion for a national credit guarantee scheme to facilitate collateral-free loans. Further, Sh5 billion was allocated to rehabilitate damaged rural roads and footbridges and Sh10 billion for "Kazi Mtaani" aimed at creating short term jobs for 200,000 unemployed urban youths. The stimulus package is valued at Sh20 billion.

All these allocations sound good until they are given deeper scrutiny. The first fact that emerges on these measures to "safeguard livelihoods" is their temporal nature. 90 percent of the projects envisaged in the stimulus package are short term ranging from 3 months to 12 months and have no sustainability mechanisms. Intern teachers and the health workers to be recruited in the package will only work for 12 months while the artisans will benefit from the one-off purchase of their products.

But the most outstanding fact is the planned wastage in the package. Waste of financial resources and waste of worker's time. A clear example of the planned wastage in the package is the Kazi Mtaani project. According to the planners of the project, the unemployed youths will be used to unblock sewage systems, clear grass in urban centres and to remove gar-



bage from urban markets. These tasks are ordinarily undertaken by the county government authorities in the case of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, and other centres. These urban counties spend billions of shillings every year to do these tasks and have permanent and pensionable employees who are dedicated to the accomplishment of these tasks.

Then there is the aspect of human wastage. While the youths to be employed in the project will rake in some income from the project, the earning will only be for a short term of three months. After three months, the youths will fall back to unemployment. Worst of all is that they will neither get to use/hone the skills that they already have nor will they gain any meaningful skills that could help them get into self-employment or otherwise.

The only reason that can be fathomed as an explanation to the duplication of function by the national government is the need to create an avenue for pilfering national resources. Similar projects in the past have ended up leaving the youth without the promised wages, while senior administration officials steal the rest of the money (hence the popular phrase, *kazi kwa vijana, pesa kwa wazee*).

It is crucial to note that the stimulus package will largely be funded through international debt, mainly sourced from the World Bank.

This means that in the next five years, the country will largely be privatised and the fate of the workers and peasants' livelihoods will be at the hands of billionaires supported by the World Bank. If this is not reversed, the hope for the economic democracy envisioned in the Constitution (2010) will dim and then disappear. Already, workers in education and healthcare who were placed under the mercy of private school and hospital owners through liberalisation of the econ-

omy are suffering from low wages and regular retrenchments; their livelihoods have been placed under the capitalist cycles of boom and bust. Enter COVID 19 and they have nowhere to run to.

The future that the Kenya government bureaucrats are steering Kenya into, under the tutorship of the World Bank and IMF, is very bleak for the workers and peasants. However, the dangers of the future that we are being shepherded into is not visible to the majority of the Kenyan workers and peasants because the Kenyan billionaire owned press does everything possible to paint rosy pictures of privatisation while glossing over the pain caused on workers and peasants.

The work is cut out for cadres of the Communist Party of Kenya, Trade Unions, Farmers Cooperatives, progressive forces in the civil society, and progressive religious formations. For cadres of the Communist Party, the biggest responsibility is to expose the neoliberal traps in the government plans and their dangers to the workers and the peasants. This should be done using credible Marxist analysis of statistics against plans by the government. Sharing this publication with the trade unions, cooperatives and progressive forces in the civil society will be an important duty of the cadres as they strive to meet their obligation of educating the masses.

Secondly, the cadres will have to mobilise the masses to take advantage of the few progressive aspects of the budget to improve the welfare of the people in the short term. But more importantly, the cadres should use all available means to organise and mobilise the masses to oppose the neoliberal aspects of the budget.

The writer is the CPK Central Committee member in charge of workers and cooperatives



KENYANS MUST REJECT PRIVATISATION OF STATE OWNED ASSETS

By Benedict Wachira

In the midst of the Coronavirus Pandemic, the Jubilee Government has been making bold moves and attempts at privatising public-owned bodies. On 20th of April 2020, the Principal Secretary for Tourism and Wildlife, Ms Safina Kwekwe Tsungu ordered the closure of the Kenya Utalii College on the grounds that “the college and its hotel could not raise money for operations.” She further stated that the College would be closed down until the Ministry develops a “profitable operational plan.” According to the Ministry, “the government took the decision because the hotel had become a liability as it does not generate revenue.”

In the month of May, the Dock Workers Union exposed a plan by the Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) to privatise berths number 4, 7 and 8 at the Mombasa Port, to the detriment of the Kenyan workers and the Kenyan people. KPA defended itself by stating that it has not privatised the berths, but it had only “leased out and outsourced the berths and the sheds to private operators for the purposes of efficiency.”

On 2nd July 2020, the local dailies reported that the Ministry of Agriculture had finalised plans to revive the sugar sector

by “writing off debts of State-owned mills and out-grower institutions, stopping the importation of brown sugar, and commencing the privatisation of the factories through a long-term lease model of at least 20 years.” Among the state owned mills earmarked for privatisation through the planned leasing include Nzoia Sugar, Chemilil, South Nyanza, Miwani and Muhoroni sugar mills.

The privatisation onslaught on these and other public entities has been in the pipeline since the formation of the Privatisation Commission over a decade ago. It is no secret that the successive governments have always wanted to sell off Utalii College and Hotel to the capitalists who control the tourism sector. The Mombasa port has been privatised piece by piece since 2002 in the name of outsourcing handling and non-core services. The veiled beneficiaries are said to be politicians and business people linked to the Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki, Odinga and Joho families among other individuals who acquired their current wealth by stealing and allocating themselves public owned assets, awarding themselves fat government tenders, funding their private business interest through preferential and concessional debt from state corporations such as Kenya Industrial Estates (KIE), Development

Bank of Kenya (DBK) Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC) and Industrial Development Bank (IDB). Basically, through thievery and other questionable means.

The privatisation of almost all the sugar companies has been on the table since 2007, and the only stumbling block for the capitalists has been the courageous and continued resistance from the communities where these sugar mills are located.

Since the enactment of the Privatisation Act in 2005, Kenyans have been robbed of several valuable parastatals including the Kenya Electricity Generating Company KENGEN (2006), Kenya Railways Corporation (2006), Telkom Kenya (2007), Mumias Sugar Company (2006), Kenya Reinsurance Corporation (2007) and Safaricom (2008).

Many other publicly owned entities are in the process of being privatised and they include the National Bank of Kenya (whose process is now almost complete through the takeover by Kenya Commercial Bank), Consolidated Bank of Kenya, Development Bank of Kenya, East African Portland Cement Company, Kenya Wine Agencies Limited, Agro-Chemical and Food Company, Numerical Machining Complex, Kenya Meat Commission, several State owned hotels including those that the State owns majority/controlling shares including Hilton Hotel, Intercontinental Hotel, Mountain Lodge Hotel, Ark Hotel Nyeri, Sunset Hotel, Kabarnet Hotel, Mount Elgon Lodge, Kenya Safari Lodges and Hotels, just to mention a few.

The excuses provided when the capital owning class wants to privatise an entity varies with the status of the entity. If it wants to privatise a profit-making and efficiently-run parastatal like Safaricom and KENGEN, it will claim that it wants all Kenyans to enjoy the profits that these companies make, and they usually use the "Initial Public Offer" route.

Through initial public offers, it is argued that every Kenyan (including those who cannot afford a decent meal) gets an equal chance to purchase some share of the parastatal, where they will directly enjoy the dividends arising therefrom. What the drivers of capitalism in the Kenyan government do not tell Kenyans is that the Parastatal is actually being stolen from all Kenyans, and being appropriated in the hands of a few individuals who can afford billions worth of shares in these companies. The equal chance of ownership in real sense is the equal chance for the rich class, and not equality for all.

When they want to privatise a profit making entity, but which is at the same time marred by corruption and/or inefficiency, or where they can foresee strong opposition from the masses, they use the Public Private Partnership (PPP) route. This includes leases, out-sourcing, concessions, and lease/build & own/run-operate models. Examples here include leasing of Cargo handling services at the Kenya Ports Authority and at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, the first privatisation of Kenya Railways, outsourcing of security and cleaning services in majority of the public institutions and even outsourcing human resource functions in some of the state bodies.

Through PPPs, the masses are hoodwinked and told that the private entity is there not to steal from them, but to root out corruption and increase efficiency in the institution. In real sense, the private entity, whose sole aim is profits, ends up sacking workers, overworking and mistreating the retained workers, reducing the benefits that the workers get, and employing all short-cuts that will help them achieve their ultimate goal; Profit! In such arrangements, the government (public) gets to foot any losses or heavy investments that might come up along the way. Basically, the first P (Public) suffers any losses and investment costs, while the second P (private), runs away with all profits at zero risks!

Thirdly, if a Parastatal is run down through mismanagement, cronyism, sabotage or any other reason, the route they choose is that of sale, either by auction, offers, or through strategic sale, and sometimes through concessions/long term leases. Some good examples here include the privatisation of Kenya Railways and Telkom Kenya. In most cases, as is the case in the intended privatisation of the Sugar Mills and the Hotels, the Government (basically Kenyans) is forced to foot all the losses, and sometimes billions of taxpayers' money are used to overhaul the corporation before sale, or are extended to the would be buyer as some form of incentive. Whereas the logical thing to do to a mismanaged entity is to manage it better, the capitalists prefer to use the mismanagement as an excuse to privatise the national entity in question.

Mismanagement and sabotage of state corporations is sometimes done deliberately, with the long term aim of privatising those corporations. For example, whereas Utalii Hotel and other state-owned hotels are struggling to stay financially afloat, the Government continues to spend billions of shillings in meetings and retreat expenditure in big private-owned hotels year in year out. It would be prudent if the capacity of the state owned/controlled hotels was first exhausted before such services are sourced from private hotels!

The Kenya Pipeline Corporation (KPC) is one of the largest companies in the region. KPC has an asset base of sh136 billion, and it made profits of 12.4 billion and 11.5 billion in 2018 and 2017 respectively. However, rather than bank with state owned banks like Consolidated Bank and Development Bank of Kenya, KPC has local and foreign currency accounts at Barclays, Commercial Bank of Kenya, Standard Chartered, Citi NA, Equity, KCB and CFC Stanbic banks. The University of Nairobi which has an asset base of over 4 billion has Barclays Bank as its principal banker. The story is the same for most parastatals. In other words, the Government transacts billions of shillings with private institutions thereby starving state owned corporations of the much needed money, and when these state owned institutions get into financial troubles, the Government claims mismanagement among other excuses, and then it sells these corporations to private individuals, starts doing business with the now private company, and the turnaround is attributed



to privatisation and not Government support!

In the final analysis, parastatals are not profit making bodies. The role of parastatals is to provide accessible, quality and affordable services to all Kenyans, especially the majority poor. Parastatals act as protectors of the masses from exploitation by the private entities. They are tools and pillars of nation building. Further, parastatals and other public entities act as a balance in the 'market', and they provide employment, and build local capacity through education, import substitution etc. The privatisation of state owned assets is a direct threat to the prosperity and inclusive development in this country.

The Kenya Utalii College for example was a brainchild of the (in)famous sessional paper number 10 of 1965 (African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya) where it was decided that a "training school for hotel, restaurant and lodge managers and workers" would be established, so as to promote tourism, conservation thereby creating employment and increasing hard currency among other benefits. The College has since its inception produced highly qualified, competent and confident workers in the hospitality and related fields. It has not only provided affordable training opportunities for Kenyans, but many students from across Africa com-

pete to get admission at Utalii College. The quest for profit was never a reason why the College and Hotel were created.

It is unimaginable if the same "profit" argument would be extended to all other public institutions. If the Ministry of Health decided to open or close the Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) on the grounds of profitability, the Hospital would have been closed long time ago. On the other hand, Kenyans should be very worried when they hear that a public corporation, whose main goal is to offer services to all, is instead making profits. The question would be, at whose cost were the profits made? In the example of KNH, it would mean that patients are charged more, so that the hospital makes more profits. It would also mean that workers are paid less and overworked so that profit can be made. This would then translate to the hospital becoming inaccessible to the poor, and hostile to its workers.

This obsession with profits has even crept into the public universities, which are now required to stay profitable otherwise they risk collapsing. Higher education has been transformed into a business, where colleges compete to offer "marketable" courses instead of courses that are needed for the benefit of the people and the Country. The consequences can be seen in the downgrading of practical/technical courses, the reduction in the quality of teaching, reduced funding for research, and the production of graduates who might not be very useful to the society.

Kenyans must reject Privatisation in all its forms. Privatisation is the appropriation of public wealth into the hands of a few. Privatisation means unemployment and poor working conditions. Privatisation leads to poverty. Privatisation, as socialists have insisted over the years, is theft. The Communist Party of Kenya therefore calls on all workers, all unions and all patriotic Kenyans to oppose the ongoing and planned privatisations, and to further demand for the re-nationalisation of the previously privatised corporations at the cost of all those who masterminded and benefited from those privatisations.

The writer is the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kenya

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Party Cadre ready to fly the Party Flag high

FROM THE POLITICS OF TRIBALISM, BETRAYAL, AND OPPORTUNISM, TO AN OPTIMISTIC FUTURE: MY EXPERIENCES AS A PARTY ORGANISER



By **Adhiambo Ojwang**

Many Kenyan workers and peasants live in abject poverty while the elites indulge in life of plenty and opulence, displaying wealth with wasteful flamboyant capitalist consumerism.

Even with the achievements brought by multiparty democracy, Kenya remains a pro-capitalist dictatorship, where a few rich people dominate the political and economic life of the Country while the majority wallow in poverty. The major means of production remain under the control of the few capitalist individuals, their families and their foreign collaborators.

Things are worse in the rural areas where I focus most of my political activities. I often interact with peasants, the rural poor, who

have never heard of socialism or communism but are very much alive to the fact that the political system in Kenya is rotten with injustice and reaction.

When I engage in discussions with them about the ABCs of communism, their curiosity and interests are aroused by the very idea that communism could be the ultimate solution to the hopeless political system imposed upon them by the ruling class. The more we engage in the discussions, the more they look at the world with optimistic eyes and with interest to join the struggle for progressive change.

The Kenyan masses do not fear communism; for how do you fear that which promises you a better life? It is the members of

the capitalist and the middle classes that fear and hate communism and continue to spread senseless and toxic anti-communist propaganda aimed at hoodwinking the masses to maintain the present unjust status quo. Most members of the middle class oppose communism even when they do not know what socialism and communism mean. The capitalists on the other hand consciously hate socialism for they know that it will take away everything that does not belong to them.

CPK is against capitalism because it is reactionary and hinders social progress and human freedom. Capitalism is the basic cause of tribalism, inequality, sexism, and crime.

“I often interact with peasants, the rural poor, who have never heard of socialism or communism but are very much alive to the fact that the political system in Kenya is rotten with injustice and reaction.

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CPK is committed to the struggle for socialism in Kenya and the world as it is the system of true liberation and freedom of the exploited and oppressed in the society. Just as our ancestors who resisted colonialism and fought for the national liberation of Kenya while making great sacrifices in the process, CPK will never relent in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Members of CPK have no alternative but to engage in the task that history has placed upon them as patriots and human beings. All exploited and oppressed Kenyans too have no alternative but to unite and join this struggle if they are to live better than they are living today.

In 2013 when I started my political work in Nyanza, I found people who were full of hopelessness. The political violence was raw; people lived in fear of questioning the status quo dominated by populism, opportunism, sycophancy, tribalism, and personality cult. The musicians could not even use their artistic license to awaken their people. The local radio stations used to only parrot about tribal leaders and singing praises to the status quo. Journalism and art had been compromised and reduced only to serve the reactionary tribal politicians.

However, today, thanks to the political engagements that my comrades and I regularly hold with the masses, and thanks to the work done by members of CPK study groups and cells in the region, I see renewed hope. Today I see the people, particularly young people, rejecting the reactionary politics of the local and national politicians and confronting the current status quo in a conscious engagement and struggle.

The rural poor, living in makeshift houses, with no running water, with no electricity, with no good schools for their children, and with hardly any functioning health facilities, at least now know that their pain is caused by bad politics and governance. Increasingly, they are becoming aware that the capitalist political elites even from their own ethnici-

ty have betrayed them and will never save them. They are more and more aware of where to direct their anger. They have begun to realise that declarations of Nyanza as an individual's stronghold cannot and will not change their practical realities and that without rejecting the reactionary politics imposed upon them they will continue to sink deeper and deeper into poverty and underdevelopment.

The Kenyan masses are increasingly finding out that the so-called multiparty elections dominated by drama, corruption, tribalism, media propaganda, violence, and rigging are a gimmick and cannot be depended upon to liberate the poor, exploited, and oppressed. The regular elections are used by the ruling class of Kenya to perpetuate their capitalist system in power. The masses are increasingly understanding all this. They are also realising that the manifestos of the political parties of the ruling class are populist lies and propaganda calculated to convince the masses to vote for their exploiters and oppressors. Many times the Kenyan print and electronic media are compromised to popularise the politics of the exploiters and oppressors.

The ruling elites are now imposing amendments on the Constitution to serve their interests through the politics of Handshake and the so-called Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) initiated by two individuals who behave as if Kenya belongs to the two of them, their families, friends, and collaborators. It is becoming more and more clear that the most reactionary members of the ruling class will use all means possible to try and roll back the progressive gains achieved by Kenyans hitherto through hard struggle. Only a conscious and united struggle of Kenyans throughout

“The Kenyan masses are increasingly finding out that the so-called multiparty elections dominated by drama, corruption, tribalism, media propaganda, violence, and rigging are a gimmick and cannot be depended upon to liberate the poor, exploited, and oppressed.”

the Country will consolidate and build upon the progressive gains in our Constitution.

Every time my political work takes me to the poor neighbourhoods, I listen to our people's dreams; they are full of disappointments but also hope; they want to change their lives and that of their neighbours. They probably do not know how, but by the time we get to talk about our cause, they own it fully, and they find meaning that a radical change in the form of a revolution is what is required. It is their only hope.

The Communist Party of Kenya leads the masses to be aware that even though we say that Kenya is thirsty for socialism, socialism cannot be achieved simply by good wishes, dreams, or by only imagining a better world. Such desires are called utopian socialism. Socialism will be brought about by a conscious revolutionary organisation and struggle. It is scientific socialism, the doctrine of class struggle, which is our compass that points the direction to our victory. Marxist Socialism! Scientific socialism! The Communist Party of Kenya's study circles are busy tempering and cultivating a solid revolutionary social force to advance the class struggle in Kenya under scientific socialism. We invite all Kenyans that desire a better life to join our study circles and struggle to advance our revolution. Long live the Struggle for Socialism!

THE CPK MUSIC PROJECT



Members of the revolutionary Turkish folk band, Grup Yorum, at a performance

By Tony 'Kasmall' Mboyo

The Communist Party of Kenya has embarked on a project to document Party songs as well local and international songs of struggle. This is a first of its kind project to be attempted on such a scale, and the Party aims to educate the Kenyan masses on the past and current political and socialist struggles through use of song. The music collection is also expected advance the efforts of the Kenyan progressives and revolutionaries as they continue with the struggle against exploitation, oppression, neo-colonialism, and imperialism in Kenya. Historically, music has been used across nations and cultures around the

world to fuel positive change, popular uprisings and revolutions, and also to motivate fighters and revolutionaries in the course of their struggles.

It is said that "Music is found in every known culture and religion, past and present, varying widely between times and places. Since all people of the world, including the most isolated tribal groups, have a form of music, it may be concluded that music is likely to have been present in the ancestral population before the dispersal of humans around the world."

In that regard, CPK recognises the

power of music in penetrating the human soul and as a part of human life in itself. In Africa for example; musicians like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Lucky Dube and many others used music to speak and fight against the apartheid regime. Here in Kenya, the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) created dozens of resistance songs which were used to arouse the masses and mobilise them against the British colonialists. Music has been part and parcel of all the national struggles in Kenya since we gained independence from direct colonial rule.

The CPK music project's initial phase will involve collecting and recording already ex-

"The Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) created dozens of resistance songs which were used to arouse the masses and mobilise them against the British colonialists. Music has been part and parcel of all the national struggles in Kenya since we gained independence from direct colonial rule."

isting songs. One such song is Wimbo wa Mapambano (Anthem of the Struggle), which is largely sung in progressive and activist spaces including demonstrations, community forums and other grassroots activities. The song, which was written by earlier activists and made popular by the Release Political Prisoners organization and the 5 Centuries Human Rights Theatre group, adopts the tune of NkosiSikelel' iAfrika, a song adopted by the African National Congress in South Africa in 1925. Other songs include a Kenyan version of the Toyi Toyi chant, characterised by rhythmic stepping movements and mostly performed during protests. This particular version is intended to create awareness on injustices such as corruption and tribalism, and to mobilise the masses to wage a war against these and other societal ills. Other songs include; Viva Afrika, which is a panafrikanist song made popular by the Rastafari Movement and the Communist Party of Kenya; Kalimambo, popularised by the late Comrade President Samora Machel of Mozambique; Kazi Ngumu Tunayoifanya, a song inspired by music from the training camps of National Resistance Movement of Uganda, Tutasonga Kwa Mapinduzi, also from NRA training camps, and Sisi Watu WaAfrika, which is was at one time adopted as an anthem of the Pan-Africanism Movement in East Africa.

In celebrating the role of women in various struggles for liberation, the Party identified two songs that would form part of the initial phase. One of them is a re-do of a South African song called Slovo na Tambo originally done by Amaqabane. In this song, the Party celebrates the contributions of three great Kenyan women leaders in the liberation history of Kenya, each signifying a different era in our anti-colonial struggles. These women are Mekatili wa Menza, who led Kenyans against the theft of their land and forced labour by the colonialists, Muthoni Nyanjiru, who led men and women to protest against theft of African land, imposition of the Kipande system, and the imprisonment of Kenyan civil rights leaders, and Muthoni Kirima, who was one of the highest ranking guerrilla officers in the Mau Mau army. The CPK version is titled Mekatilili na Muthoni. The contributions of these and many other Kenyan women in the various struggles in Kenya is often downplayed and hidden in the archives, but through songs such as this and others to come, their memories and inspiration shall be re-ignited.

The second song that celebrates the role of women in the struggle is titled 'women of the working class' originally from the 1984 miners' strike in the UK and recorded by Mal Finch. CPK has given the song a Kenyan context.

Another significant achievement of this project has been the translation and recording of Bella Ciao in Kiswahili. Among the younger generations in Kenya, the song is synonymous with the

Spanish series Money Heist. Unbeknownst to them, Bella Ciao is a popular protest and anti-fascist anthem that has united freedom fighters for decades now. The song originated from Italy, where women working in the paddy fields sang to protest the inhuman working conditions that they were subjected to. The song gained prominence during the Italian resistance to the occupying German Nazi forces, and has since then been sang by partisans fighting foreign occupation and domination, as well as internal oppression and exploitation.

Perhaps one of the greatest contributions to humanity will be the recording of the Internationale in Kiswahili for the first time in history. The Internationale has been translated and sang in all international languages except for Kiswahili. Translated by the Chairperson of the Communist Party of Kenya, Comrade Mwandawiro Mghanga who also happens to be a poet and a Kiswahili enthusiast, the song will bring the international revolutionary fire closer home. Also, a recording of the proper English version of the anthem will be done, since most of the versions found online are of the "reformed" type.

The initial collection will contain eleven songs in English and Kiswahili. The second collection will continue to document already existing songs of struggle, but will also have new creations, and will include songs done in different local languages and styles. These songs will be educational, ideologically grounded and artistically unbounded.

The CPK music project is a long term project, which is expected to deepen the revolutionary spirit in Kenya. The project seeks to popularise the manifesto and the revolutionary ideas of the Communist Party in Kenya, which is the vanguard of workers and peasants in the country. Indeed, CPK is the only party in Kenya and the region that wields the true ideology for the emancipation of people of Kenya. Viva CPK!

The writer is the Communist Party of Kenya Central Committee member in charge of Arts and Culture

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it is critical to note that music has also been used by successive independent regimes, especially during the KANU era to promote dictatorship and other reactionary ideas amongst the masses.

IMPERIALIST PUPPETS OUST PAN-AFRICANIST PARTY (PAIGC) IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Imani Na Umoja

After organising and winning the Glorious Armed Struggle (People's War), the African Party of Independence of Guinea and Cape-Verde (PAIGC) unilaterally and without any concessions proclaimed the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It immediately thereafter served as a base for Pan-Africanism and training for various Liberation Movements in Africa, and served as a hub for Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces and ammunitions en route to and from Angola. Guinea-Bissau also gave assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN).

Since the formation of PAIGC in 1956, Imperialism has always made it a priority to destabilise the Party and the State through different methods including coup-d'états. The first coup against PAIGC was carried out on 14th November 1980. The coup was managed through informal agreements with coup-makers who were in control of the State apparatus, while the faithful militants struggled to control the Party. The Country was destabilised again through a coup in 1998/1999 which also led to a civil war. In 2004, the Party regained relative State power and reinforced it in 2008/2009 with control over the Presidency, Legislature, and Government. The Party thereafter began making agreements with revolutionary and progressive regimes towards independent development, but unfortunately in 2012, the President died in office and within months the State power was once again violently snatched from the Party in another coup (in April 2012) that was organised by the hidden hands of imperialism in cahoots with their local puppets. The Party continued with the struggle within the masses and it heroically regained State power in 2014, but this again was followed by a palace coup in 2015. It relatively regained State power in 2019, but only to be overthrown through yet another coup in February 2020. Now, once again, the presidency and the illegitimate so-called "govern-



Amilcar Cabral, founder of PAIGC



Guinea Bissau military in a parade



Domingos Pereira Simoes, PAIGC Presidential candidate 2019

ment” is controlled by anti-People’s forces. Those who won the elections are in the opposition, while those who lost are the ones who are ruling!

Throughout these coup d’états (against state power) the PAIGC has always and consistently wielded popular political power in the society.

The latest coup, which was orchestrated through the neo-colonialist President of Senegal, Macky Sall, (along with other neo-colonialist regimes in West Africa and other parts), saw the puppets of imperialism in Guinea-Bissau abuse the electoral process and dislodge the PAIGC’s democratically elected Government.

The Coup was preceded by elections which were marred by serious irregularities and which were challenged at the Supreme Court by the PAIGC Presidential candidate Domingos Simoes Pereira. The court ordered for a recount of the Presidential vote, and it further ordered the Electoral Commission to hand over the report to the National Assembly.

While the electoral petition was taking place, the Presidential Guard of the Armed Forces invaded the Supreme Court Building; the National Assembly (ANP); and other Governmental facilities so as to prevent the Court from making its verdict. The soldiers, who acted without the direction of the Army General Chief of Staff, also occupied the residences of the democratically elected Governmental officials.

While the National Assembly (ANP) was waiting for the Supreme Court to issue its verdict, one of the puppets, who served as the 1st Vice-President of the ANP, (subsequently illegally imposed as

the “prime-minister”) usurped Constitutional powers of the ANP President and illegally convened a so-called “Special Session of the ANP” (without a quorum) at a hotel where he “symbolically” inaugurated presidential candidate, Umaro Sissoco Embalo as the President of Guinea-Bissau. The out-going President of the Republic, Jose Mario Vaz, a traitor, left the Presidential Palace on 27 February, and the ANP reacted the following day by convening a Parliamentary Session (with a quorum) and elected the ANP President Cipriano Cassamá as the Interim President as is required by the Constitution. It is important to note that this Parliamentary Session was witnessed by representatives of the UN, ECOWAS, AU, CPLP, and ambassadors from most of the embassies that reside in Bissau. In short, these countries recognised Cipriano Cassamá as the legitimate Interim President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. None of them, (except Senegal and The Gambia) sent representatives to the illegal, unconstitutional “symbolic” so-called “inauguration” of the presidential candidate, Umaro Sissoco Embalo at the hotel.

After his inauguration, the Interim President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Cipriano Cassamá was denied Presidential Guard protection. He was left with a handful of Guinea-Bissau soldiers and a less than 10 ECOWAS Interposition forces, called ECOMIG soldiers.

Within 48 hours of his swearing in, soldiers from the Presidential Guard invaded the ANP and the Supreme Court, and at the same time changed the secu-

rity assigned to the Interim President and issued death threats to him and his family. As a result of coercion, he resigned two days later on 1st March. He kept repeating; “they’re going to kill me.” All this while, the ECOWAS Interposition forces, ECOMIG, stood by idle.

Soon thereafter, the neo-colonialist president of Senegal, Macky Sall receive Umaro Sissoco Embalo as the “president” of Guinea-Bissau.

As the imperialist crisis unfolded, ECOWAS, on the initiative of the UN Security Council, issued a press release stating that a high-level Delegation would come to Guinea-Bissau to mediate over the matter. In response, the coup makers’ spokesperson issued a response declaring that the ECOWAS delegation was not welcome in Guinea-Bissau. To date, that delegation has never set foot in Guinea-Bissau. In addition to this, the ECOMOG forces stationed in Guinea-Bissau packed up their bags, and remain on stand-by in their barracks.

In the meantime, reliable reports show that tons of illicit drugs have already been received by the military in Southern Guinea-Bissau. In short, we have a military regime in power that using Guinea-Bissau for transnational crimes.

Further, persecution, including that of journalists is ongoing.

The Coronavirus Prevention Team and Contingency Plan was also dismantled at a time when the COVID-19 virus surrounded Guinea-Bissau. Now, it is out of control.

Although things look gloomy, truth crushed to the earth will rise again. While all the tactics that will be employed cannot be predicted, one thing is sure – the strategy is to use the PAIGC ideological and political power to organize the People to re-gain State power. This must be secured in the framework of political-military coordination on a Pan-African and anti-imperialist scale.

The writer is a Central Committee Member of the PAIGC

UNITE AGAINST XENOPHOBIA

By Abahlali baseMjondolo

Since our movement was first formed fifteen years ago we have opposed all forms of repression. We have opposed capitalism and its enclosure and commodification of land. We have opposed political gangsterism in party politics and the government which turns the state into a killing machine used by politicians to get rich. We have also taken an internationalist perspective and organised in solidarity with comrades in countries like Palestine, Haiti, Turkey, and elsewhere.

We have also opposed forms of repression that occur within oppressed communities such as violence against women and xenophobia. We understand who our oppressors are. We have never been confused by those who want us to fight among ourselves as the poor. We have said that a neighbour is a neighbour and a comrade is a comrade irrespective of the country or province in which they were born.

Powerful people in the government and the twin monsters of the ANC and the DA parties try to divide the poor by turning us against each other. Many people have been told that they are unable to receive services, houses or jobs from the government because of “foreign nationals”. As a result, there is sometimes a strong hatred for people who are born in other countries that

regularly erupt into violence.

The poor have always lived in a state of crisis. That crisis is now getting much worse due to the coronavirus situation, retrenchments, and increasingly violent evictions – sometimes involving the army. People are already hungry. People have already been killed by the security forces. Thousands of people have already been evicted across the country. Thousands are being retrenched. The government is responding with an austerity budget and more soldiers on the streets so the crisis will get even worse in the coming months.

In this situation, some forces are using social media to call for new attacks on people born in other countries. One poster gives a deadline for all “foreigners” to leave South Africa. We have heard reports of attacks on truck drivers who are considered to be “foreigners”.

This is a clear attempt to try and make sure that the poor fight among themselves rather than organising to build their power against the state, the political elite, and capital. We live in a society in which the five richest people have more money than millions of impoverished people. We live in a society in which millions of people are without land, work, or homes. We live in a society in which impoverished people who organise themselves to be able to participate in decision making about their own lives and communities face serious repression. This is the problem. A





neighbour from Mozambique or Pakistan is not the problem.

The enemies are those who have killed our fathers, uncles, brothers, and husbands in Marikana. The enemies are those that give the orders to evict us every day. The enemies are those that are responding to an economic crisis with austerity. The enemies are those that oppose a living wage. The enemies are those that repress the struggles of the oppressed.

The enemies are those that use the state to get rich instead of allowing it to be used as a tool of the people. The enemy is the corrupt and violent political class in South Africa. The enemy is capitalism. The enemy is imperialism, which organised and supported the coups in countries like Haiti and Bolivia and continues to support the oppression of the Palestinian people.

We were not made poor, or kept poor, by people who have come to South Africa from other African countries, or Asia, to work. We were made poor by colonialism and racial capitalism and kept poor by capitalism and the ANC and its mixture of neoliberal economic policies and political gangsterism. If we are not able to correctly identify our enemies, and if we allow our enemies to turn us against each other, we will stay poor forever.

A person is a person wherever they may find themselves. Every human life must be counted as human life. South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

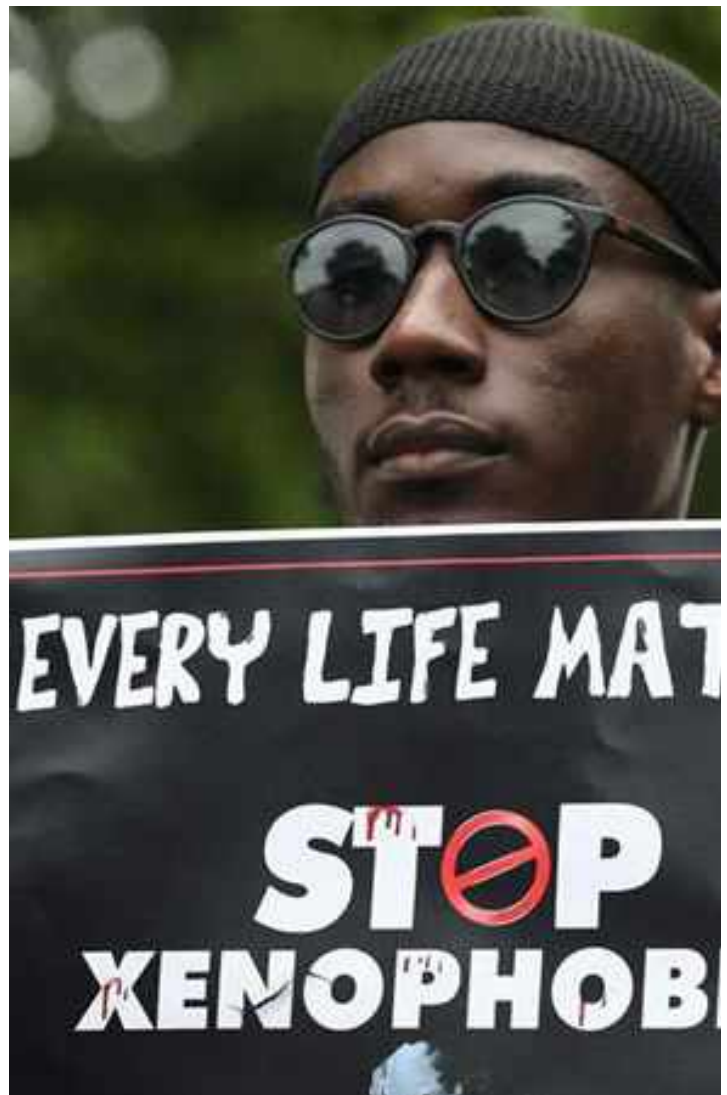
Those who encourage xenophobia and ethnic prejudice are dividing the oppressed and doing the work of our oppressors. In this time of crisis, we call on all progressive forces to unite against xenophobia. Let us work to build the democratic power of the oppressed from below.

Waziwa isitha sakho. Know your enemy.

Mqapheli Bonono 073 0673 274

Nomsa Sizani 081 005 3686

S'bu Zikode 083 547 0474



VENEZUELA: IDEOLOGICAL WAR ROOTED IN DEEP-SEATED IMPERIALIST MINDSET



By Otiato Opali and Suleiman Ongara

With the levels of inequality growing stark by the day, the resurgence of the class struggle and the growing support for socialism in the working class is developing the world over. Runaway consumerism, a climate crisis, and a global pandemic have brought to the fore the glaring pitfalls of the capitalist system.

Nowhere is this truer than in Latin America, where some 650 million people confront the deepest social inequality on the planet.

From the CIA's backhand operations to overthrow popular socialist leaders in Latin America to Cuba's socialist revolution which overthrew the pro-American dictator Batista, United States of America's foreign policy in Latin America has continued to fail. Enter Venezuela and the water gets murkier.

Venezuela's case is somehow a case study into how United States (U.S) capitalist interests can ravage a State that is not toeing the line of imperialist interests. Venezuela was once a darling of the U.S as was Cuba once. This was the time when U.S and foreign companies had a field day in running the Venezuelan economy.

However, after economic hardships brought about by neo-liberalism in the 1980s and 90s, the Venezuelan people put Hugo Chavez in power. Through people-centred policies, Chavez elevated the Venezuelan economy by nationalizing major oil companies eventually driving out western companies that bought into the privatisation of the seventies and eighties to make a kill out of the people's resources.

The overthrow of the capitalist government not only marked an end to the West's grip on Venezuela's natural resources, but it also marked the beginning of the war on Venezuela this time waged on the economic and political front. However, Hugo Chavez was steadfast and Venezuelans stuck with him throughout western sanctions to the chagrin of corporate interests who still wanted a way back into Venezuela.

The latest elections held in Venezuela are a clear indication of the West's incessant itch to interfere with nations that choose the socialist path to development. After openly disregarding Venezuela's constitutional autonomy by their refusal to recognise the democratically elected President Nicholas Maduro, the United

States has imposed a total embargo on Venezuela while the European Union has imposed more sanctions. So far, the West has not made any attempt to disguise their intentions to oust President Nicolas Maduro and replace him with Juan Guaido, an obvious puppet.

The United States under Donald Trump has been breathing fire on the Venezuelan Government and at times stating that they will consider intervening militarily in Venezuela 'if necessary'. The former Secretary of State John Bolton frequently and openly encouraged generals in the Venezuelan army to overthrow Maduro.

Early July 2020, the UK High Court ruled against Venezuela's Government in a legal battle over access to \$1bn of gold stored in the Bank of England. In its ruling, the court said that the UK had unequivocally recognized opposition leader Juan Guaido as president, rather than President Nicolas Maduro.

While denouncing his Presidency, the UK is hosting Maduro's ambassador who represents her country at the official Venezuelan residence in London and directs the staff of the embassy while the UK's ambassador is also currently stationed at Cara-



Commandante Hugo Chavez Frias and his successor Venezuelan President Nicholas Maduro

cas to maintain and develop relations between the UK and Venezuela led by Maduro's government. Talk of a foot in mouth situation.

For the West, Venezuela presents a good opportunity to re-introduce a capitalist system and touch base with resources long lost. However, Venezuela is not up for sale to the highest bidder. It is a real place, full of real people who are undergoing an unprecedented crisis.

As a result of the West's insatiable greed and punitive sanctions, lack of basic amenities and services are rife in Venezuela. In the long run, it is the working masses of Venezuela who have known and witnessed an economic war waged on them by western powers who do not respect their sovereign right to elect the leaders they want and to produce within a system of their choice.

This multipronged war on Venezuela is being aided by multinational corporations who are still bitter at being shown the door during the Bolivarian Revolution led by Hugo Chavez. To add salt to the injury, the economic sanctions imposed by the West haven't been authorized by the United Nations Security Council.

Without the cover of the Charter of the United Nations, the sanctions are effectively illegal and more so because they obstruct food and medicine imports which means they violate international humanitarian and human rights laws especially during the coronavirus pandemic.

In the West's grand scheme of things, Venezuela is viewed as a symbol of an opposing system that must be made to fail by all means to prove the superiority of capitalism over socialism, but this is where they go wrong.

Even amidst this extremely brutal imperialist economic, political, financial and commercial blockade, the Venezuelan socialists and patriots are resisting and fighting against all foreign domination and against restoration of capitalism. A people and a state that is struggling will ultimately triumph if not today, tomorrow.

We appeal to Kenyans, Africans and all progressive and anti-imperialist organisations globally to condemn the sanctions on Venezuela and to also condemn the blockade on Cuba. It is only through solidarity at an international level that imperialism can once and for all be defeated.

Otiato Opali is a party cadre of the Communist Party of Kenya

RETELLING TRUTHS ABOUT DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a subject of international debate. Most of the debates on the East Asian Country are however clouded by a perception of the Country that has been created by United States Government propaganda.

In a bid to provide our readers with the correct view of North Korea, ITIKADI spoke to the Communist Party of Kenya National Organising Secretary, Cde Booker Ngesa Omole, who is also a member of Songun Study in Kenya.

Excerpts....

Q: What is the position of the Communist Party of Kenya regarding North Korea?

A: The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is a beacon of hope for all the oppressed and exploited people of the world. DPRK is the pillar of our anti-imperialist struggles. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and the Kenyan people have always been friends of the people of North Korea. The African people understand the pain of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and now imperialism. Imperialism continues to cause untold suffering in Africa, and no amount of Western propaganda and outright lies can prevail over the truth. Some bad-mouth the Korean socialist process and we understand where they are coming from. The remnants of colonialism are still making some people more gullible to believing European and American notions of things. In Europe and North America, conditioned masses, have stubbornly refused to comprehend the reasons why the Empire has made the people of DPRK suffer so terribly for so many years. American TV channels like CNN have conditioned the thinking of some of our people. The Communist Party of Kenya, among other revolutionary



Kim Il Sung, Marxist revolutionary and first leader of Democratic People's Republic of Korea

organisations, has been at the forefront to rebut this well-choreographed western propaganda. The alternative anti-imperialist media like TeleSur, Press TV, RT have provided the hardware to lead this war. Social media is another avenue that has been instrumental in our anti-imperialism agenda.

Q: There are a lot of talks about the future of Africa -North Korea relations; there are also several commentaries mainly from African left intellectuals on the Korean socialist project. Where is the Communist Party in this?

A: Like I already mentioned, the global south, from Latin America to Africa know that imperialism is a threat to humanity. Imperialism continues to sacrifice them for the benefit of a few multinationals and in defence of profits. So, when the African people see North Koreans standing tall against imperialism, they have no choice but to support them and share in their struggles and pain. Just like Cuba, DPRK has a history with the African people. The people of DPRK have shed their blood-fighting for the liberation of Africa.

The West has never forgiven those countries that assisted in the liberation struggles of the colonised world. Cuba, China, the USSR, and the DPRK, these countries were designated by Western ideologues as the most dangerous and evil places on Earth. That is how western propaganda works.

Q: On the colonial equation of the African people, what role did North Koreans play?

A: DPRK has always been Africa's true friend. For a clearer picture of the North Korea's friendship, let me quote from the reflections by Communist Party of Kenya Chairperson, Mwandawiro Mghanga, as follows; "When the whole of the African continent was under Western colonialism, Korea, under the revolutionary leadership of comrade Kim Il Sung was fighting Japanese colonialism and showing solidarity with Africa at the same time. Thereafter DPRK, in the name of socialist internationalism increased its moral, military, and other material support to African countries

in their struggle for liberation from colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid. Immediately after independence from colonialism in the 1960s, thousands of Africans, including Kenyans, received free higher, technical, and specialized education in the DPRK. DPRK not only offered arms, finance, and other material solidarity to Namibia, South Africa, Angola, DR Congo, and Mozambique in the war against apartheid and imperialism, but it also actually sent internationalist revolutionaries to Africa to fight side by side with Africans for Africa. DPRK fought with Egypt and Africa during the 1967 war against the brutal Zionist regime of Israel supported by the Western countries. Today DPRK is together with African countries in demand for a new just international order. In this, DPRK is blamed by imperialism and imperialist puppet regimes for being in the forefront and showing by example that a new and just international order cannot be but anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, it must be socialist".

DPRK in the past also supported in different ways the then progressive African nations, including Guinea, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Mali, Tanzania and Seychelles.

Q: The United States and her western allies have pursued the policy of sanctions in a way to try and isolate Pyongyang and suffocate her to give up her socialist path; in your opinion, has this been a success?

A: The communist party of Kenya has always joined the world in condemning these illegal sanctions and financial blockades against any sovereign country. These unlawful sanctions, from Venezuela, Cuba, DPRK are an act of provocation and a declaration of war; you cannot just starve people to death because they have a different way of thinking. When you do that, you must deal with the consequences. We need to call on the USA to respect international law. All these sanctions instigated by the imperialist countries and legalised by the United Nations has never achieved anything except the untold suffering of

the ordinary people.

No country has chosen a socialist path and advanced that path undisturbed by imperialist countries; look at Cuba, Venezuela now, and Bolivia. The USA starts with sanctions and economic blockades, then they unleash lethal propaganda machinery. Then when these economies face severe difficulties as a result of these sanctions, they begin to document the so-called failures of socialism. They cleverly do not mention the effects of the sanctions; some people foolishly believe the lies. Once they win the debate of public opinion by lies, they move in to bomb these countries, killing innocent people in the name of salvation from socialism. This is then followed by looting of the nation's natural resources. It is the same script. If socialism was failing, why not just let it be, why impose illegal sanctions and force other countries to follow suit or face severe consequences?

The Sanctions have indeed made things difficult for DPRK. But DPRK is telling the world that they are prepared and willing to defend their socialist ideas irrespective of the cost. The people of North Korea want self-reliance. They want the freedom of thought; they want to continue to build their country by implementing Juche socialism. In short, they don't want to be dogs of the USA empire. This then means that the US sanctions have not succeeded and will not succeed in their reactionary intentions.

It is the West that should be suffering from the most stringent sanctions, not DPRK. It is the West, that has murdered millions of human beings throughout history. It is the West that colonised, plundered, raped, and enslaved people in all corners of the planet. What moral mandate does it have

"The West has never forgiven those countries that assisted in the liberation struggles of the colonised world. Cuba, China, the USSR, and the DPRK, these countries were designated by Western ideologues as the most dangerous and evil places on Earth. That is how western propaganda works."



The interviewee, Booker Ngesa Omole, Communist Party of Kenya National Organising Secretary

to propose and impose sanctions against anyone?

Q: The world faces a threat of nuclear war, what is your take on the Pyongyang nuclear program?

A: Is DPRK the only source of nuclear threat to the world as portrayed by the mainstream media? No, the West is a nuclear oligopoly. DPRK's sin is that it refuses to surrender, to fall on its knees, to sacrifice its people. It refuses to become a slave. It is natural that if DPRK is attacked, it will have to hit back, that is the only way the West will get the message clear. Now the USA imperialist army has been slaughtering kids and women away from home, but if they dare start any war in the Korean Peninsula, they will have to collect dozens of corpses on their own soil. Unlike the imperialist regime in Washington, the North Koreans respect the sanctity of life, but when your life is under a real threat, then you have to defend it. Those hypocritical nuclear

talks started by Trump administration were bound to fail. How is it possible that Trump wanted peace with North Korea while he is not only openly provoking Iran to war but funding criminals in Caracas and attacking China?

The nuclear program in Pyongyang is only to deter the imperialist aggressors from attacking the people of DPRK. If DPRK did not have a strong people's defence force, they would not be standing today. Look at Chile; the West murdered the socialist leader, Salvador Allende. In Bolivia, they are leading a blood bath after they organised a coup against President Evo Morales. In Libya, the Obama administration murdered Muammar Gaddafi, now Libya is the hub of slavery, and human trafficking. With all these happening, DPRK must continue to build on their defence arsenal.

Q: The Communist Party of Kenya has talked on several occasions against the imperialist military bases in Africa, how does this tie to the USA foreign policy in

Asia?

A: The US foreign policy is on an all-time low; they only know how to make wars; it is a foreign policy of plunder. The war excursions in the Korean Peninsula is another cause of instability. The USA has military bases in Seoul, Japan, and in the entire region. These war drums are right at the doorstep of the North Korean people. The USA empire has gone rogue; they are increasing their nuclear arsenal; they are willing to nuke anywhere anyhow. They want to maintain their hegemony; to further imperialism at any human cost.

Suppose you look back at history, the Korean war. Many Korean were killed at the altar of useless imperialist wars. The US crimes are all written with blood in the globe from Aleppo in Syria to West bank in Palestine, from Caracas to Mogadishu. The US has always militarily threatened any country that has chosen an alternative path to development away from the



DPRK leader Kim Jong Un, inspecting agricultural production projects shortly after the Western media declared him dead

market economy. The story always is -be our puppet, or we will bomb you into submission. In such circumstances, During the Korean war, the imperialist aggressor suffered a humiliating defeat by the heroic people of DPRK. The USA has never forgotten or even willing to forgive the people of DPRK.

The USA is hell bent to have a regime change in DPRK; they want to install a puppet in the name of a leader. They want to introduce a market economy; they want to feed the Korean people with junk from McDonald's and make them pay for it. That is what the heroic Korean people have been resisting. DPRK has never attacked anybody, Venezuela has never attacked anybody. It is the USA that deserves sanctions; it is them that need to stop their nuclear program. The world is under threat from western imperialism; if you look at the conservative estimates of the global nuclear warheads, you can see where the real danger is.

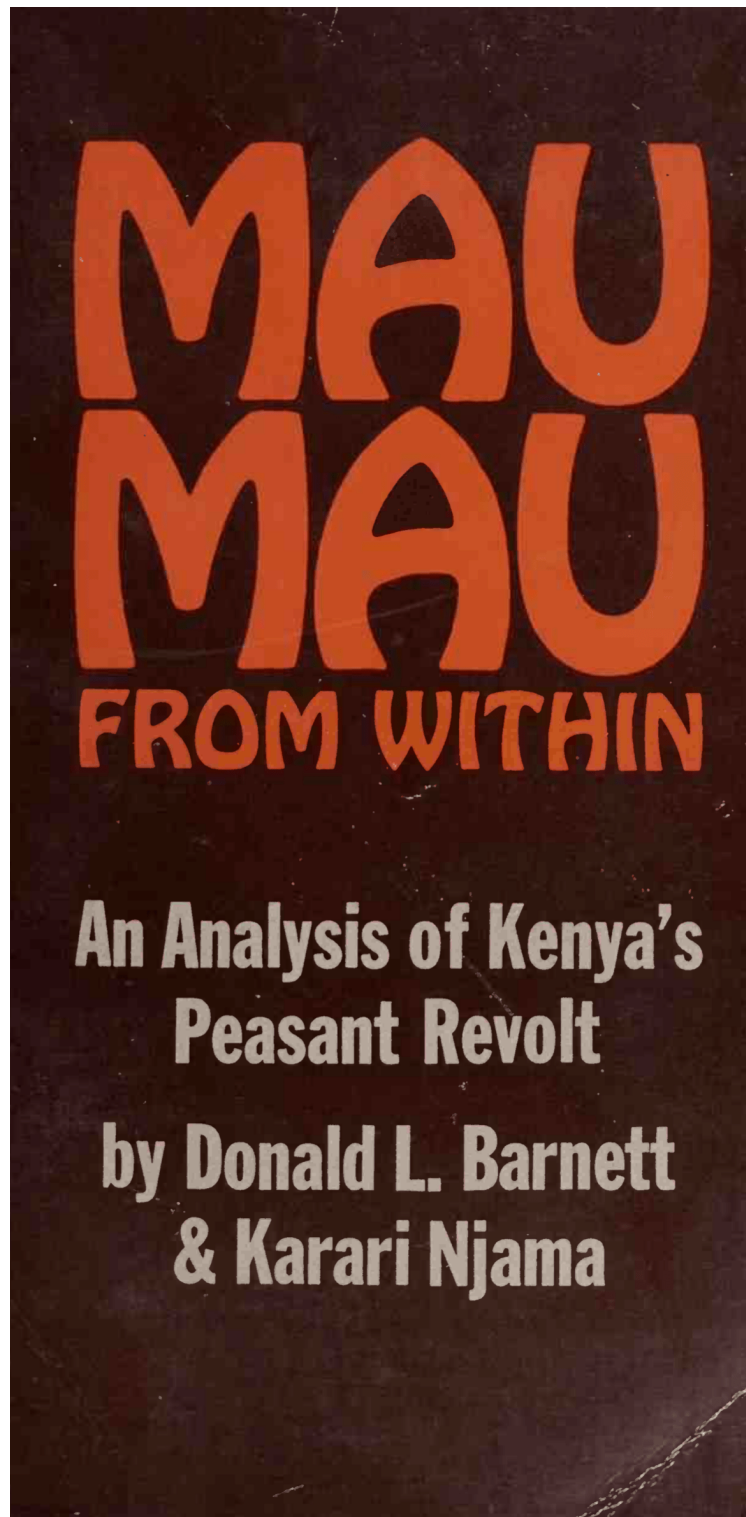
The US Federation of Science (FAS) estimates that in 2017 North Korea has "fissile material to potentially produce 10 to 20 nuclear warheads", even if it is strongly suspected that none can be considered ready for launch. The US possesses 6,800 nuclear heads. The French and British (300 and 215 respectively). NATO's nuclear forces have 7,315 nuclear warheads, of which 2,200 are ready to launch, compared to 7,000 held by the Russians, of which 1,950 are ready to launch. With Chinese (270), Pakistani (120-130), Indian (110-120) and Israel (80), the total number of nuclear warheads is estimated to be around 15,000 by default.

The United Nations adopted the relevant Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in July; this Treaty is ignored by all nuclear powers, including members of NATO. So, where does the West get the morality to lecture the world about peace?

Q: You mentioned that the Communist Party of Kenya is an internationalist organization. Please elaborate?

A: Yes, the Communist Party of Kenya headquarters in Nairobi is a solidarity house. It is the home of the Songun Study; it's the home Kenya -Venezuela solidarity committee, it's the home of the Kenya Cuba Friendship Society, it's the residence of the Kenya-Western Sahara solidarity, it is the home of the friends of Palestine. It is the symbol of anti-imperialism in this part of the world. North Korean internationalism is legendary, just as Cuban internationalism is. The Communist Party is leading this anti-imperialist war in this part of Africa, and we are not ashamed to associate ourselves with the revolutionary people and leadership of DPRK.

MAU MAU FROM WITHIN; AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND ANALYSIS OF KENYA'S PEASANT REVOLT BY KARARI NJAMA & DONALD L. BARNETT



By Mukami Kamau

The autobiography, "Mau Mau from Within" provides vivid details of the peasant revolt that took over the then British Colony of Kenya in the early 1950's. The book is chronologically written in a descriptive style telling of the life and times of the writer, Karari Njama, who was a participant and leader in the Kenya Land and Freedom Army.

Through the propaganda and lies of the colonial government, the Guerrilla Army was painted negatively, and the freedom fighters were given the name Mau Mau. The co-author of the autobiography, Donald L. Barnett was an American political anthropologist keen on understanding and revealing the tactics, political ideology, successes and failures of the peasant revolt in Kenya from 1952 to 1957.

Barnett interviewed Karari and seven other individuals including Karigo Muchai whose accounts are featured in the book. The co-author used different references such as Jomo Kenyatta's Facing Mount Kenya, H. L Lamberts' Kikuyu Social and political Institutions, LSB Leakey's Mau Mau & the Kikuyu and J. Middleton's The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya. The preface of the book is befitting as it is written by Fred Kubai, Bildad Kaggia, Achieng Aneko (members of the Kapenguria Six) and Joseph Murumbi who was the second Vice President of independent Kenya.

The highlands of Kenya at the time were occupied by the British settlers with most peasants barely eking a living in the harsh conditions of unfertile lands in the colonial reserves that they were forced to live in. There was a wave of nationalism in the late 1940's after the Second World War with many African worker associations and unions forming with the goal of lobbying for better wages and more freedoms and rights. Some associations were formed along ethnic lines (as this was the policy condoned by the colonial authorities) while others were multi-ethnic and occupational, overriding the ethnic or clan affiliations.

The author indirectly points out that class struggle was already manifesting in the colony as colonial-educated Africans regarded some of the African traditions as backward and inferior. This caused a rift between them and the illiterate peasants and workers who upheld the same customs and traditions as their forebearers.

The book features the Kikuyu community of Mt. Kenya region and neighbouring highlands as they were the most afflicted by the violent push of Africans into the Reserves



General Karari Njama with Communist Party of Kenya Secretary General , Benedict Wachira during the 54th Commemoration of the martyrdom of Field Marshall Dedan Kimathi in 2011

that quickly became crowded and unsanitary. The rise of political associations such as the Young Kikuyu Association, Kikuyu Central Association and eventually the Kenya African Union led to the imposition of stricter laws by the government and to the capture of many nationalist leaders such as Harry Thuku and the Kapenguria Six.

The colonial government proceeded to hinder education for the Africans by implementing the Beecher Report that discouraged educational development of the young African population. It advocated for a maximum of three years of schooling after which the pupil would be pulled out of school so that he/she could be assimilated into the labour force in the white-owned farms. For the colonialists, too much education would empower the African too much, and it would also deny the white owned farms/homes the much needed cheap labour.

The increase of taxes such as poll tax and hut tax for Africans living in the reserves, as well as the Kipande system created devastating living conditions for them since they could not find enough land to farm. This increased the objective conditions for a peasant revolt.

Karari Njama is instrumental in providing intricate details of the activities of the Mau Mau, including the oath-taking activities that led to the uprising within the peasantry through organisations such as Gikuyu and Mumbi to the well-organised Kenya Defense Council led by Field Marshall Dedan Kimathi. During his teaching days at Muth-

iani School, Karari attended an oath-taking ceremony for Gikuyu and Mumbi society. He had also attended a KAU meeting that set the stage for his political awareness and consciousness. After a second oath while teaching and a year after the declaration of the emergency, he entered the forest to fight for the liberation of the Kenyan people. Karari Njama describes working with other notable leaders like General Stanley Mathenge of the Ituma Ndemi Army, General Macaria Kimemia, General Wariungi, General China heading the Meru, Embu and Ikamba Mathathi army, General Kimbo and General Kariba.

Karari Njama was called upon to join the warriors in the forest after it became evident that his activities in assisting the movement in organising and moving recruits into the forest may be discovered by home guards or the government. Taken in by Stanley Mathenge -Chairman of the movement- Karari was instrumental in the organising, planning and the keeping of records that leaders such as Dedan Kimathi saw fit to be kept for history and remembrance of the warriors who fought for the Land and Freedom of Kenyans.

The author clearly describes the Movement's military organisation into camps from various districts in Central Kenya and the Rift Valley. He defines the roles that women played in the forest and the conflicts that arose by having them as part of the camp members. The conflicts that arise in involving women in the war seem to reflect the author's opinion that women should only be

left to nurture the next generation of fighters. This duty does not however preclude them from taking part in active combat.

Karari notes how many guerrillas were mistaken for Komerera (who engaged in criminal activities (banditry) even on peasants instead of carrying out tactfully planned raids on the settler). Karari brings out the organisational tactics and strategies used by the Movement to attack settler farms for food, destruction and acquiring of ammunition that would be instrumental for any army involved in a guerrilla war.

The book is a great historical piece that should be applauded for providing the truth about the uprising of the peasants and workers of the Kenya Colony, the difficulties faced by the guerrillas and the mistakes in strategy as well as the consequences of such decisions. It describes leadership during guerrilla warfare and the risk and impact of not having the masses conscious of the political goals and ideology of the revolution. The book is instrumental in understanding the great risk, bravery and determination that the Kenya Land and Freedom Army took in order to bring down the Imperialist power.

The book is a must read for anyone who wants to understand the inner workings of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army. It is indeed an honest and first hand treatise on the Mau Mau, from within.

The writer is a cadre of the Communist Party of Kenya



MY LIFE BY FIDEL CASTRO AND IGNACIO RAMONET

By Regina Mutheu

The Spoken autobiography 'My Life' by Ignacio Ramonet was first published in Spanish in 2006, following over a hundred hours of interview with Fidel Castro, and was translated into English in 2008.

In the first Chapter, Ramonet states that the idea to write the Autobiography came to him in February 2002 when Comrade Fidel Castro engaged him and Joseph Stiglitz, an economics Nobel Laureate, on the effects of globalisation, and the need for a movement to counter it. Fidel's clarity and quickness

to analysis, knowledge, and passion for emerging revolutionary ideas, coupled with knowledge accumulated from many years of the revolutionary practice led Ramonet to contemplate on how younger generations of both those who support or condemn the Cuban revolution lacked clarity on who Fidel truly is. He says, "it struck me as unfair that the newer generations knew so little about his life and career"; and therefore this book is an attempt to rectify that- to let readers in on the life of Fidel Castro.

In the twenty-eight chapters of the spoken autobiography, we see Fidel Castro's childhood, education, youth, and entry into pol-

itics, how he embraced the revolution to free the Cuban people from bad governance, capitalism, and imperialism, and his general experiences as a communist revolutionary.

Fidel discusses the Marxist literature that informed his ideology and addresses utopian communism which serves as a reminder of the revolutionary adage 'from theory to practice'. He says "... I avidly read Marxist literature, to which I was more and more attracted. ... I once said somewhere that if Ulysses was captivated by the songs of the sirens, I was captivated by the irrefutable truths of the Marxist denunciations. I'd already developed utopian ideas; now I felt I was on firmer ground. Marxism taught me what society was."

When one looks at the brutality with which the corrupt Fulgencio Batista regime reacted to the popular demands and organising of the Cuban people, we cannot fail to see the similarity and consistency with how capitalist regimes all over the world have and continue to violently suppress popular demands for freedom, basic needs, and prosperity for all in the society. They still employ psychology, propaganda, repression, and assassinations in their attempts to silence and stop popular uprisings and revolutions. Fidel recalls the many times that their efforts were foiled and their comrades injured or even killed, forcing them to retreat, but they were still determined to go on with the struggle.

Fidel tells us about his capture by soldiers of the Batista regime and how he survived assassination by the brainwashed soldiers who believed themselves to be the 'heirs of the Liberation Army.' Indeed, security personnel in most capitalist countries think of themselves as guardians of law and order, not realising that in a capitalist society, law and order are neither neutral nor for the benefit of the majority, but it is indeed for the benefit of the ruling/owning class.

Further, Fidel tells of how he met Ernesto Che Guevara in Mexico after Che had travelled through Latin America (as a medical student) observing the struggles for progressive reforms, and how Che became involved in the Cuban revolution and

in organising resistance in Africa, fuelled by International solidarity. While admitting that it gave him great pleasure to talk about Che, Fidel talks about the reason they bonded so well, revealing their shared political philosophy - a Marxist conviction, a congruence of so many ideas - was the catalyst for their bonding.

It is today evident that international solidarity was deeply ingrained in the revolution. And Fidel mentions later in the book that Cuba is focused on "development of new programmes of internationalist cooperation, such as the presence of thousands of Cuban doctors and health personnel in many places around the world." Indeed, today as the world battles a global health crisis - the Coronavirus - Cuba has continued to send health workers to many countries whose healthcare systems are overwhelmed and underfunded by capitalist governments.

The book explains how both military and political strategy won the Cuban revolution, discusses the military tactics used, and how the guerrillas advanced or diversified their methods based on their past positive and negative experiences. The book takes us to the eventual victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and gives us snippets on how the previous administrators were brought to book and how all the wealth and property hitherto stolen was reclaimed.

The Imperialist United States of America has made numerous attempts at assassinating Fidel Castro, and it has also attempted to destroy socialist construction and restore capitalism in Cuba. Fidel discusses some of the attempts made during the 43 years (up to 2006 when the book was published) and he goes deeper into the counter-revolutionary Bay of Pigs Invasion of 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962.

The book also addresses the events that led to the 'The Ochoa Case and the Death Penalty', and the reasons that guided the State's decision- to avoid compromising the Country and the Revolution. Fidel discusses how those in positions of power must train their conscience to avoid the corruption made possible by being in a position of power. The uncompromising manner with which Cuba dealt with Gen-

eral Ochoa reminds us that no one in the Party, however senior, however popular, or however much they have contributed to the past successes of the Party should be above the Party discipline.

The book further discusses the ideological confusion, climate, and neoliberal globalisation in the world today. Fidel points out that people are now more aware of what globalisation is and how monopolies control production and consumerism. Looking inward, the book discusses Cuba's focus on the fight against terrorism and corruption, the liberation of the Cuban Five, and the energy revolution campaign aimed at improving production, education, and health in the Country.

The book highlights the ability of Cubans to differentiate lies and propaganda from facts, and their ability to assess their Government despite the blockade imposed on them by the world superpowers. This is particularly important in that it has enabled the Communist Party of Cuba to respond to the needs, interests, and opinions of the people. In the true fashion of a Communist, Fidel recognises the errors made in the process of building socialism and how the party has learned and moved to correct these. He says "We must have the courage to recognise our errors for that very reason because that's the only way we can achieve the objective we set out to achieve."

Though lengthy, this spoken autobiography is easy to read as it was published in a conversational tone that allows the reader to 'feel the voice' of Fidel Castro in the pages. Some of the key lessons that revolutionaries will learn include the pointers to continuously study Marxist theory; to move from class instinct to class consciousness, to move from theory to practice; to embrace internationalism; to be alert to the social conditions and pre-existing circumstances of the people; to publish revolutionary views to inform the masses and combat imperialist propaganda; and to always remember individual revolutionaries can be killed, but no one can kill revolutionary ideas.

The writer is a cadre of the Communist Party of Kenya

LENIN

Great patriot
of Russia
and the world
a fabulous example of a communist
the meaning of the life of a revolutionary
hero and the beloved of the oppressed
the torch of the strugglers of peoples' democracy
star thinker and philosopher of liberation
master of strategies and tactics of the worker's struggles
great general of the progressive army of the exploited
symbol and imagery of the love of life and human beings;

Oh Lenin
Vladmir Ilyich Lenin
gigantic enemy of all exploiters and oppressors
weapon against capitalism and imperialism
faithful creative and true disciple of Marx and Engels
elaborator defender and corroborator of socialism
theoretically
ideologically
morally
practically
stressing always
that the only and inevitable way
of the development and liberation of the poor and exploited
and ultimately of the whole society
is the road of communism;

Comrade Vladmir
you who teach us
of the importance of the party
the communist party
which is the shield and spear
of all fighting for socialism
the party of those who agree
and trust one another ideologically
which insists
on revolutionary democracy and discipline
basing its strategies and tactics
on the theory of dialectical and historical materialism
which advises all of us in the struggle
to always take a class stand
in interpreting social phenomena
while remembering at all times
Marxism is a living science
it is a guide to revolutionary action
that ever demands creative application
and which militates against empiricism and dogmatism,
that we should struggle without giving up
for the direction of the wheel of history
is forward, forward for ever;

Oh Lenin
Vladmir Ilyich Lenin
who was once a political prisoner
after being expelled from the university

who was forced to be a political refugee at your time
where I am now I remember you
I love you always, I love you very much
should my life resemble yours, even a little bit
should I be near you beloved Lenin
I will say I have lived;

Comrade Lenin
all this propaganda they are propagating
will not make us embrace imperialism
all this oppression they are organising against us
will not clean the capitalist system
all this persecution they are carrying against us
will not save the system of exploitation of person by person
all this brutality they are perpetrating against us
will not convince the masses to accept dictatorship
all this torture they are forcing us to endure
will not change true to false and false to true
and this betrayal against us the majority of citizens
we shall not tolerate for ever
because, oh beloved Lenin
your name
and the heroic names of patriots
and revolutionaries
are alive
and will last forever
whether the exploiters like it or not
we who remember them
we who struggle for a new life
we who search for social progress
and the happiness of the majority in the world
we who daily confront all sorts of tribulations
which you also used to confront
Lenin
Vladmir Ilyich Lenin
we are dear comrade we are
and will be with you always
may counter-revolutionaries wherever they are
swallow razor blades if they wish
but your name comrade Lenin
shall live forever
whether they like it or not!
your contribution
to science
to education
to philosophy
to social progress
to liberation struggle
to humanity
is a landmark
you lived dear comrade you lived well
you lived as people ought to
that's why you will live forever
the gold and diamond of revolutionaries
Vladmir Lenin, dear comrade.....

Mwandawiro Mghanga

Kibos Main Prison 6-2-1988

MAU MAU

The peasants and workers of our country
Refused colonialism
They rebelled against it in words and deeds
They said no! no to white people's rule in Kenya
They organised themselves day and night
They met discussed and plotted together
Devising strategies and tactics
Giving one another advise and oath
They ate the oath of Kenya and her freedom
They swore that they would sacrifice themselves
Whatever come may they would do anything
For the sake of the liberation of our country
Collectively they agreed that they would fight
Fight without going back or giving up hope
They would struggle and struggle and struggle
Until they remove colonialism in our motherland
Then there was the bugle call, the traditional horn sounded
It was sounded to announce the war of liberation
Out came the men
Forward marched the women
And the children refused to be left behind
Even the old and the sick
Were ready to make their contribution
There was no single patriot
That abandoned the struggle for freedom
Whoever counted himself to be a patriot
Came out to play his or her part for the motherland
The peasants and workers
Responded to the call
They came out for the sake of our nation
Spreading in towns
Throughout the country side
And into the forests
With guns and bombs
And pangas and grenades
They spread news of the guerrilla war
Until the whole world heard and knew
Knew about Kenya's liberation war
Kenyans had arrived at a time of demanding freedom
Demanding it through barrels of guns
Thus the Land and Freedom Army was formed
The fame of Mau Mau spread like wind
The sons and daughters of Africa had united
United in the fight for the dignity of the Black person
Gallant and valiant heroes of Kenya
Were now being born everyday at the battle fields
The first military generals of our country
Were being distinguished clearly at the front-line
Patriots were on this side
While the cowards ran away there
So the meaning of patriotism and traitorism
Were clearly understood

In the struggle for national liberation
The culture of anti-imperialist struggle
Continued to grow and flourish everywhere
Songs against colonialism were composed
Dances of celebrating the beauty of African culture
Became the order of the day
The literature about the shame and evil
Of being ruled by foreigners in our own country
Spread like wildfire
The morality of hope and ultimate victory
In our just war
Was preached to all even to the enemies
The war of the freedom of the African
Grew and grew becoming bitter and bitter everyday
The White settlers robbers of our land were slaughtered
Homeguards and traitors were butchered
The attacks of the colonial army of occupation
Were answered by our just patriotic army
Answered with a tooth for a tooth a nail for a nail
For now the medicine of fire was fire
The British government in Kenya
Paid heavy price after heavy price
Our people increased their creativity
In the course of the liberation war
Guns were being manufactured
At Nyandarwa and Kirinyaga
Bombs and grenades were being made
At Mathare and Kariobangi
The aeroplanes of the airforce of the enemy
Were being downed everyday
The prisons incarcerating patriots
Were attacked and prisoners set free by their landmen
The oppressors invaders and occupiers of our country
Were sleepless and diarrhoeating with fear
All their wisdom deserted them
Raving with the madness of suffering defeat after defeat
They increased witchhunting arresting and torturing
They were imprisoning deporting and killing indiscriminately
Death surrounded the villages with trenches and askaris
Villages were like prisons with oppression above oppression
The torture was too much like that of fascist Hitler
With small children tortured being beaten and cut into pieces
And open brutality upon their mothers being abused and raped
Citizens were turned into slaves through forced labour
Hunger fear threats and intimidation's
Became part and parcel of village life
Nairobi and Central Province were like hell on earth
Because of the cruelty of the White people
Prisons were full to the brim with patriots and citizens
Heroes of our country were being persecuted and prosecuted
Imprisoned detained deported and hanged everyday
Human rights in Kenya were trampled upon underfoot
The sins perpetrated by colonialists against us
We shall never forget we shall never forget forever

The treason of the traitors and homeguards
We shall remember we shall remember bitterly always
The colonialists tried all methods possible
To extinguish the inextinguishable fire of uhuru
Their radios were condemning and ridiculing our struggle
Their newspapers condoning their fascism against Kenyans
They even resorted to the use of religion, churches
In their diabolic attempt of trying to put off
The fire of liberation war that can never be put off
But lo! the colonialists were but chasing after the wind
Nothing could make the peasants and workers of Kenya
Lift up their arms or stop the war
The fire of uhuru continued burning and burning and burning
The sound of the guns fired by patriots for justice
Continued being heard for they were unstoppable
The blood of the settlers and traitors
Continued to be spilled spilling spilling everyday
The history of struggle against colonialism
Was written by the ink of the blood of patriots
The fame of Mau Mau spread like the North wind
They spread East and West and also South and North
All Africa was proud of Mau Mau a shining example to follow
In Mau Mau the road of the war of liberation was opened
So when Cubans and Koreans and Algerians
Were fighting against colonialism and imperialism
Here in Kenya we were also fighting the same enemy
Mau Mau was a great example to all dominated nations
Eventually the colonialists lifted up their arms
The invaders and plunderers of our country surrendered
They had no alternative but to accept defeat
Those who always claimed they were insurmountable
Were surmounted Mau Mau surmounted them colonialists
The flag of the United Kingdom was lowered with shame
While that of Africans of Kenyans was proudly hoisted
The history of classical colonialism in Kenya
Had ended was finished never to come back
But alas! the history of imperialism
Was not yet over it was still there it was still there
For neo-colonialism knocked at the door
And Kanu-Kadu-Kenyatta said welcome!.....
That is why up to today we are still saying
Aluta kontinuaaaaaahhhhhh!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
Mau Mau carried their responsibility
And we patriots of today
Continue in the same path
Long live Mau Mau!
Long live the spirit of patriotism!
Long live revolutionary struggle!

Ibrahim Bakayoko
A Comrade from Prison, 1988

JOIN THE C P K

Are you disgusted with the levels of corruption in Kenya today?

Are you offended by the levels of unemployment in this Country?

Are you tired of being paid peanuts while the bosses take home billions of money they never worked for?

Are you a peasant farmer who is sickened by the exploitation that middlemen/brokers force you through?

Are you a decent Kenyan who wishes prosperity for all?

Are you interested in changing the Kenyan society to one where people do not exploit or oppress others?

If your answers to the above is YES, you are hereby invited to

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

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