

ITIKADI

SOCIALISM, THEORY AND PRACTICE
VOLUME 1 NO 5

A PUBLICATION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

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BY THE CENTRAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE
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The Editor's Note

Greetings comrades,

Itikadi consistently upholds principled and militant positions on national and international issues. In the face of a global imperialist crisis, we address the proxy NATO war in Ukraine, the ongoing genocide in Gaza, and regional conflicts in Africa. Closer to home, Kenya grapples with a profound economic and political crisis as the ruling class struggles for solutions.

As the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Kenya, Itikadi 5 serves as a platform for critical analysis and ideological fortification amid a world in ideological and psychological turmoil. This is intensified by a rectification program within our ranks to counter opportunism and revisionism.

This volume delves into the detrimental effects of neoliberal policies imposed on the Kenyan people, examining the IMF's role as an economic hitman. We expose the tribal nature of Kenyan politics, take a clear stance on the National Question, and clarify our party's attitude towards nationalism.

The article on privatization as theft unmasks the ruling class's deception behind failing state-owned enterprises.

Our focus extends beyond borders, challenging the capitalist narrative of Pan-Africanism. We advocate for a united and liberated Africa rooted in scientific socialism, countering exploitation and consumerism. Itikadi 5 initiates a debate on the role of religion in party building, echoing Kwame Nkrumah's belief in students as the spark of revolution. We reflect on our student movement, defining our voice in the broader societal struggle.

In the solidarity sections, we stand with the youth league against the genocide in Gaza and express support for global popular struggles. Perspectives from the Communist Party of Venezuela, reflections from Dar Es Salaam on Magufuli's legacy, and insights from Gambia enrich our understanding.

Comrades, in this volume, Itikadi is not just a publication; it is a call to action. As we face the challenges of our time, let this be a guide for collective understanding, a call for action, and unwavering commitment to the ideals of communism.

This extraordinary edition of Itikadi presents a structured exploration of critical themes, divided into four parts for an accessible and insightful reading experience.

1. Ideology:

At the heart of our ideological foundation, we confront the effects of neoliberal policies imposed on the Kenyan people, advocating for a systemic shift from capitalism to socialism. Unpack the Kenyan National Question, demystifying unity talks and exposing the tribal nature of our politics. Engage with the argument that privatization is theft, revealing the falsehoods perpetuated by the ruling class to privatize public resources.

2. Reports from the Central Organizing Committee of the Majority:

The second part opens a window into the workings of our party. Learn about the rectification program addressing opportunism and revisionism within our ranks. Join the debate on the role of religion in party building and revisit the student movement's history to define our voice in the broader societal struggle.

3. Tributes:

This section pays homage to the revolutionary spirit that guides us. Reflect on Kwame Nkrumah's assertion that students are the spark of the revolution and gain clarity on our voice in student communities. Honour the ongoing struggle with tributes to those who have shaped our movement.

4. Solidarity and World Socialism:

The final part extends our vision beyond borders. Stand in solidarity with the youth league against the genocide in Gaza and express support for global popular struggles. Gain diverse perspectives from the Communist Party of Venezuela, reflections from Dar Es Salaam on Magufuli's legacy, and insights from Gambia. Engage with the revived spirit of Pan-Africanism, positioning scientific socialism at the centre of discussions on a united and liberated Africa.

Comrades, in structuring Itikadi 5 in these four parts, our aim is to provide a comprehensive and engaging platform for our readers. Against the backdrop of global challenges, may this edition serve not only as a publication but as a guide for collective understanding, a call for action, and unwavering commitment to the ideals of communism.

In solidarity,
Editors



IMF: The Economic Hitman of The Global South

Gold was intended to serve as a form of international liquidity. However, this plan was rejected by the United States. The United States aimed to elevate the dominance of the dollar to the level of 'world money' to replace gold, much like what the British pound had done in the guise of the gold standard.

By Mwaivu Kaluka

President Ruto's visit to Paris for the Financial Pact summit on June 22, 2023, ignited debates around the Pan-African agenda. While outsiders have showered him with praises, calling him the 'new Sankara' of the African continent, little is known about his commitment to the proposals he's been making. During his visit, he delivered a powerful speech in front of the famous Eiffel Tower in Paris, France. He eloquently played to the gallery, captivating the crowd that cheered him and the international media.

Most notably, he called for the establishment of a new financial and economic order, leaving his host, President Emmanuel Macron, surprised. Ruto criticized the existing financial system: "At this global citizen event, we call for a financial system that is fit for purpose. One that does not divide the West and the East, the North and the South, or emitters and non-emitters, and that does not pit the developing against the developed. We want a system that is fair and transparent, and this is not too much to ask," Ruto declared.

Later, during a roundtable discussion with President Macron, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) staff, and other private investors, he began by commending the IMF for its role in Africa. However, he also requested

However, he also requested debt relief, emergency liquidity, and credit resettlement arrangements from these institutions. In the conference, it became evident that Ruto was trying to strike a balance, avoiding antagonizing the so-called investors. He paid lip service while simultaneously playing to the Pan-African rhetoric. At one point, he even proposed a new currency and trade terms with the global North.

It's imperative that President Ruto aligns his actions with his words, as one of the key objectives of Kenya Kwanza was self-reliance. The phrase "self-reliance" has been tossed around in Kenya for some time. This article delves into the historical conditions that led to the establishment of the IMF and the World Bank, their impact on the global South, and narrows down to Kenya, from Independence to contemporary times.

The IMF and the World Bank emerged during the monopoly stage of capitalism, immediately after World War II. There was a transition from bilateral imperialism to multilateral imperialism. In the former system, balance of payments deficits were automatically corrected because gold was physically transported to pay the creditor country. This was the era of the gold standard, which posed challenges in the currency exchange field and ultimately led to the collapse of the gold

ultimately led to the collapse of the gold standard. The new institutions were established to supposedly ensure stability in the international monetary system and avoid the previous problems.

In July 1944, the United States convened a delegation from 44 countries in the luxurious ski resort of Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. The conference aimed to discuss a new economic order for the post-war period, ensuring a stable balance of payments for member countries. The conference was a rescue operation for capitalism, as Britain, the former "workshop of the world," had been devastated by the war. Europe was grappling with high inflation, unemployment, trade protectionism, fluctuating exchange rates, and a shortage of gold reserves. In contrast, the United States had emerged as the new superpower, holding nearly two-thirds of the world's gold reserves and already being an industrial giant.

This meant that the conference favoured economically strong countries, leaving others as mere onlookers. John Maynard Keynes, one of the conference attendees representing Britain, even remarked that

"21 countries have been invited which have nothing to contribute and will merely encumber the ground."

Keynes proposed the establishment of an international payment union to provide member countries with loans and the creation of an international unit called 'Bancor' to serve as a reserve currency.

Keynes from a position of a debtor imperialist country, envisaged the setting up of this international clearing Union 'bancor', which would make large overdrafts available for its members, facilities which were to be related to their pre-war share of world trade. This, of course, favoured Britain and according to Keynes's plan, this overdraft should have amounted to \$26 billion. There was no limit set on the value of individual credit balances ' [Nabudere, 2009 pg 51]

Bancor was to be defined as defined as gold, and members were required to accept it as the equivalent of gold for settling international balances. The plan assumed stable exchange rates and assigned other functions to Bancor, such as serving as a unit of account and a medium of exchange. Gold was intended to serve as a form of international liquidity.

However, this plan was rejected by the United States. Assistant Secretary of State for the Treasury, Harry Dexter White, who in his plan proposed an international stabilization fund that would place the burden of trade deficits on debtor nations. White spoke on behalf of a cred-

White spoke on behalf of a creditor imperialist nation. Unlike Keynes's plan, which required no initial contributions from members, the White plan mandated member countries to contribute a specified amount or quota of at least \$5 billion. This quota was determined based on an agreed formula that considered a country's gold holdings, foreign exchange fluctuations, balance of payments issues, and national income. Member countries' subscriptions were to be 25% in gold and 75% in their national currency.

In return, these member countries would receive purchasing rights over other countries' currencies to supplement their normal reserves for balance of payments purposes. They could acquire these drawings by providing more of their currencies. This would assist deficit countries in stabilizing temporary imbalances in their obligations to other countries, resembling the 19th-century gold standard mechanism that applied pressure to both creditors and debtors.

'They could purchase these drawings by putting in more of their currencies. This would assist the deficit country to 'stabilise temporary imbalances in their obligations to other countries. The drawing or purchasing of other currencies is called the 'scarce currency' transaction, and the aim was to imitate the 19th-century gold standard mechanism, which put pressure on both the creditors and debtors ' [Nabudere, 1989, pg 55]

White also proposed the formation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which would provide capital for economic reconstruction post-war and stimulate the smooth flow of foreign private investments. The U.S. dollar was to play a central role and would be pegged to other currencies at fixed exchange rates. Its relation to gold was set at \$35 per ounce of fine gold, which limited other countries' ability to control their monetary policies and protect their national industries.

The United States aimed to elevate the dominance of the dollar to the level of 'world money' to replace gold, much like what the British pound had done in the guise of the gold standard.

After the final agreement in 1945, the United States became the largest shareholder by depositing \$2.9 billion, twice the amount deposited by our former colonial empire, Britain, which was facing colonial liberation movements and the pressure of an 'open door' policy allowing the penetration of Transnational Finance Capital from other advanced capitalist countries.



Central Bank
Image courtesy of
Wikipedia

A package called the standby arrangement was introduced, and it introduced the principle of conditionality for debtor countries. The loan would be disbursed in phases, which allowed the implementation of conditionalities that debtor countries had to adhere to. These agreements were not treated as international treaties, which meant that executive and multinational institutions could make concessions without approval from parliaments or other institutions responsible for checks and balances. These agreements were also kept confidential and treated as classified information, hidden from the public domain.

Some of the conditionalities, known as structural adjustment programs or Economic Recovery programs, were attached to these loans. These included currency devaluations, trade liberalization, reduced public expenditures on goods and services, credit restrictions, and privatization of state-owned enterprises. Let's explore some of the different lending facilities available at this multilateral institution:



President Ruto and
World Bank president
sign a Sh1.8 trillion
loan facility for Kenya
over three fiscal years

Image courtesy of
Swala Nyeti

i) **Stand-by Arrangement (SBA)** - This is the core lending facility that runs for 12-24 months, not exceeding 34 months. Repayments are typically due within 3-5 years, and it aims to address short-term balance of payments deficits [Havernik, 1987].

ii) **Extended Fund Facility (EFF)** - This facility is similar to the SBA but is intended for low-income countries under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Trust (PRGT), which is distinct from the General Resource Account (GRA). The GRA operates with market-based interest rates, while EFF allows low-income member countries to obtain credit or Special Drawing Rights (SDR) beyond their share quota contributions. Repayments for EFF typically extend for 4-10 years.

iii) **Extended Credit Facility (ECF)** - ECF is similar to EFF and falls under the PRGT. It addresses medium-to-long-term structural issues and comes with a grace period of 5 years and a maturity period of 10 years.

iv) **Flexible Credit Line** - This facility is intended for countries with robust policy frameworks that face immediate financial challenges and wish to avoid market reactions that conditionalities typically trigger. These are usually 1-2 years renewable credit lines.

v) **Rapid Financing Instrument** - This facility provides rapid financial assistance to countries experiencing urgent balance of payments problems due to natural disasters, such as floods, diseases, commodity price shocks, and political conflicts, and has a repayment period of 3-5 years.

vi) **Rapid Credit Facility** - This facility is designed for countries under the PRGT and offers financial assistance during crises. It has a grace period of 5 years and a maturity period of 20 years.

There are other facilities like Rapid Financing Instruments, precautionary and liquidity lines, and Catastrophe Containment and Relief Trust (CCRT) in the form of grants, which we won't delve into in this article.

THE NEOLIBERAL OFFENSIVE

The IMF and World Bank, often referred to as Bretton Woods institutions together with the World Trade Organisation(WTO) embarked on a systematic exploitation of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose governments had accepted the conditionalities and credit system imposed by these imperialist institutions. These nations were coerced into implementing a series of measures, including budget cuts, currency devaluation, market liberalization, the removal of trade protectionism (tariffs and levies), the relaxation of restrictions on foreign investments to allow foreign finance capital to control production and trade, and privatization of state-owned enterprises and assets.

In 1973, as the global economy faced a downturn during the 1974/75 recession, member organizations of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised oil prices, leading to an increase in commodity prices. In response, the IMF introduced the Extended Fund Facility (EFF), allowing low-income countries to borrow credit up to 140% of their quotas. However, these loans came with harsh conditionalities that severely affected the people of the global South, leading to widespread public protests and outcry against the austerity measures.

In Chile, for instance, the CIA-backed coup in 1973, which toppled Salvador Allende's government, set the stage for a rapid transition to neoliberal policies under Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet privatized healthcare and education, reduced government spending on public goods and services, implemented wage cuts, increased taxes, lowered tariffs, and initiated mass layoffs in the public sector. These austerity measures had a swift and detrimental impact. Unemployment skyrocketed from 3% in 1973 to 18.7% by the end of 1975, pushing inflation to 341% and causing widespread poverty. The result was an exacerbation of social inequality for decades to come.

Mexico faced a similar situation in 1979 when it sought assistance from the IMF. The IMF's financial support came with conditions that included reducing wages for public servants and removing subsidies on basic commodities. Within four years, the inflation rate surged to 90%, leading to mass demonstrations and uprisings in many Latin American countries.

The IMF remained unresponsive to the adverse effects of its policies as long as it fulfilled its objective: ensuring the rule of finance capital owned by the financial oligarchies of the world's financial centres.

By 1983, 16 Latin American countries were compelled to reschedule pre-existing debts. The largest four – Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, and Argentina – had accumulated debts of \$37 billion, a substantial portion owned by major US banks. IMF and World Bank were actualizing this coalescence of Bank Capital and Industrial capital to form International Finance Capital that would now rule the world,

This underscored the role of banks in the modern stage of monopoly capitalism and its credit system. As Lenin observed;

“The principal and primary function of banks is to serve as middlemen in the making of payments. In so doing they transform inactive money capital into active, that is, into capital yielding a profit; they collect all kinds of money revenues and place them at the disposal of the capitalist class” [Lenin, 1963]

IN AFRICA, THE TRENDS WERE SIMILAR.

When Ghana gained independence in 1957, President Kwame Nkrumah's government adopted a socialist path. This transition towards socialism was reflected in the introduction of a planned economy, ambitious nationalization of key industries, and industrialization programs. However, by 1983, after a military junta led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings took power, the country began negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank. This led to the implementation of stringent loan conditions and economic recovery program. Charles Amo-Agyomang, 2017]

Although it's not possible to delve into the case of every African country subjected to the neoliberal framework in this article, several instances of resistance against these imperialist institutions emerged across major cities in Africa. Protests, strikes, and uprisings in various countries highlighted the discontent and struggles of the people against the adverse effects of these policies.

In 1981, for example, Moroccan trade unionists and students demonstrated against the then-government austerity measures where 79 protesters were killed and 550 injured. The trade union had organized a general strike after IMF made a loan of \$1.2 billion.

In May 1986, about 20 students were killed at Ahmachi Bello University in Zaria in Nigeria, in Benin students were also killed in protests at the Kachira Polytechnic.

In Feb 1990, students at the University of Niamey in Niger boycotted after IMF imposed cuts on education funding.

In SA before the 1994 election Mandela and ANC, protests were there in the major cities in South Africa and the IMF was held accountable for the death and devastation that had been caused by the austerity measures they had prescribed to the African government.

In Kenya, like many other Third World countries, the period following independence in 1963 was marked by what was referred to as the "Golden years." Despite the economy's continued colonial character, efforts were made to advance the interests of the bourgeois class. The post-1970s oil embargo and the subsequent global economic recession adversely impacted the country, leading to fluctuations in export prices, limited technological advancements, drought, famine, rapid urbanization without corresponding industrialization, and widespread poverty, disease, and ignorance.

During this period, Kenya's GDP per capita fell, living standards declined, and economic policies, such as "African socialism" and "self-reliance," proved largely ineffective.

The Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC), a government parastatal, remained closely tied to imperialism as it relied on credit from foreign banks. This meant that foreign capital continued to control both industrialization and commerce in Kenya.

By the early 1980s, Kenya had succumbed to the demands of the IMF and its conditionalities. The structural adjustment programs (SAPs) became the primary policy tools for the country's economic management. SAPs aimed to improve efficiency in all sectors of the economy, with a focus on liberalizing prices and marketing systems, financial sector policy reforms, divestiture, and privatization of state-owned enterprises, along with civil service reforms.

As SAPs were implemented, prices and the marketing of goods and services were liberalized, and foreign multinational corporations began to dominate various industries. Local industries, unable to compete with these multinationals' economies of scale, faced the threat of insolvency. Industrial stagnation contributed to rising unemployment rates.

"The government had liberalized some aspects of labour markets, leaving market forces to determine appropriate wage levels. The low levels of unemployment in the rural areas reflected corresponding high levels of underemployment among youth, especially family-owned enterprises such as firms," observed UNICEF in 1998.

Economic reports often emphasize figures such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth and income per capita. However, little attention is paid to the Human Development Index and income inequality figures, which are essential indicators of the impact of economic policies on the lives of the people. Human development, which allowed humans to distinguish themselves from other primates, arose when they began to produce their material existence and develop the productive forces to achieve freedom from necessity. Development must be people-centred, enhancing their material conditions and increasing their freedom. Kenyan leader Mwalimu Nyerere emphasized that "the purpose of development is the people."

Let's look at how these SAPs affected the human development factors of health and education.

After independence health was one of the priorities of the Kenyatta government, Kenya had experienced an improvement in the number of health facilities, and health personnel the rates of infant mortality had declined and life expectancy was increasing gradually. After the implementation of the SAPs, the quality of medical goods and services deteriorated due to the insistence of the IMF for the government to cut down spending on public healthcare. In 1988 the government was forced to buy the idea of cost-sharing in the the health sector so that the beneficiaries would have to pay part of the cost of health. This meant that healthcare remained a privilege to only those who could afford it.

The cost-sharing approach was also applied to the education sector, leading to an increase in non-enrolment and dropout rates as education costs became a burden for poor families who could not afford school fees. These policies prioritized economic interests over the welfare of the people.

In 1999, President Moi's regime faced growing opposition and public discontent. In response, he appointed a team of technocrats, known as the "dream team," to reverse the economic downturn. However, their policies, influenced by the IMF and the World Bank, did not achieve the desired results.

The situation persisted under President Kibaki, who struggled to escape the influence of these institutions.

Several state-owned enterprises were privatized during his tenure. Between 2003 and 2008 six state-owned enterprises that is Kenya Reinsurance, Safaricom, Telekom Kenya, Kenya Railways Corporation and Mumias Sugar were privatized as part of the bitter pill of the Bretton Woods institutions.

The trends continued under President Uhuru Kenyatta, who sought assistance from the IMF. His second tenure saw increased lending from the IMF. In a mission that was led by Mary Goodman, Kenya through the Extended fund facility(EFF-F)The extended credit facility would have access to SDR 179.13 million.By 2nd April 2021, IMF Board had approved the Usd \$2.34 billion EFF/ECF arrangement for Kenya, the fourth review was undertaken from 25th Oct to 8th Nov and was approved by IMF Executive Board.



Former President Uhuru Kenyatta with IFC Managing Director Makhtar Dio. Where Kenyatta urged World Bank Group to Support the Private Sector
Image courtesy of panafrikanvisions.com

Kenya's debt increased significantly, and President William Ruto continued to seek financial support from the IMF.

Recently IMF deputy managing director Antoinette Sayeh met President Ruto as the IMF executive board completed their fifth review under EFF/ECF arrangement and an immediate disbursement estimated to be 58.7 billion was disbursed, they also approved a 20-month arrangement under the resilience and sustainability facility(RSF) of 88.9 billion.

In the guise of helping in building resilience to climate change and expediting private climate financing. Kenya has also got a reprieve from the lender after IMF extended the fund and credit arrangements from the current 38 months to 48 months through April 1, 2025, but this would however mean we are going to pay more interest.

His government faced criticism and protests against a controversial Finance Act aimed at attracting more funding from the IMF. This Act passed under the influence of the IMF, included measures such as increased VAT on fuel, a housing levy deducted from workers' salaries, and tax reductions for landlords. The IMF also criticized the Kenyan government for reinstating subsidies on certain public goods and services.

In summary, Kenya, like many other countries, found itself trapped in a cycle of debt dependence on the IMF and the World Bank, debt is already standing at ksh 10.5 trillion from 9.1 trillion when he took office with these institutions exerting considerable influence on the country's economic policies. Public discontent and protests against the adverse effects of these policies continued, highlighting the class struggle between the people and imperialism.

As Kenya moves forward, the country's leaders must carefully consider the implications of

international financial institutions.

In conclusion, the Communist Party of Kenya is the only political force that can genuinely start the immediate process for people-centred development.

CPK's approach to countering the neoliberal offensive would involve a comprehensive transformation of the economic system, one that prioritizes the welfare of the people over corporate profits. This transformative agenda includes:

1. Dismantling the neoliberal policies that have led to austerity measures, trade liberalization, privatization, and deregulation. These policies have disproportionately harmed the working class and the broader population.
2. A shift towards national economic planning, where the state plays a central role in guiding economic development, focusing on the needs of the people rather than corporate interests. This entails industrial policy, trade policy, and the allocation of resources to sectors that benefit society as a whole.
3. Public ownership and control of strategic sectors of the economy, including critical industries, utilities, and resources, such as energy, healthcare, education, and natural resources. This ensures they serve the interests of the people rather than corporate profits.
4. Worker and community participation, allowing workers to have a say in the decision-making processes of their workplaces, potentially through the formation of workers' cooperatives and factory committees. Local communities should also be involved in regional development decisions to ensure projects serve their interests.
5. Addressing income and wealth inequality through progressive taxation and comprehensive social welfare programs to ensure that the burden of economic reform does not fall on the working class and the poor.

6. Prioritizing self-reliance in essential goods and services, reducing dependence on global markets. Fairtrade policies should be pursued to protect domestic industries and workers from unfair competition.

7. Debt restructuring and economic sovereignty are vital. CPK shall mobilize forces of the South to collectively renegotiate or repudiate unsustainable debts and focus on maintaining the autonomy to make decisions in the best interests of their citizens.

8. Investment in human development is paramount. Public spending shall prioritize education, healthcare, and social services to enhance human development and provide equal opportunities for all.

9. Environmental sustainability is a core principle. We shall transition to a more sustainable and ecologically responsible economic model, acknowledging the planet's resource limits.

10. International solidarity is crucial, given the global nature of the neoliberal world order. Collaboration and solidarity with other nations and movements that share similar goals are essential in the pursuit of a more just and equitable international economic system.

World Bank Approved \$750 Million for Kenya's Economic Recovery in 2022 to cover Governance, electricity industry. Since August 2023, Kenya suffered nation-wide blackouts. A catastrophe not experienced in nearly two decades. Image courtesy of standardmedia.co.ke



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Beyond Tribal Narratives: The Kenyan National Question through a Proletarian Lens



Slums in Kenya - image appearing in Prevention web sponsored by UNDRR under the headline: Kenya's slums are a haven for viruses: here's what we know
Image courtesy of preventionweb.net

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Is there a contradiction between a Kikuyu and a Luo working together in the same small manufacturing plant in an industrial area? Or between a Kikuyu and a Luo living in Mathare and Kibera? Both individuals are exploited by capital during the day, while the owner of the plant appropriates all the surplus value generated by their hard work. In the evening, they return to the slums they call home and share a roof over their heads. When the month ends, the landlord comes knocking at their doors to collect rent.

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By Mwaivu Kaluka

Recently, our former comrade and the former National Chairperson of the Communist Party of Kenya, which was formerly known as the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP), Gov. James Orengo, treated us to a harebrained interpretation of Marxism concerning the national question in Kenya.

In his pedantic manner, Orengo, while invoking the authority of Marx, reminded us that the principal contradiction in Kenya, since independence, has been between the Lake region, Luo and the Mountain region, GEMA. According to him, the resolution of this contradiction hinges on the unity of these two regions in the 2022 general elections, thereby ensuring a peaceful and prosperous Kenya. Let me quote his exact words before I delve into a critique of his superficial understanding of social phenomena.

"In addressing the Kenyan question, many nations have faced issues similar to Kenya's. I would like to provide a few examples to illustrate what Marxists refer to as major contradictions. In South Africa, it was racism; in Ireland, it was the conflict between religious sects (Catholics and Protestants); in India, as resolved by Gandhi, it was the tension between Indians and Muslims. In Kenya, the major contradiction has been between the Lake and the Mountain.

If we fail to address this issue, Kenya is at risk of descending into chaos. The Mountain must engage with the Lake to address this major contradiction, which can sometimes escalate into violence. This is Kenya's national and political question, and we are addressing it with the handshake (a truce between Raila and Uhuru)."

Regrettably, this is how the national question is being perverted by our former comrade Orengo. **This is, without a doubt, a bourgeois interpretation of the national question.** If we were to follow Orengo's logic, we would be led to believe that uniting the GEMA tribes and the Lake region tribes would resolve the national question.

Is there truly such a significant contradiction between, for instance, the Kikuyu and the Luo? Does this even constitute a national question? It is laughable that we are subjected to such a vulgarisation of the national question. Such falsification must not go unchallenged; it must be critiqued and treated with the contempt it deserves.

This critique will enhance our understanding of the nature of the national question in Kenya and how it can be resolved.

Is there a contradiction between a Kikuyu and a Luo working together in the same small manufacturing plant in an industrial area? Or between a Kikuyu and a Luo living in Mathare and Kibera? Both individuals are exploited by capital during the day, while the owner of the plant appropriates all the surplus value generated by their hard work. In the evening, they return to the slums they call home and share a roof over their heads. When the month ends, the landlord comes knocking at their doors to collect rent.

Is there a contradiction between a fisherman from Lake Victoria and a farmer growing potatoes in Shamata, Nyahururu? These people meet daily at Gikomba and Muthurwa to exchange their products. Is there a contradiction between a wealthy Kikuyu and a wealthy Luo in the upscale suburbs of Runda, Karen, or Lavington? Do they not meet each evening in posh eateries in Kitisuru and Muthaiga to enjoy roast meat and expensive whiskey, and partake in leisure activities on their golf courses and country clubs? The answer is evident.

Why, then, are we told by our so-called leaders that the tribal unity of Kikuyu and Luo is paramount and that the handshake between a few billionaires from Kikuyus and Luos will lead to a cohesive and prosperous nation? How will the unity of the Odinga family and the Mount Kenya business community benefit the working class, peasants, and the marginalised sectors of society, such as the lumpen who live in deplorable conditions with no human dignity?

These are the questions that have been overlooked. Abstractly, the national question has been stripped of its revolutionary essence, namely the class struggle. The national question, as presented by both the Azimio and Kenya Kwanza coalitions, lacks class struggle.

Deputy President Rigathi Gachagua, in his characteristic rhetoric, never misses an opportunity to exhibit his tribal chauvinism and remind us of his lineage to Mau Mau fighters. However, in one of his speeches, he made it clear that President Ruto's government is akin to a private limited company, where only those with shares will benefit.

Here, he makes no mention of the poor Kikuyu woman in Karima village, Kirinyaga, having shares in Ruto's government, as they were promised. He only refers to wealthy Luos, Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Asians, and even European and American billionaires who invested in Ruto's ascent to power. Rigathi is indeed a man of "truth," as he proclaims himself, never mincing his words.



Second-hand traders and hawkers in Nairobi. The image used by Bloomberg in March 2022 to showcase economic reform for Kenya after the fourth World Bank loan in 3 years. Image courtesy of bloomerg.com

In essence, we have two classes in Kenya: the propertied class and the dispossessed class, the rich and the poor, those who own the means of production and those who must sell their labour as commodities to generate surplus, which is appropriated by the owners of the means of production. This constitutes the major contradiction in Kenya and forms the national question. However, Orendo and his cohorts analyse social phenomena not from the production level and the subsequent property relations but only along tribal lines. Such an approach is unscientific and emblematic of petty-bourgeois social science.

We will continue this examination of the Kenyan national question from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, aiming to understand it in three stages:

- i) Class struggle and social formation in the classical colonial period
- ii) The national question in neocolonial Kenya
- iii) The interconnectedness of the national question and proletarian internationalism.

Class Struggle and Social Formation in Classical Colonialism

The national question worldwide has historically concerned the right to self-determination in specific epochs. To comprehend the national question in Kenya, we must first understand imperialism, as it cannot be isolated from the broader question of imperialism and the socialist revolution. We must trace the development of Kenyan society in relation to the evolution of other modes of production across the world.

Trade between Kenya and southern Arabia can be traced back to the first century A.D but European imperialist contact with East Africa can be dated to the Portuguese voyages of discovery, backed by local European merchant capital. In Europe feudalism had existed with non mechanised Agriculture and Artisan Industry at production level, this was the mercantilist imperialist stage that gave birth to Industrial capitalism, this stage was mainly characterised by trade and the policy for setting up colonial settlements was not necessary.

Contradictions however occurred with the local ruling class where in some cases monarchies had been established in some communities, for example in 1502 Vasco da Gama during his second voyage forced Ibrahim the ruler of Kilwa to ransom himself 1,500 gold metical so that he would recognize the authority of the king of Portugal. This made for example the setting up of the Fort Jesus Garrison, Mombasa, to become an outpost for Portuguese trade. The British and French were also not left behind and they too severally tried to sign pacts and treaties with Seyyid Said of Oman to have a hegemony of the East African Coast.

In Europe, the forces of production were developing rapidly with new inventions in different fields of science, but the feudal relations were inhibiting further development, A new mode of production had to be begotten and this was the period of industrial capitalism that was characterised by the industrial revolution in Europe, these historical changes had an impact also back at home, with the end of Napoleonic wars, Britain arose as a strong and an advanced capitalist nation with ever-growing productive forces that could challenge the rest of western Europe for Colonial outposts.

Capitalism had to reproduce itself while facing internal contradictions, but the need for direct political rule was not necessary. That is why even on the East African coast Britain assisted in the restoration of Seyyid Said rule during the shift of Capital from Oman to Zanzibar in 1840.

In Europe the development of Capitalism had not remained stagnant, The laissez-faire period grew into the monopolistic stage with greater concentration and centralization of Capital, the merger of Bank capital and industrial capital into Finance Capital under the hands of the financial oligarchies. There was also the export of capital to other parts of the world due to the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Colonisation arose with these developments of capital on an international scale, The export of Capital to these colonial outposts meant economic domination, Kenyan petty commodity production was now working in the service of imperialism, we had become producers of raw materials for the industrialisation of the centres of Capital.

The British established itself as the dominant capital in Kenya. To oversee this pattern of exploitation of our resources, labour and even the market, it became imperative that they establish a colonial administration to redirect our productive forces to serve British monopoly capital. The Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) was incorporated on 18 April 1888 and with the endorsement of the monarchy it got the royal charter by Queen Victoria. Sir William Mackinnon was at the helm of this monopoly association serving the interests of the British Financial Oligarchy.

There were contradictions among the international bourgeoisie class, these intra-bourgeois clashes reflected the struggle between different national capitals, for example in East Africa British and German national Capitals were at loggerheads on who was to control the East of Africa, wars were fought and treatise entered

into to try and resolve those contradictions, so when we speak of the International bourgeoisie, we do not mean a monolithic group with unity and with no contradictions because the monopoly stage of Capitalism did not do away with competition in totality

In 1920 Kenya was declared a protectorate of Britain, at this juncture, it became clear that the primary contradiction was Imperialism which had ensured economic domination and even put up a state machinery under the guise of colonial administration that was headed by a governor but who represented the Interests of British Capital, the coastal area where the Sultan of Zanzibar wanted Autonomy was still subservient to the British Finance Capital.

The leaders of the liberation movement in Kenya understood the historical task that was upon their shoulders and they identified Imperialism as their primary enemy, the National question could not be abstracted from Imperialism and class struggle. They fought relentlessly to depose the Imperialist rule, and to do so they had to rally behind its banner of National struggles, all oppressed classes regardless of their ethnicity, or race.

During this epoch, most Kenyans were still engaged in petty commodity production in agriculture and since the colonial administration focused on the export of raw products, industrialisation was yet to be realised, few processing and manufacturing industries were located which consisted of British multinational corporations.

The working class that had been employed in factories for wages comprised a minority since our production had not reached the level of expanded production. The class of the "National bourgeois" could hardly be imagined at this juncture, because property ownership of the means of production was in the hands of the financial oligarchies through the rule of finance capital and if any existed, then it had diminutive capital



Kisumu Jua Kali vendors after market fires destroyed their business - image courtesy of capitalfm.co.ke

which was not strong enough to challenge the financial oligarchy, although some African petty bourgeois class had accumulated surplus from exploitation both in the rural and the urban, it was greatly linked with the Colonial administration and were merely the running dogs of imperialism at home, they could at best be described as the comprador bourgeois class subservient to foreign finance capital.

Having analysed these different class stratifications, we can be able to point out the primary contradiction was between imperialism and the people of the colony, it was the decisive force that determined all other secondary contradictions and this comprised the national question. All other contradictions were relegated to a secondary position.

The heroic people of Kenya had to engage in an armed struggle while some, mostly members of the petty-bourgeois engaged in parliamentary struggle in the legislative council which comprised not more than a handful



The modern-day neo-colonial partition of Nairobi: The majority are pushed into the slums as the petty bourgeoisie fence off their green, posh estates. For every estate, there is a slum or two or three that serve as workers for those estates. *The Standard*, one of Kenya's leading newspapers, calls them symbiotic relationships, which we know are parasitic relationships where the rich exploit the poor for their labour and pay them less than living wages. Examples: Kibera slum serving Langa'ta, Ngong' road; Kuwinda, Kataka, and Kalinde slums servicing Karen Estate; Mukuru slums servicing South B estate; and Githogoro and Huruma slums, with a combined population of 350,000 households over less than 50-acre land serving Runda, with 1,200 households.

image courtesy of Wikipedia

representation of the African people, Trade unions were also sprouting and playing a revolutionary role against imperialism.

All these forms of struggle were to prepare both objective and subjective conditions for the end goal which was to overthrow imperialism. In 1963 Kenya gained independence and imperialism had been hit hard in its weakest links, but did imperialism die with the hoisting of the Kenyan flag and the change of men who were now supposed to manage the instruments of the state?

The National Question in Neocolonial Kenya

We have seen in our earlier segment that classical colonialism that led to the scramble of the uncolonised world was during the stage of competitive capitalism where competing national capitals had to look for outposts of capital for their ever-expanding capital. During the period of independence, capitalism had matured to its monopoly stage which had begun during the end of the 19th century.

The pattern of exploitation had also changed from a bilateral (colony and coloniser) to a multilateral one, where the US was the new kid in the block, the US to everyone's amazement was championing the self-determination of the colonised world not that it cared but so that

it could allow penetration of US Finance capital which was being prevented by Trade protectionist policies of the colonies.

To understand who are the ruling class in the neocolonial nation-state of Kenya, we must understand the concept of finance capital and Imperialism.

We have seen in our previous segment that the petty-bourgeois class that led the national independence struggle was spineless, still dominated by monopoly bourgeois since it had no control of the National means of production, exchange and distribution, it only owned diminutive property in land and commerce, and with no control of industry. In Western Europe national independence led to the rise of national bourgeoisie who built national capital and markets which they owned and controlled and which aided in the extrication of the feudal mode of production.

In Kenya the local petty-bourgeoisie class was weak and could not rally the economic resources necessary for a basis of national political power, economically weak, it was also politically weak and found itself easy prey to the dominant new economic power, it was relegated to the position of wielding power in the managerial sense, it's political power was used as a conveyor belt for exploiting national resources at the behest of the foreign financial oligarchies.



Left: Mau Mau fighters in British Prison camps.
Right: Kenyan soldiers in WWII
Image courtesy of mondayfeelings.com

The new black men at the helm of the state were only managers of the instruments of the state. Jomo Kenyatta and some of his coterie represented the national capital of the queen of England and the British Financial Oligarchy, Mboya on the other hand was the blue-eyed boy of JF Kennedy, under the payroll of C.I.A and represented US finance Capital.

The formation of the Industrial and Commercial Development corporation (ICDC) was also a continuation of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) that was formed by the Industrial Development Ordinance of 1954 which was assented by the British monarchy, this ensured the continued dominance by foreign finance capital. Loans for different government projects still came from foreign Banks, as if that was not enough, empirical data showed that ICDC equity Capital exceeded its capital investment in the wholly-owned subsidiaries e.g '... The joint Ventures in multinational(transnational) corporations such as Firestone (ICDC equity 40 %), Union Carbide (26 %), Unilever East African Industries (14%),e.t.c [see page 73, Mutunga]'

This domination at production level meant that it was difficult for the local petty-bourgeois to develop a national Capital, it was only allowed to buy few shares in the Multinational corporations, and even where it was able to accumulate surplus locally, it heavily relied on loans from transnational Banks and even technology for its activities.

Does this imply the concept of the nation-state was abstract and obsolete? Did imperialism do away with the concept of a 'territorial state'? with the sovereignty of nations? In Europe nation states were established for the sole purpose of building national capitalism, in the case of the colonised world as Chairman Mao would have it, the 'new democracy' was both a struggle against imperialism and a struggle for Socialism, since such national struggles formed part of the general international proletariat struggle.

So to us, the national question in Kenya is also part of the International proletariat struggle, The principal contradiction is between the people of Kenya and imperialism, some have had difficulty understanding why a ruling class doesn't have to be located locally,

because their concept of a ruling class is that of a monolithic class with no contradictions, but we know that the ruling class is still the imperialist bourgeoisie while the local reactionary class of the "comprador bourgeois " comprises of its agents and are subservient to foreign finance capital.

In the last elections, we saw different competing imperialist interests funding different candidates in the campaign so that they could control strategic national resources, Anglo-American mining conglomeration like Brenthurst Foundation was blamed for funding the campaign of Raila Odinga, this mining organisation which was created by Cecil Rhodes a colonial lord has been exploiting mines in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Ruto too was being fronted by different imperialist nations, this explains the haste at which US Secretary Anthony Blinken went ahead to congratulate Ruto and later a delegation from the US visited the state house despite elections being challenged in court for irregularities and the case was yet to be determined.

They were simply ensuring that the US Finance Capital interests were safe and their multinational corporations would continue to exploit our natural resources and labour for their benefit.

>> *Continued on page 111*

Privatization is Theft: The Kenyan Resistance to Neoliberal Globalisation



by Kinuthia Ndung'u

Kenya has undertaken privatization through different frameworks, including the pursuit of private investment in public enterprises. Here, we have seen an ever-increasing dependence on the private sector to provide basic public services like electricity, water, and infrastructure projects like the Expressway.

The sale of assets in government enterprises and government shares in state-owned and private enterprises is another method. For example, the takeover of the National Bank of Kenya by Kenya Commercial Bank and the sale of government shares in Safaricom. This way, public goods have been alienated from the control of the collective and the state.

A day has passed since Sabasaba, precisely Sunday at 12:30 am. July is typically very cold, but today is different. It is warm here.
I began writing this from a cell at Central Police Station, accompanied by 26 other comrades.

Our offence is organizing and participating in demonstrations against the unbearable high cost of living and the neoliberal anti-people Finance Act, which will increase taxes, directly impacting the majority of Kenyans.

This act is a direct result of the policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The US ambassador to Kenya has even expressed support for the additional levies.

My fellow comrades may appear to be sleeping peacefully on this cold floor, but they are emotionally troubled. The status quo in the country is driving them insane. They are exhausted, having not slept since our arrest on Friday. Throughout, they have been discussing the country's situation and singing songs of struggle.

There is a lot of comradely warmth and love in here, but I know it's colder outside this room. The majority of poor Kenyans are suffering from severe economic hypothermia due to institutionalized extreme economic hardship.

For over 60 years, a large section of our people has lived under the most deplorable conditions. Behind the facade of skyscrapers, mansions, and the expressway lies the bitter reality of the majority of poor Kenyans condemned to live in horrific and miserable conditions of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and ignorance. Successive regimes have resorted to police terrorism to silence any progressive voices advocating for change in this country.

The neoliberal darling Ruto and his outspoken deputy have already demonstrated a willingness to follow in the footsteps of their political mentor, the corrupt and now-deceased dictator Moi. Ruto has been expressing anti-IMF and World Bank (WB) sentiments on international platforms while zealously pursuing neoliberal policies at home.

On the other side, the opposition, led by the poster boy for big business, Raila Odinga, has taken advantage of the genuine concerns of Kenyans occasioned by the anti-poor IMF and WB programs to lead an intra-elite power struggle, sacrificing the poor as collateral.

Over 30 poor people, including our dear comrade Harris, a member of the youth league of the party, were brutally killed by police bullets in last week's demonstrations. In his usual style, Raila will use these spontaneous actions to negotiate personal interests with the government.

Once Raila gets what he wants, he will forget about these poor people like baby Pendo, comrade Hillary, and others who have paid the ultimate price. Their families will be left suffering in poverty compounded by a very high cost of living. Mr. Raila, like his younger brother Ruto, lacks the ideas needed to salvage our economy. They both support the neoliberal ideology of individualism, the central promise of a capitalist society.

Things are so bad that Kenyans, especially the older generation, claim to miss the dictator from Kabarak-Moi. They reminisce about the old days under his rule with nostalgic memories.

A time when the Kenya Bus Service (KBS) was a shining example of functioning public transportation; before government corporations were privatized; before the massive layoffs in the public sector, and just before agricultural cooperatives collapsed. The cost of living back then was affordable.

They have chosen to forgive him for presiding over one of the most corrupt and brutal dictatorships in Africa. They have forgotten his responsibility in entrenching politics and a culture of negative ethnicity in the country.

The dominant ideas have systematically conditioned us into uncritical ways of thinking. The powers behind the capitalist system and its sick child, the neoliberal enterprise, have remained largely unknown. Neoliberal thinking has created a new normalcy. Comrade Karl Marx had a way of simplifying this, stating that “the dominant ideology of every society is the ideology of the dominant class.”

This work seeks to grasp the policy of privatization and its role in our current crisis in Kenya. It will historically analyse the neoliberal insurgency in the country to understand the power and ideology behind it. This will offer an understanding of the full implications of the neoliberal policy of privatization we have witnessed over the next few decades. It will then advance the alternative presented by CPK to neoliberal privatization policies.

It is important to view and understand the neoliberal insurgency as part and parcel of a hegemonic project. It has its historical roots in capitalism and marks a return to the liberal capitalism of the 18th century. Professor David Harvey, in his work *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), states that neoliberalism can be interpreted as a “utopian” project to realize a theoretical design for the reorganization of international capitalism.

The Kenyan people heroically fought to remove colonial domination and replace it with a more just and humane system of governance but were betrayed by the Kenyatta regime. Rodney captured this well when he said that no one shouted “African, African, I’m an African” more than people like Jomo Kenyatta and others, who were at the same time ruthlessly exploiting the African people.

Under the guise of African Socialism, his regime preached socialism and implemented capitalism. They silenced and marginalized dissenting voices like Pio Gama Pinto, Makhan Singh, and Bildad Kaggia, even declaring the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) an illegal organization. The notorious CIA document, Sessional Paper No. 10 on African Socialism (Republic of Kenya 1965) by the Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Tom Mboya, laid out a plan on how to entrench capitalism in the country.



The late Kenyan Dictator - Daniel Arap Moi. The longest serving president oversaw 24 years of dictatorship, exploitation and terror. Image courtesy of the WSJ

The regime implemented policies and projects that ensured huge profits for Western governments and corporations. **The National Project was abandoned, and the country was entrenched as a neo-colonial capitalist state.**

Then entered President Moi with his ideology of Nyayo. An assurance that he would follow like sheep in the neo-colonial footsteps of his predecessor. He inherited and exacerbated all the leadership ills of Kenyatta's regime. The country is yet to recover from his legacy.

His regime oversaw the reshaping of our economy according to the principles of privatization, free trade, and market-driven development. Under his leadership, our country entered into a deep economic crisis in the 80s. Internal factors like tribal politics, land grabbing, and rampant corruption led to the mismanagement of the economy.

The 1974 and 1980 famines also greatly devastated the agricultural industry. These factors were exacerbated by external factors such as the increase in oil prices in 1973 and further in 1980. The already high unemployment and inflation were made worse by the 1981 recession occasioned by the Iranian Revolution, which saw an increase in oil prices.

The WB and IMF blamed these financial strains on bad governance and state intervention in the economy and provision of social services. They prescribed the poison of neoliberal reforms as the cure for our ailing nation. Kenya, like many other countries, had to adopt the subsequent Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) by the IMF and WB to acquire loans that supposedly were to salvage their economies.

Kenya was among the first African countries to get a World Bank loan in 1980 and another IMF loan in 1982. The lending policy came with neoliberal reforms as conditionalities. The reforms, among other things, aimed at privatizing the economy and mainly targeted cooperatives and state parastatals.

Privatization is the sale of publicly owned assets to private persons, either entirely or partially, and the transfer of public services to the private sector under state protection.

The argument for privatization is that it would reduce government spending on the industry, increase efficiency through skilled management, raise funds for investments, and earn taxes for the government.

As a result, our economy was deregulated, industries were privatized, and the welfare state was rolled back. According to this new arrangement, the role of the state was to protect and create an enabling environment for private capital to flourish.

The former director of the Vision 2030 secretariat, Mugo Kibati, once affirmed this abnormality on television when he said that "Whatever the political positions of the day, business sense will prevail and will take the day."

Kenya has undertaken privatization through different frameworks, including the pursuit of private investment in public enterprises. Here, we have seen an ever-increasing dependence on the private sector to provide basic public services like electricity, water, and infrastructure projects like the Expressway.

The sale of assets in government enterprises and government shares in state-owned and private enterprises is another method. For example, the takeover of the National Bank of Kenya by Kenya Commercial Bank and the sale of government shares in Safaricom. This way, public goods have been alienated from the control of the collective and the state.

Currently, there is a proposed amendment to the privatization bill of 2005. It seeks to remove the consent of people's representatives in parliament during the privatization of state assets.

The neoliberal policies of privatization adopted and embraced by successive regimes have worsened the conditions of the wretched of this country. Structural unemployment, poverty, and inequality have increased, condemning Kenyans to misery and great suffering. Kenya has been turned into a neoliberal laboratory. The state can no longer guarantee accessible, quality, and affordable access to basic essential services.

The implementation of neoliberal policies in healthcare is one of the unspoken genocides on the majority of poor people by the state. It is one of the major causes of depression, hopelessness, and poverty in many families. The unscientific management of COVID-19 showed us how failed the public healthcare system was.

Today, our people have been forced into the arms of rogue pastors for healing in this age of great advancement in medical science. In many informal settlements, healthcare is a charitable act offered either free or at subsidized rates by donor-funded Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Philanthrocapitalism leads to the depoliticization of the masses, removing them from the necessity of collective social need and therefore collective action.

Our Constitution, a product of struggle, guarantees Kenyans the right to the highest attainable standard of health, which entails the right to the highest quality healthcare services. However, it remains a privilege only available to those with money. Healthcare is seen as a business rather than a human right. Even the largest public hospital in the country, Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH), has a private wing where those with money can get proper medical attention while the rest wait for their fate in the under-equipped and understaffed public wing.

This is how we lost our comrade, 21-year-old Alphones Ngeng'a, a community organizer with the Young Communist League. He was involved in an accident and suffered a broken limb and post-traumatic head injuries. He was rushed to KNH where there was no doctor to attend to him during the entire 10 hours he was in the emergency. The few doctors available were overwhelmed by the patients in line. His broken limb remained unattended, and he passed away the next day.

He would have lived to build the party he loved so much if there was money to get him admitted to the private wing of KNH. Was he not killed by the retreating state? How do we talk of a shortage of doctors in public hospitals when private clinics are overflowing with doctors, a good number of doctors are still unemployed, and our country ranks among the leading countries supplying the West with qualified nurses and doctors?

Most public hospitals lack essential equipment, and patients have to purchase medicine from private pharmaceuticals and get services like X-ray scans and laboratory tests from private clinics and laboratories.

The rise of many private clinics to fill the gap left by the retreating state has also contributed to the theft of limited drugs and equipment from public hospitals to support private clinics. These private clinics exploit the sick and their families for profit, driving families into abject poverty to pay medical bills. We've also seen an influx of private medical insurance companies capitalizing on



CPK-organized workshop on preventative approach to public health in Kenya

the government's inability to guarantee quality healthcare. Their classist schemes seek to rob patients while excluding the poor from accessing this right.

Regarding education, its importance as a tool for liberation cannot be overstated. Education is supposed to produce an all-round complete social being capable of contributing to the national project.

However, in the neoliberal era, education is primarily seen as a path to employment, aimed at producing instruments of labour for exploitation by capital, effectively creating individuals who don't question the status quo.

With the rise of neoliberalism, the government systematically reduced public expenditure on education.

Many in informal urban settlements depended on donor-funded scholarships and schools to complete their primary and secondary school education because the quality of education in public schools was very low.

These schools not only lacked basic facilities like desks but also had a high student-to-teacher ratio. Private schools that mushroomed were either too expensive for working-class parents or just inadequate. The high fees in both public and private institutions, especially those of higher learning, have bankrupted many families.

The government is now seeking to replace grants for public institutions of higher learning with loans, designed to keep students in economic chains.

A direct consequence of this privatized education has been a decrease in access to education for the children of the poor. Liberalizing education has led to the proliferation of substandard private campuses competing to offer "marketable" courses, prioritizing profits over the well-being of students and workers in the sector.

Workers in this field have insecure contracts and work long hours under great pressure for relatively low pay. Most institutions prioritize maximizing profits over the workers.

A recent attempt by Trade Cabinet Secretary Moses Kuria to put our universities into intensive care units (ICU) involved proposing the privatization of several public universities at the beginning of the year.

He argued that they owed debts worth billions of shillings and needed financial infusion from the private sector to stabilize them.

The CS wants to convert our public universities into businesses focused on maximizing profits. This is not new; in 2020, the government announced plans to shut down the Kenya Utalii College to allow them to develop a profitable operational plan, even though the college was established to train qualified workers in the hospitality industry, not to generate profits.

Another offensive was made through a notice dated 2022, where The National Lands Commission and the County Government of Nairobi notified the public that Kimathi Primary School, a public school established in 1975, was to be demolished to pave the way for the construction of a mall. This represents the outright theft of public property and an assault on children's right to access education for the benefit of private capital.

Those who have dared to organize resistance to these inhumane education policies have paid the ultimate price.

Evans Njoroge, a student leader at Meru University of Science and Technology, was brutally murdered by the police as he led his fellow students to protest against high tuition fees, poor

university management, and a police state. Students have continued to face brutal police violence and disciplinary measures by the corrupt university's administration for merely taking part in rightful student movements.

The universities have turned into zones of police repression where the rights of students and their lecturers are routinely violated. The neoliberal model has commodified education and turned it into a privilege rather than a basic human right.

No one is safe under imperialism. In 2005, Bolivians in El Alto took to the streets to protest the privatization of El Alto water services, which resulted in exorbitant bills and deteriorating service quality. This privatization had been a condition imposed as part of a 1997 World Bank loan.

Five years prior, Bolivians in Cochabamba also protested against high water bills, a direct consequence of the World Bank and IMF's insistence on water privatization as a prerequisite for financial aid to Bolivia. Consequently, the Bechtel Corporation gained control of water resources, including rainwater.

Legislation was enacted that not only prevented people from collecting rainwater but also allowed the corporation to repossess homes over unpaid water bills.

Under the rallying cry "Water is ours, damn it!" protestors blamed the private corporation for attempting to "lease the rain." These protests escalated into a deadly riot, with the government declaring martial law and using violence to protect foreign private capital.

Many were arrested, some left permanently disabled, and a seventeen-year-old boy was fatally shot. Pressure from these two riots ultimately led to the return of water provision to public hands. However, the police officer responsible for the extrajudicial killing was acquitted of all responsibility and even promoted to the rank of major. Despite regaining control of their water resources, it remains questionable whether this truly brought liberation to the majority of Bolivians, as the threats of globalization still loom large.

Back home in Kenya, the impoverished residents of slums like Kibera, Mukuru, Kiambiu, and many other working-class settlements have fallen victim to not only cholera and typhoid outbreaks but also the predatory practices of the "clean water" cartels that own water trucks and vending points.



A water vending point in Kibera under the Wastewater Management and Sanitation Provision in Africa, funded by the African Development Bank, The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the UN Environment..

Image courtesy of grida.no

Water in slums like Githogoro costs up to 30 times more than piped water in the adjacent Runda estate. In rural areas such as Matimbei village in Kiambu County, community-owned water projects have been taken from farmers and entrusted to private companies for management. Farmers have been burdened with high water bills, irregular supply, shut-offs for households unable to pay, and even the loss of the right to use water for agricultural purposes.

The 2002 Water Act introduced water sector reforms, establishing autonomous water and sanitation (or sewerage) companies known as WASCOs, which were meant to be managed on commercial principles, treating water as a commercial commodity. The conditions have only worsened under the current regime, with the Kenya Kwanza Alliance's manifesto prioritizing the privatization of key sectors in their economic strategy.

Mr. Ruto, in his address to the 13th Parliament, expressed intentions to adopt a Public Private Partnerships (PPP) framework, which would allow private firms to build dams and trade water as a commodity.

Past attempts at liberalizing the water sector were met with resistance. In 2007, the Kenya Local Government Union issued a strike notice, claiming that there was a memorandum of understanding dated June 2, 2017, between Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company (NWSC) and the France-based company Suez for the sale of the water company. *This is the same corporation whose activities triggered the water riots in El Alto, Bolivia.*

Workers continue to resist these policies to this day. In July 2023, employees of the Nairobi Water & Sewerage Company (NWSCo) took to the streets, led by the Kenya Union of Water and Sewerage Employees (KUWSE), to protest a new bill tabled in the County Assembly that seeks to privatize water provision. The bill proposes the establishment of the Nairobi Water & Sewerage Corporation, headed by a board appointed by the County Governor.

Party members and the Social Justice Movement have been organizing in working-class neighbourhoods to confront the water cartels and demand the right to access clean and adequate water supplies.

During these demonstrations, the government responds with violence, using water cannons, arresting comrades, and charging them with illegal demonstrations. This highlights that neoliberalism is not solely about reducing the size of the state but also about utilizing state apparatus to protect the interests of the wealthy elite.

In the realm of electricity, we continue to grapple with long-term power purchasing agreements with Independent Power Producing Companies owned by foreigners and local comprador class members with ties to those in power.

These private producers sell the power they generate to the Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC) at significantly higher costs than those charged by the Kenya Electricity Generating Company (KenGen). **Consequently, Kenya continues to struggle with prohibitively high electricity prices. The World Bank has been pushing for private firms to accelerate plans to build electricity transmission grids in a PPP model. It doesn't require prophetic powers to foresee the results.**

We've also witnessed a privatization onslaught on our sugar companies in the Western region, with successive governments advocating for the privatization of these mills to the private sector.

In the realm of transportation, the management of the Standard Gauge Railway was handed over to private entities, with the terms of the contract shrouded in secrecy. The Nairobi Express Way is another development that prioritizes the wealthy, connecting the affluent neighbourhood of Westlands to the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA), with numerous toll stations to use the road.

Despite the glaring evidence of the World Bank and IMF's disastrous privatization plans and their negative consequences on our social, economic, and political conditions, they continue to attribute policy failures to poor implementation. These failing initiatives have been rebranded as "Poverty Reduction Strategies" and "Participatory Frameworks."

In reality, IMF and World Bank policies primarily serve to increase earnings for private-sector shareholders while inflicting misery on the majority, providing evidence of the failure of the capitalist system.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA (CPK) HAS BEEN AT THE FOREFRONT OF EXPOSING THE HYPOCRISY OF THE IMF AND WORLD BANK.

We have consistently opposed ongoing and planned privatizations, not only through propaganda and political education but also through direct action in numerous street protests.

We have consistently advocated for the nationalization of previously privatized enterprises and the full participation of the government in providing public goods.

After all, Kenyans pay taxes in exchange for public services, so why should they continue to pay those taxes if these services are to be provided by the private sector? The very existence of the government is questioned when it merely deprives people of their dignity.

In the face of these challenges, Kenyan youth, who constitute the majority in this country, find themselves at the forefront of this battle.

The theft of their education and healthcare is a direct assault on their future.

The capitalist system seeks to exploit their labour and keep them in perpetual poverty. Neoliberalism ensures that young people have limited access to quality education and decent employment opportunities.

This is why Kenyan youth must continue to resist and fight for a brighter and more just future.

The struggle against neoliberalism is a long and arduous one. It requires the unity of workers, peasants, and all marginalized groups. It demands the organization and mobilization of the masses to resist the usurpation of public goods and services by private interests. The fight against neoliberalism is a battle for economic justice, social equality, and the dignity of all Kenyans.

The neoliberal policies of privatization have had devastating effects on the majority of Kenyans. They have led to the theft of public goods and services, the widening of inequality, and the suffering of the poor. The Communist Party of Kenya is committed to the struggle against neoliberalism and the fight for a society where public goods and services are guaranteed to all. The struggle continues, and the people of Kenya will not be silenced in their quest for justice and equality.

The alternative to neoliberal policies advocated by the Communist Party of Kenya is premised on the understanding that Kenya is not short of resources, but the wealth of our country is concentrated in the hands of a few who do not pay taxes.



The government's main source of revenue has been direct taxes on the poor. The government should take over the key sectors of the economy and invest in the building of infrastructure, agriculture, industries, and services for the welfare of the people. We also advocate for universal healthcare and free quality education.

It is the private sector that should be tasked with servicing the loans instead of the public. We need progressive taxation that targets the rich. The struggle should be against the neoliberal policies of the government and the theft of our education and healthcare.

In conclusion, the capitalist system and its neoliberal policies have failed the people of Kenya. It is clear that the idea of privatization is theft and capitalism is organized crime.

Our struggle is not just against the neoliberal policies of the government but also against capitalism. This ideology does not serve the interests of the majority of Kenyans.

It is essential for the working-class people of Kenya to rise against this economic system that is rigged against them. We need to organize and fight for an alternative system that guarantees healthcare and education as fundamental human rights, not privileges for the few.

Our future as a nation depends on it.

All power to the Working Class!
The Answer is Socialism!
Long live the Communist Party of Kenya!
Written from Central Police Station in Nairobi.
by Comrade Kinuthia Ndung'u

Toward a United Socialist Africa:

The Relevance of Pan-Africanism in Today's Global Landscape

By Booker Omole

It is nearly ten years, since the 8th East African Regional Pan African Congress gathered in Nairobi, Kenya, to address critical issues facing Africa and the African diaspora. This historical event served as a platform for the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK), then known as the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (Marxist-Leninist), to reaffirm its commitment to the ideals of Pan-Africanism from a Marxist-Leninist perspective.

The ongoing offensive of imperialism and wars puts the topic at the centre of the discourse among progressives and revolutionaries. In this article, we explore the CPK's vision for Pan-Africanism and the path toward a united socialist Africa.

Through successful wars of independence that humiliated colonialist forces in Africa, frustrating them politically and prompting them to launch a new counter-offensive, primarily through economic means in the form of neo-colonialism.

Under the guise of financial assistance from imperialist countries, our former colonizers have installed some of the most corrupt leaders in Africa to carry out their self-serving agendas. These neo-colonialists have become our new oppressors, and as the oppressed majority, we cannot align our interests with those who oppress us.



In our disunity, our adversaries find vulnerabilities to further subdue us. However, in unity, we possess boundless strength.

When we fully harness this strength, the imperialists will once again be frustrated in their economic aggression. In the words of Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, one of the greatest African revolutionary thinkers, we must defeat our enemy, imperialism, from every angle and ensure it never rears its ugly head again.

The only enduring form of unity is ideological unity, and CPK firmly maintains that the only liberating ideology against the cruelty of capitalism is scientific socialism. This ideology should serve as the guiding force behind our Pan-Africanism unity.

To advance this cause, CPK recognizes the crucial role of a revolutionary African intelligentsia within the Pan-African movement.

This intelligentsia is responsible for political education, ideological struggle, and activism – all vital elements in cultivating a revolutionary African consciousness. This concept draws inspiration from the historical Pan-African conferences and congresses of the 20th century, where Africa's revolutionary intelligentsia convened to chart the path forward for Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism: Movement, Ideology, and Objective

Pan-Africanism encompasses three distinct aspects: as a movement, ideology, and objective. While the movement has evolved since the late 19th century to unite Africans globally in their quest for African unity, it's the third aspect,

Pan-Africanism as an objective, that stands as the cornerstone of CPK's vision. This objective is clear: it is the total liberation, unification, and development of Africa under scientific socialism.

As Kwame Nkrumah aptly pointed out in "Class Struggle in Africa," Pan-Africanism is inherently linked to the global struggle for socialism.

It is a goal not just for Africans but for all those committed to justice, positive change, and revolutionary transformation. Pan-Africanism is rooted in African distinctiveness, but it invites the solidarity of honest individuals and progressive political formations worldwide.

Today, Africa suffers from super-exploitation. Its labour is undervalued, its natural resources are plundered, and it is subjected to the insidious effects of capitalism. Africa, a continent incredibly rich in mineral resources, reaps minimal benefits from its wealth. Its minerals are extracted and sold at low prices, a practice deceptively dubbed "free trade."

The capitalist system, which few exalt as ideal, is upheld by a select few who control the global production process.

They dominate land, factories, media, and the most powerful militaries, using their power to exploit the masses of people. For revolutionaries, gradual reform is not the answer.

The only solution is the complete destruction of capitalism on a global scale. Africa has a pivotal role to play in this transformation, as it is divided into 54 individual nation-states.



Muammar Gaddafi at the first Africa–South America Summit in 2006 in Abuja, Nigeria
Image courtesy of Wikipedia

This division, stemming from colonial designs, continues to serve neo-colonial interests, rendering each state vulnerable to imperialist bullying.

Where there is oppression, there must be resistance.

The recent popular coups in Africa have exposed the deep-seated influence of US imperialism, extending its tentacles into regional organizations like ECOWAS. Such influence manipulates narratives to serve Western dominance rather than genuinely protect democracy and justice.

We stand in solidarity with countries experiencing progressive coups, such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger, where the people rise against oppression, corruption, and economic exploitation. The class struggle continues to unfold in the objective reality against the collective will of the bourgeoisie academics that predicted the era of the end of history.

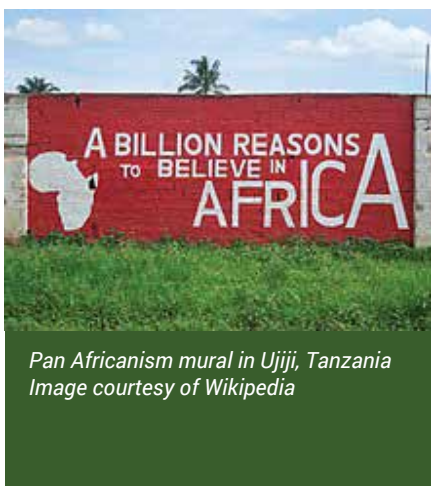
Revolutionary Mass-Based Political Parties

To liberate Africa from the grip of neo-colonialism and imperialism, the continent requires a continental vanguard party of the working class—a revolutionary, mass-based political party. African youth, interconnected by modern technology spanning borders and oceans, possess the potential to turn this vision into a reality.

They must coordinate on a global scale to seize political and economic power from corrupt leaders and imperialist forces. This task is formidable but absolutely essential, not only for Africa's salvation but also for initiating global change.

To succeed in our pro-people socialist project, we must dismantle the comprador.

The Communist Party of Kenya is acutely aware of the urgency of this mission, which informs the two parallel but interconnected processes the party is engaged in, toward establishing a continental vanguard of the proletariat.



*Pan Africanism mural in Ujiji, Tanzania
Image courtesy of Wikipedia*

CPK has conducted meetings with over fifteen African countries, facilitated by the Africa Left Network (ALNEF) and Pan Africa Today (PAT), with the most recent gathering taking place during the Dilemmas of Humanity conference held in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The super-exploitation of Africa plays a pivotal role in driving the capitalist engine and must be terminated as it fosters racism and economic injustice. Scientific socialism, as championed by CPK, is the sole system capable of eradicating these injustices. This transformation necessitates the redistribution of wealth from the few to the many and a coordinated effort among Pan-African political parties on a global scale.

This approach directly opposes Pan-Africanism rooted in corporatism, supported by imperialism, and upheld by the comprador class. Through their perspective, they advocate for African unity similar to that of Europe, a unity built on plunder and the suffering of the impoverished majority from the South.

Such unity only serves the current ruling elite and their foreign sponsors, enabling them to continue exploiting Africa and using it as a dumping ground for their substandard products.

A Revolutionary Political Program for Africa

To advance the Pan-African movement, a revolutionary political program is needed.

Through the Pan-African Socialist Alliance (PASA), where CPK is a founding member, the party has recommended the following steps:

- 1. Closure of Foreign Military Bases:** Immediate closure of foreign military bases on African soil and the establishment of one African military command.
- 2. Opposition to Settler Colonialism:** Active resistance against settler colonialism, including support for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement regarding Israel.
- 3. End of Financial Blackmail:** Cease all payments to international financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank, and the Paris Club.
- 4. Land Reclamation:** Implement large-scale land reclamation, particularly in areas with significant land ownership by colonial descendants.
- 5. Challenge Patent Rights:** Oppose imperialist patent rights, especially in pharmaceuticals and agriculture, as they violate human rights.

6. **Climate Justice:** Link the fight against climate change to the destruction of capitalism and the development of scientific socialism.

7. **Open Borders:** Advocate for the opening of borders across Africa to redirect resources towards productive and constructive purposes, promoting continental citizenship and scientific socialism.

A Unified Socialist Africa and Beyond

The CPK underscores the importance of a unified socialist Africa as the ultimate goal. This vision entails a global community where humankind contributes based on ability and receives based on needs, transcending capitalism's exploitation and inequality.

In conclusion, the CPK's perspective on Pan-Africanism offers a clear and resolute vision for Africa's future. It calls for unity, the destruction of capitalism, and the establishment of a socialist system that will not only benefit Africa but contribute to a more just and equitable world.

The journey toward a united socialist Africa may be arduous, but, as history has shown, it is a cause worth fighting for.

What should be the Communist Party of Kenya's Attitude Towards Religion?

By Booker Omole



*Filthy rich Christ is the Answer Ministries (Citam) revenue increased by 29 per cent to Sh2.53 billion in 2022 up from Sh1.96 billion in 2021.
Image courtesy of nairobinews.nation.africa*

The question of religion is one that continues to engage the minds of many, particularly within the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK). This article seeks to explore the attitude that a political party, rooted in the principles of Marxism, should adopt towards religion.

While the likes of Marx and Engels have offered their perspectives on religion, it is essential for revolutionaries to develop further a theory that effectively addresses this complex and sensitive issue.

Maybe I should take this early opportunity to say that Communism is not at War with God or such abstract notions, communism is concerned with the knowable world in the Natural order.

Karl Marx famously stated, "Religion is the opium of the people." This phrase has been central to the Marxist perspective on religion. But, what did Marx mean by this analogy? To fully grasp his point, it's essential to delve into the historical context.

In the 1840s, opium was not an illegal substance in Europe, and it was considered a respectable indulgence, particularly among the affluent. However, for the common people, opium was expensive and inaccessible. In this context, Marx likened religion to opium in the sense that it provided solace to the oppressed.

Religion offered hope and comfort, serving as "the heart of a heartless world" and "the sigh of the oppressed creature." Just as opium could provide relief from physical pain, religion provided emotional and spiritual relief for those burdened by social and economic hardship.

To further illustrate this analogy, we can consider the effects of opium on the central nervous system and the brain. Opium, with its narcotic, soporific, and analgesic properties, induces a sense of tranquillity and emotional relief. In much the same way, religion can soothe the emotional distress of the downtrodden, offering hope and solace in difficult times.

To effectively counter the influence of religion, we must offer a materialist explanation for the origins of faith and religious beliefs among the masses. In contemporary capitalist societies, the primary sources of these beliefs are deeply rooted in social conditions.

The fundamental basis for religious faith today can be found in the socio-economic oppression experienced by the working masses. These individuals often feel utterly powerless when confronted with the seemingly unpredictable and unrelenting forces of capitalism. These forces subject ordinary workers to immense suffering and brutal hardships on a daily basis, far surpassing the occasional catastrophes like wars or natural disasters.

Lenin's phrase "fear made the gods" aptly describes the situation. It signifies the fear that stems from the capricious and inscrutable power of capital, which, to the average person, appears as an uncontrollable force.

This force poses a constant threat to the lives of the proletariat and small property owners. In his writings, Lenin affirms how forces of capitalism, though hidden, bring about "sudden," "unexpected," and "accidental" calamities such as financial ruin, devastation, destitution, moral decay, and even death due to starvation. This fear of capital's destructive potential is the very foundation of modern religion.

For CPK to be effective in countering religious beliefs, it is imperative to acknowledge and understand this primary source. By addressing the profound impact of capitalism on people's lives, we can engage in a more meaningful and relevant critique of religion and provide a more compelling alternative, the scientific way.

Communism is firmly anchored in the materialist philosophy, which asserts that the world is tangible, devoid of supernatural elements. However, it is crucial to clarify that communism is not inherently antagonistic to religious people or political organising among religious communities.

Instead, its focus is on the material realities of exploitation and social injustice, rather than engaging in abstract or contemplative philosophical debates.

Our teacher Karl Marx observed that philosophers already interpreted the world and the point is to change it. The true enemies of communism are those who exploit the underprivileged, regardless of their religious affiliations or lack thereof. We hold the irreconcilability of class interests of the working-class majority and the owning-class minority.

Religion is not static; it evolves and transforms over time. Throughout history, religious movements and figures, like Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli, have initiated significant changes within the church. The communists must always be where the masses are. Most Kenyans hold to some religious notion and any attempt to attack religion mechanically can only radicalise the clerics and turn the masses away from our organisation

What is the danger of a mechanical attack on religion?

These are the ultra-left who failed to learn from the mistake of Bismarck, his mechanical attacks on the German Catholic

Party only radicalised the clerics and turned the majority away from the working-class movement.

Such mistakes must be avoided by the communist party of Kenya. In fact, Lenin, along with Engels, criticized those who sought to introduce explicit atheism and declare war on religion as part of the Workers' Party program.

The proclamations of war on religion could actually revive interest in religion and prevent it from naturally declining. It must be seen as counterproductive because it may make religion more appealing to some who feel attacked or threatened based on their beliefs.

Religion must never be viewed only as a superficial and ideological approach that doesn't address the core issues of the working-class struggle.

To focus on fighting religion could divert attention from the urgent tasks of class and revolutionary struggle. It could lead some sections of the working class and other democratic elements away from genuine political and social issues.

The party must always take a patient and educational approach. Organizing and educating the proletariat would naturally lead to the waning of religion, especially when the objective material realities are also suitable.

When doing mass work religion must be seen as a private matter, and the primary focus was on the class struggle, not a direct confrontation with religious beliefs.

This perspective became a fundamental aspect of the party, emphasising the importance of organising and educating the working class over engaging in political warfare against religion.

However, when doing cadre work, one must remember that Marxism philosophy is materialism, that which is inherently atheistic and hostile to all religions and superstitions.

It goes beyond merely distributing educational materials; to eliminate religious beliefs from the consciousness of the working masses, who bear the brunt of relentless capitalist exploitation and are subjected to the unpredictable havoc wreaked by capitalist forces, they must, through their own efforts, engage in a concerted, organized, strategic, and enlightened struggle against the very foundation of religious beliefs.

This entails confronting the pervasive influence of capital in all its manifestations.

Let us now look into some of the confusions that have emerged when dealing with this question, for example, whether religion should be treated as a private affair, Lenin underscores that the answer is not a simple "yes" or "no," but rather a matter of context and perspective.

Lenin emphasizes that "religion must be declared a private affair" in the context of the state. In this sense, it means that the government should not interfere with or establish a state religion.

The state should be neutral in matters of religion, ensuring that individuals have the freedom to practice their faith without government interference. In this regard, religion is a private affair, and the state should not concern itself with religious beliefs and practices.

However, Lenin's statement also highlights that, from the perspective of the Party, religion cannot be considered a private affair. This means that the Party should engage with and address religious beliefs and practices when necessary.

Lenin's intent was to clarify that while the state should not meddle in religion, the Party, as a political entity with its own

ideology and goals, must be willing to confront religious influences or institutions that may be contrary to its objectives. For the Party, religion is not a private matter as it may affect the political and social landscape.

In essence, Lenin's words emphasize the separation of church and state, allowing individuals the freedom to practice their religion privately without government interference, while at the same time acknowledging that for a political party, religious influences may be a subject of scrutiny and consideration, especially if they impact the party's goals and principles.

This nuanced approach recognizes the complexity of religion in society and politics. In short, the party of the proletariat demands that the state should declare religion a private matter, but does not regard the fight against the opium of the people, the fight against religious superstitions, etc., as a "private matter."

The question of whether a priest or a religious person can be a member of the Communist Party of Kenya is a complex one, and the answer lies in the nuances of the situation. In the wake of the 19th century,

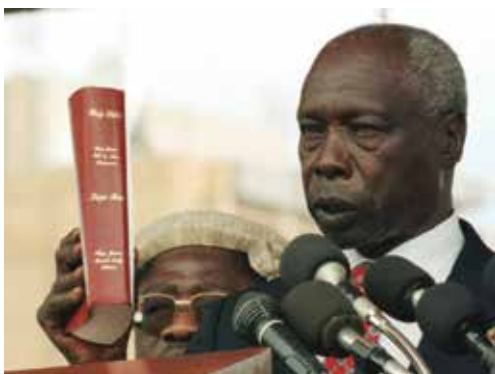
in Western Europe, historical conditions and the application of Marxist doctrine to the workers' movement allowed for priests to join communist parties without significant conflict.

However, these specific historical circumstances did not necessarily apply to Russia, or China and may be non-existent even now in our current Kenyan situation.

In general, an unqualified "yes" or "no" answer to this question would be incorrect. It is possible for a priest to be a member of the Party if they are willing to participate in common political work, fulfil Party duties, and do not actively oppose the Party's program. In such a case, the contradiction between the priest's religious convictions and the Party's principles would be considered a private matter, affecting the priest alone.

However, this situation is likely to be a rare exception, especially in Kenya today. If a priest were to actively promote religious views within the Party, to the extent that it became their primary and overriding objective, the Party would have to expel them.

*Kenya's leaders who have weaponized religion as a political tool. left: The late Dictator Moi right: President William Ruto
Image - capitalfm.co.ke & now.co.ke*



While the Party allows freedom of opinion, there are limits, determined by freedom of grouping, within which members must operate.

The Party is open to workers who maintain their belief in God, and it actively recruits them, with the aim of educating them in the spirit of the Party's program. The Party respects their religious convictions and does not intend to cause unprincipled offence. However, the Party's goal is not to permit an active struggle against its program. Therefore, while the Party allows for diverse beliefs and opinions within its ranks, it does not endorse active promotion of views that conflict with the majority of the Party's principles.

In summary, a member of the Communist Party of Kenya should embrace materialism, which opposes religious beliefs. However, this opposition should be approached as dialectical materialism. In other words, one should not merely engage in abstract or purely theoretical arguments against religion. Instead, the fight against religion should be grounded in the practical, ongoing class struggle.

Through this real-world struggle, the masses are educated, which is far more effective than theoretical preaching that doesn't adapt to changing circumstances.

Reflections on the Saba Saba March 2023: Addressing the High Cost of Living

By Seffu Kamau

Economic exploitation is evident in the continuation of extractive practices that prioritize the interests of external actors over the well-being of local communities. The vast wage gap, with CEOs earning, for instance, 10,000,000 while the lowest-paid worker earns only 10,000 a month, reflects a deeply unequal distribution of wealth and resources.

At the core of the 7/7 protest lies a profound and enduring cost of living crisis that burdens everyday Kenyans. Startling statistics reveal harsh realities: a significant portion of the Kenyan population grapples with food insecurity, with approximately 14 million people experiencing hunger and malnutrition.

High food prices, coupled with inadequate access to nutritious meals, have created a dire situation for countless families across the country, resulting in widespread job loss and more. This crisis intersects with rising unemployment, exacerbating the financial strain and affecting the overall quality of life.

Moreover, this crisis exacerbates the dire situation in Kenya due to inadequate healthcare and education, perpetuating vicious cycles of poverty.

Children, in particular, bear the brunt of this crisis, with malnutrition rates soaring, negatively impacting their long-term health and development. The economic fallout stemming from the cost of living crisis has led to a surge in job losses and unemployment. Many businesses have been forced to downsize or shut down entirely, leaving workers without stable incomes to support themselves and their families. Consequently, this has significantly widened the socioeconomic gap in Kenyan society.

On July 7, 1990, Kenyans took to the streets, demanding an expansion of the democratic space. The people were eager to exercise their freedom of speech and assembly, rights that were curtailed under Moi's dictatorship. The demonstrations eventually led to the repeal of Section 2A of the Constitution in 1991, ushering in multipartism.

This year's Saba Saba demonstrations represent a continuation of the struggle initiated by Kenyans. It serves as a stark reminder that plural politics and expanded public voice have not resolved the issues that prevent Kenyans from living with dignity.

On the 33rd anniversary of the demonstration, the primary demand was a reduction in the high cost of living.

The 7/7 (Saba Saba 2023 March for Our Lives) protests across different parts of Kenya, including Nairobi, Kisumu, Mombasa, Kisii, Migori, and Turkana, resonated with frustration and a call for change in the face of the soaring cost of living. These protests shone a light on the struggles ordinary Kenyans face to put food on the table and exposed the state of human rights in the country. The demonstrations unveiled the underlying neo-colonial legacy that still affects society.

The protests aimed to address these pressing issues and demanded economic reforms to reduce wealth disparities, minimize inequality, and prioritize the well-being of citizens. Rising inflation and limited access to essential services further compound the challenges faced by ordinary Kenyans, making it increasingly difficult for them to break free from the vicious cycle of poverty and deprivation. Additionally, the issue of food sovereignty looms large over Kenya despite its significant agricultural potential, as it struggles to ensure self-sufficiency and food security for its people.

The mistreatment of peaceful protesters during the 7/7 demonstration reveals a deep-seated issue within the

Kenya Police Service—a lingering influence of colonial-era tactics and attitudes. The excessive use of force, including tear gas, arbitrary arrests, and physical violence against protesters, reflects a failure to decolonize and reform the police force. The police continue to operate with a mindset reminiscent of the oppressive colonial regime. Addressing this issue is critical to safeguard human rights and establish a just and equitable society.

Achieving this shift necessitates moving away from authoritarian and oppressive tactics towards community-oriented policing that values dialogue, empathy, and respect for human rights. An effective police service that genuinely serves the people requires active participation and collaboration among all stakeholders, including the government, civil society, and the community. Only through collective efforts can we challenge the remnants of colonial-era policing and build a police force that upholds the principles of justice, fairness, and respect for human rights.

The detention of the 36 protesters during the 7/7 demonstration has brought to the forefront the unfinished revolution of the Mau Mau struggle. The 1963 flag independence from colonial rule brought a toxic, almost delusional sense of freedom.

The truth is that the country merely transitioned into a neo-colonial state, wherein power dynamics shifted from white colonial masters to black colonial masters. This neo-colonial legacy continues to perpetuate systemic injustices, such as economic exploitation, political marginalization, and cultural erasure.

Economic exploitation is evident in the continuation of extractive practices that prioritize the interests of external actors over the well-being of local communities. The vast wage gap, with CEOs earning, for instance, 10,000,000 while the lowest-paid worker earns only 10,000 a month, reflects a deeply unequal distribution of wealth and resources.

These stark disparities not only exacerbate social and economic inequalities but also perpetuate a cycle of poverty and marginalization for those at the bottom of the income scale. This profit-driven approach prioritizes the interests of a few at the expense of the well-being and dignity of the majority poor.

It is a clear reflection of the neo-colonial economic model that prioritizes the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a privileged few while neglecting the rights and needs of the workforce. Moreover, natural resources are often exploited for the benefit of foreign corporations, exacerbating wealth



disparities and hindering sustainable development. As the ruling minority elite in government offices suppresses dissent and fails to address the fundamental needs and aspirations of its citizens, it is crucial to challenge this profit-driven mentality and advocate for fair wages, equitable labour practices, and inclusive economic policies. This can help us work towards dismantling neo-colonial economic structures and creating an environment where the value of every individual's work is respected and rewarded.

The detainment of the 36 protesters has also shone a light on political marginalization, with power concentrated in the hands of a few. This neo-colonial power structure undermines democratic processes, hindering a true democracy. These systemic injustices highlight the urgent need to dismantle neo-colonial structures and reclaim agency over our economic, political, and cultural landscapes. Nevertheless, we continue to strive for a society that values and uplifts the voices, rights, and identities of all its citizens.

The 7/7 protest and its aftermath underscore the critical role played by social justice movements and progressive organizations, including the Communist Party of Kenya, in advocating for change and defending human rights.

By organizing and mobilizing, activists, organizations, and concerned citizens rallied against the injustices faced by the majority. They put on the agenda the need for police reforms and the vast amount of institutionalized injustices being experienced by the people. Through social media platforms and collective action, they raised awareness, fostered solidarity, and exerted pressure on the authorities to be accountable for their actions.

The Communist Party of Kenya has played a vital role in offering the Kenyan working class an alternative to the oppressive system. CPK offers a new way of organizing society economically, socially, and politically—one in which every member of the country can reap all the benefits that come with the land.

As we reflect on the 7/7 protest and its ramifications for Kenya's human rights landscape, it becomes evident that meaningful changes are required to address the underlying systemic issues. In examining the problems faced by ordinary Kenyans, it becomes clear that the root causes lie in the capitalist system that exacerbates inequality and perpetuates the neo-colonial legacy. Capitalism prioritizes profit over the well-being of the people, leading to a concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few. This wealth disparity widens the divide between the rich and the poor, making it increasingly difficult for the majority to access basic necessities and achieve a decent standard of living.

To address these systemic injustices, an alternative system, socialism offers the only solution. Socialism promotes the equitable distribution of resources, prioritizes the needs of the people, and challenges the exploitative nature of capitalism. By reimagining the economic structure, adopting socialist principles, and striving for collective ownership and decision-making, Kenyan society, under the Communist Party of Kenya, can work towards a more just and inclusive system that ensures the well-being of all its citizens.

As we move forward, it is imperative to foster solidarity, amplify marginalized voices, and strive for a society that upholds the principles of justice, equality, and human rights. By questioning the capitalist framework and envisioning alternative systems, such as socialism, we can pave the way for a more equitable and inclusive future for all Kenyans.

In summary:

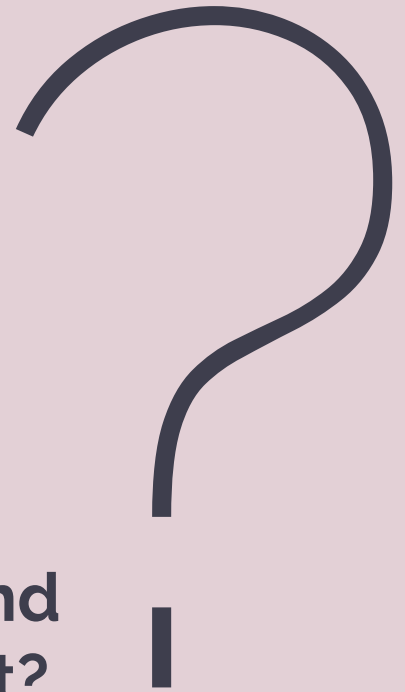
The 7/7 protest shed light on the intertwined challenges of the high cost of living, human rights, and Kenya's neo-colonial legacy. By focusing on the tax burden, capitalism, wealth inequality, food sovereignty, and the unfinished revolution of the Mau Mau, it becomes clear that the struggle for justice is multifaceted.

As social justice movements continue to raise their voices, it is crucial to challenge neo-colonial structures, as we have uncovered that the main issue is capitalism. We ought to start talks and discussions on decolonizing institutions and push for comprehensive reforms that prioritize the well-being and aspirations of all Kenyans rather than a few rich individuals. Only through concerted efforts can we move towards a society where human rights are respected, economic justice is realized, and the legacies of colonialism are truly dismantled. Viva!



Are Universities Fulfilling Their Role

as Catalysts for Democracy and Socio-economic Development?



By Ashlyn Ajiambo and Booker Omole

Universities and higher learning institutions are meant to be bastions of academic freedom and vehicles for revolutionary change. Within the sphere of student activism, there exists a dichotomy between those who challenge the conservative nature of universities and those who align themselves with corrupt university administrators and their political supporters.

Universities, both in the departments of social sciences and natural sciences, have faced encroachment by reactionary forces, including religious fanatics and foreign imperialists. This influence has contributed to the erosion of the once-hallowed halls of learning. Instances of academicians without a deep understanding of their

subjects are becoming increasingly common, with some philosophy departments embracing metaphysical theories and pseudo-science.

In the past, public universities in Kenya were hotbeds of progressivism, especially during the 1980s. Students and university workers, including lecturers, formed underground networks to promote socialism and challenge the one-party rule of KANU. At the time, opposition to KANU was primarily divided along tribal lines, while the student movement led an unwavering ideological struggle.

However, KANU responded to these challenges by cracking down on progressive lecturers, some of whom were killed, exiled, or imprisoned following the abortive 1982 coup. The opposition and the ruling dictatorship both began to promote tribalism and the use of money to manipulate student movements. Student Organization of Nairobi University remained banned until 1998 when the regime believed it had successfully suppressed the students' voices. This period also saw widespread economic hardship and violent riots.

In the early 2000s, the student movement witnessed the revival of revolutionary study circles. This resurgence, aided by the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK), marked the emergence of a new generation of revolutionaries within the student body.

The leaders of CPK are products of this organizing effort, highlighting the importance of a solid ideological foundation in student movements.

Today, the state exerts firm control over student politics, resulting in highly demobilized students. Student union fees are often misappropriated by a few corrupt individuals who exploit their positions. Some student leaders who have transitioned to national or regional Kenyan politics often lack a coherent ideology, resorting to vulgar language to appeal to the masses.

Despite these challenges, the student movement continues to resist. Recent waves of protest, such as opposition to university privatization and fee hikes, demonstrate the ongoing fight for publicly funded education. The Young Communist League has voiced solidarity with these strikes and called on the government to reverse anti-people policies, although the government's response remains largely intransigent.

The CPK has launched the Marxist-Leninist Institute of the Communist Party of Kenya, offering ideological education to candidates to help them unlearn bourgeois miseducation and adopt a dialectical and materialist approach to learning.

Research in universities has suffered from a lack of state

funding, with many projects dependent on foreign sponsorship. Universities focus on physical infrastructure over research and teaching, contributing to a brain drain as good researchers are lured away by more lucrative opportunities abroad. Furthermore, universities have shifted their priorities to profit-oriented endeavours and away from their core mandates.

Critical subjects like philosophy are taught with a focus on metaphysics, while materialism is unfairly dismissed. Some religious universities rely heavily on Vatican publications, limiting academic freedom. CPK has responded by establishing a scientific model to counter pseudo-knowledge.

When students voice genuine concerns, they are met with state terror, including arrests and even deaths. This repression aims to maintain silence amid policies that curtail academic freedom and political engagement within universities.

Private universities have enlisted security personnel to enforce conservative policies, denying students their basic right to protest or democratically elect representatives. The corporate sector also plays a role, pushing for universities to produce graduates ready for immediate employment.

CPK seeks to maintain revolutionary study circles within higher learning institutions, advocate for independent

student unions, and foster unity between student, teaching, and non-teaching staff unions. Communist propaganda is being reintroduced to counter corporate and capitalist narratives.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "The youth are the spark of the revolution," and the CPK believes this constituency is one they cannot afford to abandon. While the challenges are significant, the struggle for academic freedom, ideological clarity, and student empowerment remains crucial for Kenya's universities and the nation's future.



The Communist Party of Kenya holds the following principles regarding student organising:



1. Students possess both a constitutional and legal right and responsibility to organize and establish student organizations.

2. University administrations have a duty to encourage and facilitate the formation of student organizations.

3. Student organizations are essential not only for fostering harmonious relationships among students, lecturers, and university administrations but also for nurturing a culture of democracy and peace within educational institutions and the nation as a whole.

4. Student organizations can serve as fertile training grounds for organizing peaceful elections, cultivating a culture of democracy, and preparing present and future leaders for the country.

5. Academic freedom is invaluable in realizing the role of university education, which is to impart knowledge and various skills while also developing individuals who can think critically, independently, and creatively. The ultimate aim of university education is to produce well-rounded individuals with not only the necessary skills for personal and societal development but also high moral and cultural values, capable of contributing to the betterment of Kenya and the world, both materially and spiritually.

6. Academic freedom encompasses freedom of expression, association, civic and political liberties. The absence of academic freedom obstructs research and the growth of knowledge, creating passive individuals instead of empowered citizens and providing fertile ground for conflicts within and outside universities.

7. With the demise of dictatorship in Kenya, the establishment of multiparty democracy, and the Constitution of Kenya, all institutions, including universities, must actively participate in cultivating and promoting a culture of democracy and peaceful conflict resolution.

This culture should be intentionally instilled in the youth within universities. Universities should lead the way in strengthening the democratic and human rights achievements the country has made thus far. It is their duty to condemn and combat human rights violations that persist in the country and advocate for greater democracy, more human rights, increased freedom, and development in Kenya.



The Role of Student Organizations and Student Leaders

1. **Advocating and Safeguarding Student Interests:** Student leaders must champion, defend, articulate, and represent the interests of fellow students within the university.

2. **Exemplifying Leadership:** They should serve as exemplars of discipline, principled conduct, diligence, academic excellence, and strong moral values, setting a high standard for their peers.

3. **Facilitating Dialogue:** Student leaders act as bridges of communication between students, university administration, lecturers, and staff, ensuring effective and constructive dialogues.

4. **Enhancing Student Welfare:** They are responsible for organizing various welfare programs aimed at making the university experience as engaging and enjoyable as possible for students.

5. **Promoting Intellectual Discourse:** Student leaders coordinate seminars, symposiums, and public lectures, fostering discussions on academic matters and current national and international affairs within the university.

6. **Fostering Critical Thinking:** They provide platforms for critical thinking and expression within the university, encouraging a culture of open and informed debate.

7. **Enhancing the University's Image:** Student leaders strive to enhance the university's reputation, both nationally and globally, through creative initiatives and innovative projects.

8. **Engaging in Global Issues:** They organize activities that promote students' involvement in global efforts to achieve a just, peaceful, and humane world order.

9. **Expressing Solidarity:** Student leaders offer solidarity to individuals and communities worldwide who are engaged in struggles for freedom from various forms of oppression, whether at the hands of individuals or nations.

These roles collectively contribute to creating a vibrant, inclusive, and socially conscious academic community within the university.

The Challenges of Student Leaders Today

1. **Restoring the Legacy:** Student leaders today face the challenge of restoring the esteemed legacy of student leadership in the history of university education in the country.

2. **Upholding Student Dignity:** They must work towards restoring the good name of university students as responsible, engaged, and honourable individuals.

3. **Identity and Purpose:** It is essential to emphasize that they are student leaders, not merely "university prefects."

4. **Genuine Representation:** Student leaders need to ensure that they genuinely represent students' interests, prioritizing the collective over selfish concerns.

5. **Combatting Discrimination:** The fight against tribalism and all forms of discrimination among individuals is a paramount challenge.

6. **Upholding Values:** Student leaders should ensure that the culture of indiscipline, corruption, immorality, carelessness, and similar negative traits does not take root.

7. Promoting Democratic Culture: Sustaining a culture of democracy, peace, and constructive dialogue between students, lecturers, and university administration is crucial.

8. Preserving Academic Freedom: Student leaders must be unwavering in defending academic freedom, ensuring that it is upheld at all costs.

9. Enhancing the University Experience: They should contribute to making Universities the best place for pursuing university education, creating a nurturing and vibrant environment.

10. Lead by Example: Student leaders need to lead by example, exemplifying good and capable leadership to inspire the Kenyan youth.

11. Personal Growth and Contribution: They should remind their fellow students that university is not just about acquiring knowledge and skills but also about personal growth and the potential to change Kenya and the world for the better.

12. Leaving a Lasting Legacy: Finally, student leaders should aim to leave a positive and enduring legacy as leaders and as a student organization when their term comes to an end.

The Role of Play in Revolutionary Struggle:

"I Will Marry When I Want" by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Miiri

By Maurine Njeri, Member of the Young Communist League

A play is a literary work designed for performance in a theatre in front of an audience. In this article, I do not only want to appreciate the pivotal role of plays in liberation struggles but also to acknowledge the invaluable contributions of intellectuals such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o in the pursuit of a society organized around shared interests.

Indeed, no play has posed a greater threat to the stability of the neo-colonial state in Kenya than the 1977 work titled "I Will Marry When I Want." The playwrights did not limit the play's scope to merely exposing the betrayal of the masses' aspirations and the crises of capitalism; they also harnessed their artistic skills to radicalize and inspire the masses to continue their quest for genuine liberation.

It was the play's revolutionary nature that led to its ban by the state, the detention of Ngugi wa Thiong'o in Kamiti Maximum prison, and the exile of Miiri, all out of fear that the play could spark a revolution.

"I Will Marry When I Want" is creatively constructed with a problem-posing dialogue that stimulates critical thinking through various stylistic devices. This approach sets in motion the exploration of the theme of capitalist class dictatorship in Kenya,

as well as the role of bourgeois ideology in imposing false consciousness among the masses. Ngugi applied a Marxist methodology in his analysis of contemporary situations in Kenya, effectively dispelling the ruling class's propaganda that Marxism is a foreign ideology unsuitable for Kenya.

A revolutionary playwright, using historical and dialectical materialism, employs diverse artistic devices to highlight key historical issues in society. Their aim is to provoke, challenge, and inspire a dispossessed class toward progressive struggles. It is essential to understand that a play, in a class-based society like Kenya, is never class-neutral; it can either serve the exploiters or the exploited, the privileged or the marginalized.

It cannot be above class distinctions; it is a force wielded by one class to further its own interests. It can serve the working class by exposing the crisis and irrationality of capitalism, rallying them for revolutionary struggles, or it can be used in the interests of the capitalists to distract workers from their economic subjugation under the dictatorship of capital. Unfortunately, many plays in Kenya have been presented primarily for entertainment, serving to lull the masses away from their daily economic struggles, effectively functioning as "mental health stabilizers" in the broader education system and media.

Ngugi, through the characters Ikuua and Kioi, vividly illustrates how Kenya's independence merely changed the faces and colours of those in charge of the neocolonial state, rather than transferring power to the masses. The ruling-class figures, Kioi and Ikuua, act as local overseers for the imperial empire, overseeing foreign firms and giving a misleading impression that Africans are in control of their economic development.

The play revolves around the establishment of a foreign-owned insecticide manufacturing factory, and Ikuua believes it cannot be situated in areas inhabited by important people due to the unpleasant gases it produces. Instead, they plan to use proxies as directors to conceal their identity.

This mirrors the reality of multinationals pouring into the country under the guidance of the comprador ruling class, which limits the full development of productive forces. The play also highlights how the comprador bourgeoisie forms a class of the insignificant minority, shielded from the laws and in alliance with their international partners, actively participating in the destruction of nature under the broad banner of imperialism.

Today, Kenya's economy is ensnared by a global imperialist network, often masked as globalization and civilization. For example, the agriculture sector is dominated by British and American multinationals like Finlays, Twiga Fruits and Corteva, with their profits being repatriated to their countries of origin.

Foreign-owned banks also maintain dominance in Kenya, extending their influence into the media industry. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, has intensified with successive U.S. administrations overtly and covertly sponsoring proxy wars, coups, assassinations, and, in some cases, using bourgeois elections to impose their puppets, furthering their exploitative economic policies through the IMF and World Bank.

The playwrights reinforce the play's message by revealing how the local ruling class and their international allies maintain substantial stakes in the commanding heights of the economy, ultimately subjecting workers and peasants to a perpetual state of economic vulnerability. Kiguunda, forced by the Kiois to have a Christian wedding, faces substantial expenses and must take out a loan from the bank, where Kioi serves as the director.

He offers his land as collateral, the same land he refused to sell for the establishment of the foreign insecticide factory. Working on Kioi's farm for a

monthly wage of Ksh 200, Kiguunda is too impoverished to finance the wedding. He is unfairly chastised by Kioi, his employer, for failing to save. These tactics of guilting the poor are akin to the Kenya Kwanza ruling class's mockery of the impoverished masses and aspiring entrepreneurs for not adhering to the culture of saving, despite the ruling class being largely responsible for the neoliberal economy that exploits workers with subsistence wages insufficient to meet even their basic needs, let alone saving.

It is important to note that the "hustler" narrative, often bundled within the Hustler Fund Scheme, is not merely a wait-and-see approach but another economic rhetoric. The fact that Kiguunda's land is eventually auctioned by the bank exposes the cunning tactics of the ruling class in impoverishing the masses through the manipulation of economic and political power. In today's Kenya, as the masses grapple with the issue of landlessness, the ruling class continues to amass and grab more land, exemplified by the family of the first president, Kenyatta, owning more than 500,000 acres of land registered under various family members and proxies.

This play, a product of a capitalist society, masterfully dramatizes the essence of Marxism by demonstrating that the wealth

of the comprador bourgeoisie and their masters derives from surplus value—the difference between what a worker receives in wages and the value of the commodity they produce.

This starkly illustrates that, in addition to low wages and long working hours, there is a simultaneous rise in the prices of commodities. The system permits the accumulation of super profits for one pole while suppressing the other pole, resulting in the irreconcilable contradiction of mass production being solved while consumption remains unresolved.

The comprador bourgeoisie becomes more ruthless as it seeks to serve its own interests and those of its international counterparts. Kiguunda's lamentation that "African employers are no different from Indian employers or from the Boer white landlords" encapsulates this reality.

The play, through its theatrical approach, simplifies Marxist-Leninist theory to a level where even illiterate and semi-literate workers can relate and take action, as Kiguunda declares, "From today, Kioi has become my enemy. Either I die, or he dies. Why, they have buried me alive."

Ngugi wa Thiong'o's literary works have not only integrated many young people into the path of socialism but have also



led several of us to embrace communism in this part of the world. Through his numerous literary works, Ngugi made it clear to many that capitalism is inherently unjust and can be dismantled through the organized unity of the masses.

The playwrights keenly observe the dynamics of women's status in neocolonial Kenya. Despite the heroic contributions of women in the Mau Mau struggle, independence did not emancipate women from oppression; instead, the relationship between men and women deteriorated into a property-based dynamic, turning a formerly human connection into a relationship of possessions.

Marriage, once a union of shared human qualities, became an arrangement between properties, one house joining another.

As a result, modern couples, despite their church or District Commissioner-sanctioned unions complete with rings and flowers, rarely spend more than two nights together, confessing, "Darling, I'm sorry, but it was not you that I loved." Karl Marx's analysis of the bourgeois family and monogamous marriage holds true.

Despite the popular belief that monogamous marriage is a litmus test for true love and fidelity, in reality, it serves as a means to manage the inheritance of private property and capital.

Gathoni, who succumbs to material gifts from John Muhuni (Kioi's son), exemplifies how capitalism has reduced women to commodities that can be purchased and ensnared with material possessions such as cars. Commercial sex work is particularly pronounced in cities like Nairobi and Kisumu, where high levels of unemployment persist.

The ruling class offers a nod to the idea that the only solution can be found through advocating bourgeois feminism and unionizing sex workers. Therefore, the play indicates that true liberation for women is only achievable through the abolition of private property.

Ngugi employs flashbacks and songs to celebrate the Mau Mau veterans while simultaneously providing a perspective

on the development of African culture before the arrival of colonialists.

Our traditional culture was unjustly stigmatized as backward, satanic, and evil. The colonial ruling class used force and religion as means to infiltrate the country, imposing their will while the masses were intoxicated with the rosary.

The colonial rulers developed foreign banks and industries and placed local overseers in charge of their properties. This development was in stark contrast to traditional beliefs and culture. The colonial religion was designed to serve the measured goal of sustaining the exploitation of one person by another.

The play effectively demonstrates that religion, as a tool of ruling-class propaganda, enforces an idealist worldview that distorts the outlook of the masses, effectively turning their perceptions of reality upside down. In the play, the biblical bourgeois class (Jezebel and Ahab) highlights the extent to which cultural imperialism distorts the people's consciousness in perceiving reality.

Current President William Ruto, like his predecessors, particularly the late Moi, has weaponized religion to gain support among the masses.

He does not shy away from appealing to the masses, suggesting that our economy can only be saved through prayer. The ruling class perpetuates the regressive notion that religion is the chief determinant of human values and development.

This is further emphasized by the First and Second Ladies, who are pastors by either accident or design.



Just as the Kiois reminded their subjects that a good worker is a saved worker who should not complain about oppression, who should be content with their economic conditions, and who will inherit a good life in some paradise, the colonial religion serves the purpose of robbing us of our historical defiant spirit against oppression.



It is imperative that a revolutionary playwright thoroughly studies revolutionary theory to ensure that their art embodies materialist theatre. Like all members of the party, they must equip themselves with a proletarian standpoint through the study of Marxism-Leninism.

Only then can they effectively analyse society through practical experience as a revolutionary artist. Their artistic works are thus shaped through a process that encompasses theory, practice, and a continual feedback loop between the two.

In conclusion, the playwrights have skilfully explored various themes in this work, engaging the curiosity and consciousness of the masses while calling upon them to unite and struggle against capitalism. Ultimately, the play presents a dialectical understanding of society, emphasizing that social phenomena cannot be fully comprehended in isolation, but only through the interconnectedness of social events within society.

The book review concludes with a thought-provoking question:

*"The trumpet of the workers has been sounded, There are two sides in the struggle,
The side of the exploiters and that of the exploited,
On which side will you be when the trumpet of the workers is finally blown?"*

Revisiting Magufuli's Legacy: Unheard Stories from the Most Dispossessed

By Tina Mfanga

Chairperson of Manzese Working Women Cooperative, Tanzania and Former General Secretary of Tanzania Socialist Forum

March 17th, 2021, will always be remembered by Tanzanians for the loss of their beloved late President, John Joseph Pombe Magufuli. However, the term "beloved" primarily applies to the majority of the poor, rather than the middle-class elites and their Western allies. It has been more than a year since his passing, and his legacy remains a subject of contention between these two camps. Some see him as a heartless dictator, while others view him as a hero who championed the freedom of the impoverished majority.

Unfortunately, the narratives of the poor went largely unheard, overshadowed by the media dominance of the middle-class elites. This article aims to shed light on the experiences of the poor during Magufuli's rule, often ignored in mainstream discussions.

The Two Camps with Different Narratives

After achieving independence, Tanzania, like many other African countries, grappled with the problem of an impoverished majority and a wealthy bureaucratic class. Dissatisfaction among the people led to the 1967 Arusha Declaration, a pro-people policy aimed at narrowing the wealth gap.

While it had some flaws during implementation, the Arusha Declaration succeeded in providing free social services and distributing land to support local production. The focus on self-reliance led to the development of domestic industries that produced goods and created jobs for the people.

However, in the 1980s, the era of Structural Adjustment Programs ushered in a new form of colonialism. Previously free services became commodities accessible only to those with financial means. The former colonisers were now hailed as "investors," but they continued to exploit the land and undercompensate the workforce.

Flourishing industries turned into dumping grounds for

cheap imported products under the guise of trade liberalization. These programs left the poor landless and unemployed while the neoliberal policies went uncontested by Nyerere's successors.

The suffering masses resisted but were unable to effect change. The abandonment of the Arusha Declaration sharpened the divide between the privileged upper class and the lower class, which harboured hopes for substantive equality. The poor majority had little freedom – their land was taken, and they were exploited in plantations and mining areas. Peasants and artisanal miners had no control over the compensation for their labour, whether in terms of wages or the prices of their produce.

For the urban poor, freedom meant evading security forces during evictions from city centres and residing in poorly constructed infrastructures that often exposed them to danger. This illustrates the harsh reality of the lower class. In contrast, the privileged class enjoyed all forms of freedom, even the power to impose their perspective on others, which is precisely what happened with Magufuli's legacy.

While terms like "shrinking the civic space" were employed to describe the situation, they lacked authenticity regarding whose space was truly shrinking.

Everything was presented as if everyone's freedom was equally constrained, disregarding the experiences of the poor. Poor people's voices were either ignored or "corrected" by middle-class elites who believed they held a monopoly on understanding the situation.

The Alternative Narratives

Over the past seven months, I have delved into the experiences of three different groups of poor individuals during Magufuli's presidency: street vendors, artisanal miners, and peasants. This journey aimed to collect alternative lived experiences on Magufuli's legacy. It has been a stark reminder that we often refer to marginalized groups as "voiceless" while we are, in fact, the ones with deaf ears unable to hear their cries. The dominant narrative disparaged Magufuli in the name of the "voiceless," yet none of the narrators truly comprehended what Magufuli meant to these people.

Undoubtedly, the most prominent mainstream narrative depicts Magufuli as a dictator, but street vendors offer a different perspective. Conversations with this group were moving as they recounted the sudden changes following his death. To them, the late Magufuli was like a father who

arrived just in time to support their long-standing struggles. "I believe that it is God who heard our cries and decided to send us a visionary leader. Magufuli's presence comforted the vendors and all the poor," says Mrs Masaganya, a vendor at Machinga complex. It's important to note that these people do not view him as a messiah but acknowledge that he bolstered their ongoing struggles that previous leaders had ignored.

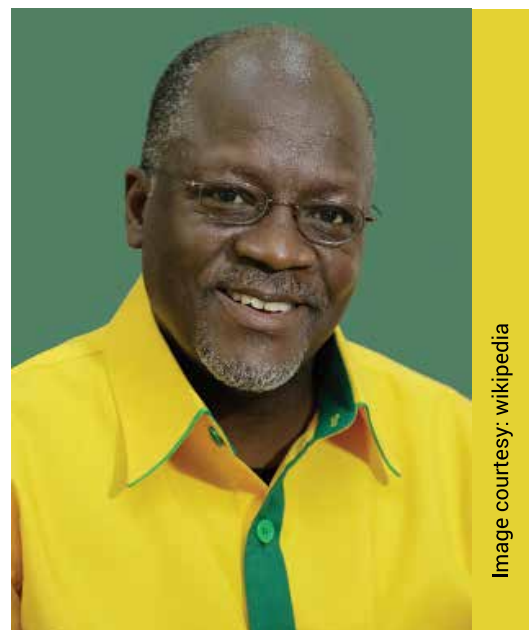
For those who doubt that Magufuli brought freedom to the people, they should listen to the street vendors' experiences.

Mr Paul, a long-time vendor at Nyawmezi Street in Kariakoo, claims that the only time he truly understood the concept of freedom was during Magufuli's era. He compares Magufuli's regime with his two predecessors, and all he remembers about the other two administrations is the misery he endured. The pre-Magufuli era was marked by brutal evictions, inhumane treatment, property confiscation, and unjustified arrests. Vendors not only lived in poverty but were also convicted without a fair trial, with the options being steep fines or imprisonment.

Paul and all the vendors I met attest that it was the late Magufuli who ended these injustices. He vehemently rejected the idea of excluding the majority from the city, emphasizing that it would never happen under his leadership. He is celebrated for allowing vendors to secure specific streets for their businesses in Kariakoo, thereby liberating them from the rich businessmen who had previously contributed to their evictions. He countered claims that vendors obstructed the rich businessmen's activities, arguing that vendors were their main customers because they didn't import their merchandise from China.

"I have never known freedom all my life as a vendor except during Magufuli's time," says Mwanahamisi, a vendor in Kariakoo. Most vendors acknowledge that their businesses enjoyed stability during Magufuli's time, allowing them to work peacefully. While the middle-class elites lamented declining cash flows, vendors saw their capital grow.

Miss Jackline from Machinga Complex recalls that she began as a mobile food retailer, but during Magufuli's tenure, she expanded her capital and transitioned to the spice business at the market. Various vendors shared similar stories, some starting as mobile fruit dealers with a capital of thirty thousand shillings, which grew to four hundred thousand, enabling them to diversify their businesses.



Sadly, everything changed quickly after Magufuli's passing, and vendors found themselves back in the pre-Magufuli era.

Artisanal miners have their own unique perspective on Magufuli's legacy. While imperialists and their advocates saw his actions as an "economic destruction" in the overhaul of the mining sector, artisanal miners viewed it as salvation from long-term exploitation.

Miners in Bukombe and Mbogwe districts connect the main changes in the mining sector to their interests.

Magufuli supported their occupation of mining areas abandoned by investors. Miners at Nyakafuru recounted how they occupied the area after investors ceased their unlicensed operations, shortly after Magufuli declared war on them. "We occupied this area in 2017 and continued working until a few wealthy individuals tried to monopolize the mining pits.

However, the President himself intervened, and we all continued working peacefully. Previously, the investors had their guards surrounding the entire area, and no one could even pick up a stone here," says Mr. Ibrahim, an artisanal miner at Nyakafuru.

Beyond occupation, there was also the reinstatement of previously evicted miners in places like Mavota and others. Magufuli directed that artisanal miners should be provided with mining licenses, rather than being evicted whenever they discovered new areas with minerals.

The miners' understanding of Magufuli's ban on the transportation of metallic mineral concentrate is equally enlightening. While the investors' spokespersons mocked this move, these artisanal miners explained why it was essential. "Magufuli was right to ban the transportation of the concentrate.

When it stays here, even the unborn baby will benefit because poor women like us will continue smelting and earn a living. But when it leaves the country, only the investors will benefit while we continue to live in poverty," says Miss. Sophia Zacharia, an artisanal miner at Nyakafuru.

One of the issues that led to a standoff between the major mining corporations and

Magufuli's regime was his ban on the transportation of such mineral concentrates in August 2016. These concentrates were being transported to Europe and other locations with their quantity and value under-declared.

The ban was followed by the seizure of more than 250 containers of concentrate, the establishment of investigating committees that confirmed the companies' tax evasion, and Magufuli's insistence that all smelting had to be done in the country. Despite the middle-class elites siding with the investors to criticize this decision, artisanal miners see it as a patriotic move, necessary for their well-being and the country at large.

Emanuel also commends Magufuli's efforts to construct refineries and markets near mining areas. According to him, nearby markets saved them from exploitative brokers, and refineries not only added value but also helped with the transition away from dangerous processing methods.

Under his regime, the State Mining Corporation (STAMICO) was tasked with constructing three smelting centres in Katente, Bukome, Lwamgasa in Geita, and Itumbi in Chunya districts.

These plants were located in districts with many artisanal miners, aiming to provide easy

access to smelting services and technological training.

"Magufuli was decisive and quick to act when it came to solving problems faced by poor people," says Mrs Hadija Juma, an artisanal miner at Katente. She notes that his intentions to improve their conditions were evident when they were exempted from the 18% VAT and a 5% withholding tax.

This came about as a result of Magufuli's meetings with artisanal miners and other stakeholders, during which he ordered the responsible ministries to address their challenges.

One of the main changes in this sector was the enactment of the 2017 mining laws, including the Written Laws (Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, the Natural Wealth and Resources (Permanent Sovereignty) Act, and the Natural Wealth and Resources Contracts (Review and Renegotiation of Conscientious Terms) Act, 2017.

These laws were primarily aimed at safeguarding the country's natural resources for the benefit of its citizens. Although these changes did not sit well with investors and their supporters, artisanal and small-scale miners found solace in every alteration that accompanied it.

Their desire was to continue working in their areas without

interference from foreign investors, whom they saw as threats to the development of artisanal mining.

Peasants in Kilosa share similar sentiments regarding investors and how Magufuli gave them hope in their land struggles. They remember him for revoking the title deeds of investors and banning the eviction of numerous peasants and pastoralists from various locations.

Mr Mluba, a resident of Mambegwa village, emphasizes Magufuli's ability to quickly grasp the problems of the poor people and address them. He is among the peasants who had land redistributed to them after the investors' title deeds were revoked. Although the redistribution of all the farms with revoked titles was not completed, these peasants had high hopes that it would have happened had Magufuli been alive.

"If only Magufuli were alive today, the farms would have been redistributed to us because that's what he wanted," says Mrs Selemani, a peasant in Mvumi village.

In addition to revoking investors' titles, his regime also halted the removal of 366 villages previously designated as reserve areas. During a meeting with the responsible ministers, he instructed them to initiate the legal process to recognize



these villages rather than evicting the residents. He also directed the tourism minister to identify parts of the game reserve areas no longer in use and distribute them to peasants and pastoralists struggling for land.

"I am not happy to see pastoralists being evicted everywhere. If there is an area that was once a game reserve and is no longer used, we should change the law and have that land distributed to the pastoralists and peasants as well," said Magufuli in 2019.

There were many other places, such as Amboni, Mabwepande, Kibiti, and others, where evictions were halted. Land grabbing is undoubtedly a systemic problem that cannot be resolved in a short period.

However, Magufuli's unwavering commitment to the interests of the poor majority showed that concerns over their land rights were being taken seriously. Thanks to him and the then-Secretary General of the ruling party, Dr Bashiru, whose efforts are also recognized by these people, all the land conflicts that reached their desks were resolved in favour of the poor majority.

Mrs Ngombolwa, another resident of Mambegwa, laments the current inflation as she compares the situation with Magufuli's time. "As poor peasants, we can hardly take a step with the inflation in farm inputs. A bag of urea, which was sold at fifty thousand during Magufuli's era, now costs one hundred thousand shillings," says Ngombolwa. Magufuli's intentions to make Tanzania a sovereign state were evident in his words and actions. He understood that controlling food meant controlling the people and did not want them to be reliant on foreign masters.

By banning research on Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs), Magufuli demonstrated his commitment to food sovereignty, just as he did with energy sovereignty and the sovereignty over natural resources.

Magufuli Spirit lives on

"This nation belongs to all of us. Those of us aged 60 and above are not building it for ourselves but for the younger generation and those after them. We should create an environment where our people will stop being slaves," said the late Magufuli on December 10th, 2018.

Indeed, the poor majority reveres the legacy of a man who never regarded them as second-class citizens. He saw street vendors as more than just nuisances to be removed from the cities and peasants and artisanal miners as valuable contributors, not obstacles to investors. To these poor people, this was the social justice they had longed for in a leader.

However, his unwavering stance on the sovereignty of our country and the protection of our resources was for the benefit of all. This is why we owe an apology to his spirit for those who attacked even this part of him. In the name of the "voiceless," these individuals turned Magufuli into an object of ridicule while defending those who plundered our resources. Now that their class interests are secured, they care less about the ongoing oppression of vendors and other impoverished people.

This shows that their criticism of Magufuli was not about the agenda of the poor but rather about pursuing their selfish interests. It was merely a project backed by the West to tarnish Magufuli's image in the name of those he cared about the most.

For dubbing him a COVID denier and later adopting his stance on the same issue, it is evident that the West and its representatives owe him an apology. They may not openly admit that he was ahead of his time, but their actions speak for themselves. As for the poor people, their narrative sends a clear message that the West cannot choose our heroes for us. Our heroes may not be flawless, but we will judge them by our own standards and honour every effort they made to challenge the imperialist establishment.

The late Magufuli was no saint, but despite his contradictions, this unspoken side speaks volumes about his role in the lives of poor people and the protection of our resources.

That's why, to this day, the late Magufuli remains the chosen hero of the impoverished, and the worst nightmare of imperialists due to his resource nationalist stance. May his bold and daring spirit join the ancestors and continue to work through those he left behind.



A tribute to Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi.

By Booker Omole, National Vice-Chairperson, the Communist Party of Kenya

The Kenyan workers and peasants led by the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and all revolutionaries and progressives will continue to immortalise Field Marshall Dedan Kimathi—our true national hero. We shall continue to demand that the former colonial power, imperial Britain identify the grave of Dedan at the Kamiti Maximum Prison so that those who love freedom and peace can give him a dignified burial.

A hero is born.

On this day, February 18th, 1957, the vulturine army of the British colonial empire executed the Kenyan national liberation hero and the Kenya Land and Freedom Army leader, Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi.

Kimathi was born on October 31st 1920, in Tetu Division, Gatanga Sub-location in Nyeri. 1920 was a historic moment in our country.

It was the year when Kenya, which the British empire had ruled as a protectorate since 1888, was declared a British colony. Kimathi, born in a time of atrocity and escalating theft, exploitation and brutality, chose to become the faithful friend of the poor landless people and the British killed him for it.

Under the dictatorship of the white British minority rule in Kenya, the minority imposed their will upon the native majority with an iron fist. This was rationalized through self-serving and unjust colonial laws they brought with them and enforced by the colonial state machinery- the army and the police.

It was a bloody occupation that forced the natives to leave their lands in order to become serfs and squatters in the colonial plantations. These colonial plantations were the very lands that the foreigners had stolen from the natives.

An artist's rendering of Dedan Kimathi.

Image courtesy of theelephant.info

Opposite page, left Statute of Dedan Kimathi.

Image: Wikipedia



To keep things going, the British predators meted such physical and mental pain upon the natives that most of the horrors remain sealed to this day. In other words, it was a white settler colonialism per excellence.

As the oppression and exploitation were perfected on one pole, the other pole was the unity of the dispossessed in opposition to the social, economic and political subordination and domination. This led to a protracted war of independence led by the nationalists and the peasant's movements led by Dedan Kimathi on the other.

What lessons can we learn from the life of Dedan Kimathi?

There is a lot that revolutionaries can learn from the life of Kimathi.



Political Education

Colonial education alienated most of the population from education, and the few enrolled were miseducated to maintain the status quo of British white settler domination. Kimathi, as a youth, rolled out night classes to educate the people and propagate anti-establishment ideas.

Today the Communist Party of Kenya is walking in the footsteps of Kimathi through the party school to counter the miseducation of the neo-colonial dictatorship. We must consistently move from theory to practice in waging a struggle. For a moment, the theory is primacy before it becomes its opposite and gives way to the primacy of practice; it continues in an endless cyclic dialectical manner.

In Lenin's words, a revolution can never be without a revolutionary theory. It is in the theory that we also realise Fidel Castro's dream of the battle of ideas. The cadres within the party must continue to inspire the masses to pursue liberating revolutionary knowledge

and humble themselves to learn from the masses. Fanon had a very clear understanding of political education. He argued that educating masses politically does not mean and cannot only mean making political speeches.

What it means is to try, relentlessly and passionately, to teach the masses that everything depends with them: That if we stagnate, it is their responsibility, and if we go forward, it is due to them too. That there is no such thing as a hero that will save them with his magic hands, that there is no famous man who will take the responsibility for everything, that the hero is the people themselves, and the magic hands are finally only the hands of the people.

In our party, comrades, we are clear that it is only through building the democratic power of the oppressed people of the world that we can restore the dignity of humankind. This day is essential to the party, with the ongoing rectification program to weed wrong conceptions within our ranks and to destroy the college of the minority that sees participation in the bourgeoisie government as a viable alternative to the working class.

In Kimathi's time, we had the soulless home guards who sold out the struggle; today, we have the petty bourgeoisie opportunists and revisionists led by the young Wachira and his ideologue Mghanga as the most significant danger to the unity of our movement. These infantile 'comrades' who want to drag our legacy in mud and auction the entire movement at a price using bourgeois legality must face the wrath of the Kenyan masses. We must continue to fight them and defeat their ideas.

Resist oppression

To fight is not wrong; we fight because something is wrong, and we fight to right the wrong. This is the spirit of the freedom fighters led by Dedan Kimathi. In his life, Kimathi was rebellious both in the colonial school and during his brief service in the colonial army. With all his limitations, he rejected the systemic brutality of the colonial system at an individual level and chose to organise to defeat it.

This is the clarion call of the party that the oppressors will never give us a licence in the form of legality to overthrow their class; the laws are interpreted to defeat the course of justice and in favour of the oppressor.

The Communist Party of Kenya calls on all the oppressed masses of our motherland to stand up to be counted in their contribution to defeating the current neo-colonial state and the comprador class that manages it. If we fight, we can succeed, and if we all work honestly, we can see some changes in our lifetime.

The organisation is the Key

Kimathi joined the democratic mass organisation of the Kenyan People – Kenya African Union (KAU). This is extremely important because we cannot fight repression as individuals; sometimes, individuals contribute significantly to the struggle, but those individuals must be part of the collective. If you don't like the currently existing organisations, kindly form one.

Also, don't look for a perfect organisation; just identify some minimums and join an organisation to build and change it. Some of these bare minimums must include anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and so forth, as long as you are not joining an outright bourgeoisie kleptocracy with the hope of changing it. It is essential to mention this because some old comrades are so lost in this fantastical thinking that they have fallen into a well of their own making.

They are busy serving the oppressing class while writing a heap of garbage as revolutionary ideas.

Such calibres are the reactionary paper tigers, the armchair revolutionaries whose job is to give credit to the oppressors as being 'accommodating' to the others. To do that is to join the wrong class solidarity. We have a lot to learn from history on such acts of opportunism.

Dedan Kimathi joined KAU to speak against colonialism; he didn't join the colonising force to appeal to their conscience to set the Kenyans free. He was never afraid to show his hatred of oppression. To hate oppression and exploitation in all forms and to love justice is a good thing for us in the movement.

Sacrifice

To be a patriot or a revolutionary, one must always be willing to put the interest of the majority before his own interest. To be a revolutionary is a lifelong commitment. In his younger days, Kimathi worked as a clerk who constantly moved from one job to the other because he was always in confrontation with his bosses. In the end, Kimathi paid the ultimate price; he was hanged by the neck to death. He was martyred in dignity.

To be a revolutionary is to serve the poor masses, always willing to give up one's job or comfortable family life for the sake of the struggle. In the Communist Party of Kenya, we constantly remind ourselves that if we cannot tweet, post online party propaganda, pay



membership dues or recruit a new cadre, then we are not true pupils of our freedom heroes. We must always be willing to do more in the struggle.

Humbleness and hard work

No work is big, small or menial; all cadres must be prepared to serve in whatever capacity. When duty calls, cadres can be called upon to do pamphleteering or organise a small fighting unit or community clean up. Kimathi started his work as an ordinary member before becoming a political teacher in KAU. When he attained political maturity, he took on a higher task in the party. He was elected the General Secretary of the KAU Murang'a branch. No job was big or small for Kimathi.

We have seen comrades who only want to sit in the offices to make statements and command others to do all the work while they are unwilling to make their hands dirty. They always demand from comrades what they don't do themselves. They are hopeless talkers but not doers. Such are the sources of wrong ideology in the party. We should always be on the lookout for such persons; they are a poison to unity.

Sooner or later, they form factions based on friendship and compartmentalise the party. Those are our enemies; they should never be allowed to climb the leadership ladder. To be a son of mau Mau is to be willing to donate oneself to the struggle of the poor people.

Some comrades cannot imagine being in the party if they are not in leadership; they try to include dishonest ways to be in the leadership as much as possible. I remember a chat I had with a comrade a few months in the run-up to the General Elections.



He was somewhat worried about the young cadres taking tasks in the party. According to him, he was a giraffe, a born leader capable of seeing miles away before anyone could see. He could not think of serving under anyone else.

He wondered how a young cadre could attain revolutionary maturity more than him, the giraffe, who has been in the party since its inception. Such attitudes are not of a revolutionary and should be discouraged and corrected in our ranks.

We must start to organise where we are

Kimathi organised at his home area before he could rise in the party ranks to the national level. Comrades must be organisers where they live, work or study. We cannot be revolutionary only when we are with comrades. Some comrades are very active at the national level but are alienated from the realities of grassroots organising.

If we organise at the grassroots, we get the necessary experience as party organisers and climb up the party's leadership ladder.

Long live, Mau Mau!
Long live Dedan Kimathi!
Long live Martyrdom!



The Communist Party of Kenya Statement on King Charles III's Visit and British Colonial Legacy

In the looming shadow of King Charles III's visit to our nation, we find ourselves confronted by a stark and unsettling reality. His presence serves as a jarring reminder of an old-world order, a fading relic of redundant and defeated feudal forces that once dominated Europe. King Charles III embodies a symbol of wanton robbery, echoing the exploitation of the global south.

Welcomed by a select few among the predator class, the filthy rich, his visit has ignited widespread discontent among the majority of Kenyans. In the midst of this unrest, the pockets of demonstrations being stifled by the Kenya police reflect a society at a crossroads, wrestling with the weight of its past and the desire for a more equitable future.

The Communist Party of Kenya stands in solidarity with our fellow citizens who are demanding a public apology and compensation for the egregious crimes committed by the British colonial administration during their rule over Kenya. The scars of this oppressive history still run deep within our society, and it is our collective responsibility to ensure that justice prevails. This injustice must be acknowledged, and amends must be made.

The suffering of our people at the hands of the British colonialists cannot be understated. The pain, loss, and trauma experienced by Kenyan families continue to haunt us to this day. The struggles, the lives lost, the resources plundered, and the cultural heritage stolen during this dark period of our history cannot be ignored or brushed aside. It is a stain on the pages of history that must be addressed.

In addition to an official apology, we demand that the British government provides fair and just compensation for the victims and descendants of those who endured the brutality of colonial rule. This compensation should not be viewed as charity but as a moral obligation to correct the historical injustices perpetrated by the colonial powers.



Britain's King Charles and Queen Camilla with President of Kenya, William Ruto, and the first lady, Rachel Ruto, at State House in Nairobi on Oct. 31, 2023.

*Image - Reuters
Image courtesy of newarab.com*

Furthermore, we call for the immediate closure of the British Army Training Unit in Kenya (BATUK). This military base, a relic of the colonial era, poses a threat to our national sovereignty and solidarity. It symbolizes the remnants of a colonial mindset that has no place in the modern world. We believe in a Kenya that is free from foreign military presence and interference, where our people can chart their own destiny.

In addition to the demands for a public apology, compensation, and the closure of BATUK, we must also address the issue of land that, by and large, remains in the hands of British multinational corporations and their local proxies. The legacy of colonial land dispossession continues to perpetuate economic disparities and social injustices within our nation. It is essential that we work towards a fair and just redistribution of land, ensuring that the wealth of our beautiful country benefits all Kenyan citizens, rather than a select few.

Furthermore, one of the poignant demands of our people is the identification and recognition of the final resting place of the Kenyan freedom hero, Dedan Kimathi. His unwavering courage and sacrifice for the cause of our nation's independence is an integral part of our history.

The fact that he was hanged and buried in an unknown location within Kamiti Maximum Prison is a glaring injustice that must be rectified. We call upon the British administration to cooperate in the efforts to locate and properly memorialize Dedan Kimathi's grave, allowing his spirit and legacy to inspire future generations and stand as a symbol of the struggles and sacrifices made for our freedom.

In addition to the demands for a public apology, compensation, the closure of BATUK, land reform, and the honouring of our national heroes, we must emphasize that the Communist Party of Kenya reiterates its unwavering commitment to the ultimate goal of true freedom for the majority of the Kenyan people.

You are hereby appointed as a social media specialist for the Communist Party of Kenya.

use the information below to generate a tweeter thread to be posted on the party's social media handle. Take your time, do your best and keep it to the 250 characters recommended by Twitter.

We release this statement as a call to action, recognizing that while diplomatic negotiations are vital, only resistance from below and the total destruction of the neocolonial turbo-capitalist state in Kenya shall guarantee genuine liberation for our citizens.

The struggle for justice, equality, and a brighter future is not solely the responsibility of our leaders; it is the collective duty of every Kenyan who longs for a just and equitable society. Together, through grassroots activism, solidarity, and the dismantling of the systems that perpetuate injustice, we can work toward the true freedom that our people deserve. Let this statement serve as a rallying cry for the ongoing struggle to create a Kenya where all its citizens can enjoy the fruits of their labour and the benefits of independence.

**Down with Imperialism!
Long live Freedom Heroes!
Long Live CPK!**

Solidarity in struggle,
Department of Propaganda of the
Central Organizing Committee
(DPCOC) of the Communist Party
of Kenya (CPK)

Challenging Imperialism:

The Communist Party of Kenya Stands in Solidarity for Justice and Equality with the Haitian People

The Communist Party of Kenya demands that the Kenya Kwanzagovernment rescind their proposal to send 1,000 police to Haiti while calling on the Kenyan people to join the Haitian masses and popular progressive forces worldwide in opposing the intervention, continued occupation and neo-colonial governance of Haiti by the Core Group and the UN.

The Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya, expresses deep concern regarding the proposed deal between the USA and the Kenyan Government. It is with great displeasure and utmost frustration that we are forced to witness Kenya allowing itself to be recruited into the imperialist activities of the United States, the Core group and United Nations.

The reported plan of involving Kenyan police to carry out actions on behalf of the USA government in Haiti raises serious ethical and moral questions. In its efforts to endear itself to the systems of power that underpin Western hegemony, Kenya is providing legitimacy for a long-standing series of interventions into Haiti that seek to undermine the aspirations of the Haitian people.

Kenya's motive to send a small contingent of police officers to Haiti is not to solve the so-called problems of insecurity that beset Haiti. Just as it has been done in the past through recruitment of Caribbean and African countries, it is to prevent accusations of racism and oppressive grip of Western foreign powers by having third world nations give their support for the exploitation of Haiti.

"If there is a humanitarian crisis, the response cannot be to send in foreign troops. The countries that today are the first to bemoan the control of Haiti by the various gangs are the first to have sponsored

these same kingpins in other times, such as in Afghanistan during the time of the Majahe-din or in Saddam Hussein's Iraq against Iran."

The Communist Party of Kenya firmly rejects any form of neocolonialism and condemns attempts to use a black face to brutalize Haiti or any other nation by the members of the Core group, including representatives of the United Nations, Canada, France, Germany, Spain, the European Union, the United States, and the Organization of American States.

The party recognizes the systems of maintaining a neo-colonial agenda in Haiti, or as dubbed in popular Haitian lingua, "Sistèm nan" (The System). We vehemently stand with exploited Haitian population and opposes any western led interventions or involvement whatsoever in Haiti.

By agreeing to send troops into Haiti, the Kenyan government is diminishing the sovereignty and self-determination of Haitian people, while preserving the neo-colonial interests of the United States, the Core Group and the United Nations.

Imperialism, historically rooted in exploitation and subjugation, has caused immense suffering across continents. Similarly, the USA's rise to power was significantly fueled by the enslavement of millions of African people, whose labor laid



the foundation for its economic prosperity. The echoes of this dark past continue to resonate in various forms of systemic racial and social inequalities that persist in the USA today.

As the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya, we address the historical injustices perpetrated by both Europe and the USA. Europe's wealth and development have, in large part, been built on the stolen resources and exploitation of the global South during colonial times.

As advocates of anti-imperialism, we must acknowledge and condemn the historical actions of both Europe and the USA that have contributed to the global inequities we face. Our commitment to a just and equitable world demands that we confront and challenge the oppressive legacies of these colonial and enslavement practices.

The party denounces and urges parliament to intervene in the actions being undertaken by the current administration. Exploiting vulnerable Kenyans for any purpose is unacceptable.

President Ruto's actions in this regard must be rejected, and the government's focus should be on empowering its citizens, not auctioning them to willing buyers.

Our commitment lies in advocating for policies that uplift the marginalized and create a fair and just society, addressing root causes of societal issues, including land problems and the need for investment in industries to create jobs and improve lives.

Furthermore, there must be rigorous discourse in the public sphere with parliament engaging with the masses before such unilateral actions are undertaken. Of course, we recognize that this was done specifically without public involvement as the masses would readily recognize the actions for what they are, efforts to sabotage Haiti's sovereignty, utilization of state instruments in the continual subjugation of the oppressed Haitian people and disruption of Pan-Africanism solidarity.

We must therefore, intensify the struggle from below, emphasizing grassroots movements and collective action to bring about transformative change. Moving forward, we stand resolute in our pursuit of justice and the dismantling of imperialist structures that perpetuate global exploitation and subjugation.

We call on all revolutionary forces, people's movements and organizations across the globe to unite in the struggle for a future that respects the sovereignty of nations, upholds human rights, and ensures the welfare of all people, regardless of their geographic location.

The Communist Party of Kenya reaffirms our unwavering commitment to the principles of peace, justice, and sovereignty in Haiti.

Long live the struggles of Haitian People!
Long Live free, liberated Haiti!
Long live the struggle for justice and liberation!
In solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world

Lenin and Vanguard

Let's be good pupils of Lenin!



Vladimir Lenin signature. Source Wikipedia

Lenin, a prominent figure of the 20th century, stands as one of history's most pivotal individuals. He is credited with laying the foundation for the Soviet state, earning him admiration from revolutionaries worldwide. Lenin is a true hero of the global working-class movement. This essay seeks to unravel the connection between Lenin's writings and his actions, exploring what catapulted him to such prominence in recent history. Primarily, it delves into the Vanguard Party, its functioning, and the ideological underpinnings of its leaders.

Lenin's special bond with the teachings of Karl Marx is crucial, as he is often regarded as one of the triumvirate central figures in communism. One sociologist even likened Lenin to the "St. Paul" of Marxism, highlighting his instrumental role in elevating Marxism beyond mere theory into a potent political force. This essay underscores the importance of studying Lenin, as it can be challenging to disentangle Leninist Marxism from the Soviet experience. It is hoped that by examining the unique insights he offered and their significance in shaping political action, a clearer picture of his impact will emerge.

Lenin addressed issues that were distinctly "Leninist," providing enduring social analyses for both industrial and agricultural societies, which remain relevant decades after their inception. For instance, Lenin vehemently argued that attempts by the monarchy and liberal bourgeois parties to grant democratic rights and freedoms were, in reality, a façade masking the perpetuation of class hierarchies.

He also illuminated the exploitation of imperial colonies for "super-profits" by the capitalist class, an example that retains relevance today. The capitalist class's ability to influence segments of the working class, thus hindering unified efforts to overthrow capitalism, was a central concern for Lenin.

Additionally, his critique of trade unions, often deemed conservative due to their emphasis on economic issues over political ones, holds significance in understanding his perspective.

This essay's objective is to underscore why the study of Lenin and his ideas is indispensable in comprehending contemporary political landscapes. Lenin's writings have resolved contentious issues in situations reminiscent of today's global climate, and the "burning questions" he posed and answered continue to resonate.

However, it is essential to acknowledge the complexity of Lenin's thought, moving beyond simplistic labels like "orthodox Marxist" or "democrat." Lenin was a political realist, adaptable to changing circumstances. Was he an advocate of genuine equality, justice, and freedom, or did he envision a society where these ideals remained elusive? This essay seeks to illuminate the nuanced blend of these perspectives in Lenin's thoughts and actions.

Understanding Lenin's politics requires an appreciation of two critical factors: the intellectual milieu and the revolutionary history of Tsarist Russia in the 19th century, and the profound influence of Karl Marx's political and economic writings on Lenin.

Lenin's worldview was shaped by these elements, and he contributed novel ideas to both revolutionary strategy and the political analysis of a liberal-capitalist state.

Lenin belonged to the Russian intelligentsia, a predominantly Western and liberal group distinct from the wider society. Absolute monarchy was viewed as antiquated, and the legacy of the revolution dated back to the Decembrists' attempted assassination of Nicholas I in 1825.

For much of the 19th century, populism dominated revolutionary thinking, shaping unique organizational strategies. However, with the growth of industry and capitalism in Russia, Marx's ideas gained prominence, offering a scientific and revolutionary critique. Lenin's entry into the Marxist party in the 1890s marked a pivotal moment, as it scientifically demonstrated Russia's capitalist nature and applied Marxist historical analysis effectively.

Lenin's most distinctive contribution was the concept of the Social-Democratic Party, founded on the belief that socialism would not spontaneously emerge but must be actively pursued by the Party. This perspective acknowledged the evolving nature of economic systems and the need to adapt ideologies accordingly. Lenin's writings reveal his dual approach to political and economic transformation,

sparking debates about his evolution from emphasising the proletarian revolution to embracing a more gradual path to socialism.

Marx's theory emphasised class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the establishment of a socialist state and communist society, albeit with varying interpretations. Lenin's writings elucidated the intricacies of class-based production systems.

Capitalism, while transformative, concentrated capital ownership, increased the working class's size and hindered wage growth. These contradictions fuelled Lenin's belief in the necessity of a revolution led by the working class to eradicate exploitation.

Marx posited that the state served to maintain the ruling class's power, while a classless society would eliminate the need for government. Lenin's writings delve into this aspect, shedding light on his vision of an ideal society—a harmonious, classless entity where exploitation ceased to exist.

In conclusion, Lenin's writings have left an indelible mark on contemporary thought and politics. His ideas reshaped the political landscape and challenged established norms. Lenin's commitment to revolution and socialist ideals, despite his upper-class background, is evident in his dedicated



Right: Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), leader of Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union 1917 to 1924. Source Wikipedia

activism. His distinctive writing style reflects his tenacity and assertiveness as a political leader.

To understand Lenin's politics, it is essential to consider the intellectual climate of 19th-century Tsarist Russia and the profound influence of Karl Marx's ideas. Lenin's evolution from a populist revolutionary to a Marxist thinker underscores the dynamic nature of his political thought. His contributions to the concept of a vanguard Party and his focus on the active, organized pursuit of socialism remain pivotal in understanding his legacy.

Lenin's writings not only reveal his interpretations of Marx but also provide insights into his vision of an equitable, classless society. This essay aims to illuminate the multifaceted nature of Lenin's beliefs and actions, transcending simplistic characterizations.

By delving into the complex interplay of his ideas and the historical context, we gain a deeper understanding of his enduring influence on contemporary politics and thought.

Unmasking the Western Summit:

A Communist Perspective on US Imperialism

In a world marred by the shadows of history, the Africa-US Summit has once again come into focus, shrouded in skepticism and mistrust. The Biden administration's promises of financial aid in areas like food security, climate change, and trade partnerships seem eerily reminiscent of the unfulfilled commitments from the 2014 summit. But what is the true nature of this summit? Why is Africa cautious about placing its trust in the United States?

The Biden administration's overtures may appear promising on the surface, but we must not forget the bitter taste of past experiences. The United States, with its history of exploiting Africa for its own gains, has left a trail of broken promises and shattered hopes. Are they truly committed to aiding Africa, or is this a ploy to bribe African leaders into aligning with them against Russia and China?

The US has a well-documented track record of employing a "carrot and stick" approach through institutions like the World Bank and IMF, often working hand in hand with corrupt African leaders. The recent elections in Zambia and Kenya, where US-backed puppets came to power, only deepen our concerns about the true intentions behind the Africa-US Summit.

One ominous consequence of this summit is the surrender of control over vital resources like copper and cobalt in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo to American interests. This hands over the supply chain and production to American control, putting African economies at risk of becoming mere suppliers of raw materials to US multinationals. It is a disheartening reminder that Africa's resources remain vulnerable to exploitation by big Western giants.

To combat US imperialism, the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) calls for unity among those who oppose it. The Western Summit, in their eyes, is a forum for the auction of African nations to



multinational corporations, rekindling painful memories of past exploitation. CPK advocates for a united front against imperialism and the rogue state, emphasizing the need to connect global struggles against oppression and exploitation.

In contrast to the United States, Chinese President Xi Jinping's policies have been perceived more positively by many African nations. China's approach is based on non-interference and mutual cooperation, which has led to tangible improvements in the lives of African citizens. China's investments in infrastructure and poverty reduction have given hope to many countries in the region. While acknowledging the need for constructive criticism, CPK stands firmly against the cynical and often racially biased judgments that the Western world often cast upon China.

In the grand theatre of international politics, Africa remains cautious about US imperialism. The Africa-US Summit may be portrayed as a benevolent endeavour, but history has shown us that vigilance is key. In a world rife with inequality, exploitation, and geopolitical power struggles, the CPK calls for solidarity and resistance against imperialism and for a united, empowered Africa.

Algeria's Stance

Clarification regarding the Western Sahara Conflict

The Embassy of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria to Kenya Responds to Misleading Statements. The Embassy of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria to Kenya has issued a response to recent statements made by the Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco in Kenya concerning an opinion article published on January 21st, 2023, in "The Star" newspaper.

The article, written by Honourable Dr Willy Mutunga, Former Chief Justice of the Republic of Kenya, discussed the importance of Pan-African solidarity in liberation movements. In their response, the Embassy of Algeria addresses several key points:

1. Algeria's Legacy of Support for Liberation Movements: Algeria has a rich history of supporting national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This support stems from Algeria's own successful struggle for independence and its commitment to the principles of self-determination and anti-racial discrimination.

2. Algeria's Continued Commitment to Decolonization: Algeria proudly supported the independence of various nations, including Belize, Timor Leste, Namibia, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Angola. Algeria remains steadfast in its support for the decolonization of Palestine and Western Sahara, the last colony in Africa. It emphasizes that Western Sahara is a non-self-governing territory and is listed on the agenda of the United Nations Decolonization Committee.

3. International Recognition of Western Sahara's Right to Self-Determination: The United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly called on Morocco to end its occupation of Western Sahara. The United Nations Security Council has framed the Western Sahara issue as a matter of decolonization, in line with General Assembly Resolution 1514. Additionally, the African Court of Human and People's Rights has affirmed that Morocco's occupation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic is incompatible with the right to self-determination.

4. Diplomatic and Humanitarian Support: Algeria provides diplomatic, political, and humanitarian support to the people of Western Sahara and the Polisario Front, recognized as the legitimate



representative by the United Nations. Algeria is also the host to hundreds of thousands of Sahrawi refugees who fled Moroccan aggression.

5. Historical Tactics of Colonizing Powers: Colonizing and occupying powers often attempt to misinform and undermine international support for the legitimate struggles of the occupied people. Morocco is no exception in its efforts to discredit the Polisario Front and Algeria's support.

6. Mislabelling the Polisario Front: The Embassy of Morocco has labelled the Polisario Front as a "terrorist armed group," which is factually and legally incorrect. Both parties are engaged in negotiations under the United Nations Settlement Plan.

7. Inconsistencies in Morocco's Mission: Morocco's mission is called into question as it attempts to mislead readers regarding the parties to the Western Sahara conflict. The United Nations Security Council has consistently identified the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front as the parties to the conflict. Algeria is not a party but an observer to the peace process.



Sahrawi Republic's Response

to Moroccan Misinformation Regarding Western Sahara

The Embassy of the Sahrawi Republic in Kenya Responds to Moroccan Claims

The Embassy of the Sahrawi Republic in Kenya is dismayed by recent "clarifications" issued by the Moroccan Embassy in Kenya, published on February 1, 2023, on the website of "The Star." These statements, filled with inaccuracies and misrepresentations, pertain to an opinion article titled "People-People Solidarities for Liberation Pan-Africanism Must Continue," written by Honourable Dr. Willy Mutunga, Former Chief Justice of the Republic of Kenya, and published on January 21, 2023, on the same platform.

The Sahrawi Embassy feels compelled to refute these claims and present an accurate picture of the situation regarding Western Sahara.

1. Frente POLISARIO's Legitimacy: The Frente POLISARIO is an internationally recognized national liberation movement, established by the Sahrawi people in 1973 to combat Spanish colonialism in Western Sahara. United Nations reports substantiate this fact.

2. Continued Struggle: Western Sahara remains a disputed territory, with the Frente POLISARIO leading the legitimate struggle against Morocco's illegal occupation, ongoing since October 31, 1975.

3. UN-OAU Settlement Plan: The Frente POLISARIO compelled Morocco to accept the UN-OAU Settlement Plan, leading to the 1991 ceasefire and a referendum on self-determination.

4. POWs and International Committee of the Red Cross: The Frente

POLISARIO, following international humanitarian law, captured and released over 3,000 Moroccan prisoners of war with the assistance of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

5. UN Representation: The Frente POLISARIO has been represented at the United Nations since the 1970s and was invited to address the UN Security Council in 1979.

6. Application of Geneva Conventions: The Frente POLISARIO voluntarily applied the 1949 Geneva Conventions to the conflict, recognized by the Swiss Federal Council and the UN.

7. EU Court Rulings: Recent EU Court judgments confirm that Western Sahara is not part of Morocco, and any agreements involving Western Sahara require Sahrawi consent.

8. UN-Led Peace Process: Both the Frente POLISARIO and Morocco are the primary parties in the UN-led peace process, aimed at achieving a fair and lasting solution for Western Sahara.

9. African Union Membership: Morocco's membership in the African Union implicitly recognizes the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic as a founder-member of the AU.

10. Recent Conflict: Since November 13, 2020, the Frente



POLISARIO has been resisting Moroccan aggression, as it breached the ceasefire.

11. **Libyan Involvement:** The claim that the Frente POLISARIO was created by the Khadhafi Regime of Libya is unsubstantiated and denied by Libyan officials.

12. **UN Status:** Western Sahara is recognized as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, pending decolonization.

13. **International Condemnation:** The international community has never approved of Morocco's occupation of Western Sahara or its use of force.

14. **Human Rights Violations:** Morocco continues to systematically violate human rights and international humanitarian law in Western Sahara, as documented by various organizations.

15. **Drug Production:** Morocco is the largest producer and exporter of cannabis globally.

16. **Drug Trafficking:** The Frente POLISARIO has accused the Moroccan army of involvement in drug trafficking, posing a threat to regional and international peace and security.

17. **International Cooperation:** The Frente POLISARIO calls on the UN Security Council to hold Morocco accountable for its role in drug trafficking.

18. **Security Threat:** Morocco's role in the drug trade contributes to cross-border crime in North West Africa and the Sahel region.

19. **Terrorism Connection:** Moroccan nationals' involvement in terrorist attacks in Europe has been linked to Morocco's status as a "breeding ground for terrorism."

20. **Misuse of Humanitarian Aid:** Morocco's exploitation of humanitarian aid for Sahrawi refugees for political purposes is concerning.

21. **Transparent Aid Distribution:** Humanitarian aid delivered to Sahrawi refugees is carried out transparently, with support from Sahrawi institutions and international organizations.

22. **African Union Call:** The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic calls on the African Union to reconsider its decision to open "consulates" in occupied Sahrawi territories.

23. **Natural Resource Exploitation:** Morocco continues to exploit Western Sahara's natural resources illegally, despite the rights of the Sahrawi people.

The Embassy of the Sahrawi Republic to Kenya is committed to presenting accurate information about the Western Sahara conflict and urges all parties to engage in peaceful, constructive dialogue to find a just and lasting solution.

THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF

Theoretical Publications of Left Parties and Political Movements held in Havana, Cuba

This year, the Communist Party of Kenya participated in the International Meeting of Theoretical Publications of Left Political Parties and Movements, which took place in Havana. The event was organized by Cuba Socialista, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Cuba. The meeting occurred against the backdrop of a global economic crisis and imperialist wars, emphasizing the significance of the battle of ideas, a concept put forth by the Cuban revolutionary leader, Commander Fidel Castro.

In his address, Cuban President Miguel Diaz-Canel stressed the imperative of advancing a new logic, one rooted in socialism as a counterpoint to the capitalist logic of the dominant class. Addressing the gathering, which brought together over one hundred political parties, social organizations, movements, publications, and publishing houses, Diaz acknowledged that ideas, like emotions, require cultivation.

The meeting, held alongside the Havana Book Fair, aimed to counter the dissemination of half-truths and believable lies. It was a stark reminder that imperialism has no regard for truth. Revolutionaries are tasked not only with comprehending the world but also with changing it, echoing Karl Marx's call to action.



In contrast to bourgeois publications that foster intellectual laziness and dishonesty, progressive and revolutionary publications serve as instruments of social justice.

The search for scientific truths and common objectives is our collective duty. These publications facilitate the sharing of knowledge and experiences, the cultivation of new values, the strengthening of people's resistance and the determination of revolutionaries, the struggle for peace and justice, the collaboration between the young and historical leaders, the resistance against political subversion by the U.S. empire, and the fight against hegemony.

The Cuban President concluded by affirming that Cuba is a symbol of resilience and that it will never surrender its sovereignty to force or seduction.

The meeting concluded successfully with the following action plan:

International Publications, Left Parties, and Movements, Theorists of Revolutionary Intellectuals, and representatives of left-wing theoretical publications from 36 countries gathered at the iconic House of the Americas for the First International Meeting convened by the magazine Cuba Socialista, the theoretical and political organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, on February 10 and 11, 2023, in the context of the 31st International Book Fair of Havana.

In the face of ideological, media, political, economic, and societal challenges, we, the representatives, declare our unwavering commitment to the oppressed and exploited individuals, as well as our steadfast dedication to social justice in all its forms.

We strive not only to enrich our academic curricula but also to engage in the discourse to create a better, possible, and necessary world. We advocate for unity in diversity across the broad spectrum of the left, standing together on four fundamental fronts: anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, anti-fascism, and social justice.

Our efforts are directed towards the realisation of a New International Order characterized by peace, democracy, social justice, and sustainable development. We vehemently oppose the relentless exploitation of the environment by capital, recognising the profound risk it poses to the survival of humanity, as forewarned by the historical leader of the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro Ruz, at the 1992 Summit of the Earth in Rio de Janeiro.

We categorically reject coercive measures, especially those imposed against the revolutionary processes in Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and other progressive governments in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We stand against any act of force directed at revolutionary or progressive movements worldwide.

In particular, we advocate for a serious, constructive, and realistic resolution to the conflict in Europe through peaceful means, dialogue, and negotiation.

Our action plan includes:

1. Establishment of an editor group aligned with the Network in Defence of Humanity, fostering international collaboration.
2. Raising awareness about the intensified economic, commercial, and financial blockade imposed by the United States against the Cuban people.
3. Commemorating Red Book Day on February 21, marking the 174th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto.
4. Supporting a global mobilization for World Revolutionaries every September 21.
5. Vigilantly opposing and countering cultural neo-colonialism and the manipulation of revolutionary symbols by imperialism, while defending our historical memory and identity.
6. Facilitating the exchange of texts, co-publishing on current issues, and identifying printing capabilities to increase circulation.
7. Creating a digital library featuring the best of leftist thinking, primarily for the benefit of young people.
8. Developing common communication strategies, conducting research programs on the UN resolution regarding the necessity of a new international world order, and undertaking coordinated media actions in the digital realm.



Red Books Day: Celebrating the Living Message of the Communist Manifesto

On February 21, 2023, the International Union of Left Publishers (IULP) called on publishers, writers, booksellers, educators, students, workers, and all those dedicated to social progress to join us in commemorating Red Books Day. This day was not just a mere date on the calendar; it was a call to celebrate the enduring relevance of the Communist Manifesto and to reaffirm our commitment to its message of unity.

The Communist Manifesto, written in 1848 by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, stood as a beacon of insight into the destructive nature of capitalism. Its pages resonated with the clear vision of two young men who bore witness to the emergence of a system that would unleash both great wealth and profound misery. Their lives were dedicated to understanding and exposing the inner workings of capitalism, warning the world of the perils that lay ahead. But the enduring influence of the Manifesto could not be attributed solely to its authors. It owed its global resonance to the countless millions, often unnamed, from every corner of the world, who gave their all to further the cause of liberation, sovereignty, and socialism.

These unsung heroes, whose collective struggles breathed life into the Manifesto, continued to inspire those who fought for their rights, for dignified living conditions, and for revolutionary change on Red Books Day and beyond. In the face of the rising far-right and the multifaceted onslaught it launched against intellectuals, thinkers, spaces, and people, as well as the suffocation of the publishing industry by the relentless grip of global capitalism, the IULP was born on Red Books Day in 2020.

This union was established as a counteroffensive in the battle of ideas. Its arsenal comprised left-leaning books that amplified the voices of ordinary people, coupled with a resolute network of comrades worldwide committed to internationalist collaboration.

Together, they were guardians of the ideas that challenged the dominion of global capitalism and imperialism. As right-wing forces, backed by the ruling elite, persisted in their attempts to suppress these ideas through physical and ideological attacks, the IULP stood unwavering.

The specter of communism haunted the ruling classes, who clung to their profits in trepidation of those who generated them. But for the majority of the world's population, communism represented the path to a future built by their own hands, for their own needs, and for the benefit of all. It was a banner that symbolized the collective march of people worldwide toward a more equitable and just society.

As we joined hands on Red Books Day, we remembered the essence of the Communist Manifesto, which called upon the workers of the world to unite and stood in defiance of imperialism. We moved forward with the spirit of socialism as we strived to build a future where the ideals of equity and social justice prevailed. In the face of repression and adversity, we drew strength from the solidarity of our comrades and the people we served. Together, we carried the torch of hope for a world where the fruits of progress were shared by all.

Dedan Kimathi of my life: A poetic take

By Grace Musyoka.

Let us bow our heads and let the tears flow
For a heavy pain tinged with fears grow
As the fate of Mumbi's house unfolds
And the once proud children of the land
Of freedom fighters and Dedan's legacy
Now stand as hustlers: their humanity and dignity wiped.

Who let this happen, who let the shame grow?
Was it the 'founding fathers' who made the queen proud?
Was it the primitive Nyayo with his reign of terror?
Or was it the junior Kenyatta: a dynasty of snakes eating its own?
Swallowing the last vestiges of family, freedom and dignity from the people?
And leaving tribe and country in the depraved hands of a hustler?

What would Dedan Kimathi do, in the light of these flaws?
Would he fight at the miseducation of the people, conditioned to hustle?
Or would he fight the putrid greed of the leaders, thieves in daylight?
I know Dedan. I have seen his work and read his story. I know he'd fight.
He'd fight in the minds: remind Kenyans they are Kenyans, not hustlers.
That this is their land: not the open bank account of these corrupt 'leaders'
He would point at the real enemy: starting the war against the minority.

Sadly, I think Dedan would still be killed: a less public murder, this time?
Something deviant: a street killing, some love-triangle quarrel or something.
Like the British colonialists, they would muddy his image: besmirch him in death,
But unlike the British, his seeds would be rooted out: killing his legacy and lessons.
And that is the horror of the day: why head is bowed to leak my fat tears.
Our leaders are our terrorists: have turned into our abusers, thieves and exploiters.
They are cannibals, scavengers, thieves who they see as hustlers: less than human.

It's why we must resist to retake what's ours: our name, our dignity, our legacy, our country.
It's why we must never forget Dedan: his lessons show rebellion, refusal to accept exploitation.
It's why we must not be afraid: the ultimate sacrifice or the momentary discomfort are usual.
It's why we must know: these are temporary: the fight always has an end, a better end.
It's why we must never despair: we know this story; we know how it ends.
It's why, this time we must fight: for we know we shall overcome and defeat them.
It's why we are Kenyans: we never take it laying down.

We are not hustlers: we are Kenyans. We are people.

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All Roads to Beijing, China

The Communist Party of Kenya Sends A Delegation to Beijing

The Communist Party of Kenya will participate in the Workshop for Theoretical Cadres of World Communist Parties in China. The Workshop will run from 16th to 29th April 2023.

Organised by the Communist Party of China, CPC, the in-person Workshop will be held in the Capital, Beijing and the Provinces of Anhui, and Jiangsu. The Central Organizing Committee (COC) has cleared Comrade Booker Omole, the National Vice Chair and the National Organising Secretary, to lead the Party delegation in this Workshop.

From 17-20 April, the participants will attend seminars with experts and scholars at higher education institutions and research institutes, including the CPC Central Party School, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Remin University of China. They will also take a tour of the Palace Museum in Beijing. From Beijing, they will travel to Anhui Province, where they will meet with the CPC Anhui Provincial Committee, other relevant authorities and take several field trips on local social-economic development from 21-24 April. The final round will be a meeting CPC Jiangsu Provincial Committee and other relevant authorities in the province as well as several field trips on local social-economic developments from 25-28 April. The team will depart from Nanjing, the capital city of Jiangsu, on April 29th.

This Workshop denotes the significance of China's relations with Africa. China continues to provide moral and material support as it has always done in the anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles.

Under the CPC, China has supported Kenya and Africa's economic and infrastructural development. These relations are deepening as

China's rising role as the deterrent against the predatory tendencies of the USA and its imperialist allies who wreak havoc on African countries solidifies. China's ever-expanding influence and particularly the formidable challenge that China – with the BRICS – is leading against the unipolarity of the US is promising for world peace and stability. The CPK supports China's honest peace proposal to resolve the NATO proxy war in Ukraine, particularly now that Finland has been cleared to join NATO, which is an escalation of the NATO proxy wars and will result in the destabilisation of the region and a threat to peace.

This Workshop unveils another expression of the fraternal relationship between the Party and the CPC. Over the past five years, these relations have served as a critical component of the Party's commitment to internationalism. The Party continues to draw lessons from CPC's dynamic history of more than 100 years developing the theory and ideology of communism and in the fight for national liberation. We learn how the CPC creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to deal with specific problems in China under specific historical and material circumstances until the triumph of the socialist revolution in 1949.

As the Party's bilateral relations with the CPC deepen, the CPK remains proud of the good

relations between the governments and peoples of Kenya and China that have led to the growth of trade, economic, cultural and diplomatic ties. The Party also reiterates the CPC's creative application of socialism that has transformed the Country from a poor, hungry, underdeveloped, colonial, imperialist dominated and exploited Country into a World superpower on all fronts.

CPK has benefited from the ideological works of the leaders of the CPC, like Chairman Mao Tse Tung and others. In 2022 and 2023, the Party received various books from CPC – Selected works of Chairman Mao and Comrade Xi Jinping's thoughts on Socialism with Chinese characteristics; these are invaluable resources for our national alternative education project. The party school is moving from strength to strength.

The Party's remarkable success in international solidarity is to be noted. In just the first quarter of 2023, CPK held successful missions to Havana, Cuba, for a Theoretical and Leftist Publications seminar; in Ghana for Leftist Journalists and writes training; and in South Africa, where four of our members attended Nkrumah school to advance their skills in ideological work. This is happening against the backdrop of multiple successes on national and international fronts.



For example, the positive outcome during the 2022 election clearly shows that our ideas are rooted in the Kenyan masses. In February 2023, the Party published Itikadi IV and distributed it worldwide.

In February, the Party presented a theoretical analysis of US-Imperialism at the People's Forum in Washington: joining a month-long people's tribunal advocating against the destructive impact and US imperialism. In March, the Party's propaganda merchandise shop was opened in partnership with comrades from Peace Land and Bread (PLB). April kicked off with the virtual launch of the CPK Megabook. We celebrate these milestones as inspiration to do better.

As with the Workshop and other ongoing activities, the Party remains committed to its growing fraternal relations with CPC in the name of Socialist Internationalism, world peace and anti-imperialist solidarity and for the mutual benefit of our parties. While doing so, we will continue to expose and condemn the anti-China propaganda published by imperialist outlets in Kenya and the World. This Workshop will serve to expand our experiences and knowledge. True knowledge comes from direct experience and practice.

Long Live CPK!
Long live CPC!
Long Live China-Kenya Friendship!

Signed
Secretary of Publicity and Member of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya
Comrade George Kirowe

Technology must be used for the service of the majority

By Booker Omole

Kenyan politicians are essentially clueless about how to handle the unemployment crisis, perambulating and repeating failed experiments from their foreign sponsors.

We need to take care of the primary factor of production, which is land. Then we can deal with large farming through mechanization, followed by value addition through light industries supported by heavy industries. This is the miracle in job creation, instead of the Kenya Kwanza administration running their mouth dry on intercessors' miracle through prayers and the childish talk of free enterprising that has ruthlessly attacked poor workers.

Having said that, let me focus on blockchain technology and its significance for the working class. Like any other technology, blockchain can be used to benefit the majority or profit a few.

I believe that the potential impact of blockchain technology on employment must be viewed through a critical lens. While there may be opportunities for new job creation and increased efficiency, we must also consider the potential negative impacts on workers.

One potential consequence of blockchain technology is the disruption of traditional intermediaries, which could result in job loss for individuals in various industries. This is a clear example of how capitalism prioritizes profits over the needs and livelihoods of workers. Instead of allowing corporations to reap the benefits of this technology, we must work to ensure that workers are protected and supported during times of economic transition.

Furthermore, while blockchain technology may create new job opportunities that require specific skills related to the technology, this could exacerbate existing inequalities and lead to a skills gap among workers. It is important that workers have access to education and training programs to develop the necessary skills to succeed in this new economy.



image courtesy of kenyafarmerstred.co.ke

Finally, while blockchain technology may increase efficiency in hiring processes, we must also ensure that workers are not subjected to invasive or discriminatory practices during the hiring process. Blockchain-based platforms must prioritize transparency and fairness to prevent further exploitation of workers.

In conclusion, while blockchain technology may have the potential to impact employment in both positive and negative ways, it is important that we prioritize the needs and rights of workers in this new economy.

I believe that we must work to create a society that values and prioritizes the well-being of all individuals, rather than prioritizing profits for the wealthy elite.

Kenya Finance Bill 2023:

A Step Forward or Backward for Economic Justice

By Booker Ngesa Omole

The recently released Kenya Finance Bill 2023 by the Kenyan Parliament focuses on taxation and revenue generation. Still, it contains several provisions that shall firm up the monopoly of capital over labour. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) argues that the drafters of the Finance Bill 2023 are alienated from reality or hate poor people. As a party of the working class, CPK has to defend workers and the majority of Kenyans against anti-people policies by the wealthy minority that runs this government.

One of the primary concerns with the Kenya Finance Bill 2023 is that it fails to address the structural inequalities within the Kenyan society. Despite being one of the fastest-growing economies in Africa, Kenya struggles with high levels of poverty and income inequality. The bill does very little to address these issues and reinforces existing power structures that benefit the wealthy elite.

The bill's taxation policies also fail to address structural inequalities. Although the bill provides for increased taxation on some goods and services, it lacks progressive taxation policies that would ensure that the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes. Instead, the middle and lower classes bear the burden of taxation, even though they are already struggling to make ends meet.

The CPK advocates for progressive taxation policies that place the burden of taxation on those who can afford it most. This would include implementing a land tax on landlords, increasing corporate taxes, and removing taxes on basic commodities. Such policies would help reduce wealth inequality and ensure that the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.

Another issue with the Kenya Finance Bill 2023 is that it fails to prioritize spending on social services that benefit the majority of Kenyan citizens. Instead, the bill proposes to allocate a significant amount of funds towards servicing illegitimate debts and paying hefty perks for government bureaucrats. This is unacceptable in a country where many people struggle to access basic necessities like healthcare, food, and water. The bill indeed favours the landlord class by a proposal of the reduction of all taxes related to rent income and capital gains.

The CPK believes that the ultimate victory will be when the capitalist system is overthrown. However, until that time, it is crucial to push for policies that prioritize the needs of the majority of citizens over the interests of the wealthy elite. This means directing budgeted funds towards pro-people services like healthcare, education, and food security, and reducing spending on auxiliary expenses like paying hefty perks for government bureaucrats.

The Kenya Finance Bill 2023 is an attack on the poor and working-class people of the country. The bill seeks to benefit the wealthy and capitalist class at the expense of the majority. This disregard for the plight of the common people is unacceptable, especially at a time when many are struggling to make ends meet.

The provisions in the bill are regressive, placing an unnecessary burden on those who can least afford it. The bill lacks progressive taxation measures, failing to ensure that those who have the most wealth pay the most in taxes. For example, a proposed increase in tax on kerosene, a basic commodity used by many poor Kenyans for cooking and lighting, unfairly burdens those who earn less.

Meanwhile, the wealthy and corporations are not adequately taxed, and mechanisms that allow the wealthy to avoid paying their fair share of taxes are not addressed.

The CPK proposes several steps to improve the bill. Firstly, a heavy inheritance tax should be introduced to redistribute wealth and prevent the concentration of wealth among a few families. Secondly, the corporate tax rate should be significantly increased to ensure that corporations pay their fair share and contribute.

In conclusion, the Kenya Finance Bill 2023 is a missed opportunity to address the economic inequality and poverty that afflict the majority of Kenyans. By favoring the interests of the rich and powerful, the drafters of this bill have perpetuated the very system that has caused this inequality and poverty in the first place.

This bill is not only inadequate but also fundamentally unjust. It reinforces the monopoly of capital over labor and entrenches the power of the wealthy elites who benefit from this system at the expense of the poor.

To truly address these issues, we need systemic change that dismantles the capitalist system and replaces it with a socialist one. Only then can we truly achieve economic justice and create a society that works for everyone, not just the privileged few.

Kenyan Police in Haiti: A Betrayal of Principles and a Dance with Imperialism

Department of Propaganda of the Central Organizing Committee (DPCOC) of the Communist Party of Kenya.

The decision by President Ruto and his government to deploy 1000 Kenyan police officers to Haiti has ignited a storm of outrage and condemnation from the majority of Kenyans, both at home and within the Communist Party of Kenya. This move is perceived as a betrayal against the heroic people of Haiti, with the Communist Party firmly asserting that the crisis in Haiti is not merely a result of gang violence but a deliberate problem orchestrated by the imperialist core group, led by the United States and Canada.

Unravelling Haiti's Struggle. To fully understand the gravity of this deployment, we must delve into the historical context of Haiti. The country, the first independent black republic in the world, achieved its freedom through a successful slave revolution in the early 19th century. However, this triumph over oppression has marked Haiti for continued interference and retaliation by imperialist forces. The lingering resentment from colonial powers, particularly France, has manifested in ongoing attempts to destabilize the nation and curtail its sovereignty.

Legal Opposition: Constitutional Boundaries and Public Outcry. The Communist Party of Kenya, in solidarity with Haiti, has taken a principled and militant stand against this deployment,

supported by legal actions such as the court case filed by Third Way Alliance. These legal manoeuvres have resulted in temporary orders halting the government's plan. The orders are grounded in sections of the Kenyan constitution that limit the police service to operate within our territorial borders, reinforcing the principle that national forces should serve the interests of their citizens, not those of foreign powers.

President Ruto's Alignment with Western Interests: "Joe Biden Boy" President Ruto's leadership, characterized by aligning with the interests of Western imperialism, has led to the Kenyan government being labelled as lackeys of the Western powers. Ruto's consistent support for the United States ruling class, evident in his recent backing of the Zionist project and deafening silence about the ongoing genocide in Gaza, has earned him the nickname "Joe Biden boy" among the Kenyan people. This aligns with a broader pattern of leaders in post-colonial nations being co-opted by foreign powers to serve their agendas.

International Complicity: UN Security Council's Rubber Stamp. The subsequent approval of the deployment by the UN Security Council underscores the capture of international bodies by imperialist forces. This move, perceived as a rubber stamping of decisions made by powerful nations, further erodes the credibility and democratic principles of the United Nations.

The Communist Party exposes the government's motivation for this move, citing Interior Minister Kithure Kindiki's statements before the Administration and Internal Security Committee, highlighting potential profits for the Kenyan government.

Concerns from Within: Kenyan Police Apprehensions. Interviews within the Kenya National Police Service reveal deep concerns among officers, labelling the mission as dangerous

and not worth the potential consequences. Progressive voices in Kenya warn of devastating effects, urging the government to reconsider its involvement in advancing the United States' imperialist agenda. This internal dissent emphasizes that those who are to execute this mission are wary of its implications and foresee the potential hazards it may bring to both the Kenyan police force and the people of Haiti.

Ruto's Rhetoric: Pan-Africanism or Foreign Alliances? President Ruto's attempts to sway public opinion with rhetoric about Pan-Africanism and black solidarity are deemed unconvincing, given his track record of speaking contrary to his actions. The Communist Party exposes Ruto's double standards, accusing him of being captured by foreign interests, particularly the IMF and World Bank. This highlights the recurring theme of leaders using grandiose speeches to mask their compliance with external powers.

Distrust in the Kenyan Police: A Force Marred by Corruption. The Communist Party of Kenya expresses a lack of trust in the Kenyan police, known for corruption, unprofessionalism, and human rights violations. Recent incidents of police violence during demonstrations further highlight the force's incapacity to handle pro-people missions. The Party asserts that deploying such a force to Haiti will only serve as a front for the United States' occupation strategy.

Imperialist Designs on Haiti: A Precarious Future In conclusion, the Communist Party of Kenya sees the Kenyan government's collaboration with the United States as a new means of maintaining global hegemony. The deployment is predicted to worsen the crisis in Haiti, with the Party vowing to hold those responsible accountable in both Kenyan courts and the court of public opinion as the inevitable body bags arrive from Port-au-Prince to Nairobi.

This intervention, motivated by imperialist designs on Haiti's resources, threatens not only the stability of the Haitian nation but also the credibility and integrity of Kenya's commitment to principles of justice and sovereignty

CHANCELLOR SCHOLZ is not welcome in Kenya.



We must speak out against the recent deal signed by President Ruto and German Chancellor Scholz. This deal is nothing but a betrayal of our country's sovereignty and an invitation to German imperialism. It is a dirty deal that will lead to the auctioning off of our workers to German multinationals.

We, the people of Kenya, want to build our country and not be used as slaves to the interests of foreign powers. Our government should be focused on industrialization and development, not just a pawn in an imperialist machine. It is time to reject the neo-colonial bleeding of Kenya and put a stop to the plundering of our human and mineral resources.

The deal signed on migration is equally concerning. It is portrayed as a "win-win" situation for both countries, but in reality, it is a means for Germany to recruit skilled workers from Kenya on a large scale, depriving us of the well-trained specialists we need for our own development. This is a direct attack on the Kenyan working class and an attempt to suppress our right to migrate.

The Communist Party of Kenya denounces the European countries' unworthy behavior towards African immigrants and refugees. They have institutionalized racism and plundered our resources. We demand the right to flight and freedom of movement. European external borders should not be moved to Africa.

We call for international workers' unity and solidarity. The visit of Chancellor Scholz was received with skepticism by the majority of Kenyans, and for good reason. We must unite and fight together against the predatory and divisive capitalist regimes that control almost all states in the world. Let us reject this deal and continue our struggle for national and social liberation.

China and Africa: A Unique Partnership

China's relationship with Africa has been under scrutiny for some time, with many wondering whether China's investment in the continent is truly beneficial for African people. However, it seems that China's impact on Africa has been overwhelmingly positive, particularly in Kenya.

China has invested heavily in Kenya's infrastructure, which has led to tremendous development in the country. This development has not only created jobs for Kenyans, but has also brought about a genuine cultural exchange between the Chinese and African people. This has allowed African people to gain a better understanding of the Chinese people and culture, and has helped to dispel the negative propaganda generated against China in the West.

One of the key differences between China and Western countries, such as the United States, is their approach to development. China's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country is in stark contrast to the IMF and World Bank, which have



The Communist Party of Kenya has been working with communities to integrate mechanized, large-scale farming within peasant communities in Kenya. Here are members with Chinese Industrialists touring the peanut project in Siaya County

imposed destructive policies on the continent that have led to the suffering and death of many African people. China's investment in Kenya has allowed projects to be completed in a timely manner, without the cumbersome bureaucracy that often characterizes Western investment in Africa.

China's socialist policies have also had a positive impact on Africa. China is not claiming to be a socialist country, but rather a country with a mixed economy, led by a socialist state that is actively working towards the goal of "Fully Developed Socialism by 2050". **Some of the key characteristics of socialism in China include the fact that major industries remain publicly owned, land remains collectivized, and leased to private persons or business entities for a maximum of 70 years, property inheritance does not exist, and the rich do not control politics.**

The Communist Party of China oversees all operations of corporations, which are entirely answerable to the state. This is in stark contrast to Western countries where CEOs, capitalists, and the super wealthy often control politics and influence policy through lobbies and campaign contributions. China has punished 1.5 million capitalists and state officials for corruption since 2007, 17% of whom have been imprisoned or executed.

China's foreign engagement is always mutually beneficial and guided by the policy of strict non-interference, in support of the independent development of regions dominated by imperialism.

The New Silk Road, or Belt and Road initiative, seeks to build an international brotherhood of former colonized nations, together in strength against capitalist hegemony and imperial domination.

In conclusion, China's investment in Africa has brought about a unique partnership that has had overwhelmingly positive results. This partnership has allowed for genuine cultural exchange and development in Kenya and other African countries. China's socialist policies have also had a positive impact on Africa, with a focus on mutual benefit and non-interference, rather than imperialism and exploitation.

The partnership between China and Africa represents a unique and promising approach to development, and one that should be encouraged and supported.

Africa and China's Friendship:

Fighting Imperialism through Shared Prosperity

By Booker Ngesa Omole

The partnership between Africa and China in the current era is a welcome break from the exploitative policies generally associated with imperialism. China's strategy for aiding African development stands in stark contrast to the political meddling, militaristic intimidation, and resource looting frequently attributed to imperial nations.

China has emerged as a significant player in Africa's quest for economic independence by emphasising win-win partnerships, knowledge sharing, and physical infrastructure investment. In this article, we investigate the progressive nature of the friendship between China and Africa, dispel common misconceptions, and highlight the game-changing impact of China's participation.

Implications of Imperial Interference and Conventional Aid

Mutual development in Africa is a myth. The development policies pushed by imperialist countries are implemented under the old and trusted "carrot and stick" aid policy. In other words, they only exist to get the West what it wants from Africa. These aid programs frequently serve the interests of wealthy businesspeople and billionaires who prefer "capital allocation"—as Elon Musk refers to it—over actual long-term growth. They shrewdly invest in potentially lucrative industries and then attempt to appear philanthropic to evade suspicion as the greedy opportunists they are. Once they get in under the philanthropic doors, they function as de facto rulers in Africa by imposing their own policies and budgets on the continent's governments. This method promotes their own research and market-capture interests rather than actually meeting Africa's needs.

Furthermore, rather than focusing on the actual needs of African nations, imperialist powers frequently direct aid in accordance with their own ambitions. Policies are established by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are subcontracted by foreign aid bodies. These NGOs prioritise resource and land exploitation and turn down requests for infrastructure development.

The United Nations (UN), which was previously a pillar of support, now places more of an emphasis on luring in private funding, which contributes to the upkeep of the imperialist occupation.

Because these charities and donations are tax-exempt, citizens should be demystified of any altruistic intentions behind mutual development and aid to Africa. These donations harm not just African countries but their own because they decrease the countries' tax earnings, leading to revoked safety nets for their needy citizens. Over the past ten years, organisations like the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Clinton Foundation, the Tony Blair Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation have taken advantage of the humanitarian landscape in Africa.

The economic conditions that saw an increase in NGOs and other charitable foundations migrating to Kenya in the early 2000s have changed. Despite so many NGOs and Development funds, Kenyans have become poorer. On the other hand, the set-ups of these NGOs have been transformed into for-profit businesses for those who initiated them.

We have a clear case of what was meant to be genuine assistance creating at a significant cost to Kenyans and, in turn, exposing the true motivation and costs of such "charitable" contributions.

The Chinese Perspective: Mutual Benefit, Sustainable Development, and Non-Interference

Imperialism has a long history of suppressing host nations' economic independence to preserve artificial poverty and political domination. It has engineered crises and wars for financial gain in order to keep prices low in global markets. In contrast, China's involvement in Africa is characterised by a dedication to sustainable development and a refusal to meddle in the continent's internal affairs.

Chinese aid encourages African development over resource exploitation by aiding in knowledge transfer, sponsoring infrastructure projects, and building mutually advantageous economic partnerships. In contrast to colonial agreements, which often include making cash payments to political elites and brain drain for 'better opportunities' abroad, China contributes technology and knowledge.

China's approach encourages economies with rapid growth and new commercial prospects, maximising benefits for all stakeholders.

Thanks to Chinese investments in sectors like power production and industrial parks, African

development has a new path. In addition to setting the foundation for future growth and reducing dependency on outside factors, these expenditures promote economic independence and diversity. China has assisted developing nations like Kenya and Ethiopia in developing their transport and electrical infrastructure, which has boosted movement, power production and brought about new job opportunities in those nations.

Solidarity and aid during Africa's independence wars

The Chinese government has a long history of supporting the independence movements of African countries fighting against colonialism. China has demonstrated that its policy toward Africa is one of friendliness under the direction of the Communist Party of China. China provided spiritual and material support to numerous African nations as they fought to end colonial domination in the middle of the 20th century.

Mao Zedong was one of many well-known Chinese officials who openly backed African liberation groups like Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Because of China's moral backing and demand for equality and justice, African freedom fighters were inspired to fight for their country's independence.

Impacts supported by data, empirically

There is evidence, and enough data, to support the claim that China's aid to Africa has had a positive impact, and the continent is now, without a doubt, better off as a result. Starting at the top, we can pinpoint the moment China launched its Road and Belt Initiative as the point of departure where Africa's development took an upward trajectory.

Manufacturing on the continent has grown at a rate of between 5 and 10 per cent per year during the last ten years. Thanks to Chinese investment, extreme poverty has dramatically decreased in nations like Angola. The terms of China's loans to African nations are enticing, including low-interest rates, lengthy repayment terms, and even partial or full debt cancellation.

African countries can achieve economic growth using this strategy without the drawbacks of Western loans. China's sustainable development goals, which the country set for itself, align with those of Agenda 2063, the African Union's plan to make the continent more prosperous, integrated, and peaceful.

Fighting racism and imperialism

It is essential to take criticism of China's participation in Africa in a constructive and non-racist manner. Racism is a worldwide epidemic and a crime against humanity, and it must be eradicated. Because of the ongoing anti-China campaign by the United States of America and her Western allies, Africans are frequently used as pawns in a geopolitical chess game.

This is regressive for the continent because the anti-China campaigns, which are the last vestiges of imperialism, are being deployed to leave Africa friend-less and under the cruel mercy of Western imperialism.

These campaigns must be rejected and fought in all ways and at all times. Progressive forces and their supporters must focus on the Paris Club, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), who are the true oppressors of the African masses if they are to confront the remaining remnants of imperialism successfully.

The new chapter of friendship between Africa and China in the new era offers a model for cooperative development in contrast to the exploitative practices of imperialism. Through mutual benefit, infrastructure development, and technology transfer, the Chinese policy encourages African countries to pursue economic progress on their own terms.

By embracing this new era, Africa and China can eliminate the final remnants of imperialism and build a future of collaboration, equality, and shared wealth.

Shattering the Illusion: National Prayers Breakfast Exposed as a Smoke Screen by President Ruto to Conceal Economic Ruin!

Dear Comrades of Kenya,

Today, we witness the Kenyan ruling class, led by president William Samoe Ruto, gathering at Safari Park Hotel for the National Prayers Breakfast. But we refuse to be silent spectators. We cannot contain our deep disappointment and seething anger as we unravel the true intentions behind this ludicrous and extravagant charade. This empty display has been thrust upon us by the capitalist ruling class and their government for well over seventeen relentless years, all while we, the hardworking masses, suffer the consequences of their failures.

They converge in their lavish surroundings, indulging in sumptuous banquets at the expense of diligent Kenyan taxpayers. They propagate the fallacy that through prayers and appeals to an elusive entity named God, our nation's woes will magically disappear. They choose to believe that God, allegedly residing in some mystical realm known as heaven, will intervene and resolve Kenya's political, economic, security, moral, and social dilemmas.

In this era of scientific and technological advancement, it is astonishing that such backward beliefs continue to manipulate the minds of our leaders. However, let us not shy away from the truth: prayers, be they national or personal, have failed to alleviate the poverty, suffering, hunger, unemployment, corruption, violence, or terrorism that plague our lives day in and day out. **Prayers have not compelled the ruling class to repent for their exploitation and oppression, nor have they triggered the transformation of our society based on equality, love, and social justice.**

Our leaders, including those parading as religious figures, are nothing more than hypocrites who preach moral values they themselves fail to embody. The national prayers breakfast has devolved into a mere facade, a mockery of the Kenyan masses. Unfortunately, it is we who bear the brunt of this primitive ritual, both financially and emotionally.

But why do they persist with this annual breakfast spectacle? The answer is glaringly simple: our leaders, unable to offer genuine solutions after causing immense havoc through capitalism, greed, debt, and corruption, resort to peddling false hope instead.

It mirrors the tales of an afterlife that entice the impoverished to endure exploitation, oppression, and suffering on Earth, promising a reward in some distant heavenly abode. The ruling class, devoid of genuine religious conviction, urges the masses to cling to archaic and primitive beliefs in prayers and worship. They propagate religious ceremonies, demanding the construction of more churches and shrines, while inundating the airwaves with religious propaganda.

Gospel music dominates our media, infiltrating our homes, public transportation, and social gatherings. Meanwhile, men in rural areas drown their sorrows in alcohol, while women seek solace in churches and prayers. The masses are left with scarce time to reflect upon the harsh realities that surround them and contemplate meaningful ways to effect genuine change.

And this is precisely what the capitalist ruling class desires. They want the masses to remain intoxicated by alcohol, religion, and other superficial distractions, preventing them from soberly comprehending their reality and striving for transformative action. Religion serves as the opiate of the exploited and oppressed masses, perpetuating the capitalist status quo.



Today, even imported European football and pornography have become opiates for the youth, diverting their attention from engaging in the struggle for a brighter future.

This National Prayers Breakfast, attended by members of the Kenyan ruling capitalist class and a government led by individuals who are not even religious, is not a random occurrence. It is a deliberate component of the capitalist ideology and practice, strategically designed to foster false hope amidst the economic, political, social, moral, and legal crises we face. It is the opiate of the people.

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) vehemently rejects this national prayer breakfast and the illusions it perpetuates. Instead, we choose to confront reality head-on. We dedicate ourselves to thoroughly analyzing our reality and organizing the relentless struggle for authentic liberation of the exploited and oppressed in Kenya. These archaic religious rituals hinder human freedom, development, and social progress.

Let us unite as workers, cast aside the opiate of false hope, and labor tirelessly towards a society that genuinely embodies the principles of equality, love, and social justice.

THE CPK OATH

I solemnly pledge to join the Communist Party of Kenya, embracing the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to champion the cause of the Party and strive for a just and equitable society. I wholeheartedly commit to upholding the Party's program and working towards the realization of its objectives.

As a dedicated Party member, I shall diligently abide by the provisions of the Party constitution, recognizing its guiding principles as the foundation of our collective struggle. I will fulfill my responsibilities and duties with unwavering dedication, ensuring that the Party's ideals are upheld at all times.

I vow to execute the Party's decisions with unwavering loyalty, understanding that collective action and unity are crucial for achieving our shared goals. I shall demonstrate unwavering adherence to Party discipline, recognizing that it is through discipline that we maintain our strength and effectiveness as a revolutionary force.

I pledge to safeguard the secrets of the Party, understanding the importance of trust and confidentiality in our movement. I will remain steadfast in my commitment, showing loyalty and dedication to the Party and its members.

With unwavering determination, I shall labor tirelessly for the well-being of the people, working towards the eradication of oppression, exploitation, and social injustice. I dedicate my life to the pursuit of communism, striving for a society where every individual's rights and needs are equally valued and fulfilled.

I stand prepared to make any necessary sacrifice for the Party and the people, never succumbing to wavering or betraying their trust. I recognize that the struggle for a better future requires perseverance, resilience, and unwavering commitment. Together, we will advance towards a society founded on justice, equality, and solidarity.

Advancing Revolutionary Ideals: Resolutions of the 1st National Convention of the Ideological Working Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK)



The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) convened its 1st National Convention of the Ideological School Working Committee on May 27th-28th, 2023, at the United Kenya Club in Nairobi. This historic event marked a significant step forward in solidifying our revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist principles. The Convention adopted several resolutions aimed at fortifying our party's ideological consistency and furthering the interests of the people.

Resolution 1 highlights the reactivation of study circles and the pursuit of the rectification program. Recognizing the importance of maintaining ideological integrity, all study circles are mandated to resolutely engage in the rectification program, both theoretically and through praxis. Party cells shall adhere to the party constitution and established principles, ensuring a strong foundation for revolutionary activism.

Resolution 2 underscores the adoption of induction documents and the party school curriculum. Our party school curriculum is a living document that evolves to address the changing needs of our movement. The induction documents proposed by the Ideological Working Committee have been deemed suitable for party members, and they shall form the foundation of our educational endeavors. The curriculum encompasses the induction process, the three components of Marxism, and contemporary party documents.

Resolution 3 emphasizes the formation of the Membership and Accreditation Committee. This committee will accredit qualified study circle members for admission into the party's candidature program. Within two months, the committee will schedule a pass-out parade, providing an opportunity for aspiring members to join our ranks and contribute to our revolutionary cause.

Resolution 4 signifies the adoption of the CPK oath, which embodies the commitment and dedication expected of party members. All party school graduates shall take this oath, pledging to uphold its principles in theory and praxis.

Resolution 5 heralds the adoption of the Paul Freire Model for Party School Pedagogy, recognized for its effectiveness in party education. The Ideological Working Committee is entrusted with reworking the school curriculum to reflect this pedagogy, ensuring an enhanced learning experience. Cell leaders will study under the guidance of the school leadership, embracing this model of transformative learning.

Resolution 6 institutes a compulsory agitprop course for propaganda and agitation. Acknowledging the vital role of propaganda and agitation in advancing our objectives, this tailored course will become a prerequisite for joining the party's candidature program.

Resolution 7 underscores the importance of combining theory and praxis within our party organizations. All party entities, including cells, are urged to integrate theoretical understanding with practical implementation, fostering a dynamic and effective revolutionary movement.

Resolution 8 emphasizes the recruitment of party members and the embracement of class biases. We prioritize expanding our membership base among the Kenyan working class, ensuring our movement truly represents their interests. The next membership drive will specifically target the working class, with the Membership and Accreditation Committee screening and selecting individuals who align with our Marxist-Leninist principles.

Resolution 9 solidifies the adoption of a strict party line for the CPK. Ideological consistency and unity are paramount to our revolutionary goals. All party members are required to study and comprehend the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, while regular educational programs, study circles, and seminars will enhance our collective understanding. Adherence to the party line in public statements, actions, and engagements is obligatory, and disciplinary measures will be applied for deviations. Our party leadership remains committed to reviewing and updating the party line while fostering open and comradely debate.

We affirm our unwavering dedication to the ongoing self and collective rectification program, ensuring continuous improvement and ideological consistency within our ranks. The CPK oath remains in effect, serving as a guiding principle for all party members.

As the Communist Party of Kenya, we stand united in our struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and all forms of exploitation. Our commitment to the well-being and liberation of the Kenyan people remains resolute. The masses are the makers of history, we lead but the masses decide.

*Long live the Kenyan Working Class!
Forward with the rectification program!
Long live the Communist Party of Kenya!*

Ideological School Working Committee (ISWC) of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya

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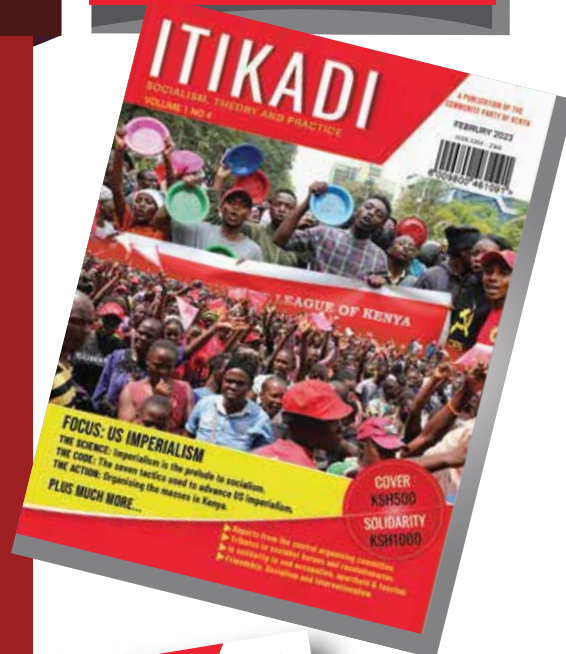
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Statement of Solidarity with the General Union of Students in the Republic of Iraq



The Young Communist League of the Communist Party of Kenya stands in unwavering solidarity with the General Union of Students in the Republic of Iraq in their just struggle for student and academic freedoms. We condemn the repressive decision by the Ministry of Higher Education to prevent the work of the Union within universities and prosecute its activists. This suppression of student voices and union activities is a clear violation of the rights and freedoms that students should enjoy.

We recognize that this decision is an attempt by the ruling elite to silence the legitimate concerns raised by the Union and divert attention from their own failures and corruption within the educational system. The collapse of the educational process in Iraq cannot be concealed by suppressing the voices of students and stifling their organized efforts to address the challenges they face. It is evident that the ruling forces have prioritized sectarian and ethnic power-sharing over professionalism and integrity in the administration of universities, which has undermined the academic reputation of Iraq.

Furthermore, the Communist Party of Kenya strongly condemns the referral of the Union's activities to the offices of the security services at the university. This action represents an unacceptable militarization of the educational environment and a direct violation of the Higher Education Law, which prohibits the presence of military manifestations on campus. The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research must respect the autonomy of educational institutions and ensure that they remain spaces for academic freedom and intellectual development.

We join the General Union of Students in their call for the immediate withdrawal of the repressive decision and for an official

apology to be issued to the Union for the abuse it has suffered. We also hold the Ministry responsible for the safety and security of the Union's colleagues and cadres. The rights of students to organize, voice their concerns, and work towards a better future must be protected and respected.

We urge all friendly unions, organizations, and trade unions to stand in solidarity with the General Union of Students in the Republic of Iraq and condemn this repressive decision. The violation of student and academic freedoms is part of a wider pattern of attacks on public freedoms, which must be confronted and opposed collectively. Only through unity and solidarity can we safeguard the rights of students and ensure the advancement of education as a fundamental pillar of a just and democratic society.

Long live the General Union of Students in the Republic of Iraq!
Long live the struggles of the Iraqi student movement!
Long live YCL!

In solidarity,
Mwaivu Kaluka
Chairperson of the Young Communist League (YCL) of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK)

Esteemed Comrade M. Jahangir Khan

A valiant warrior of the proletariat

The Juche Idea Study Circle of the Central Organising Committee (COC) of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) extends its revolutionary greetings to the International Songun University and the worldwide Songun study campaign.

This monumental endeavour embodies a seismic transformation in the worldwide quest for the Juche Idea and Songun Policy, setting ablaze the fires of revolution within the passionate souls of all fervent followers of Juche.

Amidst the turbulent era of surging imperialist oppression, the pressing call for solidarity among revolutionary collectives and associations committed to the dissemination of the Juche Idea grows ever stronger. Together, comrades, we must embark on audacious endeavours that shall ignite a mighty conflagration of the revolutionary notion, engulfing the entire globe with its emancipatory fervour.

Hail the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), the unwavering ally of the South and the resolute torchbearer of anti-imperialism! The unwavering commitment of the DPRK to the Juche Idea and its resolute adherence to the strict Songun Policy have revolutionised it into the embodiment of hope for all oppressed peoples across the globe. It stands as a radiant testament to the unconquerable spirit of defiance against the oppressive forces of imperialism.



In the tireless battle for emancipation, the downtrodden masses of all nations must equip themselves with an unwavering revolutionary ideology, acting as their beacon of enlightenment in the fierce crusade against every manifestation of oppression. Only when they rise up against the chains of oppression can they truly become the vanguards of their own fate. The glorious establishment of the International Songun University stands as a magnificent monument, exalting the righteous cause that ignites the hearts of the people.

Once more, we offer our fervent revolutionary greetings and pledge our unwavering commitment to unite with your esteemed collective in forging the righteous path towards the triumphant achievement of the International Songun University.

On the glorious day of July 12, 2023, the esteemed Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya's Juche Idea Study Circle shall gather for a momentous assembly.

JUCHE IDEA STUDY CIRCLE OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
KENYA

Lumumba's Birthday: Inspiring Hope with the Congolese Communist Party



*Official Presidential Portrait of Patrice Lumumba
Image Courtesy of Wikipedia*

Happy birthday dear comrade! Today, we celebrate Lumumba's unwavering dedication to the Congolese people and draw inspiration from his timeless struggle for justice and liberation. As we commemorate his birth, we also proudly align ourselves with the Congolese Communist Party, an embodiment of Lumumba's vision and a beacon of hope for a brighter future.

Lumumba's birthday serves as a poignant reminder of his revolutionary spirit and his relentless pursuit of a free Congo. His impassioned speeches and powerful convictions galvanized a nation and ignited a flame of resistance against imperialist powers. The Congolese people rallied behind Lumumba, inspired by his unwavering belief in their ability to shape their own destiny.

Today, as we remember Lumumba's birth, we stand in solidarity with the Congolese Communist Party. This revolutionary force carries Lumumba's torch, fiercely advocating for equality, justice, and collective prosperity. The Congolese Communist Party emerges as a force to reckon with, challenging the oppressive systems that have kept the Congolese people in chains for far too long.

In the face of the ongoing crisis in the Congo, where imperialist forces and their proxies continue to exploit and destabilize the country, the Congolese Communist Party stands as a steadfast bulwark against these injustices. It confronts the looting of resources, the financing of militias, and the manipulation of political dynamics that have plagued the Congolese people for far too long.

With unwavering determination, the party asserts the Congolese people's right to self-determination and the equitable distribution of the nation's wealth.

The birth of the Congolese Communist Party heralds a new era in the struggle for a free Congo. It embodies Lumumba's vision of an independent and united Socialist Africa, free from the shackles of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The party's formation ignites a flame of hope, reminding us that a future of justice and prosperity is within our grasp.

As we celebrate Lumumba's birthday, we pay homage to his indelible contributions to the Congolese liberation movement. We honour his unwavering commitment to the cause, his eloquence, and his ability to inspire and mobilize the masses.

Through the Congolese Communist Party, we carry his legacy forward, emboldened by his words: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today."

On this day, we proudly stand with the Congolese Communist Party, declaring our unwavering support for their struggle. We share their determination to dismantle oppressive systems, to resist external interference, and to reclaim the Congolese people's rightful place as masters of their own destiny.

Together, we forge a path towards a free Congo, where the dreams of Lumumba and the countless revolutionaries who fought by his side become reality.

On Lumumba's birthday, we renew our commitment to the ideals of justice, equality, and liberation. We honour his memory by working tirelessly to create a world where the voices of the oppressed are heard, where resources are shared equitably, and where imperialism and neo-colonialism are relegated to the annals of history.

Happy birthday, Patrice Lumumba! Your legacy lives on, and through the Congolese Communist Party, we march towards a future where freedom and prosperity reign supreme.



Image Courtesy of Wikipedia

In the Footsteps of Revolutionaries: Lessons from Accra's Amilcar Cabral Ideological School

By Walter Ogillo Nyaluogo, a Cadre with the Communist Party of Kenya

I consider myself incredibly fortunate to have been sent by my party, the Communist Party of Kenya, to the Amilcar Cabral School in Accra, Ghana, from May 19 to June 11, 2023. As the first Kenyan participant, I felt deeply honoured to be part of this revolutionary gathering.

The Amilcar Cabral School serves as a political theory hub, bringing together passionate working-class activists from progressive social movements and political parties worldwide.

The school's mission is to connect with individual activists and organizations, fostering greater international solidarity and broadening perspectives through understanding their struggles. In this transformative experience, I joined 32 activists from 16 countries, including the Saharawi Arab Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, Mali, Niger, Ghana, South Africa, Zambia, Nepal, Nigeria, the United States, Trinidad and Tobago, Liberia, the People's Republic of China, Tanzania, and Kenya.

When recalling my time at the school, the first thing that comes to mind is the introductory lesson, where we discussed our collective responsibilities and the code of conduct during our stay. We emphasized the value of collective work, mutual support, and utmost respect for each individual. A quote that resonates with me to this day is, "The only thing the enemy cannot take away from us is our discipline."

This sentiment set the stage for the high discipline and unwavering morale that pervaded the entire course.

Throughout the program, every comrade demonstrated responsibility in meetings and showed utmost respect for each other's perspectives. I must admit, I have never been part of such a comradely team in my entire life. It was, without a doubt, the most enriching living and learning experience I have had thus far. The school further deepened our understanding of democratic centralism by dividing us into collectives of 5 to 6 comrades. Each collective took names inspired by important dates in working-class history or the names of revolutionaries.

I belonged to the "Titina Silá" collective, named after Bissau-Guinean revolutionary Titina Silá. Her memory lives on through Guinea-Bissau's celebration of National Women's Day on January 30. The collectives provided an excellent platform for reflecting on and discussing the daily lessons, while also serving as channels of communication between participants and organizers. Moreover, we engaged in physical labor activities, like cleaning and serving meals during communal meal times, aiming to challenge backward attitudes that disdain physical labor among some revolutionaries.

Mistica:

Participating in misticas has always held a special place in my heart, but it was at the Amilcar Cabral School that I truly grasped their essence. Our first mistica during class revealed how these rituals foster collective unity and strengthen our ideological commitment. The sense of belonging I felt while singing and chanting reinforced my dedication to the struggle and the collective. During a captivating session, we discussed the diverse forms of mistica from our regions, broadening our understanding of its significance.

For instance, I discovered that in Kenya, motorcycle taxis (boda boda/Nduthi) protesters express themselves by honking their horns and decorating their motorcycles with plants, embodying a unique form of mistica. Similarly, in China, bells ring, and the entire city falls silent to commemorate the lives lost during the harrowing Nanjing Massacre.

The Internationale and the Paris Commune:

With pride, I can now sing the first three stanzas of the Internationale, truly comprehending its significance and historical context. This powerful anthem, composed by Eugene Pottier after the fall of the Paris Commune in 1872, symbolizes a crucial milestone for socialists. The Paris Commune stands as the first worker-led revolutionary government, leaving a lasting impact on our world,



such as the establishment of the 8-hour workday, which the Commune courageously experimented with.

The Life and Works of Amilcar Cabral:

During an enlightening class led by Comrade Blaise, we delved deep into the life and works of Amilcar Cabral, an often-overlooked revolutionary figure. By the end of my stay at the school, I vowed to walk in his footsteps. Amilcar Cabral, a devoted Guinea-Bissau agronomist, dedicated his life to liberating his people from Portuguese colonialism.

A staunch Marxist, he applied socialist principles tailored to his nation's conditions, leading them to independence, even though he was tragically assassinated just seven months before witnessing his people's liberation. His internationalist approach fostered connections with other Marxists worldwide, from Fidel Castro in Cuba to Agostinho Neto in Angola. His invaluable contributions to Marxist theoretical work hold immense relevance in the current era of capitalist contradictions and struggles.

Materialist Philosophy:

One of the highlights from my time at the school was gaining a deeper understanding of historical and dialectical materialism. The class, guided by Comrade Vashna Jagarnath from South Africa, began by reflecting on Mao Zedong's document, "Where do Correct Ideas Come From?" The core lesson was that knowledge originates from the real world, not from our minds or higher beings. It starts as perceptual knowledge, perceived through our senses (touch, sight, taste, hearing, and smell).

Through the accumulation of perceptual knowledge, cognition develops—conceptual knowledge. At this stage, we realize that knowledge comes from tangible, perceivable objects, and we reflect upon it. However, we can't determine if our concepts or ideas are correct without testing them against reality. Thus, the final stage is practical knowledge, which materializes after we apply our concepts to reality. This progression from perceptual to conceptual to practical knowledge resonated profoundly with us.

Capitalist Imperialism and African Underdevelopment:

Comrades Diagne, Nasser Adam, and Mamane Sani Adamou facilitated powerful discussions on imperialism, neo-colonialism, and African underdevelopment. Engaging in these interactive sessions encouraged us to share our experiences from different regions, which shaped our understanding of Africa's history. We learned that slavery and colonialism were mere interruptions to Africa's history, but they undeniably influenced the continent's current state. Slavery significantly depleted Africa's young, strong, and agile population, while colonialism served as a vehicle for capitalist expansion and resource exploitation.

Furthermore, the emergence of neo-colonialism and the debt burden imposed on African states, aided by institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, was thoroughly dissected.

We recognized how these capitalist forces perpetuate the exploitation, oppression, and underdevelopment of Africa, with local African elites playing a complicit role.

The Digital Age of Imperialism and Surveillance Capitalism:

Comrade Khambale Masavuli's lecture on the Digital Age of Imperialism and Surveillance Capitalism left us on the edge of our seats. I was especially struck by the realization of the pervasive surveillance by the ruling class over the global population, using the internet as a tool.

The internet, an institution of the superstructure, is far from neutral or objective—it serves the interests of the capitalist ruling class. Comrade Khambale highlighted that technological advancements have exponentially increased control and militarization, particularly in Africa. The existence of AFRICOM, established in 2007 by the United States to protect its interests and contain China, epitomizes modern colonialism.

We acknowledged that technology itself is not inherently bad but can be used as a tool for liberation. Our responsibility is to democratize technology and harness it to advance our cause while equipping the masses to navigate the digital realm.

The Elmina Slave Dungeons:

A profound emotional impact was experienced during our visit to the Elmina Slave Dungeon in Cape Coast, Ghana. As we explored the tragic history of this fortress, the extent of the inhumane slave trade's brutality became all too real. Countless Africans lost their lives at this location and during the harrowing journey to the Americas. *The role of religion in perpetuating slavery was also evident, as the Portuguese built a chapel to bless ships carrying "cargo" back to Europe.*

This visit intensified our understanding of the horrors of slavery and reinforced our determination to fight against oppression and exploitation.

Internationalism and Pan-Africanism:

In discussions led by Comrades Kyeretwie Opoku and Kwesi Pratt Jr., we comprehended the significance of internationalism in the socialist struggle. Since capitalism is global, so must socialism be. Workers worldwide have more in common with each other than with their own ruling classes. We emphasized the importance of pan-Africanism, a scientific ideology that seeks the unification of Africa under socialism while advocating for liberation from exploitation and oppression.

Paths to Power, Theory, and Revolutionary Practice:

Comrade Shanti Singham and Comrade Adamou Sani Mamane skilfully traced the history of revolutionary struggles, from bourgeois revolutions to national liberation movements and socialist revolutions. We grasped the crucial factors that determine the success or failure of revolutions and the significance of grassroots work in defending and consolidating socialist gains. A successful revolution can only be tailored to fit the specific conditions of each region, and a strong connection to the masses is vital for defending and advancing revolutionary goals.

Revolutionary Arts and Culture:

Art and culture, under capitalism, serve to produce entertainment and reinforce capitalist ideology.

However, we learned the power of revolutionary arts and culture, which criticize and educate, inspiring collective effort and dismantling capitalist values. Grounding revolutionary art in Marxist analysis is essential to challenging the capitalist superstructure.

Conjunctural Analysis and Geopolitics:

Comrades Angelo Garcia and Blaise led discussions on conjunctural analysis, which involve making Marxist analyses of specific situations and events. We focused on understanding the present and past events to actively shape the future toward socialism. Additionally, geopolitics and the emergence of a multipolar world, challenging Western dominance, offered a window for socialists to intervene and bring about revolutionary change.

Strategy and Tactics, and Popular Grassroots Work:

Our discussions on strategy and tactics, led by Comrade Oboe Baiden, emphasized the importance of grounding socialist work in practical approaches. Engaging in popular grassroots work, which targets unorganized individuals and groups, is essential for mobilizing and educating the masses. The aim is to create a revolutionary moment and strengthen the subjective conditions for socialism.

Imagining Socialism (Again):

In our final class with Comrade Angelo, we imagined a socialist future that challenges the commodification of life and advocates for the socialization of means of production. Socialism aims to satisfy human needs, promotes democracy, and offers collective solutions to common problems. The course at the Amilcar Cabral School reaffirmed our commitment to socialism and fortified our resolve to build a better world.

Conclusion:

My time at the Amilcar Cabral School has left an indelible mark on my consciousness and ignited an unwavering fire within my heart. Through collective effort, I am committed to contributing to the struggle for socialism, guided by the revolutionary principles instilled in us during our stay in Accra. I am eternally grateful for the opportunity to stand shoulder to shoulder with fellow comrades from diverse backgrounds, united in our quest for a liberated world. As I return to Kenya, I carry with me the invaluable lessons and experiences that have further solidified my dedication to the socialist cause.

The fight for socialism continues, and together, we shall prevail against capitalism's oppression, exploitation, and subjugation. Workers of the world, unite! For we have nothing to lose but our chains. As we say in Kenya, "Tuko Pamoja!" (We are together).

Multilateral Meeting of the Political Parties of the Left:

Fostering Pan-African Unity for Social Justice and Liberation



Statement by the International Department of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya.

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) takes great pride in its commitment to the working class and the recent historic Pan-African multilateral meeting of left-wing political parties held in Bela Bela, South Africa, on July 20th. This gathering brought together nine leftist political parties from different African countries, including CPK, with the shared goal of fostering unity and collaboration among revolutionary forces in pursuit of social justice, equality, and liberation for the African working class.

The meeting protocols were horizontal, and CPK, together with eight other political parties, played a modest yet significant role in facilitating robust discussions, experience-sharing, and the formulation of strategies to address the socio-economic and political challenges faced by our nations and the entire African continent.

Participating parties at the summit included:

1. The Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party of South Africa (SRWP)
2. The Socialist Party of Zambia (SP)
3. The Parti Communiste du Bénin (PCB)
4. The Peoples' United Democratic Movement of Swaziland (PUDEMO)
5. The Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire de Côte d'Ivoire (PCRCI)
6. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde in Guinea-Bissau (PAIGC)
7. The Revolutionary Organization for New Democracy in Niger
8. The Mouvement Nous Pouvons of Mauritania
9. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK)

This united gathering of like-minded parties marked a significant step towards fostering a pan-African leftist movement that is dedicated to addressing the challenges faced by our people and advancing their interests.

By transcending national boundaries, we have demonstrated our unwavering commitment to pan-Africanism and our pursuit of a common agenda that prioritizes the welfare of the African working class.

The summit's timing, coinciding with the Dilemmas of Humanities conference, allowed us to engage in cross-disciplinary dialogue, enriching our discussions and solidifying our commitment to addressing the dilemmas faced by African societies comprehensively.

The CPK and other participating parties recognize the urgent need for a global and continental vanguard that represents the working class's interests effectively. To address this, we have pledged to engage in bilateral meetings to lay the foundation for the establishment of a continental vanguard. Purposeful dialogue and debates among Marxist-Leninist/progressive political parties across the continent will foster meaningful and profound relations among us.

As practical steps towards creating a continental vanguard, the participating parties have collectively agreed to develop comprehensive policies within their respective organizations. These policies will enable effective engagement with popular movements and identify areas of common interest.

Through structured mechanisms like united fronts, guided by minimum programs outlining shared objectives and principles, we will enhance coordination and cooperation, working diligently towards our shared goals of social transformation and liberation.

The CPK stands firmly with our fellow revolutionary forces in Africa.

We extend our deepest gratitude for the bilateral relations established with the Parti Communiste du Bénin and the Socialist Party of Zambia and look forward to deepening these connections with all participating parties.

The unity achieved at the Pan-African multilateral meeting and the subsequent actions taken by the participating parties will undoubtedly shape the long-term impact of this historic gathering. Together, we commit to the continuous struggle for a more equitable, just, and united Africa where the working class can prosper and thrive.

Forging the Path to Africa Moja: Unity and Solidarity in East Africa's Revolutionary Struggle.

Comrades of Kenya and Tanzania,

On 20th July 2023, the Communist Party of Kenya facilitated a historic regional meeting of progressive organizations from both our nations. This meeting, which took place during the Dilemmas of Humanity Conference in Bela Bela, was an essential step towards fostering collaboration and joint revolutionary action within the East African region.

We extend our gratitude to all the organizations that participated in this gathering, representing the vibrant spirit of collective struggle in both Kenya and Tanzania. Together, we discussed our visions and explored avenues for joint actions to address the challenges faced by our societies.

During the meeting, all parties agreed that the countries within the East African region, much like in Africa, are colonial constructions. We recognize the importance of struggling against the imaginary borders that divide us and stand united in the fight for true liberation and sovereignty.

Furthermore, the collective also reached a consensus that the countries' problems are systemic, with neo-colonial governments acting as representatives of the countries of the metropole. We are committed to challenging and transforming these systems that perpetuate injustice and exploitation.

The parties present unanimously agreed that the countries within East Africa are yet to be fully sovereign, and we are determined to work together as a collective effort to achieve complete independence. Our goal is to build 'Afrika Moja, Afrika Huru, Afrika ya Kijamaa' – a united, free, and socialist Africa.

As we move forward, we reaffirm our commitment to socialism as the clearest path to true liberation. The organizations present are not only anti-imperialist but also dedicated to building a just and equitable society that empowers all of our people.



Throughout our discussions, we recognized the importance of solidarity and unity in our struggle. We will continue to collaborate closely, sharing knowledge, resources, and experiences to strengthen our movement and pave the way for a brighter future for all. In unity and solidarity, we stand together as comrades, working towards a future where East Africa emerges as a beacon of hope and progress, breaking free from the chains of exploitation and oppression.

The following organizations were represented:

Kenyan Organizations:

1. Communist Party of Kenya
2. Mathare Social Justice Centre
3. Kenya Peasants League
4. Ukombozi Library,
5. Kayole Community Justice Center
6. Women Concerns Center
7. Kisumu Peace and Social Justice Center
8. Social Justice Center Working Group
9. Kasarani Social Justice Centre
10. Young Communist League
11. Githurai Social Justice Centre
12. Revolutionary Socialist League
13. Bunge la Wananchi- Kisumu
14. Child Ambassadors

Tanzanian Organizations:

1. Mtandao WA Vikundi Vya Wakulima Tanzania (MVIWATA)
2. The Tanzania Socialist Forum (JULAWATA)

In attendance also included representatives from various other organizations, each adding unique perspectives to the collective vision of advancing social justice and equity in our region. We were honoured to have individuals from diverse grassroots movements join us, united by the common goal of building a better future for our people.

Communication between organizations will be intensified, fostering a unified voice at the national and regional level, enabling us to effectively address the challenges we face. As we move forward, we plan to utilize spaces such as the Ukombozi Library, the Communist Party of Kenya School Ideological School, and various ideological study cells to deepen our political knowledge and engage the working class and peasants more actively in our struggle.

We are delighted to announce that the meeting resulted in constructive resolutions, binding ourselves closer in solidarity.

The Dilemmas of Humanity Conference Declaration and Resolutions will guide our future actions as we build a formidable platform for change, working in harmony with our comrades in Tanzania and other East African countries.

Statement by the International Department of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya.

Statement from the Central Orga- nizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya on: **Recent Coups and the Detrimental Impact of Imperialism on Africa**

Comrades and fellow Africans,

The Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya issues this critical statement in response to the recent coups unfolding in Africa and the insidious threat posed by imperialistic endeavours to the sovereignty of our nations.

We firmly grasp the historical reality that African destabilization intensified following the deceptive attainment of independence, where neo-colonial states emerged, with black oppressors acting as proxies for former colonizers. West Africa, in particular, has borne the brunt of this legacy.



As revolutionaries, we understand that not all coups are equal. We distinguish between progressive coups, driven by genuine popular support, seeking to dismantle corrupt puppet regimes entangled with Western powers, and reactionary coups, which are fuelled and supported by foreign interference to serve vested interests.

It is with utmost frustration that we witness the hypocritical stance of Western powers. They selectively endorse coups aligned with their interests while condemning those challenging their hegemony. We denounce this arrogance and call upon the West to respect the sovereignty of African nations, allowing us to address our internal issues independently.

The recent coup events have exposed the deep-seated influence of US imperialism, extending its tentacles into regional organizations like ECOWAS. Such influence manipulates narratives to serve Western dominance rather than genuinely protect democracy and justice.

We stand in solidarity with countries experiencing progressive coups, such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger, where the people rise against oppression, corruption, and economic exploitation. We salute the courageous efforts to reclaim the wealth of our nations for the benefit of all citizens. We call upon the communist parties and progressive forces in the respective countries to seize the moment and form tactical alliances to vanquish the puppets of the West, expropriate them and start the most difficult task of building a pro-people economy.

Let us also denounce reactionary coups orchestrated by Western frontiers in countries like Chad, Libya, and the now infamous coloured revolutions. These coups perpetuate instability, disrupt peace, and undermine the aspirations of our people.

We vehemently condemn the presence of foreign military bases in our continent, as they pose a grave threat to African sovereignty and undermine our self-determination.

These bases serve as instruments of imperialistic control, enabling foreign powers to exert their influence, exploit our resources, and interfere in our internal affairs. They perpetuate a neo-colonial agenda, hindering our progress towards true independence and perpetuating a cycle of instability and conflict.

The establishment of these military bases further deepens the historical wounds of colonization and reinforces the oppressive grip of foreign powers on our continent. As the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya, we call for the immediate dismantling of all foreign military bases in Africa, asserting our right to chart our own path towards peace, justice, and sovereignty. Together, let us rise as one to protect the dignity and freedom of our nations from the encroachment of foreign military presence.

This reality compels us to be vigilant. During times of governmental upheaval, power often shifts to the most organized forces. We must acknowledge that the people's interests are best served when revolutionary forces, like our party, intensify their organizational efforts to safeguard the future of our nations.

We call upon revolutionary forces across Africa to unite and fortify our ranks, acknowledging that the masses are the vanguard of change. The absence of peace in the Sahel region stands as a stark reminder of imperialistic endeavours that continue to undermine peace and justice in our beloved continent.

In conclusion, the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya reaffirms our unwavering commitment to the principles of peace, justice, and sovereignty in Africa. Let us intensify our organizational efforts, standing resolute against imperialism and forging a united front to achieve the liberation and prosperity our people deserve.

Long live Africa!
Long Live free, liberated Africa!
Long live the struggle for justice and liberation!
Long live Socialist Africa!

Solidarity forever!

THIS REFLECTION WAS PRESENTED BY the Chairperson of the Young Communist League, at the World Marxist Political Parties Forum organized by the Communist Party of China (CPC)

Receive revolutionary greetings from the Communist Party of Kenya.

We acknowledge and appreciate the continued efforts of the leadership of the CPC to involve Marxist Leninist-ML political parties in Africa in this great and historic step towards World Socialist Construction.

The world is in the midst of a global crisis and the attacks against workers of the world has worsen. These attacks, which are inherently driven by the imperialism-capitalism forces, necessitate for Communist parties to intensify their struggle against the monopoly of Capitalism.

With the increasing spontaneous activities in various countries such as the Unga Revolution demonstrations in Kenya where the citizens were protesting the skyrocketing food prices and similar protests in Sri-Lanka or the Crisis Sudan in regards to incomplete revolution, and the latest imperialist intervention in the NATO proxy war in Ukraine, the world continues to be exposed to the contradictions within the globalised monopolistic capitalism.

Marxist organisations applying dialectical and historical Materialism collectively in

their respective countries will guide a scientific response to the national and international questions such as the ones being mentioned above.

Therefore, by showing how these problems are caused by imperialism and are a natural state of a monopolistic capitalist thinking, we begin to make an urgent case towards the inevitable one Global Marxist organisation. We must press the urgency to organise around Socialism because the status quo continues to benefit the international bourgeoisie and their compradors and see no need to change things.

It is upon us to offer an alternative, scientific solutions that will lead to the eventual overthrow of Capitalism. The untold suffering and exploitation, murder and impoverishment of workers have been normalized. The wage earner bears the economic burden caused by these monopolistic Capitalist conditions.

This meeting is particularly historic as Kenya has recently witnessed spontaneous uprising and activities of rebellion organised by progressive movements and the Communist Party of Kenya, guided by ML thought. We call upon revolutionaries not to fall for the error of spontaneity, we must link these spontaneous riots as a manifestation of a deeper capitalist crisis.

Kenya is considered as the belly of Imperialism in the horn of Africa and is rooted in the global capitalist framework.

In these conditions of organising, we continue to draw great inspirations and lessons from the Chinese struggle, led by the CPC, in their fight for National Liberation. Further, we are inspired by the ideological contributions of Comrade Mao-Tse Tung in the application of Dialectical and Historical Materialism to lead the struggle and liberation of the country from Feudalism, Japan Colonialism and USA Imperialism. Thanks to the leadership of CP of the USA to continually restructure itself into an independent, self-reliant country.

China, under the leadership of the CPC, has over the last 101 years applied this methodology of scientific approach to find scientific solutions to eliminate extreme poverty and underdevelopment of various regions in China. The results are indisputable as now, the world is witness to the way the struggle has led all China's huge population living in moderate prosperity. This creative application of Marxism in the 21st century, with Chinese characteristics, allows China to continue developing with unprecedented leaps into the most developed nation in the world.

Such an indisputable proof of China's approach and the CPC's success continues to be an

inspiration to many African countries and other developing regions. The people, and the workers in particular, continue to be inspired by China's proletarian outlook and with the way China has progressively dealt with current emerging national and global issues and problems.

It is no wonder that the dominance of imperialist nations and their alliances, led by the USA, western Europe and Japan, in Africa has been impeded by the application of Marxism in China and their relation with African Countries. This continues to give hope to socialist and progressive organisations of the inevitable fall of capitalism and that the only solution to the global problems is Socialism.

There are some circles that try to minimise the impact of Socialism in China. They argue that China's transformation and development is attributed to the virtues of the so-called "Free-Market" and opening up to the external world in the Post-Mao era. We reject these narratives and counter it scientific facts drawn from the reality of our time and historical context to lay to rest such absurd assertions.

First of all, We must understand that during Mao's tenure, China, which was still a periphery under Imperialist domination, had achieved higher growth rates compared to other

peripheries in that time such as India and Brazil. It is upon these developments and the groundwork laid in place by the CPC under Mao that stabilised the country for take-off. Therefore, there is no disputing the fact that the Maoist period built a solid long-term foundation for economic development in China.

Based on these outcomes, it is clear that we must take a critical analysis of the underlying materialism and ideological conditions on which development is based. In most countries of the third world, and Kenya in particular, where 75 % of the population depends on peasant agricultural production, the agrarian question is at the centre stage of our debates. It is also this question that we must tackle, because in today's world, it is a concern to half of the humankind population, not just Kenya.

So, how can we apply Marxism to analyse and deduce solutions for this critical question?

To begin with, this question has been raised before: first in 1864 and also in 1889 when many socialists groped with this agrarian question. Unfortunately, they got very few answers at the time because their conditions differed greatly from ours.

When elucidating on the agrarian question, Comrade Karl Kautsky opined that while they could see how the development of Capitalism would solve the agrarian question, they could hardly grasp how it would solve the questions it created in the Centers of Capital. By using capitalism to solve the huge agrarian question it created a periphery and semi-periphery of power that would be exploited and eventually consumed by the stronger and stronger capitalist centres. At the time, there did not seem to be a way around it.

In contrast, Mao in analysing the Chinese conditions to the agrarian question, understood this challenge quite aptly. Mao's stratagem prescribed "Land to the tillers" meant there was no land to the brokers, no land for the Comprado, no land for the Capitalist. It was this application that solved the agrarian question.

This is what we can learn from the Chinese experience, where, under the leadership of the CPC, it was able to change their people from a peasant agricultural commodity production to a modernised and mechanised agriculture that raised many people from poverty and ensured proportional development with the Industries.

In contrast, what is presented as modernization of agriculture in Africa has been introduced through market liberalisation that is prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF. These interventions have produced two discernible trends;

1. Proliferation of monopoly tendencies where producers from industrialised nations control the production of food on a global scale.

2. The marginalisation, exclusion and even impoverishment of the majority 3 billion peasants in the periphery.

In Kenya, for instance, Food sovereignty has been attacked by the vagaries of the market. Peasant farmers are forced to depend on purchased farm inputs. In turn, these inputs from the seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, technology e.t.c to the credits for finance that are provided by transnational banks for our backward non-mechanized agriculture.

The World trade Organization (WTO) on the other hand has ensured unequal exchange on both import-export agricultural produce. In short, trade in Africa can best be called legalised looting.

Land, which is becoming more privatised, has ensured that the peasant has been pushed out of production.

The few people who have been integrated are being employed in large-scale farms where their surplus labour is continuing to be appropriated by a small minority of these emerging local capitalist farmers for super profits.

An alternative must be sought that would end this pattern that has rendered our people poor and vulnerable.

China, which has recently taken steps towards financial liberalisation, where foreign banks were allowed to operate in China, has still managed to preserve its Independence from global financialization. The exchange rate of its national currency (Yuan) has remained under the control of the Central Bank (People's Bank of China) through the leadership of the CPC and Indigenous banks are still state owned. Commanding heights of the economy like agriculture are still controlled by the state.

This has ensured domestic agriculture continues to flourish, unlike our countries in Africa and Kenya in particular, where our production is controlled from all ends by the international Finance Capital (through the financial oligarchies).

Under the leadership of President Xi-Jinping and the Central Committee of the CPC, their new project of *Socialism with Chinese characteristics* is providing the contemporary world of the 21st century an alternative. This is in-step with China's leap as the global economic power.

To remain at the top and to lead the global movement as the new World Leader, China will



need to not only keep its socialist project, but also revamp socialist internationalism even while practising Socialism with Chinese characters.

The road to Socialism is a long and a protracted one. Socialism with Chinese characteristics must ensure its market forces are under control, it must ensure its accumulation does not lead to dispossession of other countries through outflow of Capital and it must preserve its Independence from financial globalisation and forge alliances with nations of the periphery world. Through seminars like these and other engagements, it must also provide material support to people in the World who are struggling against the world domination of capital.

Currently the world is experiencing a structural crisis that has been caused by this latest stage of monopoly Capitalism with new characteristics such as oligarchy and corporate feudalism. As a result, both the centre and the periphery of capitalism have been caught up in a situation of anarchy.

The centre led by the USA and its alliance with Europe, Japan and other emerging subordinate Centres, have been unable to maintain the global order. The sister Imperialist institutions (World Bank, IMF) and NATO have caused unimaginable high poverty levels, inequality in living standards of the people, systemic wars in Africa and the Middle East.

The only country in the Global South which has challenged this hegemony is China under the leadership of the CPC. The US has never imagined such an inevitability, and it will use anything at its disposal to thwart this imminent change of status through economic sanctions and to a lesser degree military aggression.

Another strategy which we think could be in their chessboard is the integration and subordination of China into its globalised financial system. This will be a big blow to China in its road to building a socialist project.

To guarantee socialist internationalism, there has to be set-up of economic and social institutions that will hasten development in Countries struggling with imperialist domination through subversive means that are hindering the human and natural development of workers and peasants in those countries.

On the other hand, countries in the third world, must reject any submission, we must compel the centre to submit to our demands, not us submitting to their demands through the neoliberal structural adjustments programs prescribed by the IMF. We must delink from this global exploitative mechanism of Capital, but this may not be feasible if the instruments of the State are still under the management of the Comprador bourgeoisie class who are still serving Imperialism.

Marxist Political parties in the periphery and the centre must struggle to take power for it is only then that we can ensure our productive forces are put under planned and proportional management through the common ownership of the means of production, which at the moment is dominated by global Finance Capital.

To continue this struggle, it is imperative that Communist Political parties around the world organise and collaborate for the protracted struggle against capitalism in the world and to organise workers to struggle for socialism. This should be complimented by efforts to fight the rising Nationalistic and ever-present Reactionary political leaders and parties who continue to threaten Socialist organizing by creating a false outlook and struggles.

These are dressed up in various forms. For example, the insistence that Africans must unite in order to achieve economic bargaining power against the rest of the world and by either holding on to backward cultures and international begging in the name of "national interest".

To counter these moves, Communist Parties should seek out and strengthen solidarity with ML parties around the world, organise and develop socialist internationalism in the struggle for workers in the world to break their chains from oppression and exploitation of man by man.

The CPC, under the leadership of its central committee must find a way of revisiting the terms of engagement with African states and their reactionary leaders and reactionary political parties. The CPC should build more fraternal relations and Support Marxist Political parties in the world who have waged a relentless struggle to build Socialism in their respective countries, and to build a new Socialist World order that is free of exploitation.



To conclude, we must continually wage the struggle to transform the journey from national rejuvenation to world internationalism, honestly applying the methodology of scientific socialism as a guiding weapon of Communists.

Our conditions give the need for world Marxist collaboration between imperialist entrenched countries in Africa and Socialist established countries around the world. We must strengthen our international solidarity and cooperation for workers of the world to unite against the neo-liberal and neo-colonial hold of Africa and the world and fight for freedom of workers from natural fetters.

Long live the CPC!
Long live socialist internationalism!
Long live Marxist-Leninist Organizing!
Long live socialist organising!
Long live the CPK!

Report by
Comrade Mwaivu Kaluta,
National Chairperson,
Young Communist League
(YCL).

YCL, The Young Communist League Condemns Attempts to Defund Public Universities

The Young Communist League (YCL) condemns the latest efforts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which is working with the Kenya Government to capitate public university funding. These IMF measures will deny the poor and bright Kenyans the right to higher education and put Kenya on a path of ignorance and more poverty.

YCL join all progressives in denouncing IMF's dreaded anti-poor-people structural adjustment policies (SAPS), whose effects are known to all. If these policies are enacted, they will fulfil a lifelong campaign by the IMF to impose education-for-profit in Kenya: killing yet another public sector and opening a new avenue to exploit Kenyans. Like in other sectors, these policies will cripple the education sector, mutilate what is left of our research and innovation and lead to massive retrenchment of workers.

It will mean a double loss for Kenyans: citizens will be saddled with yet another expensive, misused IMF loan, and we will see more Kenyans suffering under the weight of increased tuition fees. Families will be forced to take loans to educate their children, and worst of all, many bright Kenyans will miss out on higher education.

The YCL wishes to clarify to the public that the purported reforms by the IMF cannot solve the complex issues facing our institutions of higher learning.



Taking lessons from countries that cut their spending on higher education, we know that the only ones who will benefit from this venture will be the banks that will profit from giving students more 'compulsory' loans. There is no single scenario where the average Kenyan will win.

Not now, not in the future. Indeed, defunding higher education will deny many families and communities the opportunity to escape poverty and suffering.

We cannot afford to sacrifice our future and country to the IMF's opportunistic, inhumane, and failed policies.

We posit that well-meaning leaders of public universities, students and concerned stakeholders can develop better solutions to meet broader national goals of increasing higher education for Kenyans from all socioeconomic backgrounds, not just the rich. We are willing to provide alternative thinking outside the dreaded IMF proposals. We will continue to advocate for broader solutions that increase accountability and efficiency without compromising enrollment and access to higher education.

The Young Communist League continues to remind students and Kenyans that the only road to quality, affordable and finally universal education in university is only through socialism, as advanced by the Communist party of Kenya. The struggle for socialism needs you! Finally, we call on the president to implement his promise on the Education charter, which promised to increase capitation to all tertiary institutions.

Down with commercialization of education down!
Down with neoliberal globalization down!
Down with capitalism down!

Brain Mathenge
General Secretary
Young Communist League of Kenya.

ABOUT THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF KENYA.
The Young Communist League (YCL) of Kenya is a voluntary mass organization for the youth. YCL is the militant wing of the Communist Party of Kenya.

Founded in 2019, YCL is a non-tribal, non-sexist youth organization with open membership to young people committed to the emancipation of the working class, the peasants and other oppressed people in Kenya and around the globe.

YCL is devoted to transforming the economic system of Kenya from capitalism to socialism in which there exists no institutional oppression of one person against another. The Marxist-Leninist ideology guides all its policies, programs and activities.

Members obtain general and scientific knowledge on socialism to enhance their ability to serve the people, promote new socialist ways and customs, and advocate communist ethics. They are called to step forward and fight bravely to defend the interest of the masses, to act consciously to reverse the damaging effects of tribalism and to oppose all forms of discrimination.

YCL recognizes the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) as the socialist party in our country and enjoys political and ideological guidance from the CPK.

Is the constitution an instrument of the common good?



By Wahome Waringa

"In the social production of their existence, humans inevitably enter into specific relations, independent of their will. These are the relations of production that align with the stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations constitutes the economic structures of society, the real foundation upon which arises a legal and political superstructure, corresponding to distinct forms of social consciousness." - Karl Marx.

Legal jurisprudence is the study, knowledge, or science of laws, particularly law as a social theory. Throughout this essay, I contend that law is a social fact investigated through the dialectical method, perceiving it as in constant motion, inter-determined, and ever-changing, with its development as a revelation of inherent contradictions.

All products of nature, including humanity, exist in a perpetual struggle for self-preservation. Man's first law is the law of self-preservation. The development of society has necessitated the evolution of laws based on the prevailing social conditions. As humanity transitioned from a state of nature to a social state, spurred by population growth, it naturally evolved into an organized society.

In a primitive society, as proposed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, human appetites were limited to self-preservation - food, clothing, shelter,

land sexual satisfaction. This simplicity allowed conflicts to be settled without persistent class divisions or complex societal structures. External conflicts were resolved through wars, without one tribe subjugating the other.

As society developed, the domestication of animals and the emergence of more complex trading systems led to the transition from tribal to individual trading. Consequently, the rights and obligations of individuals and tribes shifted towards the concept of private property ownership.

Here arises a critical question: did humanity relinquish its natural individual rights for the sake of social rights? With the development of society, the need for a constitution to regulate human relations became apparent. According to Rousseau, through a social contract, individuals collectively and severally gained the means to elevate their moral stature and coexist in harmony. At this stage, the constitution represented the general will of the people.

Engels observed that society transformed into an organization for the oppression and exploitation of neighbouring nations, with its organs shifting from instruments of the people's will to independent entities that dominated and oppressed the people.

Class divisions emerged, leading to the need for a state as an instrument of 'order' to maintain 'peace' and 'justice.' Marx argued that the state was an organ of class rule, legalising and perpetuating oppression by moderating class conflicts. This situation necessitated the development of laws governing property and classes.

The constitution, as the supreme law, applies to all members of society, including the state, which is itself a creation of the law. The origin of law has been a subject of philosophical debate. Rousseau contended that law, the constitution, is a creation of the people, including those within the state, serving as a declaration of the collective will of the people. Thomas Aquinas emphasized that "an unjust law seems to be no law at all."

In a class society, the question arises: can laws be considered unjust, and if so, to whom are they unjust, and if just, to whom are they just? The answer lies in the analysis of law in theory and practice, examining the interconnectedness of law with the reality of a class-based society. In such a society, the role of law is to exert force and promote the domination of one class by another.

The state, originally formed due to class antagonisms, becomes the instrument of the economically dominant class.



Laws in different societies cannot be universally applied, as they reflect the specific relations of production in each. Laws have evolved with society's progress and must adapt to changing circumstances. In a capitalist society, the constitution claims to guarantee equal opportunities but often favours the minority, with rights and freedoms influenced by one's economic abilities.

In conclusion, an egalitarian society is based on equality, where the interests of the state and individuals align. Such a state does not rely on external powers or forces to control its citizens, and no ruler from outside interferes in its internal affairs. It is a society where no one is above the law.

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Don't Forget the Internationale: Communism, Communion, and Community

By Alieu Bah, Gambian Revolutionary

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution."

~ George L. Jackson

The struggle for a just world, for better days, for the daylight of a classless world is no heartless one. It is one inspired by the highest ideal produced by humankind in its continuous progress. Communism is humanity at its best, in thought and practice. Because it's grounded in the love of the suffering, productive masses of the earth, it isn't for the faint of heart nor the irredeemably cold of heart.

Those who believe just worlds are possible aren't cold, lifeless, fascist-like creatures lurking in the shadows waiting for a crisis, but a people given to the deepest and best of what human kindness can offer in changing the wheel of time. They so desire that every human being has dignity in their labour and sovereignty in their day-to-day living that they pick up arms, pens, and whatever tool to help them in their fight for the reconstitution of human society. However, many comrades today have made it look like ours is supposed to be a ruthless, conniving, and bickering work that is involved more in theoretical flight than groundings with the masses.

To be communist is to practice the mass line knowing the masses that you are giving your life to are the same masses, in their conscious state, who must be the guardians and executors of the revolution. It is to be with the masses, for the masses every day that we get out to win. That ours is not a win if the masses don't see themselves reflected in it.

Knowing that knowledge comes from social practice, we continually learn and improve on our communion with the masses. Because no vanguard will truly be worthy of the name until it's the vanguard of the masses and not some anti-dialectical utopia.

Practice isn't a hit-and-run affair but one that sits, comforts, argues, and breaks bread with the people in the places they dwell and produce.

Theory is born out of these sessions and it's both joyful and sad because it's human. It angers and comforts because it's not a dead set of words but a life-affirming movement whose province is in the thick life of the masses.

Base building is likened to a love story. It's to be an exchange with those who must never suffer again because they make the world go round. It's to go back to the people and remind them of what they will accept as the irrevocable truth – that without their labour power and productive strength, the world as we know it would come to a halt and the great machine would cease to grind.

We touch base to expand and to increase, not just quantitatively, but to qualitatively test the theories we hold to be self-evident against the objective material conditions that abide. To sit at a computer and social media the life out of yourself is not organizing.

To build base is to be with the people in real-time. Neither idealizing nor romanticizing the community, but knowing and doing, with dignity, for the greater glory of our people.

We go to the people not as the learned that will teach them, but as students of objective conditions. To learn the art of honouring the experiences found therein, knowing it's the true test of all knowledge. We produce the mass line in these dealings after a scientific analysis of what abounds.

Avoiding tailism and haphazard conclusions, since that will make us failures and will only alienate us in this long, protracted struggle. But we must never be afraid of the failing that we lay claim to easy victories. We don't win because the organization won, but because the masses have won, and they see it reflected in the materiality of their situation.

In doing base work, we shouldn't ever lose sight of who the people are. Not everyone who we organize and lead to revolution is from among the masses. We must be clear about this. The working masses, the peasants, and the lumpenized masses are our people.

Those whose labour and productivity are being usurped and appropriated are the ones with whom our work lies. Ours isn't a kumbayaa or hippie sort

of work that unites every class of society, since

we know the enemy isn't some external force but one that is within us and must be exposed, its class privileges destroyed. Many leftists today theorized about this but approach the question differently – they want to unite oppressor and oppressed in an amicable way, as if that has ever worked.

Don't forget the spirit of the Internationale, which reminds us that there is joy in struggle when it's taken with certainty and hope. We must be convinced that our struggle is righteous and that we will win! That this is not born out of a whimsical, idealistic notion but from a dialectically sound knowledge of the laws of social development.

We are joyful insofar as our line of practice is correct, that it isn't pushing away the people and we are not falling into the callous hands of liberalism. We must always combat liberalism and opportunism wherever found. We must never be afraid to criticize and self-criticize in trying to gain higher grounds and to change our conditions permanently.

In communing with the people, we must never be so caught up with the language of a bygone time that we don't know how to speak to the people. For every generation has its own language rooted in the material conditions of that epoch.



It does us no good speaking the language of the USSR in the slums of Africa or the hoodlands of America. To be with the people is to master the art of communicating with them in their own language. You're making no gains when your pompous theory-speaking confuses the people and makes them run away and land into the hands of the wolves. Our theory must speak eloquently to the times, nothing more, nothing less.

In the end, we must learn to look out for each other. We must love and honour one another. We who are fighting for the creation of an egalitarian world must reflect those values. If we fight over every little theoretical schism then what we are showing the world is that the world we intend to create will be one that fights and kills itself over everything and nothing. We have a bigger war out there – capitalism-imperialism is killing our people, our communities, and destroying the very fabric of human existence.

We must organize because the enemy is organized and won't be defeated by internet theory wars. Our solidarity must be real. It must be one that says "touch one, touch all!" Remember our winning is the winning of humankind and the glorious takeover of the means of production and the inauguration of a just world.

From the Kremlin to Kilimanjaro:

Commemorating the October Revolution

Today, on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917, we celebrate a pivotal moment in history when the working class of Russia, organized through soviets and led by the Bolsheviks, achieved a monumental victory by seizing state power.

This revolutionary event not only altered the course of Russia but also left an irreversible mark on the global struggle for equality, justice, and world socialism. The Communist Party of Kenya proudly stands in solidarity with this historic achievement, drawing inspiration from the Russian Revolution and its enduring impact on African Liberation movements, while also addressing the critical issues of Palestine and Western Sahara decolonization and the former USSR's position.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is a shining example of the power of the working class and the potential for change when oppressed and exploited people unite for a common cause. Under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks successfully orchestrated this revolution, transforming an oppressive imperial system into a society that aimed to eliminate all exploitation and oppression. The establishment of a socialist state in the Soviet Union brought about tremendous achievements, serving as a beacon of hope for all those struggling for a just and equitable world.

The USSR, guided by socialist principles, made remarkable strides in areas such as education, healthcare, and industrialization. It demonstrated that when the means of production are in the hands of the working class, resources can be directed towards the betterment of society as a whole. The Soviet model also played a vital role in supporting African Liberation movements, which sought to break free from colonial rule and establish self-determined, socialist governments.

The African Liberation movements of the 20th century were significantly influenced by the success of the Russian Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the USSR. African leaders and revolutionaries looked to the Soviet example as a source of inspiration

and support in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The USSR provided moral and material aid, educational opportunities, and ideological support to various African nations in their quest for independence and socialism.

Notable figures in the African Liberation movements, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Amílcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, drew inspiration from the Russian Revolution's principles and its legacy of building a society where the working class played a central role. These leaders recognized that socialism offered a path to address the socio-economic inequalities exacerbated by colonial rule and to promote self-reliance and development.

Furthermore, the former USSR consistently advocated for the rights of oppressed peoples, including those in Palestine and Western Sahara. The Soviet Union firmly supported the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This support was rooted in the principles of anti-imperialism, solidarity with the oppressed, and the rejection of colonial occupation.

In the case of Western Sahara, the USSR played a vital role in condemning the illegal occupation of this territory and supporting the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination.

The Soviet Union's stance reflected its commitment to decolonization and its recognition that every nation should have the opportunity to determine its own destiny.

Today, the issues of Palestine and Western Sahara decolonization still dominate the public square. In recent times, the Israeli regime has caused immeasurable suffering, with over ten thousand Palestinians, the majority being children, falling victim to their aggression.

The Soviet Union officially supported the rights of Palestinians and recognised the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In the case of Western Sahara, the last colony in Africa, the USSR supported the Polisario Front, which sought independence from Spanish colonial rule and later from Moroccan control. This demonstrates that the Soviet project was always ready, both morally and materially, to show unconditional and lasting solidarity with all the oppressed people of the world.

As we remember the Russian Revolution, let us draw strength and inspiration from the triumphs of the past. The ideals of socialism, justice, and self-determination continue to resonate with people worldwide.

The legacy of the Soviet Union's support for African Liberation movements, as well as its



positions on Palestine and Western Sahara, reminds us of the importance of international solidarity in our ongoing struggle for a better, more equitable world. Today, echoing the spirit of the Vietnamese war, a third Palestinian front has opened and is rapidly advancing, with millions pouring into the streets across the world against the genocidal Zionist movement and in support of the Palestinian right to resistance and statehood.

The Russian Revolution and the subsequent establishment of the Soviet government had several significant implications:

- 1. Spread of World Socialism:** The success of the Bolsheviks in Russia inspired communist movements and revolutions in other parts of the world, including China, Cuba, and various Eastern European countries.
- 2. Formation of the USSR:** The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, which emerged from the revolution, became one of the founding members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922. The USSR was a major global socialist power throughout the 20th century, challenging the unipolarity of the United States.
- 3. Impact on African Liberation Movements:** The Russian Revolution and the USSR's support for decolonization movements had an influence on African liberation struggles. The USSR provided assistance and ideological support to various African nations seeking independence from colonial rule.

In conclusion, the Russian Revolution of 1917 remains a historic milestone that exemplifies the power of the working class and the potential for radical change. Its impact on African Liberation movements and its support for the decolonization of Palestine and Western Sahara stand as enduring testaments to the legacy of the USSR.

The Communist Party of Kenya stands in firm solidarity with these principles and continues to advocate for a more just and equal world where the working class leads the way towards a brighter future.

Long live Internationalism!

Department of Propaganda of the Central Organizing Committee (DPCOC) of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK)

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<< Continued from page 20

We can see that the Kenyan elections were a contest between rival foreign finance capital who were sponsoring puppets who would manage the instruments of the state and ensure perpetual economic domination. Orendo and his circles have made us believe that tribal division represents our principal contradiction but this is far cry away from the truth, Orendo is being economical with the truth.

Our principal enemy is imperialism and we must rally all oppressed classes under a vanguard party to wrestle for political power against the local comprador class in Kenya who are managing the state, The working class and the peasants, who comprise the motive force against imperialism will then use the state machinery to redirect the economy for a socialist construction. We must pay close attention to the peasant question since they comprise the majority oppressed people.

Imperialism has inhibited industrialization and our production has remained peasantry with only little expanded production in other sectors of economy, majority in the neocolonial Kenya are still engaged in petty commodity production and their unity with the working class under the party that represent their interest will form a formidable force to challenge the existing system.

The Socialist state will only play its revolutionary role of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat and after it has achieved its objective, it will wither away since the economic organisation will be in the hands of the majority people and they will be no class dominating the other

The interconnectedness between the National Question and Internationalism

We have seen in our earlier segment that in Western Europe, national liberation movements in 1789 and 1871 led to the formation of national states with the development of national capitalism, but this is not true in Kenya or even in the case of Eastern Europe and the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey, China and the Balkan wars. The conditions were different in those different historical epochs, so the concept of the nation-state cannot be understood in its legal definition but in the historico-economic context.

We Understand that our former comrade Orendo's difficulty in conceptualising the national question in Kenya is his inability to link it with class struggle, what he offers is the superficial bourgeois-nationalist concept of the National question, from his remarks he does not have the slightest bearing on the subject, but this is a revelation of how deceptive the ruling Ideas are and to whom they serve, because even the national question in different epoch serves different interests depending on which class poses this question and in what period of the development of a people.

The policies of both Azimio and Kenya Kwanza on the national question were based upon a class foundation of the bourgeoisie and flowed from their narrow class interests, the slogans like 'Azimio la Umoja' and 'Kenya Kwanza' sounded nationalistic in form but they were reactionary in content, puerile empty sloganeering and phrase-mongering to hoodwink the Kenyan masses.

What then is the proletariat presentation of the National question in Kenya?

The National Question in Kenya represents the struggle between the people of Kenya and imperialism, it represents the struggle between the contending classes in the arena of class struggle, it represents the continued economic subservience of our economy to the dictates of the imperialist bourgeoisie. What is to be done and who is the motive force that will carry out this struggle?



*Men and women of the Mau Mau Freedom fighters
Image courtesy of blackhistorymonth.org.uk*

This national question should not be reduced to parochial and territorial nationalism or national exclusionism as if nations exist in isolation and have no relations with others since Capitalism has become globalised, it requires an international Socialist force to defeat it, this doesn't, however, imply that it will take an international working class party to achieve this, nay, the conditions are different from place to place.

Imperialism will be defeated from its weakest links until the whole chain of globalised capitalism is broken down, the Socialist revolution will not be a single event on an international scale but a continued process.

To determine whether certain struggles in the neocolonies are struggles against imperialism, we don't have to judge them on the basis of pure proletarian struggle, but on the basis of their general orientation, their struggle against foreign Finance Capital.

The recent coups in the Sahel region of Africa, that is in Mali,

Burkina Faso and recently Niger are examples of the struggle between the people of the neo-colony against imperialism.

Lenin reminds us that the dialectics of history are such that small nations in the struggle against imperialism play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene of history.

What then is proletarian internationalism?

The proletarian-internationalist concept of a nation is diametrically opposite to the bourgeois-nationalist concept. The proletariat-internationalist approach to the national question and its basic principle of dealing with different national questions throughout the world proceeds from the basic interests of the masses of a nation.

The proletariat wherever they are must demand the self-determination of colonies and nations oppressed by their nation, the proletariat of the oppressed nations must defend and implement the organisational Unity of the oppressed classes and must also be in solidarity with proletariat of the oppressor nation who are waging their struggle.

To support the right to secession does not explicitly imply supporting Bourgeois nationalism. Needless to say, to support the self-determination of oppressed nations is also not absolute, and as communists, it's not a conditional principle to support every call for self-determination of a nation, for example, why does the Communist party of Kenya support the call for self-determination of the Saharawi people but at the same time does not support the separation of Taiwan from China which has an underlying machination of the US?

It's because our support for national liberation of nations is not absolute but depending on the character of that national question, Communist must be prudent enough to do a social investigation of every national question and come up with a concrete position after analysing the concrete conditions.

So working class and peasants in Kenya must understand the link between their national struggle and the general proletariat struggle, the spirit of proletariat internationalism must not die in the wool of narrow nationalism. The people of Kenya must wage a constant and protracted struggle because they are the only ones who will determine the development of their productive forces.

Imperialism has for too long inhibited the development of a sovereign industrial system with national capital, we've been controlled from the production level up to the level of exchange and distribution of the surplus products of our production process, from Agriculture to commerce, foreign Transnational corporations dominate all sectors of our economic substructure.

We must struggle to delink from such exploitative patterns and establish a transactional system that will ensure honest cooperation for the common prosperity of all nations.

National boundaries which were created to continue regenerating this exploitative system will be meaningless when we socialise the means of production in the hands of the majority of the society because sometimes nationalisation of the means of production doesn't always imply the socialisation of the same, Bureaucracy may inhibit the realisation of this noble cause and even to the extent of alienating our people from production.

The Socialist Government must listen to the people, and concretize their wishes, in a nutshell, from the people to the people, from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.



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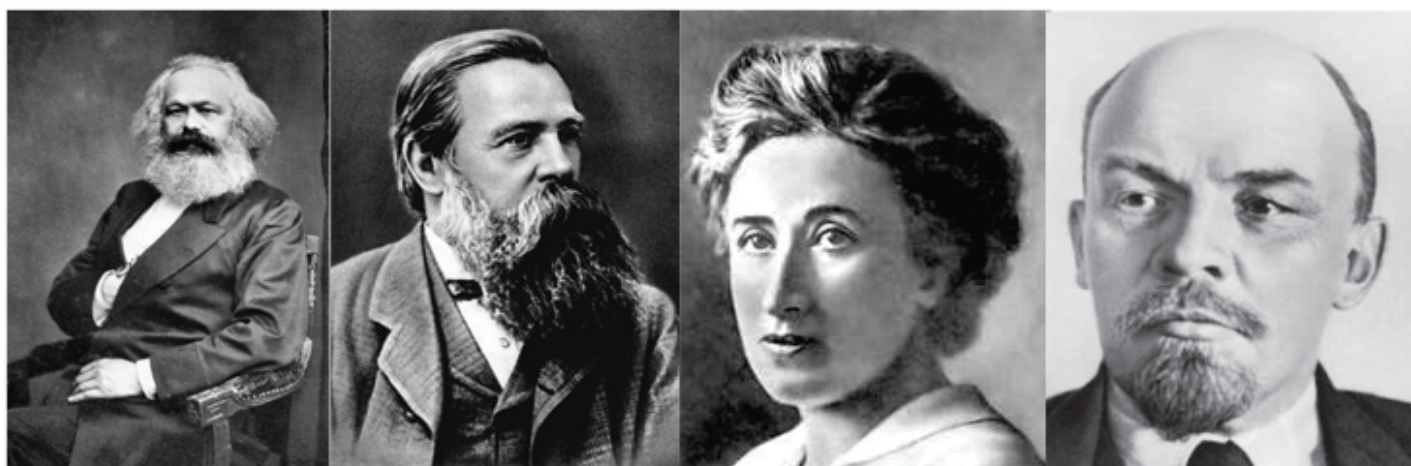


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AS THE USA, CHINA AND RUSSIA WIN OVER ALLIES FOR FULL COMBAT, WHERE IS AFRICA?