

# ITIKADI

SOCIALISM, THEORY AND PRACTICE  
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## FOCUS: US IMPERIALISM

**THE SCIENCE:** Imperialism is the prelude to socialism.

**THE CODE:** The seven tactics used to advance US imperialism.

**THE ACTION:** Organising the masses in Kenya.

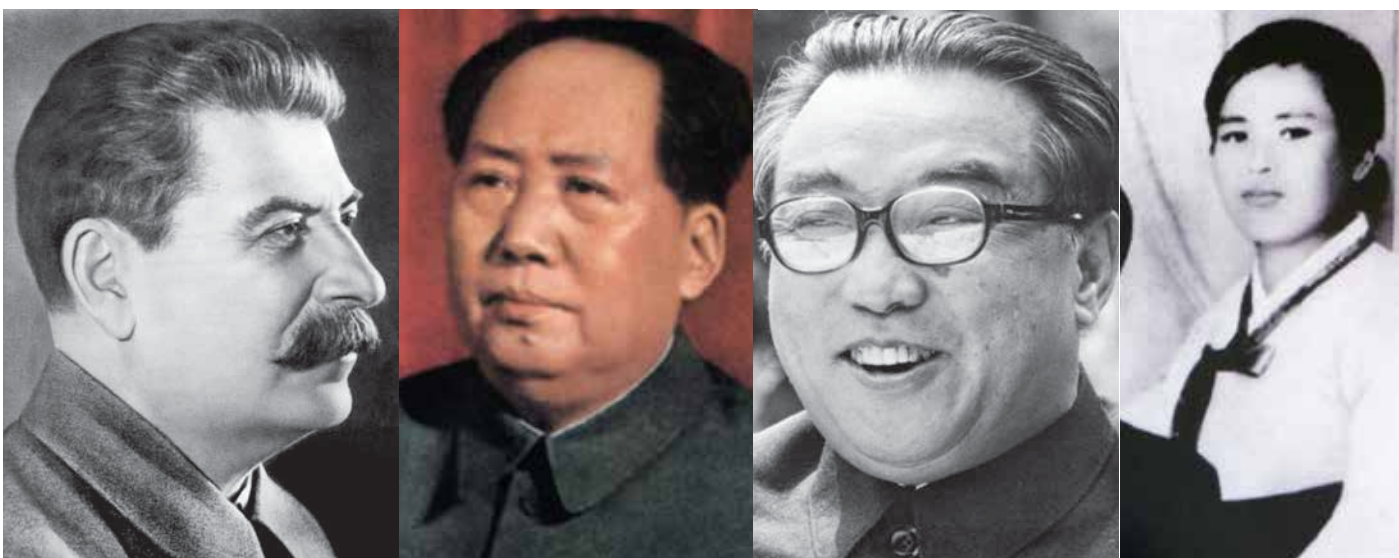
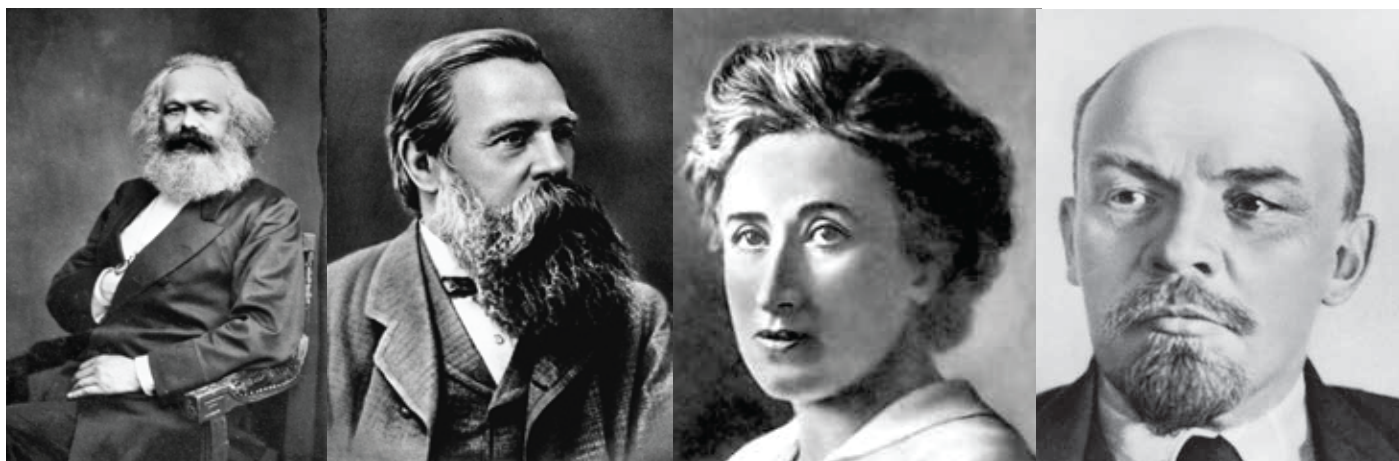
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- Reports from the central organising committee
- Tributes to socialist heroes and revolutionaries
- In solidarity to end occupation, apartheid & fascism
- Friendship, Socialism and Internationalism

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A PUBLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA









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### SOCIALIST

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# Editorial

**This is the fourth publication of Itikadi: Socialism, Theory and Practice - a journal of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK). The articles in this edition continue to articulate the ideological position of CPK based on Marxism-Leninism on various issues about the social, economic, political and cultural affairs of Kenya in particular and the world in general.**

## The Political Task

The vitality of this issue is that it is being published after a split has occurred in the Party. Therefore, as it is our revolutionary task, we have taken time to reflect on why this happened: going to its very roots and taking action. The results are an honest negative assessment of the work of CPK in 2022 and the resulting recommendations that have helped our Party to grow qualitatively and improve our internal and external practices. This exercise is expected to improve our understanding of the present and to predict the Party's future: to avoid repeating past mistakes or falling into similar destructive patterns.

We must thank the Transitional Working Committee, which has worked hard to reconsolidate the Party ideologically and organizationally. The leadership galvanised the party cadres and working committees into action, contributing to the Party's progress beyond the splinter. For example, the editorial team, barely months in the office, has worked extremely hard to ensure this publication is out despite being a little late. For a moment, we reaffirm our point of error: never again shall the Party tolerate the revisionist line of putting tactics over strategy.

## Itikadi, a fighting publication of the Working Class

Welcome to the battle of ideas. The articles analyse the issues from the perspectives of the masses and popular classes that desire revolutionary change. Itikadi takes a class stand against oppressing few and supporting the oppressed majority. It remains at the forefront of the battle of ideas against capitalism: always fighting against anything that hinders human freedom, social progress, and revolutionary change.

The articles are dedicated to propagating progressive and revolutionary ideas while exposing and condemning the platitudes and reactionary ideas perpetuated by pro-neo colonial capitalist elites holding political, economic, media and state power today.

The writers fearlessly demystify the myths the exploiters and oppressors continue to create about history and society since time immemorial. They aim to dismantle the present status quo, which prevents the realisation of freedoms and social progress.

Itikadi four has been segmented into thematic areas: *Ideology, Reports from the Central Organizing Committee (COC), Tributes and Socialist Internationalism.*

**Ideology:** all Marxist-Leninist organisations must advance the struggle against the overwhelming capitalist propaganda instilled in every aspect of our lives.

This is the basis of revolutionary tactics, and the Party underlines it as a critical issue as we continue to organise the working class, particularly when revolutionary ideas are vulgarised and right-wing propaganda is being promoted across all platforms. By learning about the immortal science of the revolution, we provide context on where the problems lie and orient the Kenyan masses towards the inevitable socialist construction. We affirm that communism is an unavoidable reality that human beings will have to adjust to. It will not happen in the minds of human beings but in the objective world. We are not neutral writers. We write knowing we are at war. We go right into the neck of the oppressor, razor-sharp, splitting it into pieces and suffocating the bourgeois propagandist to death.

The political and educational approach helps the communists and revolutionaries understand the starting point for the revolution so they can set a practical course to advance the class struggle. Our writers attack this issue from a class perspective. In all cases, they address the contradictions inherent in the natural world and the artificially engineered society we are subjected to and draw solutions from socialism to resolve the issues at hand.

**This issue focuses on US imperialism. US imperialism continues to devastate the world generally but mainly the global south.** The rising voices against US imperialism stirring relevant conversations and punching holes into the veil of propaganda and fantasy woven around the success story of US imperialism.



The CPK, participating in the People's Tribunal against US imperialism on sanctions, embargos and coercive economic measures, is keen to contribute to the global conversation and provide the African perspective.

The reports from the Central Organizing Committee provide an introspective look into the Kenyan state and society. From the class struggle to the political climate, this section dedicates a significant portion to the solutions and experiences that inspire the working class to rise against Kenya's turbo-capitalist regime and other activities to drive strong people-for-people policies in Kenya. With the William Ruto government not yet a year in office, the analysis decries the urgency for a robust leftist movement. It outlines the efforts to unite those on the left and other progressives to rise against the deeply embedded exploitative minority ruling elite who are set on destroying our society and dancing to the tune of the neo-colonialists and imperialists in pursuit of self-enrichment.

The Communist Party of Kenya endeavours to strengthen its fraternal relations with sister organisations and workers' political parties aware of its internationalism duty. By cooperating with other socialist parties and Marxist-Leninist organisations to fight for justice and self-determination, we lend our voice and solidarity to those causes. We are also building friendships with other Parties and movements: to learn from them and their experiences, for it is the only way we can improve our shared ideology and commitment to building an antithesis to neo-liberal globalisation - Socialist globalisation based on solidarity and mutual respect. In appreciation of those who have contributed to the cause, the CPK gives tribute to several heroes who have paved the path for us: their journey and works are an inspiration for our course.

In our correct analysis, the Kenya Kwanza Government is embracing the failed neoliberal experiments under the directive of the degenerating United States Empire. The Communist Party of Kenya needs a tactical reorientation to occupy its historical place among Kenyan workers. We must advance collective self-criticism of several remnants of sectarian conceptions that still exist in the Party. Our clarion call is let's unite all we can against this neo-colonial fascist state.

**Editors**



# Understanding Imperialism as a Prelude of Socialist Revolution

**By Comrade Mwaivu Kaluka**

CHAIRPERSON, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (YCL)

Despite the fact that capitalism is at its highest stage -imperialism, our contemporary world continues to be integrated into its exploitative order. The brutality in which it has manifested itself, therefore, deserves an introspective look to understand its development pattern. Such a scientific analysis will help us to understand its development not just to understand the laws of its development but also to strive to extricate it and establish a new humane world order -Socialism.

For socialist to grasp in totality the political economy of imperialism, it's essential if we use historical materialism to trace its development because it cannot simply be understood as a general phenomenon that appeared in history. Indeed, we must scientifically deduce and furnish empirical evidence of the laws of motion for its development in different epochs of the development of humankind.

So, to understand imperialism is to study historical materialism: to use these general principles and tools to analyse human society from its primitive form and the contradictions in each stage that led to its further development. According to Engels, historical materialism is the study of how humans produce the means to support their life and develop productive forces and relations in production. This is the basis of all social structures: all societies that have appeared in history have had to determine the manner in which wealth is distributed, how the society is divided and how different classes depend upon what that society produced, how they produced it and how those products were exchanged.

**This method of analysis has since been attacked as "economic determinism" by bourgeois scholars.**

By these attacks, we have reduced the history of humankind into economic relations and relegated all other social factors to a subordinate position. Yes, we are guilty of that, but we have since shown that economic base (substructure) is the fundamental determinant of the political and all social superstructures. Albeit understanding this not mechanically, we know under certain conditions and at a particular time in history, the superstructure may determine the economic substructure, and the process moves dialectically.

Therefore, understanding social changes and even political revolutions cannot be sought in human brains or their better understanding of eternal truths and absolutes but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. This is because the metaphysical world always turns things upside down: they place their abstract ideas above everything. They do not see that consciousness arises from the interaction of human beings with their environment. To them, consciousness is primary and matter secondary.

In materialism, primacy is placed on matter and motion, its mode of existence. Marx, in the German ideology, stressed that the first premise of the materialist method is the recognition of how human beings begin to distinguish themselves from the rest of the animal kingdom as soon as they produce their means of subsistence (Marx & Engels, 1845). In producing these means of subsistence, human beings indirectly produced their actual material life.

They were making their history consciously, unlike other animals who have not developed to this stage and could only rely on and live at the mercy of nature. The other animals were making history unconsciously, but human beings (apes) with a better understanding of

the laws of nature could bend and subvert those laws to serve their interests.

Another important scientific tool in understanding imperialism is dialectics. As early as Greek philosophy and the era of early sophists, human beings had begun to understand matter, and its mode of existence motion, which modern scientists now call 'energy' as an ever-changing phenomenon. Aristotle himself was a dialectician, Descartes and Spinoza came after him and also applied dialectics.

But it was Hegel who was able to deduce the basic laws of dialectics, that is, the unity of opposites, negation of negation and quantity changing into quality. We can now see that everything is not immutable and static but is moving, changing, coming into being and passing away.

***Heraclitus, in his postulations, showed that everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away.***

In the mediaeval stage, human beings could hardly differentiate between the general and the concrete; the study of nature itself was so much fragmented and was studied from its individual parts in the field of anatomy, mechanics, chemistry, Astronomy and other fields of science were still understood in their separate parts, no interconnection was possible and even looking at nature wholly was difficult.

Natural science, which had made progress in its different fields, was still under the fetters of theology; natural processes were observed in isolation apart from each other. Dialectics, as Engels would note, dealt a big blow to this mode of thinking of metaphysicians who viewed their mental reflexes, ideas as isolated and were to be considered one after the other and apart from each other.

For them, a thing either existed or did not exist, and a thing could not be at the same time itself and something else. This was summarised in a supposedly 'immortal' law of metaphysics – the law of non-contradiction.

**With the decline of the rule of the Roman Catholic Church, which had held natural science hostage, natural science was slowly being integrated with philosophy.**

Unfortunately, the bourgeois class of that time, having benefited a lot from the development of natural science, did not see the need for philosophy. Marxism emerged as the antithesis of bourgeois obscurantism; it was the science of the proletariat who now had a historical responsibility to bring about change. The genius of its first teachers, Marx and Engels, was their ability to merge Hegel dialectics while casting away its idealist shell with Feuerbach materialism which was still mechanical materialism.

Now with this new scientific tool of dialectical and historical materialism, we can understand imperialism which is our subject of interest in this article. Imperialism is not recent, but it existed in the pre-capitalist era.

***As Lenin stresses, colonial policy and imperialism existed before the latest stage of capitalism and even before capitalism. Rome, founded on slavery, pursued a Colonial policy and practised imperialism.***

But general disquisition on imperialism which ignores or puts to the background the fundamental difference between socio-economic formation, inevitably turns into the most vapid banality, bragging like comparison 'Greater Rome and Greater Britain' even the capitalist Colonial policy of the previous stage of capitalism is essentially different from Colonial policy of finance Capital (Lenin, 1933).

**Let us now look at the changes in the mode of production, which constitutes two interacting parts: the forces of production and relations in production from primitive communalism thenceforth.**

This is because these two interacting parts are the base on which the superstructure of government, laws, religion, culture, arts and all sorts of ideas rests. When a mode of production is functioning normally, there is harmony between the forces of production and relations in production, in the sense that the relations foster the development of the forces of production, but there are junctures in history where the forces of production outgrow the relations and this limits further development, these points in history leads to revolutions that change the relations in production and even the whole mode of production. *We will look at those important links and bridge them to understand the development of human society from its primitive form to the modern world today.*



**In the mediaeval stage, when human beings had a better understanding of the laws of nature and could bend them to serve them.**

Here it must be mentioned that human beings, as individual producers, would work on the raw material with tools made by themselves and by their labour for their consumption, and those of their family. With the spontaneous division of labour, products only became commodities, when their mutual exchange (buying and selling) enabled individual producers to satisfy their many wants. The peasant farmer could sell his agricultural products to the artisan, and in return, he would get products of the handicraft.

Marx even notes in the German ideology that the division of labour in the family and separation of society into individual families opposed to one another led to unequal distribution of labour and its products and hence property. The first form of which lies in the family where the wife and children became slaves of the husband, this slavery in the family became the first property (Marx & Engels, 1845). So, division of labour and property are identical.

These contradictions between individual families intensified the destruction of the ties in the communal ownership of the means of production during the stage of advanced communalism. So, the division of labour, as Mghanga notes in the Dawida community, that knowledge and skills of healing, herbs, psychology, pottery, surgery, working with iron were guarded secrets and inherited only within the families (Mghanga, 1988).

**We could now see the emergence of classes from domineering families where some groups were overwhelmed by others.**

Slavery emerged with one class of masters on one hand and the majority of slave families who now had no control of the means of production on the other hand. Slavery continued until a juncture in history when enslaved people broke loose and fought their masters for their eventual emancipation.

These changes were not peaceful but violent. A new system was then begotten to succeed the old decadent system based on master/slave relations: *this was a higher stage in human history, and the system was called feudalism.*

Like all systems, feudalism arose with new contradictions. The emergence of feudalism did not occur on a world scale: different regions experienced different relations because human beings struggled with their environment and entered into relations at different times in history.

In Europe, for example, feudalism had taken root between the fifth and seventeenth centuries, but it co-existed with some slave relations. With the decline of the Roman empire, slave reproduction faced a challenge because its reproduction of labour depended so much on the wars of conquest and annexation of other lands to obtain enslaved people. Still, now with slaves breaking away from their masters, the slave was not free in the strict sense of the word. Under feudalism, they were still tied to the land of the landlord, known as manor/estate.

**While they were no longer properties of the masters, the serfs (former slaves) enjoyed little freedom for they were the subjects of the landlords. This new serfdom/ landlord relation in Europe can be traced to its full development in the eleventh century, with agricultural production as the principal means with few domestic handicraft industries.**

Here the peasant serf would work on land given to him by the landlord for his subsistence on which they paid rent. They would also spend some days of the week tiling the landlords' land. The feudal aristocracy that included the landlord, priest, Bishop, King and Pope now became the new appropriators of the surplus produced by the serf, and they represented the institutions of the superstructure with nobility privileges receiving both labour rent in the form of work and rent in kind from products (Nabudere, 1977).

The circulation of products from both the agricultural sector by the landlord and those small handicrafts men gave rise to a new class of middlemen merchants that were involved in trade. This critical epoch is where we see the emergence of trade and towns, with this new class which we've called the 'commercial bourgeoisie' going into an association called 'guilds' or 'hanses'.

Contrasting this with the development in Africa, we can see the Swahili people for example at the coast of East Africa they manufactured clothes and other implements, weapons from iron, copper and other metals. Their sea environment, the Indian Ocean, made them cosmopolitan, for they traded and interacted with people from the Middle East, India and China. They traded in Ivory, gold, spices, clothes, food from the countryside and pottery.

With developed science and technology, which produced dhows, boats, and other sea vessels, navigation skills enabled them to travel a long distance across the Indian Ocean (Mghanga, 1988). Just like in Europe, at the coast, towns developed like Mombasa, Lamu, Pate, Takaungu, and Zanzibar. However, this did not happen simultaneously in Europe and even Asia. Marx noted that it had a unique case in Asia and even coined it the "Asiatic mode of production".

In Europe, this class of merchants, middlemen with apprentices and journeymen working as its wage-labourer, had corporations that controlled markets in the guild town, where they could levy market dues and tolls, and they paid some of the amounts to the kings for their monopoly charter and privileges. This was the same case in coastal Kenya, where this class used the Islamic religion, which was the dominant ideology, to justify and maintain the feudal relations that were protected by oppressive institutions like courts, prisons, mosques and the monarchy.

During the renaissance and reformation in Europe, feudalism sustained itself using Christian theology. The state and the Church were the supreme superstructures: the state existed as long as it did not contradict the Church. Nabudere notes how natural philosophy had still not been liberated from theology until the emergence of the works of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau, who with their materialist thought, could now challenge the status quo Ideology (Nabudere, 1977).

**Another significant advancement of merchant capital in Europe was the 'discovery' by Vasco de Gama of the India route via the Cape and Columbus of the Americas. However, these were not discoveries as the bourgeois historians would have us believe since there existed people in those regions.**

The exploration of Gold, Silver, Copper, and other mineral resources expropriated from overseas increased the merchant capital to an extent they could now fund wars of conquest back at home. The expanded trade during the triangular trade also gave the impetus to industrial development. And it was this primitive stage that gave rise to industrial capitalism and ran from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. This is the period we call the mercantilist stage because merchants, having accumulated a lot, could now challenge the feudal relations.

This period was marked by many bourgeois revolutions in Europe, e.g. England, France and in Dutch where the old feudal relations were violently removed and replaced by new ones with the industrial bourgeoisie affirming its position as the new oppressor: the manufacturer being turned into machinofacture as Marx would call them.

Marx's genius lies in his understanding of this new mode of production which in the department of producing means of production was growing faster than during the feudal epoch. Most bourgeoisie economists like Ricardo groped in the dark because they could not differentiate between simple commodity production and expanded commodity production, which was characteristic of this new stage.

*Marx, in volume I of Capital, simplified this while still confined to a not expanded sphere, which he did in the subsequent volume II. He showed how in simple production, a producer went to the market with a commodity C, exchanged it for money M, and in turn bought another commodity C, that is C-M-C, and this final commodity is what the producer wanted for the subsistence of his family.*

However, when capitalism entered the historical stage with expanded production, the formula changed to M-C-M, where the capitalists initiate the production process with money M. With this, he then purchases the means of production and labour power C, which are transformed through the process of production into finished goods ready for sale. We can see that after the sale, the capitalist is left once again with money M (Marx, 2010).



The difference is that in simple commodity production, the workers used their own labour power and means of production to produce commodities which they sold for money, while under expanded reproduction, they sold their labour to the capitalists as commodities for money. Their labour has now been commodified and exhibits both use – value and exchange – value like all other commodities. *Another striking observation which Marx saw in this expanded reproduction is its tendency to always expand.*

**In the formula M-C-M, the money the capitalists end up with is more than the one they started with in the production process, so we, therefore, have a new formula M-C-M' where  $M' = M + \Delta M$  where  $\Delta M$  represents change in M or more money, but where does "more money" or surplus come from?**

Before we understand what underpins this growth, let's first draw a distinction which Marx used in his analysis of reproduction and the relationship between production and personal consumption of both workers and capitalists. He divided the social annual product into two departments: department I, production of means of production, and the second department II, articles of consumption.

Marx assumed that the value of the product in each department was equal to the sum of values of constant capital, machinery, and variable capital, labour, employed and the surplus value produced.

Department I  $C_1 + V_1 + S_1 = C_1 + C_2 \dots\dots > V_1 + S_1 = C_2$

Department II  $C_1 + V_2 = V_1 + V_2 + S_1 + S_2 \dots\dots > V_1 + S_1 = C_2$

The right side indicates the output, and the left indicates the sale; we can see in department I that constant capital reproduces itself, and they cancel each other, and we remain with  $V_1 + S_1 = C_2$ , in department II where it produces means of consumption, which are meant to reproduce labour, and labour in its application to constant capital reproduces itself, and surplus value in both departments and  $V_2$  and  $S_2$  cancel each other because they reproduce themselves and we remain with  $V_1 + S_1 = C_2$  just as in department I, this was Marx equation for balance in the two departments for simple reproduction.

*We won't go into details of the mathematical equations because that was for basic understanding; instead, let us look into how this surplus value comes into being or is realised.*

We will start from the basic understanding of the theory of labour value, which was not Marx's invention because he borrowed a lot from his predecessors Ricardo and Adam Smith. Marx saw that the value of labour was equal to the socially necessary labour time required to produce a product, for example, if the working day was ten hours and it took the worker five hours to produce a value equivalent to their daily consumption, they would then produce five hours of surplus value which would be appropriated by the capitalist who owned the means of production.

*The first five hours is what he called 'necessary labour', and the second five hours 'surplus labour' and the ratio of surplus labour to necessary labour (assumed to be 100%) he called the rate of exploitation or translated into value terms, the rate of surplus value (Sweezy, 1981).*

He also made two distinctions in this kind of exploitation, first was when the capitalist would increase the length of the working day; this meant that the rate of surplus increased, and this production is what he called 'absolute surplus value', on the other hand, ceteris paribus, the capitalist, would increase workers productivity through the introduction of machine and more division of labour, and the time required to produce their subsistence reduced, while the proportion of the working day devoted to necessary labour fell while the one to surplus value rose, the rate of surplus value went up, and this is what Marx called relative surplus value.

#### **Now let's look at some of the contradictions that arose:**

When the capitalist tried to lengthen the working day, the proletariat went on mass strikes, which culminated into campaigns of the eight-hour working day, but with the advancement of science and technology of machinery, we could see that the capitalist did away with the necessity to lengthen the working day.

In turn, he shortened necessary labour time and increased surplus labour time by increasing machinery to raise the surplus value, but this also faced a stumbling block to the capitalists, and could not go on uninterrupted. We can see that with the increase of machinery, capital input created a reserve of industrial army of labour in the population, and secondly with the increase in capital input with given labour power and variable capital, the rate of profit tended to fall.

**Marx illustrates this**

**contradiction:** assume a given wage and working day, and variable capital says 100, representing a certain number of labourers.

Assume also € 100 are the wages of the 100 labourers for one week; if these labourers perform equal amounts of necessary labour for their subsistence and surplus labour for capitalists, then the value of their total product will be €200 since necessary labour product will be €100 and surplus €100 (Marx, 2010).

If  $C = 50$  and  $V = 100$ ,  
then profit  $P = 100/150 = 66 \frac{2}{3} \%$

$C = 100$  and  $V = 100$ , then  
profit  $P = 100/200 = 50 \%$

$C = 200$  and  $V = 100$ , then  
profit  $P = 100/300 = 33 \frac{1}{2} \%$

While  $C$  represents constant capital and  $V$  variable capital, we can see that as we continued to increase constant capital while variable capital remained constant, there was a tendency for the rate of profit to fall (Marx, 2010).

This contradiction led to a crisis in most industrialised countries and culminated in the infamous long depression from 1873-1890. England, the then Europe's workshop, was hit hard, with some parts of North America experiencing the same. Some neo-Marxist have interpreted this period to have been the one that led to the need of Europe and industrialised countries to look for a "market" for its ever-expanding capital that was riddled by falling profitability, and it has produced the "interdependence school of centre-periphery, we will reserve that debate for another day.

So, we can clearly see that the crusaders of "free competition" in the period of laissez-faire found it difficult to continue competing because it limited their realisation of profit.

Now, they had to come together through amalgamation and cooperation so that they could maximise profits. This marked a new stage in the development of Capitalism. Marx, unlike other bourgeois economists, had predicted this trend of capitalist concentrating and centralising capital on a global scale in his earlier works. History was again vindicating his predictions.

Even Lenin refuted the majority of economists who had tried to silence and sweep under the carpet the works of Marx, who had shown that **free competition would eventually give rise to concentration of production, and this would, in turn, lead to the development of monopolies**. But it must be stressed that the concentration and centralisation did not completely annihilate competition, but existed with it side by side, for there were still intra-bourgeoisie contradictions both in commerce and industry.

**Concentration** occurred when some small enterprises were eliminated from competition by those involved in large-scale production and economies of scale.

**Centralization** occurred on the basis of an already existing capital being combined through amalgamation. Another important aspect that made centralisation of capital possible was the bank credit system and stock markets.

Credit was made possible by banks which played a new important role since they controlled industrial production by either extending or limiting credits. They even went to the extent of assuming positions as board of directors in the industries they gave capital.

**This led to a merger between bank capital and industrial capital which Rudolf Hilferding, a Marxist of the 19th century called Finance Capital. Lenin, although borrowing much from Hilferding defined this new 'finance Capital' as the merge and coalescence between bank and industrial capital, and with a new bourgeoisie controlling it, which he called the financial oligarchy.**

The financial oligarchy, with its insatiable appetite to continue maximising profit, had to export capital, not necessarily commodities, to other territories. This was not due to under-consumption in its home market, as other Marxists have had us believe, while overtly refuting the theory of the tendency of profit to fall as impracticable. Lenin summarised modern imperialism as having the following five characteristics.

The concentration of production and capital had developed to a high stage, and it had created monopolies. The merging and coalescence of bank Capital and industrial capital to form finance capital under the control of financial oligarchy.

The export of capital is distinguished from the export of commodities. The formation of monopolist associations that shared the world among themselves. The territorial division of the whole world by big capitalist powers (Lenin, 1933).

Although the export of Capital preceded the stage at which we came under colonisation, it is a prerequisite in this stage of modern imperialism. It was following the laws of development of capitalism. Although there was association among monopolist countries, contradictions still existed between them and the world was thrown into two barbaric world wars for competition for territories to export this new capital in the form of finance capital. After WWII, the metropole countries had to come up together with new strategies, but still continuing to concentrate and centralise capital on a world scale.

The strategy was now changed from a bilateral one to a multilateral with the US as the new kid in the block. Europe, which had borne the biggest brunt in the two wars and was economically lame and had to give in to the US, which emerged as the strongest capitalist country in the globe.

According to Nabudere, the US had taken advantage of the war to consolidate itself against its allies. It came out of the war in better shape: its production had increased exponentially, and between 1939 to 1944, its gold reserves rose from \$ 1.4 billion in 1936 to around \$ 4.7 billion in 1940. The profitability of monopolies had jumped from \$ 3,300 million in 1938 (10.3 % of GNP) to \$ 107,400 million in 1945 (23.8% of GNP) (Nabudere, 1981).

The Marshall plan was then launched with agreements such as total self-determination of the colonised people and an open-door policy championed by the US, not that they cared about the liberation of the oppressed people but for the penetration of capital. The International Trade Organization (ITO) was the first institution formed to force US capital, although later overtaken by the General Agreement for Trade and Tariffs (GAAT). It stressed the removal of preferential privileges enjoyed by Europe, especially in their Colonies. It said that they, meaning Europe, had to change the strategy to accommodate US capital if at all they wished to receive loans and financial alms from the US to help restructure its economy that the war had badly wrecked.

In July 1944, a gathering of 730 delegates from 44 allied Nations met at the infamous Bretton Woods conference to wrap their heads around how they were going to bail out capitalism from its crises. This conference gave birth to multilateral institutions like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) which later became part of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and later in 1974 in Geneva, we saw the birth of GATT.

All this did not happen as accidents. Early on, during WWII, John Maynard Keynes of the British treasury and Harry Dexter White of the United States treasury department had already begun developing monetary policies for the new financial order. As the old adage goes, 'he who pays the piper calls the tune', the US was the one calling the shots because it provided for the biggest chunk of capital that was needed to realise the objectives of the new world order.

While the World Bank ensured the free flow of private capital of the international bourgeoisie, its sister institution, the IMF, prescribed monetary and fiscal policies for puppet governments to establish a multilateral system of payments and capital transfers. Another strategy was the use of multinational corporations to actualise the division of labour on a world scale and to perpetuate the export of capital to continue exploiting natural resources, labour and even markets on a world scale. Aid was also offered piecemeal to the periphery by the centres of capital under the guise of 'development aid', but in essence, it was a subterfuge of their imperialist tendencies.

**What, then, is the solution to this system of imperialism? What are the tactics and strategies?**

We've seen so much vulgarisation of Marxism by neo-Trotskyites calling for an international revolution on a world scale by an international proletariat party.



Forgetting that it's the part that forms the whole, they advertently forget that conditions for revolutions are different from country to country because history does not proceed in a straight line but according to dialectical laws of uneven and combined development that are not determined by human beings but are set by conditions and circumstances in each stage in the development of society and nature. They quote Lenin in an eclectic manner in his call for an international force to defeat imperialism which has become international.

They buttress it with Marx in the communist manifesto, where he talks of the proletariat having no country. Such is the misconstruction of the term internationalism that is at the heart of every socialist in the world. Anyone opposing their theory is labelled a Stalinist.

But Mao Tse-Tung, in studying contradictions, reminds us that contradictions in each form of motion of matter have their particularity (Tse-Tung & Mao, 2007). *Man's knowledge of matter is knowledge of its form of motion.*

The most important thing is to look into the particularity of each form of motion to observe their qualitative differences that distinguishes them from each other, e.g. mechanical motion, sound, light, heat, electricity, dissociation, and combination. The particular essence, the essence of each form of motion, is determined by its own particular contradictions.

***This holds true not only for nature but also for social and ideological phenomena.*** Although imperialism has manifested universal contradictions in the world, it's important to pay attention to the particular contradictions in each country at different conditions and time. These contradictions will be different for each specific nation,

*and this means they will develop different tactics to achieve their objective strategy.*

**We cannot fold our hands and wait for the conditions for revolution to ripen on a world scale.** Such wishful thinking and childish talk must be treated with the contempt it deserves; and we should not allow Marxism to be vulgarised by such revisionists and counter-revolutionaries. We submit that revolutionary theory should guide our revolutionary practice, and revolutionary practice should also inform our guiding theory of Marxism-Leninism.

**We must always do social investigation in every concrete condition** because, as Marx clearly saw, the capitalist crisis would always try to adjust by concentrating and centralising capital, but it became difficult with every passing crisis, leading to the overthrow of the system. He never implied that the overthrow would occur on its own by collapse. This is because the crisis is a product of class struggle; and as class struggle deepens, the crisis too deepens. We have a historical task on our shoulders to continue intensifying these struggles.

**We must actively engage in revolutionary political organisation under the leadership of a vanguard party of the working class,** like the Communist party of Kenya, to try and raise the political consciousness of the masses. And not just to raise it, because we do not believe in the spontaneity of the masses, but to engage them under the leadership of the proletariat party for the final objective, that is, the Socialist revolution.

**Lenin always reminded us that it was the task of the party to bring to the working class a true consciousness of its own interests and to organise and lead the struggle for state power.** After which we would establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. To achieve this, our party must set itself the highest theoretical standards. It must wage a constant and relentless fight to defend the principles of Marxism and to develop an adequate understanding of the real conditions of society.

**It is only through Socialism that Imperialism can be defeated, and socialism knows itself as the only antithesis to capitalism. Let all oppressed people of the world Unite to fight this system.**

*Long live the Socialist revolution!  
Long live the Communist party of Kenya!*

*Postscript*

*The word Marxism here refers to the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels because there are no differences between them, save for emphasis in their works.*

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Credit: Emily Crawford via Unsplash

## Tribute to Comrade Pio Gama Pinto



**By Comrade  
Kinuthia  
Ndung'u**  
INTERIM  
CHAIRPERSON,  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF  
KENYA

This tribute expresses the high esteem we hold Comrade Pinto, a communist, freedom fighter, an internationalist and the strategic brain behind socialist drive towards power in Kenya. Pio Gama Pinto was born on 31st March 1927 and was assassinated on 24th February 1965. Comrade Pinto, Kenya's first martyr, is a reminder that history gives us all, despite our class origin, an opportunity to be revolutionaries.

We admire his self-sacrificing spirit. He donated himself to the struggle, notwithstanding the constant threats to his life. He transported food, collected money and trafficked guns to forest fighters and drafted documents and letters for the struggle which had him detained.

He continued campaigns on behalf of poor Kenyans even after the sham independence. Achieng' Onoko described him as a man who put himself second to the nation in everything he thought and did.

Pinto was an internationalist who supported two anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles. He was involved with liberation movements outside Kenya. Apart from his role in the Mau Mau war, he was part of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Goa. This covered two phases of imperialism; colonialism in Kenya and Goa and neo-colonialism in Kenya.

His assassination reminds us of the brutality of imperialism. They not only hated his ideas but hated him personally, and they killed him. This is a lesson to socialists who, when in power, want to preserve the right wing assuming they can appeal to their conscience instead of defunding, humiliating, and defeating them politically, socially and economically.

In honouring him, we celebrate the best in ourselves. The best memorial for us is to recommit ourselves to the struggle he was engaged in.

*Long live the spirit of Pinto!  
Jawabu ni Usoshalisti!*

## In Solidarity: Nobody should touch Cuba, Africa is with Cuba

*On January 12, 2023, the National Working Committee of the Kenya Cuba Solidarity Committee (KCSC) 2023 planning meeting held at the United Kenya Club in Nairobi passed unequivocally the resolutions that outlined the 2023 action plan for the KCSC.*

These resolutions were passed in line with the Committee's traditions and practice. In a meeting that attended offline and online with up to fifty-four delegates representing different counties in Kenya, the resolutions are as outlined below:

**"International solidarity is not an act of charity: It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible." ~ Samora Machel**

### 2023 ACTION PLAN FOR THE KENYA-CUBA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE (KCSC)

*January 12, 2023*

**Consistent with the Sixth African Continental meeting of solidarity with Cuba held in Abuja, Nigeria, on September 23-25, 2019, KCSC undertakes to do the following in the year 2023:**

**ONE:** Promote and be consistent with the legacy of Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz and the Cuban people in Kenya and Africa through conferences, commemorative activities, panels, and political events in different countries to remember his contribution to the African liberation movements.

**TWO:** Expand the solidarity movement in various sectors of Kenyan societies, especially to all graduates of Cuba and their families.

**THREE:** Strengthen and increase the relationship between political forces, trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations and friendship associations with Cuba.

**FOUR:** Strengthen the links between solidarity organizations with Cuba in the different countries of the African continent to allow the exchange of experiences.

**FIVE:** Address the people and Congress of the United States with requests to end the illegal and inhuman blockade against Cuba, the Helms-Burton Act, the activation of its Title III and the unlawful occupation of Guantanamo by the United States.

**SIX:** Perform monthly actions to demand the lifting of the economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed on Cuba by the United States government, the end of the aggressive escalation and the return of the territory occupied by the illegal Naval Base in Guantanamo (shipment of letters to US government executives, marches in front of US Embassies / Consulates, among others).

**SEVEN:** Manage that each Parliament in Africa, particularly the Kenyan parliament and the Parliament of the African Union, approve Resolutions that demand the end of the illegal and inhuman blockade against Cuba and the end of the unlawful occupation of Guantanamo by the United States.

**EIGHT:** Reinforce actions of solidarity, dissemination and support for the causes of Palestine, Saharawi, and unrestricted support for the Bolivarian Revolution to boost the effect of a common cause.

**NINE:** Organize ourselves against terrorism in different forms so that to have solidarity to become much more effective

**TEN:** Divulge the International Volunteer and Solidarity Work Brigades with Cuba.

**ELEVEN:** Develop communication strategies through TV, radio, social networks, and other platforms to disseminate Cuban reality.

**TWELVE:** Intensify the use of social networks as a platform to denounce hostile policies against Cuba; disseminate information about solidarity activities and the reality of Cuba in response to disinformation campaigns.

**THIRTEEN:** Support Cuban collaborators, especially doctors, and popularize the impact of their work on Kenyan communities.

**FOURTEEN:** Prioritize the rejuvenation of the structures that make up the Solidarity Movement with Cuba creatively and comprehensively.

*Hands off, Cuba!*

*Long live Kenya-Cuba Solidarity Committee!*

*Down with Economic and Financial Blockades!*

**National Working Committee, KCSC**



## ABOUT KENYA CUBA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE ( KCSC)



KCSC was founded in 2007 with the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (now the Communist Party of Kenya).

At that time, it was called the Kenya Cuba Friendship Society before it was transformed into Kenya Cuba Solidarity Committee in 2021 mainly to defeat the bureaucracy of admitting new members at the registrar of societies and to reflect its solidarity character.

The African people have benefited from the political solidarity and humanitarianism of the Cuban revolution, which has brought medical, sports, health, culture and education to our people, among many others.

KCSC clearly demonstrates that Cuba is not alone (in her struggle against US imperialism) and that the Kenyan people defend the right of Cuba to be an independent, socialist and sovereign country.

The organization has and will continue to condemn the attempt to suffocate the sovereignty of Cuba by measures of the successive USA administrations directed to economically asphyxiate the Cuban people.

The blockade is a politics of genocide, criminal, illegal, cruel, insensitive and inhumane, affecting the fundamental rights of every Cuban and should be fought in all forms and platforms.

## From the Central organising Committee

### CPK@4: Celebrating CPK's growth since its inaugural National Congress

On January 5th 2019, the Communist Party of Kenya held its inaugural National Congress, which laid out a scientific plan to build the Communist Party of Kenya as the vanguard party of the Kenyan working class. One hundred and two delegates from the party county branches gathered at Riverside 25, Nairobi, where they adopted the party program and gave the mandate to the interim Central Committee to steer Party processes.

In the Congress, several resolutions were passed, including party documents, and democratic centralism was adopted in line with the Marxist-Leninist line as the absolute decision-making mechanism for the Party.

Today we celebrate our successes and reflect on our past challenges. We single out the successful launch of the Women and the Youth Leagues, which also launched their inaugural congresses and adopted their programs; this is no mean achievement.

We look forward to the work ahead with confidence and welcome the challenges ahead because, with every passing moment, we build on the knowledge that comes from practice and learns from our experience in pursuit of perfection.

**Perfection! This is all we desire as a Marxist-Leninist organisation.**

### ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

Education is a critical issue for the Party because the Kenyan education system is neo-colonial and only trains the learners to maintain the status quo of capitalism. The student learns by rote, where the teacher has the absolute knowledge, and the learner is merely a sponge to absorb.

All lessons start with absolute abstract truths and conclude with eternal truths. Education is silly childishness to justify certain theocentric notions; by design, departments of philosophies are anti-materialism. Idealism and all shades of hallucinations are regurgitated and repeated severally as truths.

Thinking contrary to the norm is baptised as reductionism, and metaphysics is praised as the queen of all science. The outcomes are ill-equipped citizens with no ability in critical and rigorous thinking. Marxism is attacked without interrogation in the colonial education system, and intellectual dishonesty is applauded.

***To guarantee the growth of the Party, it was essential to establish a Party School.***

This was done immediately after the inaugural Congress on May 14th 2019.

We have made tremendous progress with the Party School. CPK ideological School has rolled out over fifty-four study circles, and plans are underway to accelerate the membership of the party ideological school to an enrollment above five hundred by 2024.



We are also in the process of perfecting party material content to make it more systematic and logical. A small team has been tasked to translate some of our popular documents into local languages. Meaningful learning has to embrace a dialectical method.

The party school has launched Public libraries; these are spaces for political education where party members can sharpen their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist as the immortal science of the revolution. We have received multiple revolutionary titles from several organisations globally. This work must be taken and advanced by the Party's militant wing – the Youth League.

### ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

The Party continues to build its Publishing House through collaborations with progressive global publishing houses and organisations. The goal is to set up a proper professional publishing house next year. We also plan to expand our department of foreign languages; this will help intensify communication with fraternal political parties and organisations.

The Party's quarterly publication Itikadi (Ideology), is already in circulation, and plans are underway to publish another recruitment newsletter by the Youth League, called the organiser, to help disseminate its propaganda among the Kenyan masses.

The party website has been up and is being continuously updated: a process to modernise it and revamp it to be more interactive is underway. The plan is also to have the online party school run as part of the website, and the Communication Department of the Central Committee is already ahead of its work in this regard. We have also adopted an online membership management form. The leaders of the cells should ensure that all comrades fill out the form before any official business of the cell can continue.

The social media handles are doing an impressive job of mobilisation and propagating the party ideas to the public. All party members must have active social media handles to help drive this process. This task must be well coordinated within the party cell and done consistently without fail.

### ON ART AND CULTURE

The Party successfully launched its first music album on May 1st, 2021, and the second one is underway and should be out around July 2023. The CPK rappers from the youth league have done very well in pushing the party agenda.

We recognise the Bangaisa crew and the Chosen One, who have gotten a footprint in the national and international scene. The new kid in the block, the Warriors, is showing a lot of commitment to succeed in advancing revolutionary propaganda. They have made profound progress in their revolutionary studies. All these artists are based in rural Kenya.

The Party needs to consolidate artists from the CPK theatre, spoken word artists, rappers and dancers in Nairobi in a revolutionary manner. The biggest problem we face is the deep NGO culture embedded in the poor neighbourhoods in Nairobi – the NGO aims to depoliticise the masses and take them out of reality through capitalist propaganda, which makes the people vulnerable to capitalist exploitation.

The art and culture departments need to clarify all these ideas based on their experience and practice. Art is the mirror of society! If it is not revolutionary art, then it is not art!

### ON PEASANT ORGANISATIONS

In the early stages of the Party's formation, most peasant organisations were non-revolutionary. They organised themselves around welfare programs to help them escape the difficulty imposed by the capitalist dictatorship.

Of late, we are seeing a growing number of professional revolutionaries taking up the task of revolutionising these spaces through political education.

Now we can hear them calling each other comrades or even shouting Down with Imperialism! This is good progress, and before too long, they will have grasped the essence of Marxism as political education and online propaganda advances.

Today, over one hundred rural peasants' organisations have been launched, and our rural organisers have worked to build upon these numbers. We urgently need to roll out a program to teach the illiterate rural peasants how to read and write. To guide this work, we need to develop a thorough analysis of the class structure of the rural peasants to understand their relations and how to organise them fully.

### **ON WORKERS AND WORKERS UNIONS**

CPK is the vanguard of the Kenyan working class, they and they alone are the emotive force of the revolution.

With the Central Organization Trade Unions under the firm teeth of labour aristocrats and their bosses in politics, the Party has concentrated on working with the rank and file. The new unions initiated by the Party are still experiencing challenges in the organisation line.

In the last part of 2022, the Party has moved deliberately into the labour camps – the Economic Processing Zones; the progress should be monitored even much more closely. A document to clarify the organisation line is underway and will be collectively adopted for implementation.

### **ON INTERNATIONALISM AND PAN-AFRICANISM**

The International Department of the Central Organizing Committee has since initiated one hundred and forty-six connections with Communist parties and organisations globally.

The Party is part of two international organisations: ICOR and Songun International Studies And part of an continental organisation, ALNEF.



The Party hosts the Kenya-Venezuela Solidarity Committee, Kenya-Western Sahara Committee, Kenya-Cuba Solidarity Committee, Kenya-China Solidarity Committee, and the Party is one of the Kenya Solidarity-Palestine Committee founding members.

### **ON ELECTIONS AND BOURGEOISIE LEGALITY**

*Comrades should read the party crisis document thoroughly; it is our foundation.*

**The Party won seats in the county assemblies and supported one independent governor candidate in Taita Taveta, who also won the seat.**

The election was a learning experience because it exposed revisionism and opportunism in the Party leading to the change of leadership and the launch of the ongoing rectification.

A two-line policy has been adopted in the Party, first to wrest the bourgeoisie instruments from the gang of two that has taken the Party to the Kenya Kwanza capitalist outfit, and second to unveil a whole new party of the working class. Both processes are being carried out simultaneously.

The ongoing rectification program is an elaborate plan launched by the new Central Committee. The process started with publishing a document of the Party Crisis, an internal reflection of the Party. It also resulted in a bold resolution that the Party would have at least 70% of its leadership and membership from the working class at any given time.

The Party also changed its organisational nature to be purely a vanguard party, removing all the members who had not been through the Party's ideological school and adopting a strict membership policy.

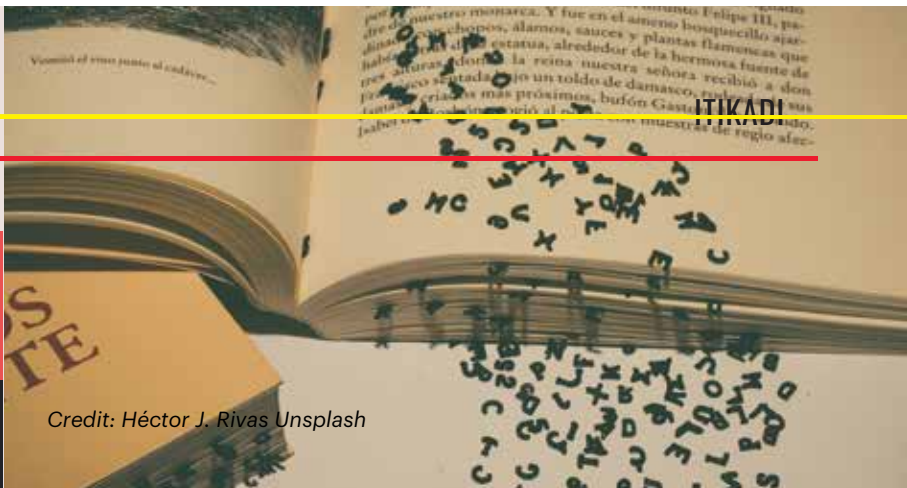
ENDS



**By Comrade Akashi**  
CONTRIBUTOR - CHINA

However, while Creators often shout about creative freedom, is the creative freedom that they yearn for really creative freedom?

So we need literature. Our literature can be used as entertainment, but it will not make people lose their faith in communism. On the contrary, it will enable the people to see the true face of capitalism, and thus become a dear comrade. It can carry forward socialism and communism; it will also carry forward the workers, the people, and the greatest spirit and strength of all mankind!



# Socialist Internationalism.

## Fascism in Italy

By Joe O.N

The Italians recently elected a far-right candidate for prime minister. The PM is not just any right-wing leader, but the granddaughter of the patron of Italian fascism; the infamous Benito Mussolini. She was also elected under the ticket of the party which claims to be the successor of the Italian fascist party that was led by her grandfather. This comes as a shock to many as Europe is considered one of the most democratic regions in the world. Or so it seems.

The nature of the FLP (the fascist party that won), are discussed in detail by Bes. D. Marx; a leftist YouTuber. In his video he goes through how the party morphed and changed its image from what it used to be during world war II, to the present. Despite the ever changing image there was never a change in the core messaging, intentions and mission, which is ultimately to protect elite private capital and prevent the working class from taking control of all facets of society.

Fascism is a system of governance in which power is bestowed onto an exclusive economic elite through a collaboration of the bourgeoisie and the State. It degrades the majority by preventing the working class from owning the means of production and threatening their economic power.

However, in order for fascists to take over, they need popular support from the general population, despite the clear contravention of their interests. This contradiction is what I will try to analyse in these notes.

What societal conditions lead to the rise of fascism? First of all, the economic base determines the superstructure. Everything within a country's culture and also people's behaviour ultimately boils down to the economy.

This is how people interact with their needs and how they are fulfilled. In societies with a high economic fulfilment rate and relative abundance, there is Political stability due to people being satisfied with their material conditions. In such cases, the majority of the citizenry only demands for small reforms in governance.

When the economic conditions of a state or a region are poor, the citizens tend to be more frustrated thus leading to high volatility in internal politics as the people demanding large changes stir up massive Political movements. In this scenario, an overhaul of most aspects of a society, especially the economy, are demanded by the citizens. A revolution in short. This can either be in favour of the masses through socialism and democracy or the ruling class can co-opt this movement and turn the country towards totalitarianism.

When we look at Italy, the debt crisis they are currently suffering from is a great example of the economic expectations of the people not being met. Causing dissatisfaction among the population. After the 2007/8 economic crash, the country's economy has not been the same. Struggling to recover to its former levels and even surpassing them. Looking at general economic figures is very optimistic though.

When we look a little closer and focus on the individual citizen, the problem is much worse. The export of a lot of western manufacturing into countries like China, together with rising inflation on all products and services means that a lot of Italians are finding it harder and harder to survive. They are watching their wealth decrease as the cost of living increases. Poverty levels have been steadily rising. This has prompted a distrust in their liberal and conservative parties and their financial backers.



Benito Mussolini  
courtesy wikipedia - Robert Citino

### **How has this led to the resurgence of the fascist party though?**

Most of the citizenry are not economists, let alone Marxists who understand how commerce works. Hence they don't really have concrete ideas about what is causing their wealth to decrease.

The fascists took advantage of this economic downturn to appeal to the working class. Using their usual xenophobic and homophobic rhetoric but tying it to the consumer culture identity politics the capitalists use to market to such minorities.

Giorgio Meloni talks about dealing with the financial speculators who want to turn people into "good consumers" by selling to them a globalist agenda that will replace everything traditional with a fake culture that prioritises only consumption. This is true, the capitalists use decoys to make sure that the working class don't focus on them. But she distorts this to fit her agenda. She doesn't care about the interests of the working class but rather her own interests, and those of her financiers: right wing business establishment.

This is her merely trying to appeal to a diverse amount of the working class, and she has been successful. People frustrated with their economic situations voted for her party hoping for a change in government policies to favour them. The FLP still appeals to traditional right wing populations by advocating for the great replacement theory and a total ban on immigration. In fact, with their new rhetoric on the working class they actually convince people to become right-wing by appealing to their nationalistic side. Essentially instead of prescribing the true problems in her society, which are related to capitalism, she shifts the blame to irrelevant subjects like immigration or The EU.

In summary, the fascists in Italy, and by extension Europe are taking advantage of the reduced economic prosperity that the region initially had (or at least thought they had) to recruit new members and take over. The citizen's frustrations are cunningly used to turn them into fascist supporters and sympathisers. Instead of the working class uniting to bring forward a system that is focused on improving all their lives, they sell themselves to the capitalists in secret.

These capitalists, realising society is turning against them, have sought to hide behind the fascists and pacify the general populace.

## **Ideology: Reinforcing the Unity of South to Advance the Birth of a New World Order**

**Comrade Booker Ngesa Omole  
talks to the Rebel Magazine**

*This article was published in the Rebel Magazine. It is republished here because it gives a very good historical context about the Kenyan Progressive Movement, the history of the Communist Party of Kenya and the internal and external political and economic issues affecting Kenyans. It's a good way to get caught up with the Kenyan situation from a Marxist perspective.*

*The Communist Party of Kenya was created in 1919, starting in 1992 as SDP. In other African countries, the communist movement has older data. Many African Communist Parties were formed at the beginning of the 20th century. Could you tell us about the communist movement in Kenya? When did it start apart from legal aspects?*

The Communist Movement in Kenya can be traced to the early 1980s as an underground movement for revolutionaries who were agitating against the Moi dictatorship. At the time, they had to be underground because there were seditious laws banning communism and communism literature in Kenya, which was under the firm grip of one capitalist party-KANU dictatorship led by dictator Daniel Moi.

During this dictatorship, communists were rounded up, jailed, tortured, murdered or exiled, but communism as a movement maintained its vibrancy among the intellectuals and students, nonetheless, covertly.

To understand this in detail, it will be essential to read about the history of the December 12 movements and the Mwakenya, which were underground left organisations.

***This went on until 2002, when KANU was dethroned, in what is popularly known as a ballot revolution.***



When it was registered in 1992, the Social Democratic Party, SDP was not a Communist Party but a Social Democratic Party dedicated to fighting for reforms within the capitalist system. Some progressives and communists who were interested in participating in bourgeois elections used it as a political vehicle since it was not possible for communist parties to be registrable under Kenyan laws at that time.

In late 2000 university students' radicals joined the party, intending to take it over and drive it to the left. These university students, including myself, were not Marxists but called themselves an array of names from anarchists to democratic socialists, because of the intense anti-communist propaganda at that time.

The new student recruits took over the youth wing of the party, the Young Social Democrats (YSD). The party presented the students with an opportunity to study Marxism led by the hardcore communists already in the party, notably Mwandawiro Mghanga from the underground movement, who was very instrumental in training young cadres. Benedict Wachira and I led the student militants.

The youth league activities led to an open fight in the party that was completed in 2009 with the total takeover of the party by revolutionaries. The minority reactionaries fought a lost battle that ended at the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal – in Kenya – that pronounced the Mghanga-led faction as the actual owners of the party. The case was prosecuted by myself; the party had no money to pay any lawyer, and all the preparations were done collectively under Benedict Wachira, my comrade at that time. The Mutahi Kagwe-led faction failed. Mutahi Kagwe was a powerful government bureaucrat and true to form, when his faction failed, they abandoned the party to join mainstream bourgeois political parties.

Following the 2009 win, the victors declared the party a Marxist-Leninist and filed all the party documents to reflect the party's character save for the name Social Democratic Party of Kenya. The reason we kept the name was because there were still elements in the party that had nostalgia for the name SDP, which was nationally recognized and a strong brand in the country. With the national and regional elections coming up in 2013, the party retained its name for mainly tactful reasons until after the elections.

Unfortunately, the party performed dismally in 2013, only garnering a few seats in the county assemblies. The process of changing the party documents to reflect its essence started almost immediately.

Later, it led to a national congress on January 5, 2019, where the Communist Party of Kenya was born. It is important to note that the party is a product of the collective struggle of the majority; many poor Kenyans were martyred in the streets to expand the democratic space that the party enjoys today.

Since 2019, the party has been organising in form and in kind towing the line between balancing the huge gap in political education on socialism – because education and books on socialism had been banned by the dictator Moi and other internal weaknesses inherent in any newly formed – public organisation, including vetting senior members. The party has made several mistakes in its organisational line until very recently, in 2022; it was attacked from within.

This can be attributed to the composition of the party leadership, which was mainly from the petty bourgeoisie strata of the society. Out of that split, the party has since commenced a rectification program to help the party move profoundly in a Marxist – Leninist line.

*As you know, communist parties are created due to the working-class condition, its struggle, and also to class struggle. How do these issues influence the left-wing and working-class movements in Kenya? What role does Marxism-Leninism play in Kenya?*

Initially, the Communist Party of Kenya was founded by petit bourgeoisie intellectuals and students. Only through practice and experience has the party penetrated the Kenyan working class. Most Kenyan populations live in rural areas, and many urban youths are jobless. The working-class population is relatively small, with a staggering joblessness of up to 70%. But the party continues to cover more ground.

The political power is under a comprador class; the national bourgeoisie are rather few; in recent years, they have allied with the international bourgeoisie and the comprador political class to preserve their class. The party is still struggling to consolidate the majority of the Kenyan working class, mainly because it took us quite a while to train professional revolutionaries and deploy them. We were also learning on the job that revolutionary fundraising is a daunting task.

Marxism- Leninism, the immortal science of the proletariat revolution, has a much more significant role in our organising. Leninism is the light that



continues to illuminate our paths; it is the perfect science that helps us penetrate reality. The party remains firmly in the Marxist-Leninist line. In urban areas, revisionism is a big threat because the capitalist forces are rather strong, so we have learnt to conduct a solid social investigation before making any step.

**Talking about revisionism and opportunism in urban areas, you will learn that two senior officials abandoned the party at a critical moment to join the comprador class, leading one of the main capitalist outfits in our country.**

The two joined a coalition called Kenya Kwanza, which can be translated to mean Kenya first. In its form, messaging and appeal, the coalition seems to have been inspired by Donald Trump and his America first slogan. The coalition, which is led by our current president Mr Ruto is a self-declared evangelical extremist. Just imagine a communist joining such an outfit. But we have to give it to Ruto, who has proved himself a very cunning propagandist.

Even as the Deputy President and one who was implicated or alleged to be the mastermind of mass corruption, he coined a sharp class war rhetoric, almost declaring war against the propertied, particularly his boss, former president Uhuru Kenyatta. The rhetoric of the poor versus the rich catapulted him to power, and our party was left naked without leadership only that the Youth League was well established to rescue the party from degenerating further.

The former party chairperson, Mr Mghanga and the secretary, Mr Wachira, betrayed the Kenyan workers in a very personal way because the duo, who had mastered the revolutionary rhetoric, were able to frame their new alliance as an opportunity for the Kenyan workers. Because of their long-standing presence in the party, the pair and their cultists almost vanquished the party built by the blood of the poor Kenyans.

**We know the party shall prevail over such attacks in the struggle we learn and relearn. Revisionists have one consistent strategy like Gorbachev, fail, fail and fail. They have failed, and they will fail again.**

*If the previous party of the CPK was the SDP, and then in 2019, the SDP was transformed into the CPK, was there also an ideological change? Was it from a Social Democrat Ideology to a Marxist-Leninist one? If so, how does the CPK manage this? I mean, the heritage of the social democratic ideology?*

We have a history of fighting for reforms. However, every time such Social Democratic tendencies rear their ugly head, we have to nip them in the bud. As I had said in my previous comments, SDP did not start from a Marxist-Leninist line; it took an internal struggle to defeat the reformist and take over the party and steer it to the correct revolutionary line.

We hold that we can stay on course through political education and internal struggle. Now the party's ideological school is moving from strength to strength, and in that way, we will combat wrong ideas in our ranks.

*And again, about ideology. How did the Kenyan communist movement deal with the pan-African movement? Do you see the pan-African movement as something positive?*

The Communist Party of Kenya is a Pan-Africanist organisation, we see pan-Africanism as an objective, but the software that drives us to that goal is scientific Socialism. We firmly believe that the continental unity to liberate all African people within and without the continent is only possible under scientific Socialism.

The neoliberal unity of Europe does not inspire us, that ugly Europe-continent built by the proceeds of war and the blood of the innocent. The Communist Party of Kenya cannot be persuaded to that evil path

*Does the Communist Party of Kenya have any political relation, or links, with the pan-African movement?*

Yes, we do; CPK is one of the founding members of ALNEF; these initials are a derivative from the French language to mean parties and organisations of the left in Africa. This organisation is convened by the South Africa Communist Party (SACP) and headquartered in Senegal. We also work with Pan Africanism Today (PAT); you may want to check them out; we collaborate with them in party cadres' ideological and theoretical development.

*In terms of class and class struggle, how could you describe Kenyan society in terms of wealth inequality? Is there a big difference between the period of colonialism and today?*

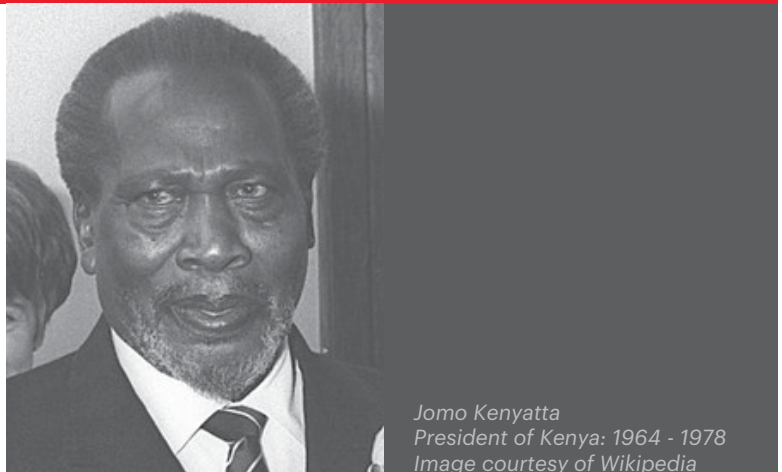
Class struggle has been part and parcel of Kenyan society; anything that the Kenyan masses have gotten from the ruling class has been a product of the struggle. The poor majority always have to force the rich minority to earn anything. The constitutional review process was the bloodiest of them all, where the poor in their hundreds and progressive intellectuals were murdered by a rogue state. Nairobi is the belly of imperialism, where an insignificant 1% owns 99% of the wealth.

The white, British multinationals like Finley are still sitting on thousands of acres of stolen land. The unholy alliance between the comprador class and the international bourgeoisie suffocates the masses with hunger. The US NGOs and Churches are expanding daily in the shackle dwellers to take the poor out of reality through the free enterprising nonsense and prosperity gospel. Now with the election of the US puppet, Mr Ruto, things are going to be worse for the majority. The party analyses the situation and prepares daily for an all-out offensive; this neocolonial system needs to be broken down to atoms.

*How did the working class and left-wing movement (or communist movement) face the anti-colonialism struggle? What were their strategies?*

The anti-colonial struggle was about the land; the peasants who were alienated from their land organised themselves into a land defence force. This force was called Mau Mau by predatory British forces. Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi, our hero, led the Mau Mau forces until he was captured and hanged by the neck to death by the colonial British.

Mau Mau had almost dented the colonial army with many casualties at the time, its leader Dedan Kimathi was captured and hanged. It was becoming unsustainable for the British to continue with their war, so they opted to negotiate with the nationalists; Jomo Kenyatta, who was at that time in prison, ceded a lot of ground to the British gangs and signed a



Jomo Kenyatta  
President of Kenya: 1964 - 1978  
Image courtesy of Wikipedia

a raft of agreements to preserve British land that was stolen from the natives. It is recorded that the queen mama of Britain, Elizabeth, was so pleased with him that he rewarded him with a white British model when he visited England. He later married her.

*In the case of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and others, arm struggle played an essential role in their liberation. What happened in Kenya? Was arm struggle considered?*

Mau Mau was the first armed resistance in the continent, another unique element is that they did not get any help from outside the Kenyan territory. The homemade guns were the starting point for the armed resistance before they learnt the guerilla tactics to carry out ambushes and raids on the colonial establishment and colonial police on the move to seize modern arms. So, yes, Kenya's freedom came from the gun barrel.

*Kenya shares borders with Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan. Some of these countries have come across civil wars. How did conflicts affect the construction of Kenya's liberation movement? How did this influence the Communist Party of Kenya? If it did.*

Kenya has been the home of revolutionaries; revolutionaries from neighbouring countries found a home in Nairobi to organise. Even though the Kenyan government was never supportive of such revolutionary movements, the Kenyan masses did. The Sudanese Communist party exiled were always with us in Nairobi, like Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda. It is only in recent years that dictators like Kagame have found their way into Nairobi to kill political refugees; now, most of them are in Kampala.

We also have to remember Tanzania under Julius Nyerere; most of Tanzania's resources were used to finance liberation movements in Africa.

Now, something absurd is happening; the Kenyan forces are fighting alongside imperialist forces in Somalia and Congo, and it is a business for these corrupt leaders to accept such policies. Kenya is now officially a military outpost of the US degenerating empire with a naval base in Lamu. This worries us a lot as a party; remember, the British have over 40000 men on the ground at their military establishment in Nanyuki, Central Kenya. These are real threats to our sovereignty.



*Who is Jomo Kenyatta? What is your evaluation of his government?*

Jomo, a friend of the British, in school, we were forced to learn about him as our founding father. He was not a good man; he was a reactionary nationalist who auctioned our country to the colonial British. He brokered the 1963 sham independence to preserve British interests. He is one of the biggest land grabbers in Kenya; he is a symbol of the comprador class, the running dog of the British empire. Poor Jomo, the jailer of freedom fighters, the jailer of our hero Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, the murderer of Mau Mau fighters, we now look at his grave sitting next to our parliament with disgust. How is it possible that such an immoral man who stole so much land still managed to be buried in public land? Someday we will try him posthumously and nationalise all wealth he expropriated from the Kenyan people.

*In the times of Jomo Kenyatta, there was only one party. It was a one-ruling power system. Today Kenya has a multiparty democracy. Was that a positive change? What happens in terms of the economy? Does Kenya have a capitalist economy? Please tell us about capitalism in Kenya.*

The Multiparty System expanded the civic space; this was not given to the Kenyan masses, but they fought for it and only after so much blood was shed that dictator Moi relented to internal and external pressure. This multiparty democracy was itself a sham because the Communist party remained illegal, so it was multiparty for the capitalist political party. But now, with CPK as an entity, we can talk of multi-partyism. Kenya is a turbo-capitalist state, just another field for multinationals to play games with the people's lives.

Thanks to the World Bank and IMF, Kenya is now reduced to a raw material exporter, a source of almost free labour through that infamous AGOA program and a dumping ground for substandard and second goods. Kenya's capitalism is raw in its form; the local political elites are so weak that they have to form alliances with their bosses in the North so that they can continue with their oppression.

*Many of the wars in Africa are said to have an ethnic origin. What role does ethnicity play in Kenya's society? What is more important: class struggle or ethnic conflict? What comes first? Which determines CPK's project?*

CPK is a Marxist party; the class contradiction is the primary, and the rest of the contradictions used by the board of directors of the rich to divide the workers are secondary and even tertiary. CPK has taken a clear class line to organise the Kenyan workers and their allies to overthrow our primary enemy – the comprador class.

*What are the main objectives of the CPK's project?*

Our main aim is to overthrow the comprador class through a socialist revolution; our organisation line is guided by Marxism-Leninism ideology.

*Is socialism part of the solution? What does the CPK understand by "socialism" considering both the African and Kenya's reality?*

Now that Socialism is a science, it is universal; there is nothing like African Socialism or the Socialism of the South. The methodology remains the same – dialectical and historical materialism, the immortal science of the proletariat's revolution; its applications are determined by objective and subjective factors from one society to the other.

The Communist Party of Kenya is clear; we have all the objective factors of the revolution, and CPK is building the subjective factors through political education, propaganda and agitation without losing sight of the objective.

*Considering what you have answered before, what would be the main contradiction in Kenya's society? How does the CPK face it or deal with it?*

The main contradiction is class; our absolute method in making our revolution is class struggle, our philosophy is dialectical materialism and no other, and our enemy is metaphysics, the philosophy that anchors imperialism and shades of hallucinations like religion.

*Is the CPK part of any communist international organisation? What is the main difference between that international organisation and the others? Do you think that the communist international movement should unite? Why?*

CPK is an internationalist organisation; we are the headquarters of solidarity with all the oppressed people of the world; we are always willing to join any anti-imperialist global platforms, and we are now officially members of ICOR. Yes, the unity of Communist International is inevitable, but we must continue building the revolutionary forces at home. We desire to replace neoliberal globalisation with socialist globalisation based on genuine mutual friendship and solidarity. Capitalism is global, and so is its antithesis, Socialism.

*Is there a continental communist organisation that coordinates all communist parties and movements?*

Yes, ALNEF is a continental organisation of the left political parties and organisations, and CPK is a founding member. We also work with Pan Africa Today (PAT), their contribution to political education is invaluable.

*When talking about human rights, what could you tell us about human rights concerning Kenya? Are there any political prisoners? Is there a human rights movement?*

Kenya is a turbo neo-colonial state, the Kenyan state talks about human rights in word and not by actions. The extra-judicial killings is a permanent policy of this government despite the progressive bill of rights enshrined in our constitution. CPK has taken this campaign to a higher notch; now we talk about the right to humanity and social justice; the party continue to demand the right to life with dignity for the majority of the Kenyan population, all these are preserved in our constitution, but the government doesn't care until its very existence is under a real threat.

*Final words. What would be the CPK's call to all the liberation and revolutionary movements around the world*

Our clarion call is let's unite all that we can unite; if we cannot unite for Socialism, we can unite against imperialism. Our primary enemy is the US empire; a new society must blossom in its ruins.

## Notice to the public:

### FROM THE INTERIM CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA

The notice was published on Thursday, September 15th, 2022.

Today, the Transition Committee (TC) published the interim leadership of the Communist Party of Kenya. The decision to appoint provisional Central Committee members came after conducting broad discussions with members and consulting among the membership on the Party's state of affairs after several vital members abandoned the Party. The new leadership is charged to organise a National Congress; to be held no later than September 14th, 2023.

To recap: The Party fractured after the former General Secretary, Mr Benedict Wachira and former Chairperson, Mr Mwandawiro Mghanga, made a unilateral decision to join the Kenya Kwanza political alliance. The two factions are incompatible for ideological reasons because Kenya Kwanza is firmly on the right.

The new Central Committee declared that the Party would forever be a Vanguard Party built on a clear Marxist-Leninist (CPK-ML) line. The Party also announced it would distance itself from the CPK-Kenya Kwanza faction to focus on restoring the Party's dignity and supporting the people's struggle.

#### Central Committee Members

Kinuthia Ndung'u - National Chairperson  
 Booker Omole - National Vice Chairperson  
 Sefu Sani - General Secretary  
 Wahome Waringa - National Treasurer  
 Booker Ngesa - National Organizing Secretary  
 Gacheke Gachihi - Secretary, Mass Mobilisation  
 Davis Tafari - Secretary, Arts and Culture  
 Ashlin Ajiambo - Secretary of Ideology and international affairs  
 Mwaivu Kaluka - National Chairperson, Young Communist League  
 Brian Mathenge - General Secretary, Young Communist League  
 Victor Onyango - Organizing Secretary, Young Communist League  
 Winnie Achieng' - Secretary, Women League  
 George Kirowe - Secretary, Publicity  
 Leon Munala - Secretary, Peasants and Peasants Organisations

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Sefu Sani,  
 Interim General Secretary of Communist Party of Kenya

# United States Imperialism

## THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF US IMPERIALISM Financial Embargoes and Economic Blockades is an Aggression and a Declaration of War.

BY COMRADE BOOKER NGESA AND COMRADE GRACE MUSYOKA

### Introduction:

US imperialism is a universal exploitation and coercion system that has been in play for more than a century now. ***To conquer a nation, the United States of America can deploy its system in one of two ways: the soft or the hard.***

The soft way is deployed in countries which collaborate with the US. By taking advantage of economic, humanitarian or natural disasters facing a country, the US negotiates a form of cooperation or aid to the suffering country. This support is a Trojan horse meant to give the US a foothold in the country it intends to subjugate. The terms of aid and cooperation, therefore, come with provisions that will increase US influence over internal matters and will be later held as random to demand more control over the country's policies and resources. With time, the country cracks from the pressure, and the US swoops in to exploit its resources on an industrial scale unchecked (Immerwahr, 2019).

The hard way is reserved for countries or regions that reject capitalism and US hegemony. It uses a series of violent methods, including war and violence to kill its leaders and strangle its infrastructure and key sectors. The death, violence and suffering discombobulate the country, and the US swoops in to exploit its resources unchecked.

No matter the initial approach to imperialism, the goal is always to methodically subjugate the people so that the US can exploit their resources on an industrial scale. The resulting death, suffering and destruction of societies due to the type of social engineering brought about by capitalism create gaps that splinter countries, communities and families.

At the same time, the system destroys entire ecosystems, cultures and the natural order of things: remaking the world into an unstable mess characterised by disaster after disaster that is the epitome of capitalist systems. In all cases, US imperialism leaves behind a toxic environment whose cost to life, nature and the world, in general, is incalculable.

Because it is systemic, US imperialism is a universal system that is dispensed in stages. There are commonalities of this successive domination in the tactics deployed and the impact on the countries and their people. Operating in a state of military and financial hegemony, the US has also been able to find ways to recycle and revisit its imperialist machine in certain countries, depending on the whims of US corporations who steer the capitalist machine (Lenin, 1933).

At first glance, the US imperialist machine may appear complicated. This is not a mistake: it is the nature of the system to appear random and, in as much as possible, natural or something unique. Its inbuilt camouflage is meant to mimic normalcy, and it is often the first and most important way that capitalism gets its foothold.

Unlike colonialism, which came out as a conquer to (and) occupy system because of the differences between the countries and the occupiers, US imperialism, which is a



progression of colonialism, is more refined. It is chummy and friendly, an element reinforced by the US corporate media, Hollywood fantasy products and other manufactured realities. In fact, before making the first move, many societies were already halfway into copying the US systems and 'adopting' it as their own.

Unlike its crude predecessor, the colonialists, the US imperialistic system has flourished by ruthlessly adopting any changes in attitude, opinion and thinking around imperialism, self-determination and even the concept of democracy. Thanks to US hegemony, there were no opposing attitudes, opinions and thinking in many parts of the world for a long time. This made it easy for the US to isolate, suppress, or annihilate anyone questioning its imperialistic tendencies and its usefulness – and presence – in the natural world. Thanks to its success in selling mass delusions and fantasies, even its victims bought into the capitalist ideology. So much so that they became its strongest defenders, willing to oppose and even kill anyone who tried to rise against US imperialism.

After understanding the tactics and strategies used to introduce and enforce exploitation and subjugation, we broke down what is seemingly a complicated system into its bare bones. Each stage was peeled of the illusions of friendship and cooperation that are used to disguise the experience and impact of US imperialism: laying bare the stark and brutal reality that is the experience of imperialism for the country and its people.

By looking at this experience from the victim's perspective, we can see imperialism in context: showing the whole picture of what happened, what is happening and what will happen next for that country and its people. This is important because the common perspective is usually that of the imperialist.

The stories and experiences are told from the oppressor's side: the voices of the oppressed are silenced forever. It is this manufactured silence that feeds the machine and makes it relevant over a hundred years on.

The context and perspective are broken down into two distinct experiences: the collaborators who got the soft treatment and those who rejected US capitalism and got the hard treatment. It is here that the irony of US imperialism bares its face. Despite the vivid descriptions of the death and suffering visited upon those who resist, the collaborators' fate begs pity and global sympathy. Theirs is a lifetime of continued suffering: bottomless exploitation whose end is unknown because the cycle can be repeated whenever the imperialist wills it.

These countries lose not just their resources and material wealth, but they seem to lose themselves. With their culture and society wiped out, they exist like zombies awaiting the next order from the imperialist. Their hope, the food of the human creativity and purpose of life, is dimmed, and their existence becomes a multi-generational torture cell welded by the US.

It is a sadistic brutality without any sense of redemption because decades in, no collaborator has been able to eject themselves out of the system.

The fate of those who resist is known mainly because the US makes it known to all.

Here, we see the promised brutal violence that is the hallmark of every US occupation. The shock and awe tactics never last long: the goal is always to get in and exploit using war to storm the country.

**However, this never lasts. Not like the collaborators. Between the mass graves and undetonated bombs, something grows: Hope. A fighting spirit and what was death and gore change as those countries regroup, rebuild and find their path to freedom and self-determination.**

It was essential to show these dual paths. Not only is their journey not in vain, but also because it paints a different story in this global struggle against US imperialism. As such, their experiences become lifeboats that can be used for those drowning under the weight of the US imperialist machine.

Seeing these stages in the duality of these experiences will help us to understand how imperialism works and how we can organise persistent and collective resistance because now we know that the struggle is not just a bottomless pit of sadistic savagery. We now know that those who resist must succeed at some point in the future.

Image courtesy  
of Levi Meir  
Clancy on  
Unsplash

# Strategy and tactics of US Imperialism

The Communist Party of Kenya, CPK, has identified seven tactics used by US imperialism. They are easily identified under the acronym **GFEDCBA** as:

**Grooming**  
**Favour/Failure**  
**Exemption/Liable**  
**Delinquency/Isolation**  
**Crack/Raid**  
**Burst/Build**  
**Acceptance**

## 1. Grooming

**While grooming takes many forms, it is deployed the same way in all countries and regions.**

When a country experiences a threat or is undergoing a crisis, the US will start to groom it by offering 'aid' and resources to help the country to overcome its crisis. Wearing its hat of 'freedom' and 'democracy', the US will present itself as the saviour, big brother and protector from the big-bad world. But there is always something hidden: fingers crossed that in their state of crisis and feeling so threatened, the poor countries will be overcome by the US's attention and ask no questions about the US's true intentions.

For example, colonised Africa and Caribbean countries were groomed for nearly thirty decades as they fought their way out of European colonialism: the prevailing imperialism at the time that was meted out by European countries. The US made the issue of colonial independence a condition for helping the allies against Nazi Germany.

With one move, the US achieved three things: it weakened the European countries who were already in debt



after the US war-financing deals, so they could not access the resources from the colonies. It endeared the US to the colonial countries and got its foot in their doors without a fuss. Third, it cemented that well-curated image of protector and liberator that the US had designed. This helped the US imperialist machine in its future endeavours as its PR machine was able to ride on the 'US saviour and liberator' for decades until the early 2000's.

Grooming the former colonies from afar was a strategic move by the US. At the time, the colonies, which the colonists had severely ravaged, needed time to remake themselves and handle their internal issues and then fail time and time again to be the ones to ask for help on their own accord, particularly in Africa. At the same time, the US bought time to attend to its immediate concerns, securing territories in Asia, South American regions and Germany, where it had immediate benefits. Europe, America and the Pacific Front allowed the US to consolidate its global power because Africa was not going anywhere.

*The Grooming of Europe was more nuanced and is a perfect example of the long-term nature of the US imperialist plans. From the moment it cemented its allied relationships during WWII, the USA groomed Britain and other European countries under NATO towards a subtle but sure path. Already suffering the substantial financial burden from the loans given to the war effort, the US wanted to keep Europe 'free' to ensure (a) smooth colonial handovers and (b) a reliable ally to enforce its capitalist ideology that would isolate Communist Russia (and later USSR). The grooming of Europe enabled US imperialism to become a global monopoly in ideology, currency and war.*

Grooming is a game of balance to hide intentions for as long as possible. To maintain that level of duplicity, therefore, goodness and 'help' works to divert attention from the hidden agenda. This is where the US's capitalist machine comes in handy.

At this stage, it is all corporates for business, rebuilding and the many charitable organisations bringing aid and attending to other humanitarian concerns. While implied and looming above all else, the military is never around. With the suits and the prayers, the pretence of friendship almost feels real. As the **African saying goes: when a rat bites you, you will not feel its killer bite because it will soothe it with a warm breath to comfort you as you sleep!**

Just like colonialism and slavery before, US imperialism is imposed under lethal capitalist machines. Therefore, the grooming process, or the extension of friendship, is not rendered to the people per se. Disguised as help for the people, the friendship is extended to select leaders for their ability and willingness to allow the US in.

These people, who are usually in leadership or leaders of influence in the community and religious institutions, are labelled as friends and gifted with running these corporations and doling aid on behalf of their people! It is an overwhelming feeling of pride and relief – remember, it is done during a crisis – and these people are rewarded on the other side with appreciation and praise for the excellent work they are doing on behalf of the people!

In reality, the few chosen elite are the first collaborators who leave the door open for the imperialist. Their raised status and perceived importance become a drug that diverts their focus from rebuilding or resolving their country's internal problems, and they start to believe they are the special, chosen liberators. In no time, they begin to believe in the miracle of a US solution: ready-made solutions for any problems that the US will just come and fix anything and everything just like they have in their country.

***And because the media and the movies have already sold the fantasy, the goodies reinforce the belief, and they bite. Grooming is complete!***

Now we know that all forms of US goodwill dispensed is a way to groom a strong enough comprador class that will be willing to auction the country's interest to the incoming corporations, military and finance dealers.

It is also quite effective: rather than solving the problem, they spent cents to turn an elite minority into

into collaborators. The minority will become their mouthpieces who will tell stories of the US saviour to others, who will be converted with gifts and subcontracts. In time, there is a whole class of people who will be willing to sign any document and provide any information in order for the US to provide weapons and military intervention; to prioritise US NGOs to set up camps and let the US corporate media come to tell the story of salvation and freedom!

At that time, anyone who would dare to oppose such manoeuvres and 'goodness' are branded the enemy of freedom and the people. The US media, their client states, and local agents band together to regurgitate these lies until it becomes gospel 'truth'. In reality, the US has claimed its first casualties: anti-imperialists and the truth.

***From that moment on, anyone who shows those two traits is dehumanised, disappeared from the public space or is killed. It is the literal case of calling that 'black' dog rabid so that anyone who comes across any black dog may kill it on sight.***

The death of truth takes a different route. In those early days, the lie is told in order for the comprador to comfort themselves. In full denial mode, they spout the truths that offer comfort and help them keep the US interests above all else. You will hear words like: 'No! The US is not coming to war; they are just helping the wheels of justice. They are different; what happened to the others will not happen to us. This is just help in times of need, like anyone would do; what have you done for us? Put up (like the US) or shut up.'

Today, we hear these lies all the time from their stupid think tanks in the south. Based on the media reports and many policy documents, it is clear that the grooming is so complete and so universal that you would think there is a global conspiracy to conceal the savagery of US imperialism. While that is true because the corporate media is under the firm control of the capitalist and the comprador has to repeat the self-soothing lies, we must remember that in this stage lies the most potent weapons against US imperialism: truth and anti-imperialism. For it is only after they are extinguished that the savagery can begin.





## 2. Favour/Failure.

**Once a client State responds positively to US grooming, they will receive some favours. If you respond negatively or with hesitation, you will be suppressed and declared a failure.**

Suppression is used to mask the refusal by a State or people who have rejected the US overtures. The failure label is like a stink bomb thrown in your backyard. It leaves a big stain and renders the State temporarily incapacitated: without the time and sense to gather itself and repair any damage from the crisis, which makes things worse.

The stink bomb can be a media war or a threat of invasion by the United States. A media war to tarnish the brand is never a good thing, no matter how innocent sounding when placed next to the threat of invasion. It is meant to isolate: branding a State as a bad apple with a single press release by the closest US embassy.

Once tagged as bad, the State loses its friends and is disrupted to the point of breakdown or failure, as was the intention all along. As things worsen, press statements and declarations that are presented as advisories are issued. These powerful tools are meant to scare allies and international businesses within the country. It puts them on notice and offers a 'respite' in the form of relocation support should they consider leaving. Even if framed as an option, it is clearly coercion because anyone who 'chooses' to remain is thrown under the bus and rolled in the same stench of failure as an enemy State. In the end, they leave.

**Favour masks itself as friendship.** It is, however, not friendship. It is blackmail: the part left unsaid. If it were said, it would be a warning to comply or receive a stink bomb that would force the US client State to become like the other 'evil' State that declined USA's imperialist advances.

The experiences in the second stage, Favour/Failure stage, are determined by how the State reacts.

Here is how different the experience is for those States who chose domination by the US empire, also known as the collaborators, from those who chose sovereignty and independence by resisting US hegemonic tendencies.

### A Favourable experience?

To those who accept domination, there will be some favours in the short term; there will be an outpouring of aid and military intervention in the form of training and equipment from the US and its allies. New US corporations begin setting up upon the 'invitation' of local governments, followed by significant media and public buy-in. Rebuilding grants loans from the IMF/World Bank starts to flow in. The US makes it feel like these countries are their best friends forever; there is a false notion of winning at home and the love from the empire.

Once the money is in, and the military or other aid flows top-down, the US empire starts to reinforce its anti-people actions. It will push the loans to surpass aid, which becomes a problem as the State is still in crisis, forcing them to take the loans despite all risks involved. The corporations also look for their share to repay themselves, and the loans' conditions become tied to policy. The US forces the States to impose privatisation policies. This further deepens the anti-people activities as basic services are cut off, and social safety nets are weakened.

All the privatised industries land in the hands of private multinationals and their local agents. With increasing international presence, the comprador government has no choice but to hand over the crucial military and/or sector policy-making concessions to protect US interests. In addition, the local administration begins setting up special protections for the military and to change laws to accommodate US terms in finance and security. This is the beginning of the public outcry and discontentment with the recently retrenched and unemployed former civil servants whose jobs were privatised.

Unfortunately, those are in the minority and are often from the older generations. To reward their efforts, therefore, the lie is deepened when the World Bank and IMF rankings reflect favour—silencing the former workers and their families as anti-progress!

### Failure according to the imperialist handbook

Failure is what the US imperialist designates the States who choose to remain true to their people and continue with policies to protect their independence and sovereignty. When that happens, the US empire immediately starts to issue travel advisories against those States and outpour media and diplomatic condemnation.

Using their fantastical movie caricatures, the US imperialist assigns these states horrible villain terms, which are repeated by the media, US-client states and other global institutions. It is the beginning of a very debilitating psychological warfare on countries unwilling to comply with real-life harm due to isolation and shock to the financial system.

The next step is to recall loans. This is a very targeted theft that allows the US imperialist to steal the wealth abroad of the targeted countries, like gold reserves—in contrast, reducing or cutting off any ability to trade with others to recoup money using their means. It is total and complete alienation that locks the country in quick-sand of bad news after bad news.

The resulting build-up of anger and resentment is usually so intense that the anger, with nowhere to go, usually lands back on the US and united in their fear and resentment of the US imperialist; most States experience a period of fragile optimism and national pride. ***When this happens, the people can begin to build their home country by salvaging the dying frame from the wrecking ball of imperialism.***

This new optimism is generally attributed to the ingenuity of the local administration to build new relations with non-US allies and international solidarity from socialist countries. Since the early 2000s, we have been seeing this trend repeating, particularly in countries that were taken through the second round of US imperialism. Following the path set by the early 'Failed' States like Cuba, the path to rebuilding rather than submitting is known.

It involves, first and foremost, accelerating the local productive forces through the mechanisation of agriculture and industrialization. These home-grown solutions, like local industries, are achieved through a centrally planned state-controlled economy, where the national resources can be mobilised for the good of the majority. It helps to collect resources during a crisis that had attracted the grooming imperialists in the first place. It will require the State to also create policies that will diversify the economy, eliminate US disruptive NGOs and strict control of US propaganda outlets to perform miracles to put the country back on a development trajectory and win public opinion based on truth.

After that, the country will be able to effectively seek and build new relations with non-US allies as it is still considered a failed state by US standards. It is also important to note that this is a very vulnerable state to be in, and lack of central planning can open the doors for opportunistic capitalists to enter the country, leaving a back door for the US imperialists to turn the country into their playground.

### 3. Exemption/Liable

***Now that the lines are drawn, and the rules of the imperialist are known, the question for the State is clear: are you for or against US imperialism?***

If the country is for US imperialism, temporary stability is worshipped as the permanent model to govern a country. The State will now live and die based on the whims of the US economy, its corporate interests and policies.

If a country is against it, it is firmly in the bad category. In this stage, those States that are still attached in some way or form to the US imperialist machine are put to use.

As failures, these countries become the playground for the imperialist's carrot-and-stick method. They are used to send examples to the others and to be put in line. It is a very expensive lesson that comes with US-imposed sanctions that direct US corporations and everyone else from their Western allies and Client States from doing business with the State.

It is important to remember that the imperialist collaborators are not spared the horror of sanctions. They are exempt from full-scale sanctions and other sector-killing measures or a complete withdrawal but never fully absolved. Most of them may not have other markets or suppliers, but they are all forced to comply with the sanctions or else suffer the consequences.

**Sanctions are double-edged swords; they attack collaborators and those who resist US imperialism.**

Let us now look at how the exemption in stage three and the liable States are affected by the US's unilateral sanctions

### **What Exemption - from worse punishment from the US - looks like.**

The US makes an exemption list for countries it wants to show favour. While the country will face sanctions, they are usually in the form of regulations and other 'minor' technicalities rather than full industry cut-offs. Aid and financial discussions will still be held, but at this time, some things are set in stone and cannot be negotiated. Here, exemptions are intended to cause anxiety and fear in the populations of those countries.

*Exemptions are also a delaying tool because either those countries may not hold immediate interest for the US but would still want to be kept in line.*

Therefore, it is a very passive-aggressive tactic that serves as a warning to remain compliant and supplicant or else. Countries under exemptions serve as a warning to those who might dare to stand against US imperialism and implant the constant desire by the local elites or government to please US bosses.

There is a constant reminder that the misfortunes of those who refused domination by the empire may befall them. It results in the wilful acceptance to be a stooge of US imperialism and give everything to appease their appetites. Then, there could be some attempts to sign security guarantees and financial aid and, in return, interference in internal affairs through unreasonable demands of reduction of public spending, closure of industries in favour of importation of manufactured goods, signing of long-term contracts with multinationals in the extractive sector, setting up of foreign military bases.

At this level, US corporations start controlling key sectors, principal utilities, and trade deals on labour-intensive sectors to produce cheaply for US multinationals.

Countries under an exemption, therefore, stop trying. Their will is crushed, and the comprador becomes neglectful and lazy to even think of a way out. It is a perilous state for any country, creating an echo chamber of hopelessness and pessimism. This turns into blame and blame, opening the country for the next stage in US imperialism.

### **Liable States are the stick in the game.**

To those on the liable list, the sanctions are heightened to a level of financial and economic blockades. Western media outlets are activated to declare them as failed states, propaganda and psychological warfare are intensified, and narratives are favoured instead of truth.

Loans are recalled, aid is cut off, foreign multinationals withdraw their businesses, a stop to trade and investment in the country, and repatriating all the loot to their home country. Making it look like submission to US imperialism is better than resistance; what a twisted logic!

**It is important to distinguish how this punishment is carried out because, unlike being labelled a failed State, which is in name and financing, not all sanctions are the same.**

In Europe, for example, trade sanctions are usually carried out in a surgical manner. In 2022, the US and NATO imposed sanctions on Russia. These were not blanket sanctions on the entire Russian economy, as it would be for a country like Zimbabwe or Argentina. They were imposed on the oligarchs rather than the country. Several US and European businesses were allowed to keep operating, and more importantly, trade with Russia, particularly in oil and gas, and grain, was allowed to continue.

Countries without nuclear power do not enjoy such surgical efforts. The sanctions leave little to no room for negotiations. They devastate all or entire industries collapse, and critical services and goods are cut off overnight. This bleeds the country dry to near death: destroying its currency and breaking hope, killing people and opening the country to ravaging forces without any chance of defence or viable protection.

**EVIDENTLY  
SANCTIONS  
ARE INDEED  
a declaration  
OF WAR.**

Sanctions are the final line for former US-aligned or neutral countries before the war. They are heaped across the entire State's industries and remain in effect for years and decades. Sanctions serve a critical job for US imperialism: the perfect deterrents for the poor neighbouring countries who may be catching feelings of anger or disinclination to support US policies.

*Continued on Page 37*



# Report

## China is the future and new frontier for sustainable people-to-people development.

*In September 2022, just after the Kenya General Elections, the Communist Party of Kenya led a delegation of Chinese Industrialists to Taita Taveta County to pay a courtesy call to the newly elected Governor, Andrew Mwadime.*

*Governor Mwadime is a member of the Communist Party of Kenya. While he was elected on an independent ticket for political expediency, his commitment to a people-for-people government to spur socio-economic development.*

*This meeting was meant to spark that conversation and lay the groundwork for the planned development of a China Industrial Park and other opportunities for development in the county.*

Taita Taveta Governor, Hon. Andrew Mwadime and Deputy Governor Hon Christine Kilalo hosted a Chinese delegation and members of the Communist Party of Kenya, CPK to discuss the new government's development priorities and explored the key ways the county will work with China and the Chinese people. Present in the meeting were Zhu Jianping representing the private sector and Zhoming Tian of China Energy, which is a Chinese State corporation.

The CPK, who organised and set-up this meeting for the county and the Chinese was represented by the National Vice-Chairperson Booker Ngesa Omole and the National Chair for the Youth League, Mwaivu Kaluka along with other CPK cadres and County government officers.

His Excellency, Hon Andrew Mwadime outlined his priorities in health-care, agriculture and mining. The delegation was taken through a discussion to pursue a grant from the Chinese Government to construct a 500-bed capacity hospital. The modern level-5 facility in Voi is meant to be a referral centre to provide world-class emergency and trauma care to serve the county and

neighbouring counties along the busy Nairobi-Mombasa Highway.

On the investment front, the Governor presented an elaborate concept on the Chinese Industrial Complex in Voi that would be predicted on a technology transfer to empower county residents and other Kenyans to take up highly skilled jobs to meet today's industrial demands. An industrial complex in Voi was vaulted as being very strategic because: "we are centrally located between the Mombasa harbour and Nairobi," said the Hon. Mwadime.

The Governor discussed the natural resources and clear opportunities for investment that must be formulated in a way that favours the people and in line with the county's development and investment policies. He promoted the county's plans to support investments in sustainable mining that is environmentally friendly and the county's expansive land that favours mechanised agriculture.

Mwadime concluded that he will work with the National government to pursue government to government cooperation based on common interest and mutual respect. **"We do not want our resources to be a source of pain to our people, some multinational corporations are doing horrendous things in parts of Africa like Congo."** Mwadime said.

Booker, CPK's National Vice Chairperson declared that there is enormous possibility to bolster fraternal relations among the people of Kenya and the people of China. He acclaimed the trends over the last two decades that have led to these close ties: "We already enjoy warm relations between the Kenya government and the Government of China. We know that will continue because with China, things actually get done."

He added that the only way to provide jobs with dignity to our people is through central planning of our economy, to mechanise our agriculture and embark on a trajectory towards industrialization. "No country has ever developed their economy through the western neoliberal model. It is all about exploiting us for cheap raw materials that they take back to their countries for processing.

This has kept Kenya and most of Africa and former colonies in the same state of agrarian production as they were sixty, seventy years ago. China is the future, it is the new frontier that works through cooperation and technology transfer. Let's learn from them." he concluded.

ENDS

## Notice

### The 1st International Meeting of Theoretical Publications of Left Parties and Political Movements

The Communist Party of Kenya has been invited by the journal Cuba Socialista to attend the First International Meeting of the theoretical Publication of the Left Parties and Political Movements. The in-person meeting will be held from Friday, 10th February to Sunday 12th, 2023 and the Party will be represented by the General Secretary, comrade Sefu Sani together with the National Vice Chairperson, Comrade Booker Ngesa Omole.

This meeting, which will be held in Havana, intends to reflect on problems and challenges faced by revolutionary and progressive forces of the world under the current circumstances. The purpose of these reflections is to lay the foundations for permanent collaboration between like-minded theoretical publications in order to contribute further to socialism, peace, solidarity and the creation of a better world. In recognition of the progress made so far, the meeting will make a special dedication to the legacy of the Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro Ruz, and pay tribute to the Heroic Guerrilla man Ernesto Che Guevara.

The agenda will be covered in four plenary sessions under the following topics:

**Imperialism: Current Characteristics, Contradictions and Challenges**

**Socialism and Youth**

**Solidarity and Unity of the left forces**

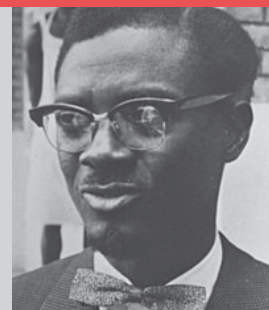
**Fidel Castro's legacy**

The journal Cuba Socialista was founded in September 1961 by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro Ruz, some months after the Cuban Revolution was declared socialist. It was designed to be the theoretical and political body of the party uniting the revolutionary forces.

The Communist Party of Kenya has a sister publication to Cuba Socialista called Itikadi, translated in English to mean ideology. The Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of Kenya launched Itikadi on July 1st, 2020, as the Party publication. The quarterly magazine is about socialism, theory and practice. Itikadi demystifies the myths about history and society that for many years have been created and disseminated by the reactionary classes of exploiters and oppressors of Kenya and the World to hoodwink the masses and distort the struggle for their liberation.

By shining a spotlight on these myths, we expose the conscious and unconscious systems of exploitation and oppression of one class by another and person by person: bringing awareness and informed discourse in the class struggle.

## Tribute to Patrice E. Lumumba



by  
**Comrade  
Ashlyn  
Ajiambo**

*Image courtesy of  
Wikipedia*

**"It's easy enough to shout slogans, to sign manifestos, but it is quite a different matter to build, manage, command, spend days and nights seeking the solution of problems."  
~Patrice Lumumba**

Today we commemorate and Celebrate the Democratic Republic of Congo's Independence leader and hero Patrice E. Lumumba.

His defiant fighting spirit, attitude and principles continue to prevail among the young people who have committed their lives to uniting, consolidating, strengthening and organizing the masses to struggle against the rule of the minority.

The true hero of the South and all the oppressed people still living under the yoke of imperialism. Without dignity, there is no liberty! Without Justice, there is no dignity! And Without Independence, there are no free men!

The intensified levels of imperialism and calamities created by capitalism by our African governments have conditioned the subsequent rise in an independent, proletariat, self-conscious militant force that is vibrant and propels the pro-people War. This revolutionary character is that of Lumumba.

*Long Live Patrice Lumumba!  
Long Live Martyrdom  
Long Live the Congolese struggles!  
Long Live the struggle of the African People!*

*Continuation: seven strategies and tactics of US imperialism from page 34*

## 4. Delinquency/Isolation

At this level of contact, the country is entirely in line, and every local policy decision and implementation is externally driven. It is pre-approved, provided for, and managed by the US through USAID and the many NGOs working in the country under the broad umbrella of 'development partners' who have bundled together with other Western countries to run the country's policy. The public sector is taken over: policies become market-driven so that you can provide only for the interest of the US.

With corruption and incompetence, privatisation becomes the only way the government can 'receive' funding. Ultimately, all the functional sectors are dead or reduced to basic extraction capabilities, and local industry is destroyed unless it serves imperialist deals.

For the countries that had previously taken a non-negotiable stand with the empire, the worst is yet to come, sanctions are pinching their lives, the offer is made, and economic blockades are imposed if rejected. Not only will the US and its allies not trade with the country, but the country is not allowed to trade or work with others (the US, allies and its friends). Economic isolation is achieved, with it, more lessons for now delinquent countries, fear and destruction.

Continuing from the earlier stage, government officials, with nothing original of their own to do, result in theatre and stunts to show they are working. This accelerates the rate of incompetence in the public sector. The country enters a state where it cannot protect itself, let alone its people.

### Delinquency

This is the step when the 'development' Partners set the agenda to bankrupt the client economies intentionally; the results are devastating high inequality as a top elite, and multinational corporations control the country's resources. The US's infamous colour revolutions driven by sects, religions, tribes, et al. kick in.

The country is littered with the working poor, with multinational companies paying less than living wages- installing modern-day slave labour camps in the name of Special Economic Zones is complete. Total breakdown of 'democratic' earnings like human rights, poor public service and brutalization of the poor majority.

Now, loans are given under strict and more rigid terms. In contrast, many loan applications are denied as more concessions to capital are demanded and no more universal services, including education and health. Worse, multinational corporations still skate taxes and dictate public policy. The regime hands over key military and/or security to protect US interests and set up special protections for US companies and the for-profit public sector.

With the market-driven policies taken over by the US imperialist agenda and barely any regulation or care for the working class, another phenomenon enters the country as the famous 'disruptive' US corporations take over. Disruption is just another way to skirt regulations. It has been employed to create the global monopolies that continue to grow from extracting from the world under slave wages.

The biggest disruptors, such as tech giants including Facebook, Uber, Amazon and fast-fashion companies, are responsible for killing many local industries, destroying media transparency, and dictating local policies in client States. As a result, late-stage imperialism is now creating what some scholars call techno feudalism, where brutality, domination and exploitation are entirely conducted by a few US corporations rather than the government itself.

### Isolation

Unilateral economic blockades and trade embargos become a permanent policy of US imperialism to isolate the 'bad' countries. The people are dehumanized in the media, and in reality, it is the peak of the psychological offensive.



For a moment, dystopian facilities –ghost towns, food deserts and living in the past are the outcomes of the US destabilisation of independent States. At the point when the masses of the country are suffocating with hunger, resistance groups funded by the CIA and other 'security groups' to destabilise the country are rolled out, and cultivation of US and Western-friendly political figures continues purposely to install them in power.

Isolation has become so much easier in the modern world: from being able to switch off social media with the touch of a button or any other means for people to organise or work, the country becomes vulnerable to all sorts of attacks.

In isolated countries, military coups have become the norm as different external powers jostle for power to control the resources 'the hard' way. This is why civil war outbreaks always follow them. Without any progress, the State's local administration experiences chronic failure characterised by a non-existence legislature and a corrupt, dysfunctional judiciary.

Amid civil war, the corporations can now operate with impunity setting their security, genocide groups and communities with no questions asked. Corporatist anarchy it is, especially in South America and Africa: countries without nuclear deterrence.

As we have seen, things take a different flavour in Europe; delinquency will not cause isolation. It will lead to forced relationships! Greece, for example, was forced to go under receivership with the European Union or else. While not a civil war to undo the cost of imperialism and capitalism, the country must now pay for the cost of 'enforcing democracy', or it will be bankrupted.

In such cases, these countries are forced to join alliances to be 'managed' and financial assets taken over as collateral for management as wayward delinquents who cannot govern themselves.

## 5. Crack/Raid



Whereas delinquency had a sense of hope and some feeling of control – false as it was – there is no ground for hope or control when a country is cracked. A country cracks after it has been stretched and split so long that there is nothing to hold it together. It is usually an internal force, and it is inevitable.

When a country is cracking, it is like watching a car wreck, and everyone can point at it and note it, but nobody is waking up to do anything about it. Sure, people report how things are worsening and how much the public is rebelling. However, because of all the imperialist efforts to this point, things are such that there is no sense of reality, and there are still some groups within the population, especially the ruling elite, who can see an opportunity in the disjointed reality.

That is why when countries crack, they do so quietly. It almost seems natural: like the story, everyone knows because they know it. Like: this is how it goes in Africa. Or everyone in South America always does it. The natural progression theory is accepted because, as collaborators, nothing happened by chance. Everything was orchestrated by the US imperialist machine and done with deliberate precision afforded by modern technology and media power.

At this moment, any possible group divisions are so normal and so divided that nobody remembers the State as a whole. Gangs and militia roam the streets because the government is dysfunctional and corrupt, and it is a race to the bottom on who can outmanoeuvre who in the rat race. As the divisions deepen, each splintered group insulates itself. As they cling closer and closer, they become more susceptible to misinformation that creates shared delusions of success. For example, they believe they are better because at least they are not as bad as the other group.

These are the very divisions and self-deluding tactics that the US imperialist had deployed between countries: but have been localised and adapted for the existing groups within the now delinquent State. It is a messy stage, chaotic and polarised, as unhealthy bonds strengthen (or appear to strengthen) between the country and the imperialists, who seem to be the only coherent and clear mark in the foggy confusion.

Because of their low confidence levels and self-isolation, the population gets more desperate: ideal victims for full-scale exploitation by the (now fully) entrenched collaborators of the imperialist. With the corporations (primarily foreign-owned) being run by 'locals' and the presence of the imperialist fully merged with the familiar faces of their people, there is no resistance to anything that the imperialist asks because any independent thoughts were squashed a long time ago. Now, everything seems normal and feels natural to submit and let the imperialist have their way.

**Crack is the final freefall state: racing to the bottom.**

### What a State on Crack is like:

The country is experiencing a total social breakdown thanks to divisive rhetoric and misinformation. Fear and paranoia reign nourishing distrust between usual lines fragments further to include age and even gender lines. In the imperial core, the people love their country more, but only because others hate it, so they can do anything to prove it. And to punish them. Such is the attitude of a brainwashed population.

The population from the devastated countries of the south are forced to immigrate northwards to become the garbage collector for the low and dirty jobs the US citizens do not want to do, including fighting 'unworthy' predatory wars on behalf of the degenerating empire. Only chaos and more chaos, both at home and abroad.

### Permission to Raid

The imperial isolation policy ensures that the targeted country has no friends in and out, causing full-scale paranoia and divisions within the country; this is advanced with military support from the collaborators; the US only wants to breed distrust among the people. Nothing is working, and no hope on the horizon. So, why bother?

Surrounded by neighbouring States who host US military bases and/or receive US security support, the imperialist will not need to expend its home army for small-time countries and regions that do not have the payoff for a full-time war. Instead, they will now push their fully cracked countries to raid their neighbours on their behalf. It is a cheaper option and payment for all the security and military 'aid' given in the early days. It works to focus the attention of the cracked neighbour outwards: splitting its focus and also creating tensions within the regions to ensure the now cracked nations remain entirely under the thrall of the US imperialist in case the neighbour they attacked decides to reiterate!

US-funded mercenaries and other groups come into the country under the disguise of defending democracy. Criminal outfits such as the National Endowment Fund for Democracy activate financial support for separatist groups, pseudo revolutionaries or worse, turning the neighbours into invaders. Imperialism thrives in chaos and more chaos. A story is created that a revolution is underway, now the infamous colour revolution.

For example, countries like Ethiopia or Palestine are stuck in some form of perpetual war, neighbours are well funded, and they hold you at ransom for deals struck among them and colonialists or other imperial powers. If you are still a colony like Western Saharawi or South Africa in the 1980s: nobody to help you now because the moral pedestal is broken, and your oppressors can stand firm with the imperialist or cite them.

At this stage, everyone is isolated: neighbours no longer like each other, and help is miles away and not always guaranteed. The crack/raid stage is an inevitable point for the imperialist because (a) the only surviving industries in the US are their military agencies and (b) at this late-stage capitalism where the corporations are marching to extract as fast as they can, they know long-term presence will not be tolerated unless the disruption of war and civil unrest tears the nation and its people.



## 6. Burst/Build

A country will burst when the collaborative elite cannot contain the terror forces of the US imperialist machine, and the only way out is self-implosion. It is an inevitable outcome because all the extraction and exploitation take their toll and the country reaches a point beyond repair. It is destruction where everything is ground to dust, and not much can be retrieved from this stage.

It manifests as war, the final bullet killing the country. For the imperialist machine, this literal bullet is inevitable because the US imperialist is in the business of exporting war and the main export, highest expenditure and biggest innovation in the US all go into global scale manufacture of war. As a capitalist state, the imperialist US must make a profit, and after selling weapons and conducting proxy wars and funding puppet regimes, the US must still fire bullets and drop bombs to make a killing profit.

With nothing left to manoeuvre and its systems laid to shambles, the last stage for the imperialist is to unleash its bullets and bombs to kill the people and destroy the country lest it reiterates or grows wiser to the ways of the imperialist. The enemy no longer needs to hide, and the imperialist becomes the killer it has always been.

**The events of 2018 – 2023 have shown that despite the inevitability of every collaborator going burst after US attention in the past, things can change.**

There is an alternative, and it is becoming more viable as the US imperialist declines deeper into late-stage capitalism. During this time, we have seen that there are subjective and objective factors, together with the decisions of the country leaders that can be used to help bring a desirable result for the majority of the population of the targeted nation.

In other words, it is possible to peel away and build yourself a place outside the US influence. Internationalism has been practical in making the US policy of isolation a total failure; Cuba has continued to defy all odds prospering at an unimaginable level in medicine, biotechnology, et al.

China is another example; when the US unleashed its sanctions against China and the rest of the globe in its steel, China did not crack but moved aside to build new trade partners and set up different supply chains outside the US. China's tariff-for-tariff retaliation helped to deal with the worst-case of what, in the past, had been a deal blow to many economies. Furthermore, the diversion of trade and supply lines from US agriculture allowed other economies to benefit from new markets and supply lines.

However, not all countries can afford to build. Many have to suffer the final bang: the complete and total war that comes from US 'intervention' when they feel they must take it by force. The most devastating episodes include Iraq, Libya, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc. Burst is the desirable outcome for US imperialism, but some countries have built their economies amid this attack.

### Burst

This is when total capitalist propaganda has brainwashed the majority; the complete right-wing radicalization has a temporary victory over truth. National social programs have been defeated, and war to 'free' the country from certain elements, like a ruler, e.g. Gadhafi, ends up being a ransacking mission. The population is captured by gloom, despair, hopelessness and sadness. In short, the client state is now an enemy of the US and needs to be cleansed of the badness. For profit and practice, the US declares itself the world prefect; as such, only the US can cleanse the country of its bad elements: something the US will do with its bullets and more bullets.

### Build

This is only possible when the country has deliberately delinked itself from the global imperialist system. The policy trajectory becomes more inward-looking, and within a short time, the economy picks up with the acceleration of the productive forces.

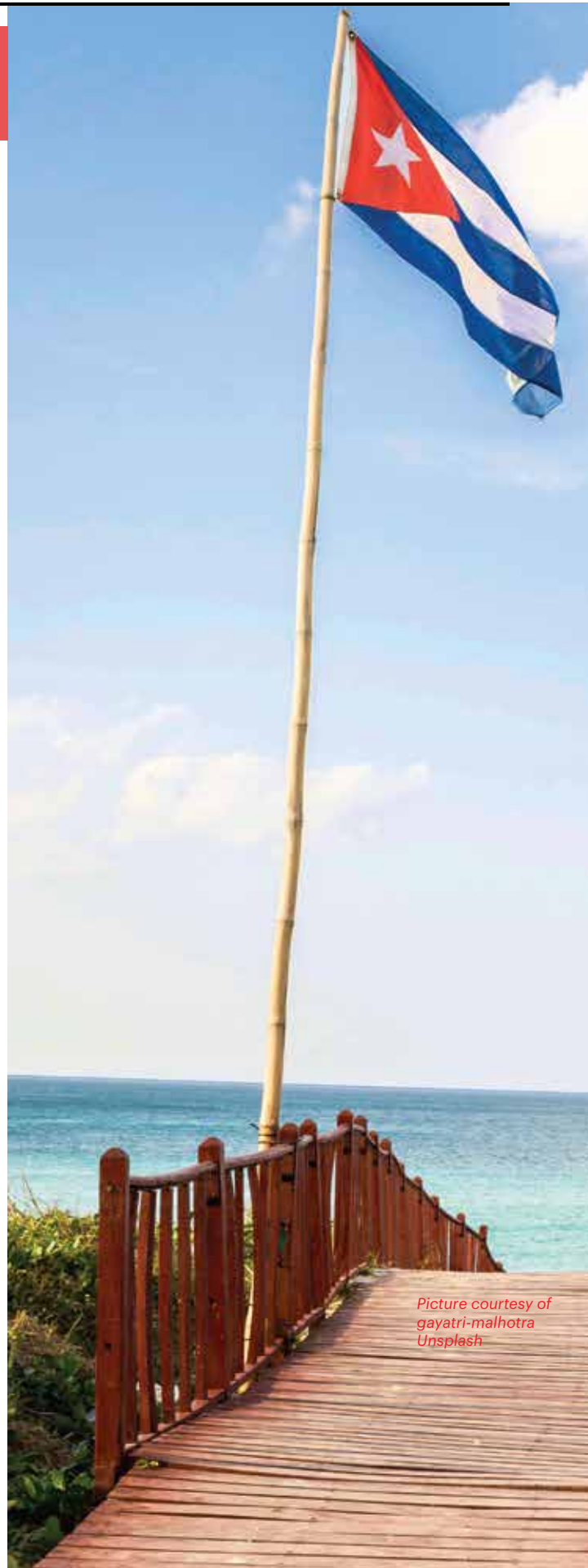
**Innovation and science are put at the service of the broad majority of the country. With renewed hope, political education away from imperialism and miseducation recreates new defenders for the socialist project—production and movement increase.**

The reconstruction of the national economy takes off, and reconciliation and justice for the majority become part and parcel of the new system. Solidarity with the vulnerable brings new hope.



## 7. Acceptance

- **Acceptance is about recognizing the reality that the US is an imperialist state** and its systems, policies – enforced through its corporations, international agencies and its military – are designed to expand into conquering others for their own selfish gain. While there may appear to be mutual interests, there is no dictate or space for humanity or even mutuality in a capitalist system. It is all about maximising the benefits of the owners at whatever cost.
- **Acceptance is not about moving past the imperialist or the US influence but understanding that these forces will exist.** After experiencing US imperialism, you will be changed but scarred: whether it was an active effort or passively aggressive effort, and you will be ruined. It is, therefore, about deciding to stand on your own and resist at all costs by making 'healthier' choices for your society and your country as a whole.
- **Acceptance means unlearning the consumerist greed** that is the capitalist design and getting off the metaphysical world upon which capitalism is built. It is about being truly natural: connected and whole rather than taking an individualist, selfish approach to decisions and policies. Basically, unlearning the capitalist ideology- dropping the baggage of the old society.
- **Acceptance is about working together, valuing the work and replacing broken friendships, communities, and societies first and foremost.** It is about denying the greedy elements of our 'nature' and re-using, building for the future and understanding how interconnected and interdependent we are with one another and the world around us.
- **Acceptance is about growing into a unified society:** evolution from masters and subjects, managers and workers, capital and labour to value everything as important as part of being here and its use. To struggle against the class system that serves to subjugate others and see a world without these constant struggles. The inevitable classless society
- **Acceptance is acceptance of the reality of the world** absent the hallucinogens and other society-numbing tools that have been used to spread fear, hate and division among us. It means treating everyone equally, and the same no matter their race, tribe, religion, creed, gender or age.



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gayatri-malhotra  
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## Ideology

# Covid-19 Kills, but Capitalism is the Pandemic

COMRADE WAHOME WARINGA

*Wahome Waringa takes a microscope to view the policies that the Kenyan estate deployed during the Covid-19 pandemic and its effect on Kenyan society. We see the duality of these policies: the employers getting richer as the employees lost a lot and continue to suffer to this day. As a result, we see how the society weakened, and with the police, in service of the state, sharpened their bullets and opened their jails to suppress the brutality and inhumanity of these measures.*

*The suffering, destruction and death caused by the policies tallied up to be worse than those caused by Covid-19 and worse, it will continue to happen because the floodgates of those policies brought in a new wave of capitalist – anti-people – policies that are with us to stay.*

*This article narrates how this happens and in part, explains why it had to happen.*

There was a time I lived in darkness, in routine. I thought the world was what I could see. But now, as a student of Marxism and a sceptic, I understand that all senses can deceive us. To understand the objective world is to constantly compare our subjective thoughts to the objective reality in an endless manner—every time referring to history to reflect on the presence and to predict the future. To penetrate reality is to understand the science of all reality, which is the philosophy of historical and dialectical and not metaphysics.

Covid-19 has exposed the irrational nature of capitalism in very unprecedented amounts of money. With the increasing levels of poverty and chaos, the enthusiasm for change is born. Last year, with the first wave of Covid -19, the president gave a directive locking down and subjecting a curfew on the Kenyan fold.

The working class lost their jobs, which ultimately increased the cost of living. The number of evictions and homelessness was nauseating. The number of families breaking down was distressing. Kenyans were barely surviving.

A year later and in the third wave of the virus, the president gave a similar directive locking down infected areas and subjecting a curfew that would leave the informal sector with no sense of direction.

**Therefore, one would wonder, would the state claim lack of knowledge on the effect of the lockdown curfew on Kenyans? Did the state not give any care or regard towards the welfare of the Kenyan fold?**

To them, locking them down and subjecting them to curfews devoid of reparations or an alternative source of livelihood is beyond cruel.

The people collectively surrender their power to the government endowed with carrying on operations for the benefit of the majority of Kenyans. The Kenyan government has, however, undertaken superfluous operations at the expense of the Kenyan working class. With the closure and sudden shrinking of businesses, the government should have cushioned the citizens from the blow caused by layoffs and the increased cost of living to prevent an economic crisis.

The Federation of Kenyan Employers (FKE), through a tripartite between the ministry of labour and social protection and The Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), entered an agreement that saw a big win for employers. According to the parties, the deal was a gift to employers and employees. The agreement saw the suspension of CBAs, frozen wages, pay cuts, and unpaid leaves, among others. From the take home, it is clear that while the employers won, the employees were left to fend for themselves: leaving no question as to whose benefit it was meant for.

Further, the Pandemic Response and Disaster Management Bill, 2020, tabled before the senate, would see vulnerable Kenyans exempted from paying rent, utility bills and servicing bank loans. The bill states that tenants unable to meet their rent should give a notice in writing to the landlords or the contracting parties, who, upon receipt, would agree on how the amounts due would be met after the pandemic.

The bill further gives provisions for social safety net schemes, which include unconditional cash transfers to vulnerable persons, households and informal sector workers whose incomes have been disrupted. The bill also provides for non-disconnection for non-payment of utility bills such as electricity and water, both offered by the government.



However good as the bill may be, the government pays no priority to the needs of strangled Kenyans but would rather debate unnecessary constitutional amendments.

We are in a brutal and open fight between the exploiter and the exploited. Our government has caused unrest and conflict between them and the Kenyan citizenry. The war created by the executive has instigated the people to demonstrate. The disregard can no longer be ignored. The people are tired of keeping silent despite continued government exploitation. To this end, we took to the streets to fight against the authoritarian government we found ruling us. The pandemic doesn't excuse due diligence. The government should have given Kenyans notice of the lockdown!

Many Kenyans lost their jobs and means of livelihood due to the lockdown and curfew subjected to them. The rest are Kenyans who live hand to mouth and struggle to survive.

**Due to the pandemic, Kenyans are making less than a quarter of their ordinary income. But nothing has been subsidised. How, then, are we avoiding starvation?**

Food prices have increased, and the situation continues to worsen. The Kenyan workers can barely afford to feed their families. Between the job cuts, the lockdown, the curfew, and the high cost of living, Kenyans are left to starve.

The level of unemployment has and will continue to increase. The rate of inequality will, in turn, rise, lowering the quality of work and, ultimately, an even higher cost of living. As we stand, fuel prices have shot up, transport prices have doubled if not tripled, food prices are over the roof, exorbitant electricity and water bills, cost of housing, and cost of healthcare. Everything is close to beyond the reach of the Kenyan hand. The persons affected by the same are the Kenyan workers. The same worker who diligently pays taxes.

The economic impact of the pandemic has befallen Kenyan workers.

The government has money for their political and corrupt schemes but has none to cushion the working class from the adverse effects of the pandemic. The government can afford to loot 2 billion daily but has none to ensure the treatment of Kenyan patients infected with the virus. To think that after receiving grants that are shy of one trillion, the government would expand hospitals to facilitate more beds for Covid patients.

Now, there are no beds for Covid patients, testing samples are relatively low, and safety and contingent programs for the vulnerable and affected Kenyans remain inexistent. The charges for testing are beyond exploitative. With increasing Covid infections, the government has avoided a great deal of responsibility by excluding Covid from the illness insured under NHIF.

The Kenyan worker cannot afford to pay for the treatment. A mental health pandemic has arisen due to the frustrations and anguish caused by the pandemic. The negative mental consequences have seen families break down as they can no longer afford to sustain themselves. Kenyans are committing suicide as a result of economic frustrations. Depression crippling Kenyans boiled up frustrations leading to criminal offences.

Kenyans were evicted from their homes due to the housing crisis. Criminal offences are on the rise as a result of the crippling economy. Mental health is a threat to public peace. It is general knowledge that impoverished people commit crimes for survival. And truth be told, Kenyans cannot afford everything by themselves and afford to pay taxes.

On April 7, 2021, the Hospitality and Entertainment workers Alliance in conjunction with the Communist party of Kenya, took to the street to demand a scientific program for mass testing and vaccination during the lockdown, suspension of social elements of life, compensation for work loss, provision for food subsidies, full disclosure and paralysis on all government loans being negotiated with multinationals, an end to police harassment and brutality and suspension of all BBI related activities.

On the morning of the protest, the demonstrators were bewildered by the police who chased them away using unnecessary force and, at the same time, arrested any person who seemed to be part of the protests, including Kenyans who were carrying on their business on the streets.



The political state, and its political authority, have suppressed the voice of Kenyans and continue to do so through unscrupulous arrests. They say we should be grateful for democracy, but the truth is there are rising debates and demonstrations about their modes of governance.

**About the austerity measures being used by the government. The working class continue to suffer, to struggle, to hunger.**

The debates and demonstrations are evoking troubled and suffering Kenyans. The pandemic has not made it any easier. Kenyans are rightfully endowed with the audacity to protest. The working class has taken it to the streets to fight for their socio-economic rights. 'For all arms with which to fight must be drawn from the society as it is' as Karl Max put it.

After the police dispersed the protesters, the rendezvous point was the CPK office for them to regroup and breathe after the traumatic occurrence.

All this time, they were adhering to Covid protocols. The police did not take a minute when the OCS in charge of Kileleshwa police station came to 'survey' what the meeting was about. The police surrounded the party Headquarters, where they intended to give a presser to articulate their demands. With no arrest warrant or declaration of their rights, needless to mention the reason for arrest, they were marched to the police land cruiser.

The police, led by the OCS, were not shy to express their disdain and displeasure towards the communist ideology. *"hizi chama za machakani machakani hakuna kitu zitawasaidia..."*.



Meaning, these underground political parties will not help you. To stick the point home, he continued: "I belong to the ruling party." As if the injury caused by the police harassment was not enough, they dared to add salt to the injury and asked the arrested persons why they were being arrested.

Clearly, the police carry political attributes and serve orders from the political ruling class. When they got to the police station, they were held for a hot minute.

**For eight hours, they were held incommunicado, with no communication or direction regarding their charges.**

The DCI came in to question the detainees regarding the protest. Questions arise as to what the criminal division would be doing dealing with matters relating to the right to protest. Later that evening, the detainees were released on free bond on the condition they presented themselves to court for plea-taking.

From discussions held during detention. The detainees realised that they, together with Kenyan workers, needed to steer the change agenda. Discussions on the role of change devoid of class. For the Kenyan working class to realise that change requires crossing the class struggle. Needless to say, the alienation and betrayal experienced by the detainees. The state will use any means to suppress the voices of distressed Kenyans.

Truthfully, the consciousness of the Kenyan working class needs to be awoken. To put it in context, we live in times where governance is based on economic supremacy, where the working class and generally the poor are disregarded based on their financial status. But that should not be the case.

That the government negotiates loans that, at this point, the interest on debt is way beyond the wage bill. Thinking that the same suppressed working Kenyan will have to foot the same is just unsettling. We refuse to bow down to the capitalist regime. We refuse to die so that the rich can live. We refuse to sacrifice our lives so that the rich can survive Corona.

## A Tribute to Alphonse Ngenga

*This piece is dedicated to the memory of our departed Comrade, Alphonse Ngenga, and all the victims of the neoliberal healthcare crisis. He was a dedicated 21 year old Young Communist League cadre and a Community Organizer with Githurai Social Justice Centre.*

On 2nd Feb 2022, in the company of comrades, he was involved in an accident and suffered post-traumatic injuries and a broken arm. The experience we encountered at the hospital was both horrific and traumatic and will forever live with us. There was no emergency response at Kenyatta National Hospital. We were told by the health workers that the hospital machines were not working and that we had to wait until they were fixed; even still, there was a long line of emergency patients before our dear Comrade waiting for the same services.

Only after we intervened and caused mayhem at the hospital did the machines that had failed miraculously start to work. Even still, we had to wheel our Comrade to the scan rooms as there was no staff to do that. We were even invited to the scan room without protective gear to assist them as there was no adequate staff for the work.

No doctor attended to the injuries suffered by our late Comrade the entire 10 hours we were there. By the time he breathed his last the following day, his broken arm had not been attended to. This is the deliberate murder of poor people by the state that should be responsible for their social welfare.

Fifty-eight years after independence, we are still dependent on a few under-equipped public hospitals, which are, in fact, caricatures of hospitals. Inequalities in the burden of diseases still exist. Millions of underprivileged Kenyans continue to die in horrible conditions from preventable and curable diseases due to misdiagnosis, distance to healthcare facilities, underequipped and understaffed healthcare facilities, and the inability to pay for either health services or expensive drugs.



In early 2021, during an ongoing healthcare crisis, the government granted Ksh 4.5 billion car grants to Members of the County Assembly as a political lobby and influence in their oversight role in ratifying the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). The insanity continued, probe uncovered evidence of Kenya Medical Supplies Limited (KEMSA) Covid-19 tenders being given to politically connected individuals and businesses.

During the pandemic, the Communist Party of Kenya organized demonstrations to protest the unscientific way the government handled the pandemic and the deteriorating state of healthcare. The demonstrators exercising their constitutional right enshrined in article 39 were brutalized and arrested by the police. State agents later raided the party offices, and members were arrested and prosecuted at Kibra Law Courts.

The same fate fell on human rights defenders in Mombasa who organized demonstrations against the theft of Covid-19 funds. In an explicit negation of the principles of justice, the sitting magistrate Rita Nyamwai found them guilty of engaging in illegal assembly and failing to adhere to keep Covid-19 physical distance.

There is no doubt that our healthcare system has collapsed. Even healthcare workers are afraid of getting sick because they are not among the minority guaranteed of highest attainable health standards. The Medical Practitioners Pharmacists and Dentist Unit (KMPDU) had threatened strike action demanding PPI and medical cover for the health care workers. This was after 30 healthcare workers, including 30 specialist doctors, died from Covid-19.

Narrations and experiences by underprivileged Kenyans in hospitals are heartbreaking. A newspaper article reported of a 22-year-old man found guilty of trying to smuggle his newborn daughter out of Kenyatta National Hospital using a carrier bag to avoid paying Ksh 56,000 maternity fee.



Another media house romanticized the government's incompetence by praising the courage of a 12-year-old girl from Busia that courageously rowed her pregnant mom across Lake Victoria late at night to access a healthcare facility.

***President Uhuru Kenyatta later feted the girl for her 'heroism' and did nothing to bring a healthcare facility closer to them. Between survival and bravery, which one makes a man climb a thorn tree?***

Healthcare is today a business rather than a human right. Despite Article 43 of the Constitution guaranteeing the right to the highest attainable standard of health for every citizen, it remains an illusion. You will likely die from a preventable disease if you have no money. Today, most people in Kenya avoid healthcare services unless they are on their deathbeds. They deny themselves healthcare to save money for their children to survive.

Class analysis of our current struggle is critical. The healthcare crisis is both a class and governance issue. The constitutional right to healthcare has been turned into a charitable act by organizations born in the womb of neo-colonialism and participating in the imperial project. The Western-funded NGOs compete with churches to establish themselves, especially in informal urban settlements. They offer social services for victims of harsh austerity programs and say nothing about the IMF & World Bank Structural Adjustment Policies that work with the domestic elites to plunder our economy.

Feroze Manji notes that it's hardly surprising that in the current era of neoliberalism, we see a flourishing of NGOs, the new missionaries to Africa again. It was only in the 1980-90s, as SAPs were imposed across Africa by the international financial institutions and development agencies, that NGOs flourished, taking over the work of the retrenching state that had been persuaded to disengage from the provision of social services to its population.

Neoliberalism advocated for minimum state intervention transferring economic and political power to the free market. The utter negligence of our public hospitals is a salient example of how the state has relegated healthcare services to private-sector leeches that only value profits.

Public hospitals are chronologically underfunded until they fall into crisis, and then the private sector is presented as an efficient, innovative option and necessary provider of health care. PPP in healthcare is another brazen theft of public property.

Private hospitals exploit the seriously sick for profit. Private insurance is again a classist scheme that seems to rob patients and exclude ordinary Kenyans from accessing this right.

**The middle class is always one medical bill away from falling into poverty.**

Mathare residents must understand why there is no medicine at their local dispensary and have to depend on charitable organizations. Workers at Nairobi Industrial Area must see that they are subjected to conditions in which they can neither retain health nor live long.

We must question the reason public spending and health services benefit minorities who can afford the cost-sharing fee charged.

***Workers must realize that health care tied to employment is an invisible gun pointed at their heads so that they can never ask for better working conditions.***

So why do we have a private wing at Kenyatta National Hospital? Will we ever get to the point where we choose hospitals not because of the cost difference but because of proximity? We are subjected to such dehumanizing treatment that we have to fundraise and sell the little we have to pay medical bills in a public hospital with neither facilities nor drugs. Public hospitals are places where the poor go to be butchered by the neoliberal state.

We are even denied the bodies of our departed relatives to bury because of unsettled hospital bills.

The Communist Party of Kenya will remain faithful to the path Comrade Alphonse dedicated himself to. We shall not tire of educating our masses to expose the contradictions in our neoliberal Kenyan state and its alternative, socialism.

We shall continue to instigate public resistance to public policy directions set by governing authorities that treat the well-being of the majority. Basic human rights involve the right of workers to organize and have healthcare.

*Change like death is inevitable-Karimi Nduthu!*  
*Long live the spirit of Kamaradi Alphonse Ngenga!*



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# In Solidarity

## Comrade Bah El Mad, AMBASSADOR OF SAHRAWI ARAB REPUBLIC TO KENYA



*Remarks from Comrade Bah El Mad, Ambassador of Sahrawi Arab Republic to Kenya, delivered to mark the African Liberation Day 2022. The event was organized by the Communist Party of Kenya in Nairobi.*

### **Comrades,**

African Liberation Day as an institution within the Pan African movement reflects the growth and development of Pan Africanism. When Pan Africanism was faced with fighting colonialism, the focus of African Liberation Day was on the anti-colonial struggle and the fight for national independence. As Pan Africanism grew stronger and developed into a more mature objective, African Liberation Day activities reflected this maturation.

African Liberation Day has contributed to the struggle to raise the level of political awareness and organization in African communities worldwide. It has further been used as a tool to provide a platform for many African and other oppressed peoples to inform the African masses about their respective struggles for true liberation and development. Particularly for Southern Africa, African Liberation Day played a critical role in the defeat of colonialism and apartheid.

Western Sahara is the last African decolonization case on the agenda of the United Nations and it has been on the UN list of the Special Committee of 24 since 1963 when it was under Spanish colonial rule.

The General Assembly has consistently recognized the inalienable right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination and independence, and called for the exercise of that right in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 1514(xv) containing the Declaration on the granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The decolonization process of Western Sahara however was interrupted drastically owing to Morocco's military invasion and illegal occupation of the territory on 31 October 1975. The occupation was in violation of numerous UN and OAU resolutions and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

The historic ruling of the ICJ, issued on 16 October 1975. The UN has neither approved nor recognized the legality of the Moroccan annexation of Western Sahara. More precisely, in its resolutions, the General Assembly deeply deplored the aggravation of the situation resulting from "the continued occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco".

### **Ladies and Gentlemen:**

The decision of the Frente POLISARIO to end the ceasefire signed with Morocco was not a surprise, since it was preceded by several indications and warnings made to the UN, including decision taken by the last congress of the Frente POLISARIO on the non-engagement in any future political process that is not based on the decisions of international legality on Western Sahara.

Morocco is solely responsible for the current situation, after its violation of the ceasefire on November 13 in the El Guerguerat area, and so far UN has not taken seriously, nor has shown commitment, to the implementation of its peace plan. For this reason, we consider that any future implication in the peaceful solution of the conflict will be under the new logic of the Sahrawi war, based on the principle of entering into negotiations while the liberation war continues.

The SADR considers that the consolidation of regional peace is an indispensable condition for genuine economic and political integration and complementarity. A lasting solution to the Western Sahara conflict based on a free and democratic decolonization process will thus contribute greatly to re-establishing regional peace, stability and harmony in Northwest Africa and Sahel. It will also lead to eliminating, once and for all, one of the most deep-seated fears in the living memory of the peoples of the region, namely expansionism and forcible territorial acquisition.

From the land of struggle and freedom, we express our solidarity with Cuba, viva Cuba, and Venezuela, viva Venezuela.

Ladies and gentlemen, from the struggle of the people of Kenya we learn and with their solidarity we will see our victory, if not today it will be tomorrow.



## In Solidarity

### Long live the national liberation struggle of the people of Palestine!

*Comrade Booker Ngesa Omole, the National Vice-Chairperson of the Communist Party of Kenya delivered the Party's message on the International Day of Al-Quds. The event was held at Sir Ali Muslim Club in Nairobi on 7th May, 2022.*

*The Party recognized the advances in the Palestine Struggle made in Kenya under the Uhuru Kenyatta government, but also expressed concerns with the upcoming administrations due to the character and actions by the political candidates of the time. It expressly rejected the idea of a two-party state and demanded an end to Israeli apartheid.*

#### Down with Zionism! Up with Palestine!

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) is privileged and happy to address you today as we mark this important day. As one of the founding members of Kenya na Palestine, CPK is pleased to welcome you to the International Day of Al-Quds.

The international day of Al-Quds is an annual political protest event held to demonstrate solidarity with all the oppressed people globally and particularly the people of Palestine. As communists, the CPK has both an internationalist duty and a moral duty to be in solidarity with all the oppressed people of the world.

We can neither be ashamed of being in solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian people nor afraid to call the apartheid Israel what they are: the thieves of Palestinian land. CPK recognises Palestine as a country vilified and a demonised victim turned perpetrator. We see powerful propaganda machinery sanctioned and funded by the US government, used daily to call the murdered the murderer, to call the raped the rapist.

CPK is hostile to the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence by Israelis to inculcate fear; intended to coerce and intimidate the Palestinians in the pursuit of the ultimate goal of Israelis.



*Photo by Ahmed Abu Hameeda Unsplash*

*Comrades and Friends,*

CPK takes great exception to the ongoing media terrorism against the Palestinian people. The CNNs, BBCs, and online Zionist bloggers; these are international lie factories, manufacturing and disseminating vicious lies against the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people. These false reports are meant to tilt public opinion. They moralise the indiscriminate killings of innocent Palestinians by Israel's high-powered, lethal conventional fascist army.

As a result of this false coverage, the perceived morality of the killing of Palestinians downplays the cries of children now orphaned and parents mourning their children; killed in a protest to protect their motherland. This demonization of a just struggle will never kill our spirit.

Over the last few months, the world has watched a different scene play out with how the same media framed the Ukraine-Russia war. According to the Western media, Ukrainian authorities under the leadership of USA puppet Zelenskyy are blameless victims, heroes valiantly defending their land. The racist coverage of the conflict is no longer a going concern, and the hypocrisy of the European refugee and immigrant crisis is now **EXPOSED**.

The matter has been presented in black and white, not considering the historical and geopolitical issues of the region. The world is expected to accept this framing as reality, and the media and the western governments have worked very hard to silence any dissenting or alternative voices on the matter. Anything progressive is censored, and media narrative rules over truth.

## THE POSITION OF THE CPK ON THE MATTER IS UNEQUIVOCAL.

First, the CPK rejects all imperialist wars and remains in solidarity with the working people of Ukraine.

We also support the legitimate security concerns of the Putin administration and the threat to the integrity of the Russian state. Usually, the CPK has been anti-EU-NATO-US hegemony, but now, particularly with the eastward expansion of NATO.

We, therefore, support any effort to deal with the Neo Nazi movement in Ukraine once and for all, and we justify violence and military intervention against those outfits.

**Imagine if the same consideration and nuance were given to the people of Palestine, who have done nothing but defend their country against the Israeli Apartheid regime?**

**What if their valiant efforts were seen as the ordinary course of a people whose home and land are occupied and that fighting back is the natural course for them?**

CPK can never be neutral in a question of an oppressor and the oppressed or the exploiter and the exploited. CPK stands with the oppressed and the exploited Palestinian people. In fact, as

African people, we are from a history of resistance: resistance to colonialism, resistance to imperialism. We acknowledge the oppression that the white settler colonialists visited upon Africa. Colonialism exploited Africa: her people were devastated, raped, robbed, and her dignity shattered. But we resisted.

Building on similarities of our struggles, just as Kenyans had to fight to reclaim their land from the British colonialists and free their prisoners from the British detention camps, so should Palestine living in an open-air prison, fight for their freedom. Palestine's only option is to use any means available to them to reclaim their dignity, fight for their right to self-determination, and their right to statehood.

*Friends of Palestine,*

Palestine liberation is a question of principle and not of Religion! Quds day is a day to confront the arrogant powers and demand the freedom of all oppressed people.

CPK believes, and rightly so, that however long, protracted and difficult it may be, a just struggle will ultimately triumph. Just as liberation from apartheid in South Africa was unimaginable, the apartheid Israel shall be defeated.

The liberation of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Algeria and, in fact, all anti-colonial struggles in Africa and the World triumphed because they were just! The Palestinians will triumph because they have a just course.

CPK is convinced that however powerful Israel may appear, Israel will not rob the people of Palestine of their just right to freedom and ancestral land forever. The people of Palestine will never cease to fight for their liberation. However long it takes.

*Dear Militants,*

For those, especially here in Kenya, who think that the war between Israel and Palestine has nothing to do with Kenya, we must remember that if we genuinely love freedom, peace and uphold our morals, the right of all nations, big and small to self-determination must be upheld.

Kenyans especially through our government must act, condemn and isolate Israel and its imperialist collaborators. Kenya must recognise and offer moral and material support to the people of Palestine in their just war of liberation from Israel.

We take this chance to commend and recognise the efforts of the President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, who met his promise to welcome the Palestinian Embassy in Nairobi. We have seen an about-turn in Kenya's foreign policy for the first time, save for the goof on Ukraine- Russia conflict.

We also acknowledge that the Uhuru Kenyatta government has supported the efforts of the people of Western Sahara, who continue to struggle for the liberation of their country that is under occupation by the brutal Kingdom of Morocco. Thanks to his progressive foreign policy, now we enjoy deeper relations with the heroic people of Cuba.

CPK, who founded the Kenya Western Sahara friendship society to protest the occupation of Western Sahara, stands with her people. We believe that Western Sahara will be liberated one day despite the propaganda war.

All the moves and efforts by the government to recognise their struggle and support them diplomatically and recognise their cause officially are indeed noteworthy and have been added to the win column of resistance!

#### *My Comrades*

While we have seen some support from the Uhuru Kenyatta government, we worry for the future of Kenya's support for the People of Palestine. The actions and messages from the leading presidential candidates show that both William Ruto and Raila Odinga have been palling around apartheid Israel. Nothing can be further from the truth; the duo wants to sell out the course of the Palestinian people in return for alms from the terrorist state of Israel. They are desperate to get campaign money and are willing to compromise it all! Shame on them!

This worrying trend becomes even more disturbing when you learn that countries like Uganda and Rwanda have made their threat real. Both countries have been warming up to Israel; Museveni and Kagame, known tyrants, have no qualms accepting African 'refugees' from Israel for a fee. Funnelling the racist Israeli policy against people of colour.

We still wonder why any African Nation would be willing to collaborate with Israel, especially in light of the fact that Israel is forcefully deporting African refugees back to Africa. We reject the Israel observer status at the African Union, and all progressive people should continue to condemn any deal with Israel.

We condemn these countries not for their offer to host but because we know the decision to take in the refugees is solely based on the economic benefits they hope to reap from international humanitarian bodies.

We urge all Kenyans to be on their guard, so we are not led down the same path.

#### *Fellow defenders of peace*

The marking of Al-Quds day opposes Israel's over 70 years of colonisation and oppression of the Palestine People.

Having a Forum such as this allows us to state our stand as CPK and show continued support for the struggle of the people of Palestine.

We will not tire of exposing the double standards of the media in covering the struggle of the people of Palestine and exposing the looming threat of a pro-Israel regime that could cut back on the gains made in the struggle.

Although this is an annual event, there is a need for action to build an anti-Zionist movement at a global scale.

CPK still believes that it is not enough for Kenya, the African Union or the majority of the members of the United Nations to pass and support resolutions against Israel's colonialism and fascism against Palestinians.

We reiterate that the question of the Palestine situation is not a religious debate but must be extended to national and international debates in our geopolitics.

Actions must speak louder than words. It is time for leaders to walk the talk.

#### *Finally, Comrades*

The Communist Party of Kenya supports the total liberation of Palestine.

The two states' solution proposed by some nations and people is as reactionary as illogical. Just as Africa could not allow white South Africans to curve their country inside South Africa, it is unacceptable for Israel to curve an Israeli state inside Palestine.

Palestine must be liberated. The CPK will always be in solidarity with the people of Palestine.

**Long live the national liberation struggle of the people of Palestine!**

**Forward to the world free from oppression! -Forward!  
Forward to the world free from exploitation! - Forward!  
Forward to the world free from Discrimination! - Forward!**

**Death to Zionism! - Death!**

**Death to imperialism! -Death!**

**From Land to the Sea, Palestine shall be Free.**

**Aluta Continua!**



## Ideology:

### Analysis of President Ruto's administration's first 100 days in office.

COMRADE KINUTHIA NDUNG'U

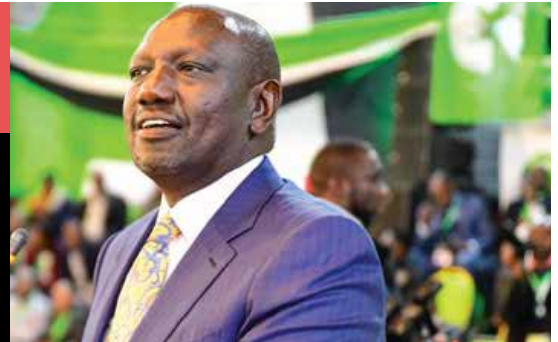
*Comrade Kinuthia Ndung'u, the Chairperson of the Communist Party of Kenya editorialised this factual review of President Ruto's 100 days in office. The overall picture is grim: not only are things moving as the CPK had projected in the Party's pre-election analysis, but Ruto's administration has opened new loopholes to fast track neo-liberal agenda in the country. What does it mean for the Kenyan majority and the oppressed working class? Going point by point, the Chairperson outlines the Party's position and concludes his review with a start warning: despite Ruto being the clear enemy and villain in the lives and circumstances of the Kenyan working class, Kenyans are unaware of the root cause of their struggle. With this challenge, the task for the Party is outlined in order to prevent Ruto's destructive term, the ruling class from benefiting from the added chaos and desperation they have wrought upon the people.*

#### President Ruto, Self-proclaimed Neoliberal Man and an Enemy of the poor Kenyan working class

This article will reflect on President Ruto's administration's first 100 days in office. It shall highlight some of the decisions and actions of the Kenya Kwanza government and their effect on the poor Kenyans. The article shall also bring the position of the Communist Party of Kenya and what is to be done. Let us start with some background.

With every successive neo-colonial regime in Kenya, the poor majority bear the brunt of the denial of their material interests. Police violence has increased, slums have continuously mushroomed, corruption skyrocketed, public healthcare and education deteriorated. Our country is choking with NGOs and religious propaganda. Imperialists' local outfits are depoliticising the masses -using myths, illusions, false narratives and miseducation to conceal the course of poverty. Today, Kenya is the belly of imperialism in the horn of Africa. We live under the rule of giant corporations and billionaires that work with the imperial powers.

We have a new neo-colonial regime led by a religious fundamentalist, an imperialist puppet per excellence, with no concrete blueprint or program to organise an economy to advance the interests of the majority poor Kenyans. On the other hand, the main opposition pretends to be antagonistic when it only differs in form but not in essence. It's another



**WILLIAM RUTO** Photo courtesy of Capital News

unapologetic wing of the bourgeois class. Raila Odinga, the opposition leader, is ashamed to call himself a capitalist, so he hides under their umbrella label of social democracy. He is quoted saying, "In any other society, there will always be those who are owners of capital and those who are working, but you do not deprive the rich to enrich the poor; you create opportunities for the poor to become rich." This is a position in support of capitalism. The Azimio La Umoja and Kenya Kwanza governments offer no option to the status quo of capitalism in Kenya. This paper will concentrate on the Kenya Kwanza government scorecard.

The Kenya Kwanza government promised to lower the cost of living in their first 100 days. However, in their first week, William Ruto gave an executive order to scrap fuel and maize flour subsidies. The subsidies cushioned Kenyans against the high cost of living caused by economic mismanagement in the previous regime in that Ruto was second in command. This policy action further increased the cost of living.

To mitigate this, they introduced a rebranded credit facility called the Inclusion Fund or "Hustler Fund" for people to access loans to invest in small enterprises. Most Kenyans qualify for Ksh 500.

**When you borrow Ksh 500, you receive Ksh430, to be repaid within 14 days. What business can one start with Ksh 430 and repay within 14 days?**

Even still, the death rate of small and medium enterprises is already very high. They are not just undercapitalised; no country has developed through free enterprise. What business can one start with Ksh 430 and repay within 14 days? Even still, the death rate of small and medium enterprises is already very high. They are not just undercapitalised; no country has developed through free enterprise.

The government's plans to bail Kenyans out of the devastating economic conditions will further entrench the country as the continent's laboratory for neoliberal policymaking. President Ruto backed the privatisation of State Corporations in a move to raise more funding for the government. The Capital Markets Authority (CMA) has already placed the Kenya Pipeline Corporation (KPC) and the Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) on its privatisation wish list. The administration believes in exploitative patterns of imperialism. Kenya Kwanza thinks that finance capital by the foreign financial oligarchy will solve our problems. Mr Ruto met Delta Air bosses on his American trip, proposing to sell, without any public participation, the entire 48.9% state stake in Kenya Airways -the national

**Mr Ruto met Delta Air bosses on his American trip, proposing to sell, without any public participation, the entire 48.9% state stake in the national carrier, Kenya Airways. Privatisation of state-owned enterprises is a ruthless policy against the poor.**

carrier. Privatisation of state-owned enterprises is a ruthless policy against the poor.

Education Cabinet Secretary Ezekiel Machogu also revealed plans by the government to stop funding public universities. He said the current financial crisis affecting the institutions called for alternative sources of income for the institutions to ease pressure on the government. Currently, most public universities cannot run the mess at subsidised rates like before. Students from underprivileged backgrounds have been forced to take up jobs such as mjengo, house helps, and Bodaboda, literally anything to help them survive. The commodification of education entrenches our universities in the neoliberal global chaos.

In addition, the cost of power bills in Kenya is steadily increasing to the point many of us can't afford it. This comes when the cost of living increases and meagre wages are eaten by inflation. The Kenya Power & Lighting Company (KPLC) is being led deliberately into a state of complete bankruptcy to wind it down, an intentional front to lobby for privatisation.

Mr Ruto's talk on water privatisation shocked many; this is an anti-poor people policy. Water, health and education are left in the hands of businessmen to prey for profits. The government additionally confirmed it is planning to allow GMO maize into the country to boost the food deficit. An outright privatisation of seeds to

enslave local farmers to multinational gangsters like Monsanto.

Ruto is a tribal bigot who hates the poor, disguised as a friend of the poor from god. The political class has historically relied on whipping tribal emotions for



RIGATHI GACHAGUA

*Photo courtesy of Capital News*

political mileage and then using their positions to plunder the economy and reward members of their class with privileges.

Deputy President Rigathi Gachagua took the oath of office only to perfect Kikuyu nationalism. Rigathi has continuously made tribal sentiments aiming to solidify his place as the de facto gatekeeper to Mt. Kenya. Poor Riggy wants to be the tribal kingpin of the GEMA Nation. He now plays the Kikuyu nationalist card to deceive his tribespeople. Gachagua is the worst of all Kikuyus; he represents the interest of the filthy wealthy Kikuyu minority.

Before the August 2022 polls, the Deputy President said that the Mt. Kenya electorates agreed that they would vote for Ruto, and he would offer them government positions in return. After the elections, he thanked the President for giving Kikuyus more cabinet and principal secretaries seats, adding that, in the remaining government positions, we will be having a Muchiri, Njoroge, Kamau, Njeri and so forth (Kikuyus). In Nyandarua, he said that Kikuyus had no apology for bagging the most Cabinet and Permanent Secretary positions. In Nyeri, he admonished Nairobi Governor Johnson Sakaja for allegedly persecuting business people from Mt. Kenya, adding that the Kikuyus voted for the governor.

Political appointments for state jobs and nominations to the County, National, and Senate Parliaments in the new regime were distributed among their friends, girlfriends and families. It was not just raw nepotism but the class solidarity of the rich. The 'opposition' was not left out; apart from favouring buddies for nominations, Raila and Kalonzo fronted their children for the East African

Legislative Assembly seats.

The government that promised to free Kenyan hustlers from the corrupt Kenyatta government has virtually withdrawn or reversed all the cases involving corrupt government officials and rich thieves. The Director of Public Prosecution, Noordin Haji retired Ksh 19 million graft charges against Public Service and Gender Cabinet Secretary Aisha Jumwa. The Asset Recovery Agency asked the Court of Appeal to vacate a High Court decision that seized Sh200 million from the Deputy President as proceeds of crime. Foreign policy was the only legacy Uhuru's regime left, which Mr Ruto is dragging in mad. The President replaced his foreign affairs nominee, Ababu Namwamba, a legal mind who understands international law and geopolitics, with a socialite Alfred Mutua as the Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Less than a month in office, Saharawi was on the chopping board with the President threatening to shut down the embassy in Kenya via a tweet. The opposition leader Raila Odinga later agreed with the decision to withdraw recognition of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, emphasising the critical and beneficial relations between Kenya and Morocco. The Kenyan administration has since signed a raft of trade agreements with the Moroccan monarchy, including the supply of subsidised fertiliser, which are proceeds of war crimes, from the occupied territory of Western Sahara. This is opposed to the former regime's progressive foreign policy towards the decolonising process of Western Sahara.

All these anti-poor people attacks happened in the first 100 days of Ruto's administration. Kenyan conditions require a proper opposition party ideologically different from the parties

**PRESIDENT RUTO HAS ALSO CONFIRMED THAT UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP, KENYA WILL REMAIN A VASSAL STATE OF THE USA SYNDICATE.** He supports the proxy war and sanctions of the USA and NATO to weaken the Federation of Russia. While holding bilateral talks with the Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez, he said that internationally recognised boundaries must be respected and that Kenya was behind Ukraine. He had earlier met the US Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken who expressed appreciation for Kenya's support for the UN Security Council resolution denouncing Russia. Ruto is president Joe Biden's cool kid.

**All these anti-poor people attacks happened in the first 100 days of Ruto's administration. Kenyan conditions require a proper opposition party ideologically different from the parties and coalitions presently dominating. This leaves CPK as the only existing antithesis to the status quo.**

and coalitions presently dominating. This leaves CPK as the only existing antithesis to the status quo.

At the Communist Party of Kenya, we recognise that the role of the government is to intervene for the majority against their minority exploiters. On subsidies, our position is that they help cushion the poor against a high cost of living. To us, it's a lame excuse for the government to say that the fuel subsidies only benefited the oil marketers. Government must ensure these subsidies serve the poor majority.

On hustler Fund, CPK sees it as an already failed experiment. The party believes that interest-based financial economies used by the financial capital elites can never uplift the economic conditions of ordinary Kenyans. Instead, the President should pursue a centralised planned economy based on the mechanisation of agriculture and industrialisation.

On privatising national assets, The Communist Party of Kenya published its guiding document, On 2022 Elections: Kenyans Think Outside the Box. It warned that without critical analysis, Kenyans would elect lawmakers who would oversee the destruction of the public economy by the robbery of public enterprises and parastatals through privatisation and implementation of neoliberal economic and social policies. It is already happening under President Ruto, a neoliberal puppet.

CPK acknowledge that the most important aspect of neoliberal globalisation is the political unity of the imperialists to impose capitalism as a rule of the international legal system. We identify the policies and agreements coordinated through the World Trade Organization and the twin Britton Woods Institution - the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as the bedrock of anti-poor people's economic and trade policies imposed on Kenya. We insist that fundamental human rights like electricity, education, water & other public services must never be privatised. The party is committed to mobilising Kenyans to struggle for an alternative globalisation - socialist globalisation based on mutual respect and solidarity.

On GMO maize, CPK is aware that for most of history, our farmers have had control over their seeds: saving, sharing, and replanting them freely. The move by the government to introduce GMOs without adequate scientific research is terrible. It will kill local



seeds and expose us to health complications. Privatisation of seeds benefits multinational companies like Monsanto that own GMO technology and put farmers at their mercy.

CPK recognises tribalism as one of the most significant impediments to social and national cohesion. We know that since colonialism, the only way Kenya's comprador class organised for political power was along ethnic lines. To use their positions to help themselves from public coffers and members of their class ethnicity. As local agents of imperialism, the comprador class are permanent enemies of the Kenyan workers.

CPK sees corruption as an offspring of capitalism. Neoliberalism makes public theft possible, ensures its longevity and enables mass exploitation. We are convinced that overthrowing capitalism is the only way to eliminate corruption.

On Western Sahara, CPK and Kenyans understand the pain of colonial occupation. We have an anti-colonial DNA. We remain steadfast in support of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Western Sahara while expanding the solidarity movement in all strata of Kenyan society. That is why our party is a founding member of the Kenya Western Sahara Solidarity Committee (KWSSC). It is a big mistake to think Kenyans can achieve human dignity, equity, social justice, national unity and democracy under our neocolonial state. Ruto's administration is with the capitalist class. This is evidenced by his domestic and foreign policy and confirmed by the chair of the President's advisors on economic affairs, Mr David Ndii, who stated in a tweet that the ethos of Hustler Nation is capitalism. A system that is the basis of greed and motivated by hate for poor people.

Capitalism continues to create objective factors such as poverty, unemployment and homelessness, which sharpen class contradictions. We know that there will inevitably be class struggle wherever there are classes. They may include workers' strikes, land conflicts and mass demonstrations with popular demands. However,

**On Foreign policy. Our party and the Kenyan people remain hostile to President Ruto's administration's foreign policy. Ruto has no foreign policy but interests couched as economic diplomacy. He is following the footsteps of the dead dictator Moi, who perfected a wait-and-see approach. We are in solidarity with the Ukrainian working people living under a neo nazi regime tolerated by the imperialists. We are anti-NATO and firmly support any means, including force by Putin's administration to liquidate the neo-Nazi regime in Kyiv and US stooges in Europe. The Kenyan people desire a multi-polar world.**

this doesn't mean that a revolution will happen. It is a mistake to assume that the worsening conditions in the country will result in automatic class consciousness.

It is a reality that the level of class consciousness amongst Kenyan working people, even in organised workplaces, is rock bottom. People are angry with the inhumane conditions they've endured under successive neo-colonial regimes but don't understand the root cause. That is why they plead with the government to improve their living conditions, give them jobs, food, end poverty and corruption.

Objective factors for a socialist revolution in Kenya are growing uncontrolled; the most pressing task, therefore, is to build subjective factors. For us, it is to commit to building the Communist Party of Kenya in theory and practice.

On January 5 2019, our party held its inaugural National

**Objective factors for a socialist revolution in Kenya are growing uncontrolled; the most pressing task, therefore, is to build subjective factors. For us, it is to commit to building the Communist Party of Kenya in theory and practice.**

Congress, which laid out a scientific plan to build the party as the vanguard of the Kenyan working class to ensure class struggles in Kenya are not left to the fate of spontaneity. The workers under the firm leadership of their party need to take their historical task to direct the masses' anger towards their real enemies.

The party must manufacture more revolutionaries who have experienced qualitative change through study and practice; produce more communists to build the Communist Party. The principal ideological aspect of our cadres' work must be the struggle to break the grip the bourgeoisie has on the political consciousness of the Kenyan workers. These revolutionaries must be within the Kenyan workers and their allies, appeal to them on a class basis, learn from them and patiently educate them about the root cause of their exploitation, capitalism.

The strength of our party lies in the fact that we build the working-class consciousness among the oppressed majority. This way, we shall turn people's minds from seeking a solution within the capitalist system but away from it, which is socialism.

The Communist Party of Kenya must also embark on deliberate actions to form a united front with progressive



Kenyans, parties, and movements committed to the progress of the Kenyan working class and the poor. We must unite all we can win against our common enemy.

Together with other progressives, we can defend and consolidate the progressive political reforms and democratic gains won by the struggle of the Kenyan people. Like Multi-party democracy, our constitution is a product of struggle. It provides an avenue to organise and demand dignity for all Kenyan workers. Its implementation would guarantee basic needs for the majority. However, Professor Issa Shivji reminds us to go beyond the constitution as a terrain of struggle and identify other sites which matter to the people; urban neighbourhoods, slums and villages and where they get their livelihoods; land and factories. The path towards implementing these progressive reforms is a matter of class struggle that will inevitably lead to socialism.

We are convinced that our problems stem from the stranglehold of Western imperialism. The existing neocolonial system is to be blamed for the indignity confronting our people. Building an alternative political force against a background of a long-established brutal neo-colonial hegemony will be arduous. However, our historical task is to find a way out of our present crisis. As Freire would say, "The greatest humanistic and historical task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves."

We remind all Kenyan patriots that they can never fully emancipate themselves and improve their living conditions unless the inhumane neo-colonial state is overthrown and the workers seize political power to establish a peaceful state of democracy and progress.

Long live CPK!  
Suluhu ni Usoshalisti!

## In Solidarity

### Response to President Ruto's decision to rescind recognition of the SADR

*On Thursday, 15th September, 2022, the Communist Party of Kenya issued a statement of solidarity with the people of Saharawi, from the Communist Party of Kenya and the Kenya Western Sahara Friendship. This statement was in response to President Ruto's decision to rescind recognition of the SADR. While the concerted protest by Kenyans forced the administration to change their decision, the seeds of dictatorship and imperialism were planted.*

**'William Ruto is living up to long-held fears that he is a brute who is prone to influence for self-gain'**

The Communist Party of Kenya expresses solidarity with the people of Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, SADR. It condemns the decision by President Ruto to rescind recognition of the SADR, also known as Western Sahara; a brutal policy which has sacrificed a group of people for exploitation and slaughter by the Moroccan King.

Kenyans know all too well the pain of colonisation: we suffered the savagery of British colonialism, and continue to endure exploitation and robbery, among other effects of neo-colonialism and imperialism perpetuated by the United States of America and Britain. For the President to turn around and support the occupying Moroccan force is hypocrisy and this type of inhumanity is contrary to the nature of the Kenyan people. We urge Kenyans not to turn a blind eye to the savagery unleashed upon the people of Saharawi as the Moroccan King continues to plunder, kill, maim and slaughter them.

We also point out that the King has rejected any referendum process to give the people of Saharawi a chance to choose freedom and self-determination. Instead, he is courting favours from weak-minded, would-be imperialists and dictators to support his occupation.

The allegations that President Ruto's objection to Western Sahara to decide its future through a referendum was a compromise reached after Ruto held successive meetings with Israeli and US delegations before his inauguration is an even bigger concern. The Communist Party of Kenya believes that the immediate and drastic change of directive is highly influenced and borne out of sheer ignorance by the President and his advisers.

Mr Ruto's remarks will have a zero-sum legal effect because they violate the position of the African Union and its Constitutive act. The Kingdom of Morocco and Western Sahara are both members of the African Union. Rather than engaging in such careless talk, Mr Ruto should be championing a peaceful conflict resolution. He should pressure the Moroccan King to give in to the referendum and immediately stop human rights violations in the occupied territories, rather than bowing to the Moroccan King.

Today's onslaught on the people of Western Sahara is a glimpse of how bankrupt Mr Ruto's foreign policy will be: prone to influence, ignorant of facts and barren of logical arguments. We want to warn Kenyans that the worst is yet to come, and they should be prepared to resist.

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and the Kenya Western Sahara Friendship Society (KWSFS) stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Western Sahara. The people of Saharawi will succeed because their fight is just. Morocco is the predatory occupying force, and they will fail.

Long live the Saharawi People!  
Long live the Polisario Front!  
Long Live Kenya-Western Sahara Friendship!  
Down with Morocco Occupation!

Ashlyn Ajiambo  
Secretary of Ideology and International Affairs



## About the state of Western Sahara:

The decolonisation process of Western Sahara was interrupted violently when Morocco invaded and occupied parts of the Territory by force on 31 October 1975. Since then, the Moroccan Monarch has blocked Western Sahara from exercising its inalienable right to self-determination and independence under conditions acceptable to her population.

The illegal annexation of parts of Western Sahara affirms that Morocco does not exercise any sovereignty or administering power over Western Sahara.

Under the occupation, Morocco has committed massive human rights violations and repressed fundamental freedoms of Saharawi civilians in the occupied parts of the Territory, similar to the repressive and discriminatory policies pursued by the British colonialists in Kenya. Morocco has adopted a systematic, chauvinistic and genocidal policy in the Sahrawi-occupied territories intended to occupy the land coercively and exterminate its people by all means.

Moroccan authorities are involved in the disappearance of Sahrawi human rights activists, the torture of prisoners of conscience, arbitrary detention, police brutality, intimidation and extra-judicial executions.

The entire occupied territories continue to be under a military siege, and a total media blackout, whilst Moroccan authorities deny the people of Western Sahara access to international media and observers.



## Tribute

**The greatest tribute to Joma is to emulate his commitment to socialist revolution.**



photo: Wikipedia

### KA JOSE MARIA SISON (JOMA)

The CC-CPP anniversary statement opens with, **“we give extraordinary tribute to Ka Jose Maria Sison (Amado Guerrero), founding chairman of the CPP Central Committee, whose masterly grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism guided the Party from its inception, infancy and growth. Ka Joma has bequeathed to us a treasure trove of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist work in which his immortal revolutionary spirit will forever live to guide the next generation of Party cadres to greater heights.”**

What makes him an eminent successor to Marx, Lenin and Mao and all other great communists is his total commitment and application of materialist dialectics on social science in the current struggle against monopoly capitalism.

This is evidenced by his single-mindedness of purpose in pursuing the national democratic revolution in the Philippines and building anti imperialist movements globally towards socialism.

Such singled-mindedness is behind his indefatigability – in his utter sense of responsibility of leadership in waging revolution in the Philippines and proletarian internationalism, and in taking the responsibility to contribute to international leadership.

These can be in the different arenas of struggle of the people’s democratic revolution in the Philippines like the conduct of people’s war and all its components, the democratic mass movement, the broad national united front or the elections, and the peace process.

This can also be in the different efforts to build up the international coordination of proletarian revolutionary parties and movements, developing Marxist theory in these times and in contributing to different international movements and initiatives against imperialism.

He is imbued with true optimism which is based on his correct analysis of objective conditions and the dialectical process of development whether in the Philippines or the world. He is a master dialectician, in thought, word and deed. He is disciplined in discovering the process of development of struggle and interpenetration of opposites, and teasing through complex inter-spersed processes.

Thus, he is an effective problem solver. Known for his flexibility in finding solutions and well as in pushing the boundaries of multiplicity of tactics and initiatives to drive the strategies according to and contributing to the correct Marxist ideological and political line.

As a communist and revolutionary he is at one with the masses. Thus, he is very sociable in person especially to the toiling masses and comrades in arms. He recognizes and relates with the humanity of every person, even those members and agents of the ruling class who have good intentions (or not).

As Joma grappled with his individual mortality and legacy, as each of us does, he wrote his final piece, “The Filipino People’s Democratic Revolution is invincible!” This piece is not about him but about the cause that he lived for. But I read it with trepidation in the context of which it was written – in helping in the editing – towards the end of his mortal life. It is indeed about the revolution and the ideological and political legacy he leaves us which are invincible.

The national democratic revolution of the Philippines and the cause of socialism is invincible. We now face the dawn of a future free from imperialism and its lackeys. And the great and arduous struggle to claim the victory of the proletarian revolution is upon us in this century.

Joma is the great warrior of the proletariat against imperialism. We all aspire to be like him as a revolutionary proletarian, a communist. While we do not expect to be equal in his contributions, we all strive to perform to fulfill our tasks for the revolution. We are all his successors to carry forward the legacy of Marx, Lenin and Mao and other great communist leaders Engels, Stalin, Ho, and Joma Sison to win a socialist future.

**JOIN CPK**

**ARE YOU...**

**DISGUSTED WITH THE LEVELS OF CORRUPTION**  
in Kenya today?

**OFFENDED BY THE LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT**  
in this country?

**TIRED OF BEING PAID PEANUTS**  
while the bosses take home billions of money they never worked for?

a peasant farmer who **IS SICKENED BY THE EXPLOITATION** from the  
middlemen and brokers who buy your produce?

**ARE YOU...**

**A decent Kenyan who**  
**wishes prosperity for all?**

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

**IF YOU ANSWER TO ANY OF THE ABOVE IS YES,**  
**YOU ARE A PERSON WHO CAN ANSWER THE CALL**

**you are hereby invited to**

**JOIN THE**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA**

For more details,  
contact the Party through the following channels:

**Email: [communistparty2019@gmail.com](mailto:communistparty2019@gmail.com)**

Also follow us on our social media and let's engage further:

Facebook: @CommunistKenya

Twitter: @CommunistsKe

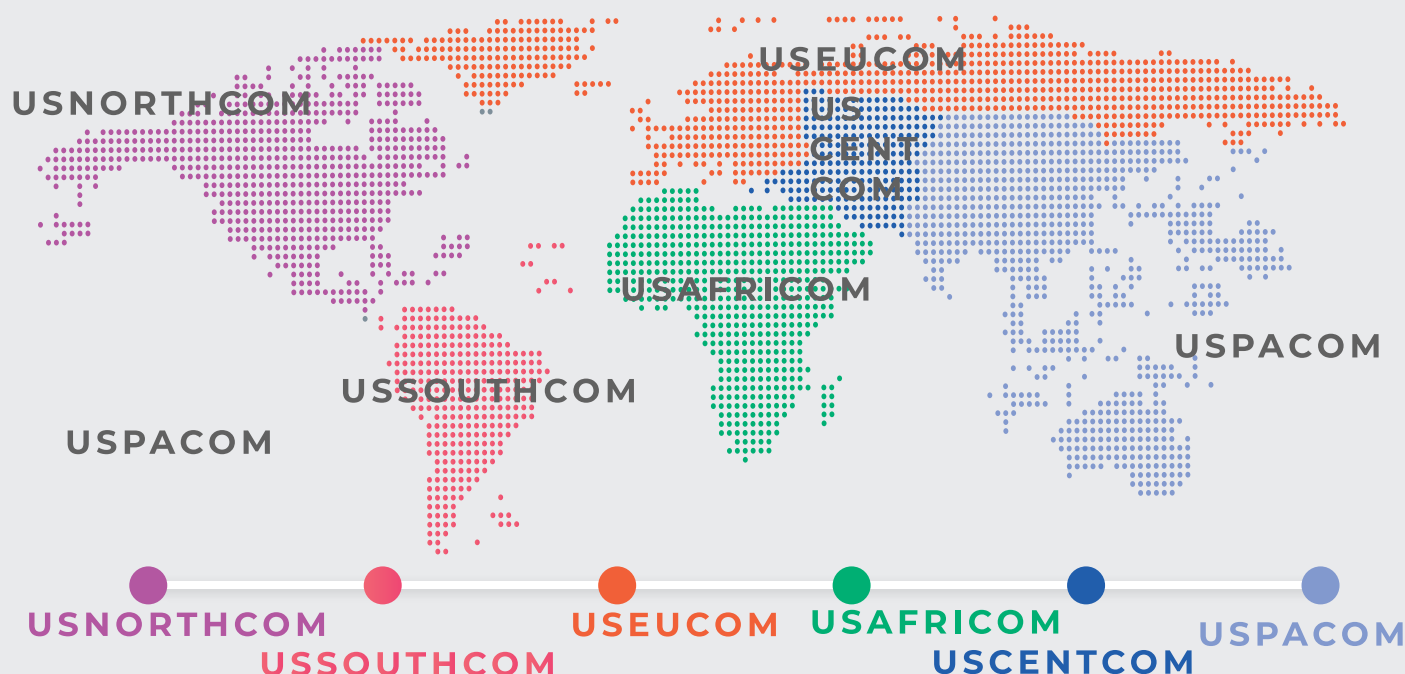
Instagram: @communistpartyofkenya

YouTube: Communist Party of Kenya

# Socialist Internationalism

## Joint Statement of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA and the ZIMBABWE COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE EXPANSION OF AFRICOM

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) and the Zimbabwe Communist Party (ZCP) are deeply concerned with the decision of Zambian President Hakainde Hichilema to make Zambia a centre for the operations of the United States military with the opening of an AFRICOM office in Lusaka. This does not, at least at this stage, mean that US ground forces will be sent to Zambia. It does mean that the USA will train and direct Zambian troops in its interests. The pattern in Africa is similar to that pursued by the USA in Latin America for 150 years in which a country would be effectively occupied by its own army on behalf of the imperial power.



AFRICOM is Africa Command of the US armed forces. AFRICOM was formed in 2007 under George W. Bush but was considerably increased in size and influence under the Obama administration. The USA is the only country in the world, the only country in history, to divide the whole world into military commands.

The USA has around 800 military and naval bases around the world; in addition, it has virtual control over most of the armies of Europe through NATO and in Africa has military deals with most governments on the continent.

As often as possible, the USA avoids use of its own troops by engaging in proxy wars. For instance:

Between 1998-2003, the Congo War, the biggest ever in Africa, according to United Nations figures, led directly or indirectly to the deaths of more than 5 million people.

The war began when President Laurent Kabila re-negotiated mining contracts demanding that some of the profits be used to develop the Democratic Republic of Congo. Strategic minerals used for the US aeronautics and arms industries are found in Congo. It also supplies most of the world's coltan used in cellphones.

President Bill Clinton arranged to arm, train and direct the armies of Uganda and Rwanda in the



invasion of Congo with the further extension of the war to Angola being planned with the purpose of installing UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, as President there. The war was presented to the media as 'purely an African tribal affair.'

**In Syria, Islamic jihadists of ISIS and al-Nusra were armed to overthrow the government of President Bashar Assad.** There is even now a US base in Syria against the wishes of the Syrian government and people, but according to information available only 10 US servicemen have been killed since 2011. Although the war is now less severe and the government is in control of most of the country, the war is ongoing.

At present, the USA has at least 30 bases in Africa in the following countries (alphabetical order), Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Djibouti, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Somalia, Tunisia. There are 3 bases in Kenya, naval bases at Mombasa and Manda Bay and inland at Wajir.

In southern Africa a massive base was built in Botswana in the early 1990s at Thebephatshwa, Botswana, a country with less than 2 million people. The Botswana government denied that this was a US base, but in the year 2002-2003, there was a build-up of US and British troops there threatening an invasion of Zimbabwe, whereby the Zimbabwe National Army gathered at the border threatening to invade Botswana.

The Iraq War then became a priority for the imperialist forces who were also concerned with engaging Zimbabwean troops battle-hardened in the Congo War. In 2012 an agreement was made with the USA to build a permanent 'base within a base' at Thebephatshwa,

In Lesotho, a country completely surrounded by South Africa, there are listening posts on the mountain tops. Little Lesotho has now become a security threat to South Africa. The absolute monarchy of Eswatini/Swaziland too, has a massive US Embassy and is a centre for subversion against South Africa.

Now, following the deal between the USA and Zambia, a Bill, the Countering Malign Russian Activities in Africa Bill is passing through the US Congress with almost no opposition. It seeks to give the US State Department power to punish any African country which has cordial relations with Russia.

**Specifically, once this Bill becomes an Act it is likely to be aimed at South Africa, a member of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa).**

In relation to the war by the Kyiv government of Ukraine against the People's Republics of Luhansk and Donetsk, while South Africa has taken a conciliatory and non-aligned position, President Ramaphosa has openly blamed NATO for the war.

This is not acceptable to the USA and we should soon expect US sanctions against South Africa. Most certainly, a move to unseat the ANC government at the next General Election in 2024 is being planned with the objective of its replacement by a government more conducive to the interests of the USA and its satellites and allies.

In 2011, we saw the horrific destruction of Africa's most advanced country, Libya, by combined NATO and Arab reactionary forces (joined by 'neutral' Sweden). This was followed by a campaign of genocide against black Libyans and the reintroduction of slavery.

Without any hesitation, we, as African Communists, support the action of the Russian government in their military intervention to assist the People's Republics of Donetsk and Lugansk and to prevent the further extension of US and NATO hegemony.

We note with satisfaction that the Russian Ruble is gaining against the US dollar. Western analysts are now predicting a collapse of the US stock market in 2023. There is now high inflation in the USA, UK and EU fueled by their backing of the Nazi-led Ukrainian forces against the Donbass People's Republics of Lugansk and Donetsk.

It is unfortunate to say, but peace and demilitarisation of the world is only likely to happen with the collapse of the economy of the USA and its European satellites. This now looks imminent.

The Communist Party of Kenya and the Zimbabwe Communist Party call for the liquidation of AFRICOM and NATO and all aggressive military alliances throughout the world.

We further demand the removal of all foreign troops from African soil.

**FORWARD WITH AFRICA !!  
DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM !!**

# Reports

## ON SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT OF OUR HEALTHCARE SYSTEMS: Preventative Approach to Public Health Management.

*In June 2022, the Communist Party of Kenya held a national media workshop to bring together healthcare professionals, party members, researchers and the media on the issue of public health management. By taking a global view of different public health disasters, the 1-day workshop underwent a singular discussion concerning the issue of scientific management of the public health system and looked into how Kenya can improve its levels of preparedness through policies change and public health education to enact a more preventative approach to health care.*

*The summary of that workshop was a huge media report on the topic: Scientific management of our public health system will improve Kenya's levels of preparedness and accelerate policies and progress toward a preventative approach to health care. Here are the key points from the workshop.*

### ONE

By all metrics, China's zero Covid Strategy was successful and provides valuable lessons for Kenyans. Undiluted by politics, all outcomes including infections, hospitalisation and death; the performance of its economy and overall health and wellbeing of the people were better than the Western nations. **We must take a scientific approach to policies and provide for all Kenyans as espoused in article 43 of the Constitution of Kenya.**

### TWO

Measures and strategy used in China were not plucked from thin air: pandemic infrastructure was set up twenty years during the SARS outcome and continued intervention on public health issues have been in place since 1962. **The government must prioritise investment and policies in primary care, technology and healthcare workers; pass policies that promote preventative approaches to address communicable and lifestyle diseases.**

The Communist Party of Kenya is leading a national conversation about our public health. Our discussions are led by research and insights from experts in public health and pandemic preparedness.

Based on our research, it is evident that by all metrics, China's Zero Covid-approach had better outcomes than the capitalist strategies deployed in the West on every aspect. China saw less infections, hospitalisation and deaths. Furthermore, the country had shorter lockdowns and did not institute nation-wide lockdowns and closures, which left the rest of the country open. It is not by chance that it recorded a positive economic growth at the time.

**According to Dr. Dan Oluoch, the medical outcomes are quite astonishing: "By all measures, China's Zero COVID Strategy led to better outcomes for the people and managed to maintain a low number of deaths and infections. If you adjust for population size, there have been around three deaths per million people in mainland China, compared with about 3,000 in the US and 2,400 in the UK."**

China's zero-Covid strategy was drawn from the country's experience when it handled the SARS outbreak which ended in 2004. It is that infrastructure, expertise and systems that we mobilised and expanded to handle the COVID19 pandemic. Therefore, Kenya needs to strengthen our levels of preparedness when it comes to our public health and the government should invest wisely in our primary health care by providing the personnel and testing infrastructure to ensure diseases are caught early and managed before they become a burden to the society.

During the work, CPK identified the opportunities for policy makers to build a more responsive public health infrastructure. From taking advantage of technology to improve things like record keeping and contact tracing (when needed), the government should also pass policies that promote change in lifestyle to increase our preventive medical approach.

Such policies would increase making roads and infrastructure that are cyclist and pedestrian friendly to passing laws on sugar as a health hazard, nutrition and food sourcing and policies to deal with degrading environment and climate change that is introducing toxins in the air and in food and water supplies.

CPK's plenary discussions outlined the opportunity to mobilise the community - the public, policy makers and medical professionals - to explore preventative medicine as a means to alleviate the cost of healthcare for the individuals and communities.

Such activities would raise public awareness and create demand for proactive action in our public health by putting pressure for better policies and effective use of public money that goes into healthcare. This is a critical but important first step in challenging the status quo where healthcare has become more private sector-driven and the narrative or curative measures come from a profit motive as opposed to a preventative approach espoused in Article 43 of the Constitution of Kenya.

Medical experts predict that there will be more epidemics as environmental stresses and climate change continue to exert its whip on humanity. We can already see a sharp increase in chronic lifestyle diseases such as obesity, hypertension and cardio-vascular diseases and a rise in different types of cancers and respiratory diseases as a result of micro and nano plastics in our food and water systems and polluted air respectively. All these issues make a case for prioritising public health policies as the financial burden and cost to the community will only grow bigger and bigger.

The Communist Party of Kenya has taken the first step to bridge the knowledge gap and educate the relevant categories of stakeholders to help them transition and shift their thinking on both public health matters and preventative care. By moving quickly as new governments settle in the counties and the next regime, we will push this message and share our insights to influence policy and invite discussions that serve the people and promote scientific approach to policy making.



**By giving counter narratives and showcasing contradictions caused by the Capitalist approach to healthcare, we can expose Kenyans to alternative thinking to solve our problems.**

Speaking of what comes next, Booker said: "The capitalist system that maintains the profit life of a few people, we should not expect better. To bring change, we must adopt a mechanism for community-led responses for organising and mobilising around the issues of preventative approach and improving the preparedness of our public health systems and policies.

Based on the current circumstances of the CPK, our role is to open the debate that would force policy from the top. While the capitalist system has made people dependent, can we also work to shape people's opinion based on principle? While this will take some time to happen, our guiding principles as socialists is that change is a process, and the process is a struggle and the thing that outlives us."

All the same, it was inspiring to note the progress made by socialist countries like Cuba who have sent their medical personnel to Kenya to help with the pandemic. Cuba has managed to build a socialised healthcare system despite facing economic and other embargos from the West.

Communism is a journey and we are taking those steps by practising socialism. "Kenyans must demand for the realisation of our National Values and Principles of Governance as espoused in Article 10 of our Constitution which actually demands for socialism. Kenya needs to implement Article 43 of the Constitution to the fullest. This Article demands that every Kenyan must have decent housing; clean and safe water; adequate and nutritious food; access to the highest standards of health and healthcare; access to social security; and access to education."



## NOTES ON THE METHODOLOGY FOR THIS WORKSHOP

Our research examined the last forty years in pandemics by looking at responses from different governments and the outcomes of those diseases. Presenting four pandemics and outbreaks: HIV/AIDs, SARS, Ebola and Covid19, we drew lessons from the United States (HIV, Ebola, COVID19) and China (SARS, COVID19) and the political motivation behind the decisions taken by those governments.

The success of the stop and end policies adopted by China in both cases took the same path as the USA's response to Ebola versus the response to HIV/AIDs. We measured how the political will influenced media narratives, public opinion and science. In cases where science and medical guidelines took precedence, the outcomes were much better than in situations where politics controlled the response.

The research also took a study to determine whether the health outcomes had a significant impact on the economy: considering the narratives for downplaying the pandemic could have been done for economic reasons. This study presented the economic outcomes: business and school closures, length of lockdowns, scope of lockdowns and other long-term costs to the economy.

The results provided for better outcomes where scientific approaches to containing the disease were used rather than those driven by political motives. About this report

Led by our policy researchers and medical professionals specialising in public health and preventative medicine, CPK members and journalists participated in a policy mobilisation discussion during a workshop on Public Health. The theme of the workshop: Lessons from China's Zero Policy: scientific management of society for better outcomes.

During the workshop, the speakers shared their experiences from their respective medical practice and journey on the preparedness and policy challenges; building on the discussions and understanding from the case studies of successful interventions in public health and pandemics.

This was a very dynamic discussion that considered the state of Kenya's preparedness and approach to preventative medicine and the shortcomings within the system.

The workshop, which was moderated, allowed for in-presentation discussion and input from the room. This made the discussions very dynamic and the capable presenters were able to loop in responses that enriched the discussions and provided references for the attendees and the media.

The workshop concluded with a two-hour plenary session that put things in perspective from the party's ideology and a challenge on how to influence future policy and issues in public health, pandemic preparedness and preventative medicine going forward.

## Reports

### Advancing Socialism in Kenya: the experiences of a rural organiser

BY COMRADE LEON MUNALA

*Comrade Leon Munala is a rural organiser in Gem Constituency, Siaya County. He is a member of the Central Organizing Committee of Communist Party of Kenya and the chairperson of the Siaya County party branch, he shares his experiences not just as an organiser but from the perspective of the larger rural setting. Considering the near-identical issues facing Kenyans in rural settings, his insights provoke thinking and offer inspiration for current and future organisers.*

*This snapshot of a single constituency is echoed across the rest of rural Kenya: an ailment and condition that affects all. While the issues may vary, their nature and the players are bare. His tactics, experiences and overall candour embody the very spirit of a cadre at the front line. They are practical, useful and, like every rural player knows, cautiously courageous but set to be wildly successful once deployed.*

*Of note: Comrade Leon attended his schooling up to form four. This means he did not attend any institution of higher learning. Even then, he pushed himself, sacrificed and dedicated his time to learning and understanding socialism. What an inspiration from our comrade.*

### Stop the Attack on the Poor, Poverty is Man made from the Greed of a Few

With extremely severe conditions of neoliberal structures in our country that the World Bank and IMF are advancing, we have seen the lives of poor peasants deteriorate daily. The industries stationed in rural areas have been liquidated through corruption, which fosters capitalism.

The majority of the people in the rural area have lost hope and accepted poverty as a natural phenomenon, thanks to capitalism propaganda and attacks on the poor by retrogressive religious leaders and prosperity gospel churches.

The bible is interpreted and mentioned only to maintain the status quo, the status quo of capitalism.

*Mathews 16:19-21, Do not store up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moths and vermin destroy, and thieves break in and steal. But store up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where moths and vermin do not destroy, and where thieves do not break in and steal. For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also.*

**The poor majority have followed such phrases to believe that the true riches are only kept in heaven and earth is a place of suffering.** In the beginning, most peasants believed God created all their problems, and when they die, it is always the beginning of their enjoyment. It took the party organisation in Siaya two years of constant organising and educating the poor peasants to defeat such anti-poor propaganda -poverty is artificial and is a result of the greed of a few people.

The emergence of the idea of fighting for our well-being on earth was never received well by church leaders and staunch Christians, they even termed the Communist Party and its members as devil worshipers, and this was accepted by the poor peasants because all along the colour red has been associated with bad omen.

By and large, these responses signify that introducing a Marxist-Leninist party in Kenya injected new ideas that reflect the objective reality contrary to idealism and illusions of the reactionary class. Through the Communist Party, this movement has been growing from strength to strength. I will use my experience organising in Gem constituency, Siaya county, which has been the centre of the revolutionary process. By organising with purpose, we have achieved remarkable growth and provoked both positive and negative debates, which are welcome and counted as a win on our side. We still have to be content with the challenges of illiteracy, religion and poverty, and it is along these challenges I will frame my experiences.

## ILLITERACY

In Kenya, industries have been concentrated in a few places, primarily the major towns of Nairobi, Mombasa, Eldoret, Nakuru and Kisumu. Consequently, most literate youth are forced to move to towns searching for job opportunities. In turn, rural areas in Kenya are concentrated with school drop-outs and just a few literate people: mainly those who come from poor families or lack relatives to sponsor them in their stay in urban areas. This makes the task of building cadres very difficult. In turn, it places the entire operation of mass work at risk because mass work goes hand in hand with the building of cadres, and for the work to be effective, we must have advanced cadres to carry it out.

We have found that as we dig deeper into Marxism-Leninism, the more complex the documents become for the majority of the people in rural areas. The neocolonial government has condemned the rural dwellers to ignorance, disease and poverty. We have to devise ingenious ways to advance political education. Thanks to Paul Freire, the advanced cadres adopted his model of pedagogy of the oppressed to promote learning. The party organisation has been able to come up with creative ways to overcome the problems of rural illiteracy.

The rural proletariat has the potential to be a revolutionary force. There is a great willingness among the peasants to sacrifice and to learn to bring positive change in our society despite being denied the chance to learn and despite years of being indoctrinated to view capitalism as the alpha and omega. Party cadres from Gem, Siaya have dedicated themselves to reaching out to the masses and holding genuine discussions to educate them away from the neo-colonial miseducation.

The reaction has always been mixed. Some are still chained to the culture of handouts and fall into the most severe error of asking for bribes to be enrolled to learn. This culture of bribery has been normalised, perfected and promoted by the bourgeoisie, who thrive through mass voter bribery. The Non-Governmental Organization has also promoted this paid organising, further entrenching this backwardness.

The local oligarchy has been fighting the Party on its initiative of political education. They see this as a direct threat to their interest. The ruling class has invested in religion to make people believe that they – the ruling class – were blessed by God and that their riches, acquired through corruption and misappropriation of public resources, were a reward from God. Because of such religious teachings that instil fear of the supernatural, nobody dares to question the authority of the rich because questioning them will challenge God's will and make one commit the severe sin of blasphemy.

In rural areas, the dire material conditions of the people force teenagers to drop out from school and look for a way out to sustain their siblings. Many join the boda-boda, the local transport sector, or migrate to urban areas to escape poverty.

The unpredictable rural-urban migration affects the stability of our cadre work. The few revolutionaries who complete their cadre training form the most radical and fierce defenders of their communities against the elites in authority. Our task is not to convert everyone to a communist but to use the organized fighting force to advance positive societal change.

Despite these challenges, the Party has thrived by using the conversational method, which helps us to build the party's mass base. The dialectical learning method has been thought provocative: After concerted efforts, we can see more and more rural residents who are agitated with the system doing all it takes to comprehend Marxism or even to advance Marxism through practice.

We learn from Uncle Ho Chi Min, the revered Vietnamese revolutionary leader, that with dedication, everyone can comprehend Marxist philosophy and apply it in their daily life. In practice, we have seen cases where advanced comrades are practising patience with the recruits; some go as far as to teach illiterate comrades how to read and write.

We cannot forget that the only way to motivate oneself is through reading and practising what we are reading. We have seen comrades reading but failing to practice degenerating and seeing no value in the process. We are also seeing more and more comrades who read and practice: how they are always motivated in their political engagements and are always willing to take risks for the masses.

## RELIGION

As mentioned, the ruling class continued indoctrinating the poor peasants into religion. In Siaya, Catholicism and Anglicanism take the lead. The ruling elite, after stealing, tithe to the church to deceive the masses about how God-fearing they are. Religious propaganda is ingrained in the socio-political life of the peasantry. This calls for careful social investigation before

starting to do any organising.

Any direct or mechanical attack on the church can only radicalise the clerics and turn the masses away from us.

To thrive in organising, one must first be close to the churches. These are where the masses are. We must never leave the masses behind; we must always be with them and advance with them. We have to go where the masses are, so we have always taken our propaganda to church and religious congregations. The local party organisation won support from the clergy and local church leaders through their exemplary service to the community.

Whenever possible, we have contributed some meagre resources to the churches not to advance theology but to help us sink and win the popular opinion. Using Jesus Christ's works to help the masses see the type of war between the poor people and the ruling class, debunking the notion that leaders are chosen by God and lethal propaganda that changes can be brought by prayers and prayers alone.

Religion has conquered the weaker mind to the extent that those dying of curable diseases are all associated with the will of God. This is so, even when it's evident that the medicine has been misappropriated by the elected leaders, depriving the poor of their right to healthcare. Seeing the same corrupt leaders attending the funerals disguised as a friend of the poor is disgusting and hurting.

During the 2022 election campaigns, we witnessed the bourgeois politicians attending the funerals of poor people to give small tokens to the family and handouts of two hundred shillings to the mourners to buy their political support. The saddest part is seeing the poor peasants rushing to line up to receive these handouts with the notion that it is a blessing from God: forgetting the reality that these leaders are only sharing a small section of what they have squandered from the public coffers.

Some churches take advantage of believers, institutionalizing exploitation through false hope. An excellent rural organiser must find tactical ways of dealing with the church because it is one of the most significant movements currently influencing the masses' choices.

## EXPLOITATION

The peasants in rural areas are tremendously hardworking people. Most of the work done by the peasantry is done by hand, taking a long, tedious path to engage in production. The talk of human rights is a lie to them since they are still battling with the bare minimum-survival rights.



The peasantry is not a monolithic whole; we got the rural proletariat; these are peasants with no land ownership and survive purely through the sale of labour power. Then we have a few privileged peasants with land and, on the extreme end, those who eke life by hand in dangerous mining zones. Most of the peasants are poor and struggling with basic life needs; they have difficulty accessing water and sources of energy like cooking gas.

This makes them vulnerable to exploitation. The enemies of the rural dwellers are brokers; they appear in different forms as middlemen. Well-to-do people flood the rural areas during harvesting to buy the farmers' produce at low prices; they then hoard the produce like grains and resell them to the same farmers at unacceptable profit margins of up to three hundred per cent.

The same thing happens to miners. For example, in the Ramula area, gold mining fields exist alongside the untold extreme suffering of the local population. The destitute, poor miners can be seen walking on their bare feet, their skinny bodies covered with tattered clothes, their grime faces deemed in sadness, while the middlemen can be seen driving high-end motor cars and living a life of opulence. The miners are left at the mercy of these super exploiters -the brokers that produce nothing but own everything.

This is because the comprador class that runs both regional and national governments intensifies these parasitic relations through politics of non-intervention in the interest of the majority. The situation has become worse with a direct threat of forceful relocation to give way for multinationals for full-scale exploitation. The party hold a clear position that all the riches from the earth should be used to benefit the wider majority and not to profit a small click of people. This is possible through the nationalisation and socialisation of all mines.

The third tire of exploitation is the companies that sell expensive money to the poor through an unjust loaning system. A good example can be found in the agricultural sector. One-acre-fund, among other financial brokers, are the most hated by poor people. They have perverted the concept of cooperatives with a capitalist-exploitative twist. Rather than it being a cooperative, they have organised farmers into groups where they offer fertilizers and seeds to the farmers. The farmers share up to seventy per cent of their produce with them in the name of paying loans and interest on loans.

The rural dwellers are highly undercapitalized; the loaning companies ensure they are imprisoned in a

circus of debts. Most of the things they have are on very unfavourable loans from mobile phones, solar lighting systems, and jiko, among others. These 'solutions' are being propagated by middlemen and keep the rural peasant under the toil of the middlemen indefinitely. The debt trap is another way to ensure that the rural workers are entrenched in the capitalist system, making it challenging to organize and resist the subjugation of the poor by the rich criminal gangs.

## PEASANTS ORGANIZATIONS

The daily search for economic survival has alienated peasants from social and political life. As a result of super-exploitation by the capitalist class, the rural dwellers have formed organizations to improve their social and economic life. Some of these organizations are highly infiltrated by neoliberal NGOs deliberately to take the poor out of reality by selling them the false story that they can succeed by themselves; no wonder organizations adopt the name self-help groups. They are couched to stop bothering the government and start personal initiatives to improve their lives. Other than self-help groups, they find themselves in community and faith-based organisations.

Some of the activities undertaken by these social groupings include welfare programs when they lose loved ones through death or participate in fundraising for school fees. The small, petty business people benefit through table banking, which is an unsustainable loaning system because most of them are highly undercapitalised. These organizations are mainly made up of women who bear the burden of raising their families, thanks to patriarchy. The communist party local organization has revolutionised such grouping through political education.

Most of these peasant organizations trust the party cadres; this is possible because of the long working experience among the masses. They know that the party exists to advance their struggles, and the cadres who lead them are the most humble and honest people, always willing to take risks in times of difficulty.

From simple to complex, from general to concrete, the peasants learn the immortal science of the revolution. The cadres give real examples of the effects of capitalism and imperialism, like using chemical fertilisers or GMO seeds to bring over independence to multinational seed companies like Monsanto. Debates are always so intense, especially on rights to food, education, healthcare and corruption.

After a few weeks, the rural people start to call themselves comrades and slogans such as viva socialism and death to capitalism can be heard; they might not have grasped the whole essence, but definitely, this is a manifestation that the revolutionary culture is penetrating the mass base.

With more intense theory and practice, sensitive topics like religion are discussed openly. The supernatural projects are questioned, and challenging questions about the rampant deaths of the poor are examined closely and debated not as before.

You win them by engaging them and being at the forefront of fighting exploitation and oppression in the region, and they will indeed join in the fight. You must always be close to the people in all their struggles and help where you can and where you cannot be open and honest; this will enhance your relationship with the people.

Consistent and honest work among the masses gives them an objective perspective on life, and the capitalist propaganda starts to sink into oblivion. Always trust the masses learning from them and guiding them without high handedness or commadism. That is how we have won the majority on the part of the party.

Finally, the communist party of Kenya has a clear organizational and mass line to guide all our work. The rural organising shall offer the much-needed rear to the fighting force in the urban areas; we see a lot of possibilities for our success.

Long live the unity of the workers and the peasants! In the name of Chairman Mao, we will build a strong peasant movement.

## In Solidarity

### Congratulazioni Al Partito Comunista D'italia- La Lotta Continua!

- October 2022-

On behalf of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK), receive revolutionary greetings and best wishes. The CPK congratulates the Communist Party of Italy (CPI) for waging a brave and inspiring electoral campaign culminating in the general elections held on September 25 2022.

The Communist Party of Kenya would like to affirm its permanent and unconditional solidarity with the Communist Party of Italy and the Italian working class. The just concluded elections in Italy have exposed the bankruptcy of bourgeoisie liberal democracy and bolstered our faith in the revolution. It has also revealed the inherent contradiction in the capitalist mode of production.

The contradictions within the global capitalist arrangement have precipitated a return to fascism in Western Liberal democracies. The ugly social inequality has been a fertile ground for far-right political parties to thrive by taking the masses out of reality. The mass unemployment in those democracies has been narrowed down to the immigrant crisis, mainly from the global south.

***Fascist propaganda has been weaponized to mobilise the working class on hate inspired by racism. The rise of petit nationalism with sterile rally calls like Italy first can be heard being repeated by the drivers of fascism. Christianity has been vulgarised to step on individual rights in the name of bourgeois morality.***

CPK followed your campaigns right from the onset and was very inspired by the involvement of the youth league, the Italian Communist Youth Federation. The far-right politician Giorgia Meloni who is expected to become Italy's prime minister after the concluded elections on September 25, 2022, can only exacerbate the already worse conditions of the Italian working class. The continued failure of the neoliberal policy of the Brothers of Italy party will offer another opportunity to form a new offensive against the fascist forces. CPK stands shoulder to shoulder with your struggles, and we know that PCI will emerge victorious. Together let's build a massive anti-imperialist front.

CPK is committed towards establishing fraternal relations with the Communist Party of Italy in the name of Socialist Internationalism, world peace and anti-imperialist solidarity and for the mutual benefit of our parties

Morte ai fascist!

Long live PCI!

Long live CPK!

Long live good relations between Kenya and Italy!

Long live socialist Internationalism!

Long live socialism!



## Ideology:

### Revolution: The only Solution for the Oppressed Youth

by **Comrade Maurine Njeri,**

NATIONAL ORGANIZING SECRETARY OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

*The plight of Kenyans continues to deteriorate with every successive administration. This is despite numerous programs and programs that have been marketed as 'pro' youth. Why is this the case?*

*In this study, Maurine Njeri, the National Organizing Secretary of the Young Communist League takes us through the economic situation of Kenya from a Marxist perspective.*

*In it, a common theme emerges: Kenya's turbo-capitalist society has nothing to offer the Kenyan youth and to think otherwise is to cheer for the oppressors.*

This essay seeks to drive the Marxist perspective on issues of the Kenyan youth while demonstrating that youth is not monolithic but is inherently divided into classes. The Young Communist League, which is firmly on the side of the working class and the poor, reiterates the unquestionable truth that Capitalism cannot be reformed: in its ruins, a new humane socialist society will be built. Indeed, there will be no youth emancipation within the neo-colonial capitalist system. Our historic role is to overthrow this anti-people system.

The Kenyan Constitution 2010 defines the youth as the collectivity of individuals who have attained the age of 18 but not the age of 35. The African Youth Charter (AYC) clarifies that youth is between 15 and 35 years old.

In Kenya, the youth agenda has dominated the political scene, especially during elections, as most youths continue to bear the heaviest brunt of the capitalist crisis. Unfortunately, the youth are conditioned that elections must only adhere to the doctrine of the tyranny of numbers while being used as conduits for ethnic political violence, handouts: where they end up reduced to nothing but mere election statistics for tilting electoral results in favour of the ruling capitalist class.

The face-off between one oppressor and another in our bourgeois democracy reduces the youth to choose one tyrant over the other. The periodic elections after every five years entrench the false premise that those elections alone will emancipate the majority from harsh economic reality.



The immortal science of the revolution, which is exposed by Marxism highlights this illusion of capitalist democracy and brings bare truth to the dispossessed Kenyans. Marx observes that *"the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representative of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them"*.

The Young Communist League is conscious that only through a revolution to overthrow the brutal capitalist system that perpetuates the oppression of person by person can there be a return to the dignity of the majority of the youth. Capitalism is a system based on a super minority owning class subjugating the entire country to impose their will. Its offspring are exploitation and oppression of person by person, chronic corruption, mental degradation, greed and hyper inequality. Capitalism produces mass deaths on one pole and luxury for a few on the other.

To begin with, the ruling class will also want to maintain their class privileges in their attempt to solve the problem of poverty. We learn from history that this is an impossibility. The Kenya Kwanza government anchored their campaigns on a bottom-up economic model: a sharp messaging which depicted the class differentiation in Kenyan society. Some pseudo-Marxist fell for this con and fell for this rhetoric of class warfare. Revolutionaries mustn't confuse tactics and strategy. After Mr Ruto's presidential win, things got messy, and the government started running from their economic model to practise a trickle-down economic model.

On October 10 2022, only a few days after the election, the President Council of Economic Advisors Chairperson David Ndii clarified in a tweet that the ethos of the Ruto-led government is capitalism. He promised to give every Kenyan an equal opportunity to be a billionaire, president, or both.

On November 15 2022, the cabinet approved the legal and institutional framework to anchor the establishment and implementation of the inclusion Fund-Hustlers' Fund. This is a replica of former president Uhuru Kenyatta's Uwezo fund in 2014. Any loaning system to the poor of the poorest to inspire them to pursue free enterprise by investing in small business are bound to fail. There is no dignity in hawking sweets in Nairobi traffic; these experiments will fail just like they have in the past Kenyan experiments and in other parts of the world.

**The rich always find something to keep the poor busy or to pretend that they are addressing the problem.**

The drive for constitutional change has been such ventures. Mr Kenyatta, the brainchild of the infamous BBI project, was good at it: he sold BBI as a springboard to come out of poverty. He made it seem that this raft of constitutional changes would to solve all the problems that Kenya faced from unemployment, ethnic conflict, inequality, et al. How do you solve a problem in the objective world only through subjective initiatives like legislation and fiscal policies? It is impossible. However good the constitution is, it will be interpreted in a biased way to favour the ruling class.

The 2010 constitution has pronounced itself on youth issues in article 55: it is something any progressive government can use to ameliorate the plight of the youth. That notwithstanding, the constitution is part and parcel of the state.

All these things are happening against a political elite bankrupt of alternative ideas. We are the people we have been waiting for, as echoed by Fanon in his livid account of revolutionary violence under the title the Wretched of the Earth: *"each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it."*

For such reasons, all oppressed youths must rebel against the status quo of capitalism and become revolutionary organisers among the masses guided by a vanguard political party like the Communist Party of Kenya. We are the radicals opposed to the conventional politics of silencing the poor youths by rewarding their counterparts from the privileged few. Inclusion can only be achieved in a society of shared wealth: that is the dictum of communism from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

The president, Mr Ruto, joined politics fresh from the university and became part of the dreaded KANU Youth Wing (YK92). This was the death machine behind dictator Moi's rigged elections. YK92 members perfected state corruption as they were busy helping themselves from the public coffers in reward for their role in the general election machinery.

In KANU, Ruto did not become a champion for the youths he now calls hustlers. Instead, he joined the government of the day in furthering

state repression where many young people were detained without trial, expelled from universities, exiled and brutally murdered.

It is silly and hypocritical for Ruto to dupe young people that he hustled his way up the ladder of billionaires through chicken selling and that through hard work, resilience and Prayers, he is now living in opulence. Immediately after he was sworn in as the president, he started rolling out anti-poor policies.

Kenya Kwanza (KK) administration is possessed with privatisation, policies, which are now underway to privatise education, health, and water. KK wants to build a public sector for a few to profit. Jobs are shrinking, crime in major cities has risen from concern to a total threat, police brutality is on the rise, and suicides are everyday daily occurrences. It is all chaos. These are the gifts given to many by the neo-colonial fascist state under the polished dictator Ruto.

*Let us now review the class character of the youth.*

### CLASS CHARACTER OF THE YOUTH

#### Youth is not a monolithic whole

**According to the OXFAM report, the country is sharply divided into 0.1% filthy rich against 99.9% poor.**

This acute disparity in the distribution of wealth is not just immoral but criminal, usually concealed by bourgeoisie economists through relying on statistical analysis of the economy as the only measure of the development of a country. Correlations such as GDP or per capita income hide the ownership gap and the sadness index among most Kenyan youths. Those statistics continue to praise the economy and help bypass the plight of impoverished youths.

The OXFAM report paints the stratification of Kenyan youth – as to whether one belongs to the poor majority or the super minority propertied class. Youths of shackled dwellers are different from affluent youth. Our solidarity is with the oppressed class and not the oppressing parasitic class – the filthy rich are our problem in this country; without them, we can reorganise our economy to work for the majority.

Youths who parrot that they are capitalists, the majority not owning any means of production, are in false solidarity with a wrong class: the oppressing class. The youths of each class grow parallel with their class, except for a few. The working-class youth or peasantry, by and large, grows similar to their class. The working-class youth shall form the majority and eventually join the industrial reserve army – the unemployed. While the youth of the propertied class grows parallel with their class and continues developing the class of the insignificant minority who lives off the sweat of others

#### No media is neutral

When the media talk of freedom of the press, they mean freedom to publish capitalist propaganda – fake news and lies. The class that controls political power is the class that controls the ruling ideas. The bourgeois media is weaponized to thaw the class struggle and appeal for a false class conciliation to support the exploitation of a few by many. The anti-poor youth systemic propaganda always glorifies the rich youth as the hard workers and vilifies the poor as the lazy, stupid ones. Hollowing slogans like a win for any youth is a win for all youth dominating such childish debates.

When the bourgeoisie media is not regurgitating lies from the capitalist class, they are up for the higher payer. The class interests of the rich youth and the poor are irreconcilable. Leo Huberman observed that *-the relationship then that exists between the youths of bourgeois descent and the youths of the working-class descent in a capitalist society is the relationship of a knife to a throat.*

Charlene Ruto, the first daughter, is all over the media as a youth with good intentions. The press brings out her 'compassion' to portray her as a youth on a good mission. The truth is that her class interests and our class interests are as opposed to day and night; she represents the class interest of bedbugs in Kenya- the comprador bourgeois. This does not exclude the "youthful" Winnie Odinga and Vincent Musyoka. The sons and daughters of the rich are only being prepared to advance the degenerating capitalist system.

JM Kariuki summed it up by saying a country of 10 millionaires and 10 million beggars to a country of 0.1 % millionaires and billionaires and 99.9% beggars, a system occasioned with economic development without growth. The YCL rally call sums it thus, "Oppressed youths of Kenya unite: we have nothing to lose but our chains!" We will not sit and wait to die in poverty for the rich to die in opulence and plenty.

To the rich young, history allows all of us to be revolutionaries; all you need to be in solidarity with the oppressed in words and deeds. When the rich make that moral decision to put all their fortunes at the service of the revolution and to commit their life to midwife the new society, at that moment, we are comrades, and we will welcome them in our ranks with nothing but joy. Follow the footsteps of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Pio Gama Pinto, Wasonga Sijeyo, Dedan Kimathi, J M Kariuki and others who were true friends of the oppressed Kenyans.

## NGOnisation of the Youth Agenda

Does being youthful guarantee progress? Does it mean that to be young is to be fresh in ideas, and to be old is to harbour oppressive thoughts as ageism propaganda stands today? History vindicates us! While the Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (KYPA) prides itself as a youth-leaning faction in the National Assembly, Senate and County assemblies, the association's 2017-2022 exit report exposes it as a talking shop in bed with imperialism. One of its five years' achievements is succumbing to the whims of the FORD Foundation to be lectured on bourgeois democracy.

Ford Foundation is an imperialist foundation that believes that, as they say, "We have an obligation to capitalism", to strengthen and improve capitalism. It fits our earlier analysis of how western NGOs sustain and help maintain the capitalist system. Bourgeois parliament is an auction place where the interest of the poor is auctioned to the rich criminal gangs. Paulo Freire remarked, and rightly so, *the NGO tendency, is lovelessness clothed in false generosity*. Without class struggle, there is no progress.

## The Notion of Freedom and Social Justice

Capitalism is not the natural order of things as is alluded to in our schools, and it doesn't guarantee unfettered

freedom as claimed by its promoters. Education in Kenya, like in all other places, is not class neutral. We have education for liberation and education to advance the status quo for capitalism – education for exploitation. Our schools are indoctrination rooms for the bourgeoisie; the CPK Party School offers liberating education for the oppressed majority.

**As Lenin rightly observed, any notion of freedom that does not submit to the interest of the freedom of the workers from the oppression of capital is a deception. In a "man-eat-man society" like ours, the freedom of the "eater" cannot be the same as that of the "prey".**

Under monopoly capitalism, freedom is the freedom of the capitalist to exploit labour for profit without restrictions. Still, labourers are not free to receive education or healthcare, among other basic services, according to their needs.

In the health sector, the logic is twisted; the patient is a customer and is only treated if the hospital makes a profit. Treatment in public or private hospitals begins and ends with money. Sons and daughters of the poor are dying because treating them is not profitable for the rich minority that controls our politics. The public hospitals are underfunded; incompetency is not a going concern anymore. The few rich can access healthcare abroad or in private facilities while the poor are condemned to die.

The Communist Party of Kenya supports the total nationalisation of the healthcare system under a proletariat government. That is our end goal as we continue to demand reforms under this chaotic capitalist system. We admire the Cuban Socialist experiment, which, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, has given the heroic Cubans dignity through health. A responsible government should prioritise prevention over the curative approach to health issues. Healthcare is a fundamental human right.

In a capitalist society, Huberman confirms that it is inevitable that profit should be regarded as all-important—more important even than lives. And so, it is. In a capitalist society, it is not uncommon for dollars to be valued higher than human beings. I remember that in the various secondary schools for the visually impaired (schools for the blind) where I teach, it's the children of the poor who completely lost sight, not out of choice but because they don't have money to pay for medical procedures.

The right to nutrition or food is nonexistent. The capitalist ideologues think we should eat only when it is profitable to them. Kenya is at the front of this global offensive in Africa; President Ruto lifted the ban on GMOs and called on billionaires like Bill Gates to take care of our food needs. International cabals like Monsanto are accessing the remotest of the villages to kill local seeds that are more climate resilient.



Organic farming is attacked as rudimentary, and chemical fertilisers are promoted. The results are always malnutrition, untold suffering and deaths. Our agriculture should not be aligned to cash crops for export only, but there is a need to have a balance with priority being to offer food to our people.

In a recent interview with Chilean Magazine, Booker Ngesa the National Vice Chairman of the Communist Party put it in an accurately descriptive way:

**In the backdrop of deaths and untold suffering among the poor due to lack of food, the people in business are hoarding food. This is all happening in a country where political leaders are suffering from obesity because they have stolen so much that they have almost eight meals in a day. Their days are spent eating: when they wake up, they have some breakfast, and by ten o'clock, they have what they are calling heavy tea. They have adapted the language of the coloniser to normalise their greedy appetites. At one o'clock, they settle for a three-stage meal; before it is fully digested, they have high tea at four before they can retire for dinner—their diners' transition to drinks for the rest of the night.**

Under such circumstances of extreme economic stress, the system of capitalism gives the poor youth two options — crime or starving to death! The only way out is for the youth to fight through a revolutionary political party like CPK!

### The Kenyan State and Police Brutality

The Kenyan state is class sensitive, and in a capitalist society, the state is a class weapon against the working poor. This confirms Marx's definition —the state is an organ of class rule, an organ of oppression of one class by another, which was a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonism. The state, therefore, arose from society but placed itself above it with the emergence of private property, which was the basis of the division of society into classes.

Private property is that property that is made and increased by exploiting the labour of other persons deprived of access to the means of production.



**POLICE BRUTALITY IN NIGERIA.** Photo: Tosin James Unsplash

Countless poor youths are slaughtered daily by government security agencies, particularly the Kenya Police.

The Social Justice Centre has a conservative estimate for this, but the daily numbers are double the number that died during Covid 19 pandemic. A recent report published in the dailies showed that cases filed against police officers increased to 3,583 in 2021. Of these cases, 36.1% had to do with allegations of police assault, 30.6% were about shootings that caused harm, and 22% involved victims' deaths. While those refer to reported cases, there are a lot of instances of silent impunity from the police that go unreported or moralised by the regime as an act of courage.

Police and lack of food are the biggest killers of the poor youth in Kenya. The police are part of the capitalist system; it is one way for the state to produce deaths. The attempts to appeal to the conscience of the individual police officers is a waste of time, as so long the police are protecting private property and involved in state-sanctioned corruption to line the pockets of their bosses and compensate for their meagre payment, police deaths can only increase.

The police don't exist to eradicate crime. The system of capitalism is in itself an organised criminal syndicate. The Kenyan state has been addressing police behaviour through the change of police uniform, having police officers preaching like clowns to improve the bad relationship with the citizenry, and disbanding police gangs disguised as special units only to create a more lethal one.

All these are done to fool the public! Independent Police Oversight Authority (IPOA) was the most radical measure of the new constitution. It is no wonder the ruling elite did not like it and always hatched constitutional amendments to dilute its powers to make it moribund. The Communist Party of Kenya will continue to defend such gains that the Kenyan people have continued to die for.

To maintain a highly skewed, unequal system, a state must smash and subdue any uprising from below. The Kenyan state exists to help the ruling elite to complete their repression and maintain the status quo of capitalism. It is no different from the colonial state that existed to preserve British white minority domination and to crush any uprising or call for self-rule. This is the state that the Communist Party of Kenya is organising to overthrow and, in its place, to install a proletariat state to subdue the rich and guarantee dignity for the poor majority- the socialist state.

This state will finally wither away, as captioned below by Engels. What will be the nature of the state we desire to have? Engels clarifies at best that:

*The proletariat seizes from state power and turns the means of production into state property to begin with. But thereby it abolishes itself as the proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, and also abolishes the state as state. Society thus far, operating amid class antagonisms, needed the state, that is, an organisation of the particular exploiting class, for the maintenance of its external conditions of production, and, therefore, especially, for the purpose*

*of forcibly keeping the exploited class in the conditions of oppression determined by the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom or bondage, wage of labour).*

*The state was the official representative of society as a whole, its concentration in a visible corporation. But it was this only insofar as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for its own time, society as a whole: in ancient times, the state of slave owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, of the feudal nobility; in our own time, of the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary.*

*As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon the present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from this struggle, are removed, nothing more remains to be held in subjection —nothing necessitating a special coercive force, a state.*

*The first act by which the state really comes forward as the representative of the whole of society —the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society —is also its last independent act as state. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies down of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production.*

*The state is not 'abolished'. It withers away. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase 'a free people's state', both as to its justifiable use for a long time from an agitational point of view, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also, of the so-called anarchists' demand that the state be abolished overnight.*

*The empowered, armed and organised working class will constitute a state in which the "special body of armed men" would not be used to repress the working class but used instead to repress the remnants of the bourgeois class. For the first time, the state will be used in the service of the people under the dictatorship of the workers for transition.*

To abolish the police force and its brutality is to join the workers party – the Communist party – struggle for worker's government in establishing a classless society where the police force will eventually be rendered obsolete.

## Laws are products of Class Antagonism

The illusion of bourgeoisie laws and abstract legislation: law serves as a unifying factor, and that way not only binds the citizens, also the governed and the governors, but also limits the excesses of the rulers. The constitution in general and laws, in particular, are products of the economic force and are part of the superstructure.

The partial application of law in Kenya and the open disregard of court orders by the ruling class confirms that laws in a class society are tools of a given class over another, and the class running the state interprets laws in its favour. However, progressive laws can appear to be or are intended to be in the minds of the masses.

For instance, instead of abolishing this system of capitalism, the challenges of the youths are taken in cyclic debates on law, policies and constitution by the ruling class as if those laws have not proven impotent in the face of en masse unemployment. Were we to be equal before the law as taught in schools, the government would implement article 55 to guarantee employment for all.

In 2007, the Narc administration established two funds, Women Enterprise Fund and the Youth Enterprise Development fund, as part of the policies and programmes for addressing youth unemployment. In 2014, the jubilee administration, guided by article 55 of the constitution, again created another fund, the Uwezo fund, to promote businesses and enterprises for the youth; in the same year, the National Youth Service (NYS) was restructured.

These came against the backdrop of the MSME Act of 2012 under the Ministry of Industrialisation, Trade and Enterprise. In 2016, the government established Kenya Youth Employment Opportunities (KYEOP) in partnership with the World Bank. Six years later, the new administration added Hustler's fund. These funds suffer from incompetency and systemic corruption for with every successive addition, the poverty levels among the youth rise and inequality gaps widen.

Last year, the infamous Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) recommended that to deal with youth issues, we needed to entrench a youth commission in the constitution despite the existence of a national youth council. BBI also proposed a seven-year tax break on youth enterprises, employment conferences, and procurement opportunities despite such clauses in the constitution. In addition, to have business advisors in all huduma centres and the Employment bureau despite the existence of the National Employment Authority.

It's as if each administration has mastered and cringed on one poor solution —affirmative action. To be busy with nothing productive. The only solution the party puts forth is to have clear, central planning of the economy by the workers' state. This will accelerate the development of productive forces through education, research, mechanisation and industrialisation. The neoliberal prescription from the west and abstract legislation by the comprador class has been a chronic failure.

**The current crisis cannot be solved within the bounds of neo-liberal globalisation.**

## Reports

### THE BRUTAL, CHILLING MURDER OF COMRADE FELIX MUSILI BY THE KENYA POLICE.

*Comrade Sefu Sani had announced to the world the brutal murder of Comrade Felix Musili. The General Secretary's announcement decries the extra-judicial murder of our Comrade who was in the Young Communist League and cries out for justice to be served.*

On January 11, 2023, at about 5 am, three uniformed police officers stormed the home of Felix's parents in Mumbuni, Kitui and took Felix's life with several gunshots. Felix was shot right in front of his parents and siblings. His murder was carried out only a few days after President Ruto appeared on national TV to assure the Kenyans that extra-judicial killings, a common practice with every successive regime in Kenya, would be a thing of the past.

The Communist Party of Kenya demands the immediate arrest of the police who took an innocent soul, and in addition to the arrest, conduct a speedy investigation, prosecution and jailing of the persons responsible for this heinous crime. Kenyans do not fund the Kenya Kwanza government to invest in a death machine in the name of the Kenya Police Service.

At the time of his untimely death, Felix was a trusted Communist Party of Kenya cadre member attached to the Kitui party branch. The corporate media, which is always awash with news when the dirty corrupt, filthy politicians die, has been silent on extra-judicial killings. It is telling that the assassinations of poor people remain conspicuously missing in the mainstream corporate media. Their silence is a chilling story that should not go unnoticed by the defenders of justice and those seeking to hold the Kenya Kwanza government to account.



# Reports

## STATEMENT ON THE BURIAL OF COMRADE FELIX MUSILI, WHO WAS MURDERED BY KENYA POLICE

The late Comrade Felix Musili, who was murdered by the Kenya Police, was buried in Kitui county on 23rd January, 2023. The burial was attended by his family, the local community and representatives from the Communist Party of Kenya, the Young Communist League and Kitui Party Branch.

Comrade Felix Musili was buried on January 23, 2023 in Kitui County. Comrade. Booker Ngesa Omole, the National Vice-Chairperson and Comrade Brian Mathenge, the General Secretary of the Young Communist League (YCL) of the Party, led the national leadership at his burial.

Cde. Leonard Kithiia, the Secretary of the Kitui Party Branch, the family and the local committee successfully coordinated all the funeral arrangements. While the local government administration and the security agencies were conspicuously missing, the party cadres and the community youth provided sufficient security to ensure that Cde. Felix was interred with dignity and respect.

Felix will remain in our midst forever, inspiring the young and the old to continue the fight against systemic violence against innocent poor people. To be a communist is not a crime; to be an activist is not a crime; there was no crime Felix had committed.

Speaking at the burial, Brian Mathenge reiterated that police killings are part and parcel of capitalism. 'Let it be known that the death of our dear comrade is not a deterrent for young Kenyans to join this movement. Instead, it serves as an inspiration for the Young Communist League to continue to recruit, train and organize the masses against this system of thuggery and racketeers.'

It is ironic that Comrade Felix's murder was carried out days after President Ruto called for an end to all political assassinations and extra-judicial killings. We are concerned that the president's call will become just another political rhetoric unless it is followed by concrete actions. The Communist Party of Kenya demands a speedy investigation, prosecution and jailing of the two criminal police officers that murdered Comrade Felix Musili.

Down with Police Violence!  
Down with Neo-Colonial fascist police!  
Down with Capitalism!  
Long Live Felix Musili!  
Long live the struggle for Socialism!  
Long Live the Communist Party of Kenya!

Long live the struggle for Socialism!  
Long Live the Communist Party of Kenya!

A MOMENT OF SILENCE FOR OUR FALLEN COMRADES:  
OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE STRUGGLE

# Socialist Internationalism

## ENVIRONMENTAL DAY OF STRUGGLE ON NOVEMBER 12, 2022.

By the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations, ICOR



Photo: Muhammad Numan Unsplash

**ICOR Resolutions for the environmental day of struggle on November 12, 2022 laid a concrete plan of action to raise awareness against environmental destruction and imperialistic war. The Communist Party of Kenya is a member of ICOR, an international anti-imperialist organisation, standing in solidarity and supporting the core message and agenda for the global event.**

We are experiencing a new quality of transition into global environmental catastrophe. The huge instability of the world climate, the droughts, forest fires, floods, the lack of clean water, the contamination of agricultural land by conventional mining, the threat to our health from environmental toxins, the crisis of world food, the renewed expansion of fracking and nuclear power in the wake of the Ukraine war - all this has one cause: capitalism and imperialism.

It is the biggest environmental destroyer with its relentless exploitation of people and nature, its drive for maximum profit and its insatiable desire for power. Imperialism means war and they do not even shy away from a nuclear war to fight out their competition. Therefore, we fight on this environmental fight day completely consciously **against environmental destruction and imperialistic war!**

We do not narrow our view on the threatening climate catastrophe, as bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politics do. We clarify the pollution of the oceans, the littering and poisoning of the earth, the imperialist armament policy and preparation for nuclear war combined with the lie of the limited effect of tactical nuclear weapons or the unproblematic civilian use;

we also direct the view to the advanced restriction of biodiversity, the ozone hole, devastating forest dieback, ... . Who narrows the view trivialises the dimension of the threat to the basis of life? It is precisely the interaction of the various factors that causes the life-threatening tipping points.

Mankind has long since created a level of productive forces and science that could make work, healthy nutrition, a healthy environment, education and housing possible for all people, if the tiny layer of international monopoly capital did not impose its profit and power interests on the entire world. For this we have to discuss strategically: only a world without capitalism and imperialism will save man and nature! The working class is also the leading force in the environmental struggle. We counter the decades-long reformist lie of the contradiction between environmental protection and struggle for jobs with the offensive of the workers, the youth, the women - the combative social movements for environmental protection and jobs!

We declare our will to **hold decentralised actions simultaneously on 12.11.2022** in all ICOR countries and with the forces of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front and to appear militantly. Unified, fundamental slogans should be supplemented by the concrete demands in enterprises, militant movements and according to the concrete conditions. Decentralised means in metropolises and environmental hotspots of the different countries, but also there according to the possibilities in town and country. Suitable for actions are places where the catastrophic state of the natural environment is particularly visible: melting glaciers, drought areas, forest fire regions, places and regions with dramatic floods.

We are also considering holding the rallies as a tribunal and denouncing those responsible through those affected. For example, the international miners' movement denounces the

inhumane and environmentally degrading development of raw materials and energy policies.

We want to achieve a great effect in the area by protests, strikes and actions in companies, universities and schools, in the districts, on streets and squares. At the same time ICOR organises education, actions and a rally on November 12 in Paris with the international delegation of ICOR and forces of the "United Front". Paris is the place of the completely failed climate summit 2015! As a major city with an international character, it is ideally suited for this. The rally will start at 2 p.m. on Republic Square. Send representatives or even delegations according to your possibilities! Send indictments!

The security situation in Egypt due to the fascist Sisi regime does not allow us to make a public militant appearance there. Therefore, we cannot go to the venue of COP 27.

**Let's take our slogans to the workplaces, to the streets, neighbourhoods, schools:**

- **Active resistance against an imminent environmental catastrophe, against a third world war and against the shifting of the burden of crisis and war onto the masses!**
- **Immediate shutdown of all nuclear power plants!**
- **BAN AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION!**
- **There is no socialism on a dead planet! The ICOR defends life and the socialist future!**
- **MASSIVE AND IMMEDIATE EXPANSION OF RENEWABLE ENERGIES!**
- **No greenwashing of the bourgeois governments and even less of the fascist Sisi regime in Egypt! Release all political prisoners - in Egypt and everywhere! #FreeAlaa**
- **FIGHT THE NEOCOLONIAL EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA'S WEALTH!**
- **Socialism IS THE ONLY SOLUTION FOR THE SUSTAINABLE unity of people and nature!**



# Ideology

## ON THE UNITY AGAINST THE ENEMY OF THE MAJORITY: A UNITED FRONT OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

By The Communist Party of Kenya & The Revolutionary Socialist League

*On 23rd December 2022 the Communist Party of Kenya and the Revolutionary Socialist League resolved to unite against the enemy of the Majority. This communique announced the formation of a United Front of the Political Parties and Social Movements that laid the case that informed the foundation for the Tunakataa! Charter.*

**Let's unite all those we can!  
If we cannot, we are destined to oblivion!  
This is our clarion call.**

Let's unite against the neo-colonial fascist state and cynical populist government that continues to conspire to auction us to the metropole's power-hungry elites and foreign powers. Kenya Kwanza is a political vehicle William Ruto uses to accomplish hegemony against the poor majority.

Since his election victory, Mr Ruto has gone on an assimilation spree, buying off politicians from opposition parties and independently elected representatives. The only thing acceptable to President Ruto is absolute control of all instruments of power. He wants to impose his will like an emperor, and the only way to stop him is to have a viable incorruptible opposition.

The cynical populist government, which has kept its pretext of driving a bottom-up economy, has learned to use coded words and empty platitudes repeated by an army of influencers in political, social and religious settings to maintain the illusion of transformation this country so badly deserves. We call it cynical because the only work the government has done is to swallow all the voices that could speak for the poor and the working class.

**With the leaders and representatives deep in Ruto's pockets, the government can do whatever they want, and nobody can question it because there is no one left to offer an alternative voice.**

President Ruto is a pro at building a smokescreen to create an illusion; he is always a good man chosen by God and not the polished student of dictator Moi. He did it to his former boss; dissociating himself from his government and baptizing himself as the uncorrupted saviour who would free Kenyans from the corrupt Kenyatta government.

As president, he has cloaked himself with a thick coat made of biddable leaders from his coalition and enablers hunted from the opposition. By killing the opposition, he will have unlimited oxygen to accelerate state corruption and fuel neoliberal policies that will weaken our public systems.

**The Communist Party of Kenya and the Revolutionary Socialist League have resolved to take up this daunting but fulfilling task to start an immediate process that will eventually unite all progressives and revolutionaries in Kenya.**

We need a home for those who genuinely and honestly want to contribute to a better Kenya. We understand this Front is a coalition of all organisations working towards defending the progressive gains made thus far in our country. Secondly, it is a vehicle to drive the struggle for an alternative government accountable to most Kenyan people.

**The primary document to guarantee the Unity of the members will be a document with a minimum program that all the members must abide by. The Starting point of our discussion is article 10 of the Kenyan constitution on national values.**

The national values and principles of governance include patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people; human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalised; good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and sustainable development.

The status quo that Kenya Kwanza and the elected officials are instituting worships bourgeois democracy as practised in the USA and United Kingdom. They see it as the Alpha and Omega of democracy. The United States, which pretends to be the most democratic country in the world, has suppressed political parties.

Citizens are forced to choose to be governed by either the Republican or Democratic parties, both of which are capitalist and imperialist in ideology and practice. Similarly, in the UK, all political parties are suppressed, and the citizens have to choose from the Labour, Conservative or Liberal Democrats parties - all of which represent capitalism and imperialism.

This design is meant to conserve democracy by making the political parties pasties of the ruling capitalist class. It creates illusions of political changes through regular elections, diluting class struggles and ensuring the capitalist and imperialist system remains intact no matter who is in power. The Kenyan political class lacks the nuance to hide their clear agenda behind political policy proposals. Instead, the choice of who vies – and wins – depends on who has more money to buy influence in local seats or has tribal numbers in national politics.

The party primaries are a mockery of human intellect; persons are anointed by corrupt tribal chiefs. No debate or actionable plans are presented or implemented by their chosen disciples because their allegiance and accountability are to their anointing chief, not the voter. This ensures everything remains the same no matter who is in power.

This political gimmick meant to hoodwink voters and supporters propels the leaders to power through corruption, tribalism, and the media propaganda they control. Even with two strong political parties and other independents who were voted in for their so-called differences, they eventually unite. Somehow, they find a way to shake hands or come to other power-sharing arrangements that only seem to give them political convenience—that is why Kenya has remained a democracy of capitalism.

Without genuine opposition and driven by the same self-interest, the role of our leaders has remained unchanged

since colonialism. They are abettors who cultivate tribalism, institute cronyism and promote greed within the minority elite. Meanwhile, the rest of Kenyans are left on their own and without protection, as their so-called leaders primitively accumulate the nation's resources, impose a dictatorship of a minority, and formalise the exploitation of person by person we see in the country.

**To struggle for genuine democracy, characterised by participatory democracy mixed with social and national liberation, and to struggle against the status quo represented by the ruling capitalist coalitions, we must work towards forming an alternative way: THE UNITED FRONT.**

*The United Front* will be organising to fight for political power to provide the Kenyan people with alternative social, political and economic policies away from the present status quo. It is a United Front of registered political parties, social movements, and organisations. Individuals who wish to participate in the Front must belong to political parties or social movements and organisations that are members of the United Front.

The question that follows is, what brings together the political parties and social movements and organisations to form the United Front? In general, it is the desire or commitment of the political parties and social movements and organisations to agree to rally to fight the status quo and offer alternative progressive politics and ideology for the liberation and development of the country.

### **This is a joint document of the Communist Party of Kenya and the Revolutionary Socialist League.**

*The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) is a political party registered in accordance with the Constitution of Kenya and Political Party's Act of 2011. CPK is committed to uniting all Kenyans irrespective of their ethnic groups, class, gender and age to work for an alternative society away from the present unjust system; towards a society that realises the freedoms, human rights and development of each and all. This society is the vision and mission of the majority of Kenyans and its values are defined in article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya.*

*The Revolutionary Socialist League is a Marxist-Leninist party, committed to the complete overhaul of the current exploitative capitalist system and its replacement by socialism. The Revolutionary Socialist League is an organisation anchored on fighting for the emancipation of the working class; those whose labour produces the means of livelihood for all the people of the world, from the yoke of capitalism.*

*The Revolutionary Socialist League fights for the total liberation of the Kenyan people in particular and the African people in general, and all the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world struggling to smash exploitation in all its forms. The RSL is geared towards the ultimate fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of Kenya, Africa, and the world at large.*

# Ideology

## TUNAKATAA!

### CHARTER FOR UNITY AND DEMOCRACY IN KENYA

By the Communist Party of Kenya and Revolutionary Socialist League



Photo: Cytonn Photography Unsplash

**A UNITED FRONT OF SOCIALIST AND PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL PARTIES, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

**Tunakataa! We say 'No' to Economic Exploitation and Social Oppression**

#### SUMMARY

The Charter articulates the demands of all the working, poor and jobless Kenyans who have not only been alienated from national resources but also marginalised by successive Governments since independence in 1963. The Charter is based on our firm belief in our right to sovereignty and self-determination, which is a basic right of the people. We hold that people have the right to determine and participate in their own political, social, economic and cultural development. It is to assert this right, long denied to people, that we, the undersigned, have issued the Charter.

#### Background

Our rights to land, livelihood, and life itself were stolen from us twice: first by British colonialism and then by the governments of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi. The second time was by the successive neo-colonial governments led by Uhuru Kenyatta and now perpetuated by William Ruto, who is iterating the same brutal and deadly regressive policies implemented by his teacher, the dictator Moi.

The situation created by capitalism and imperialism for working people is intolerable. They face systemic

suppression and are visited by daily killings by the police. We say the time for change is NOW. We cannot stand by and wait for crumbs to trickle from the tables of the ruling elite. They have grown too fat from stealing our labour, land and resources while the people suffer and starve.

The ruling class continually creates false antagonism among the people in order to hide their hideous activities. This creates artificial divisions under ethnicities, age, region, religion, sexuality and other mental boundaries and outrages that divide people further.

We know their ways by now. We know their divisions and rivalry is nothing but a theatrical show to dupe the people into thinking they have a choice and their side is winning. After watching them, we know there are only two sides: the exploiter and the exploited. Us versus them. Rich versus the poor; a minority versus the majority. On this, we are united. We are one people and we will defend our unity. We will not be divided and we will not let the oppressors and their colluders win.



**We say no! Tunakataa!** Knowing that our peaceful attempts to change the situation will be met by state brutality, murder and massacres.

**We say no! Tunakataa!** Knowing that it will take some time before the majority become fully aware of the reality of their true enemy.

**We say no! Tunakataa!** knowing that this is a war against a brutal system long-established, that it will take time to dismantle. But it is possible if we all work honestly.

**We say no! Tunakataa!** Recognizing that the values and ideals that Kenya brought to its nationhood in 1963 hold true to this day. That then, independence for Kenyans meant the rejection of colonialism which was characterised by, among other things, the abuse of power; the affirmation of freedom for all Kenyans, the desire for safety from arbitrary harm, and the just access to land and rule of justice and equality.

Uhuru was to enhance national unity, tolerance, hospitality and inclusiveness; the sharing of both power and resources equitably; freedom to think; the concept of individual and academic independence and the flowering of creativity, among other aims. These ideals have persisted in spite of governments of betrayal, corruption and murder.

**Tunakataa!** We realise that the role of Government has been perverted by successive regimes. Government ought to be a covenant that pledges that there shall always be increasing convergence between the promises of the Constitution of Kenya and the circumstances of every Kenyan's life.

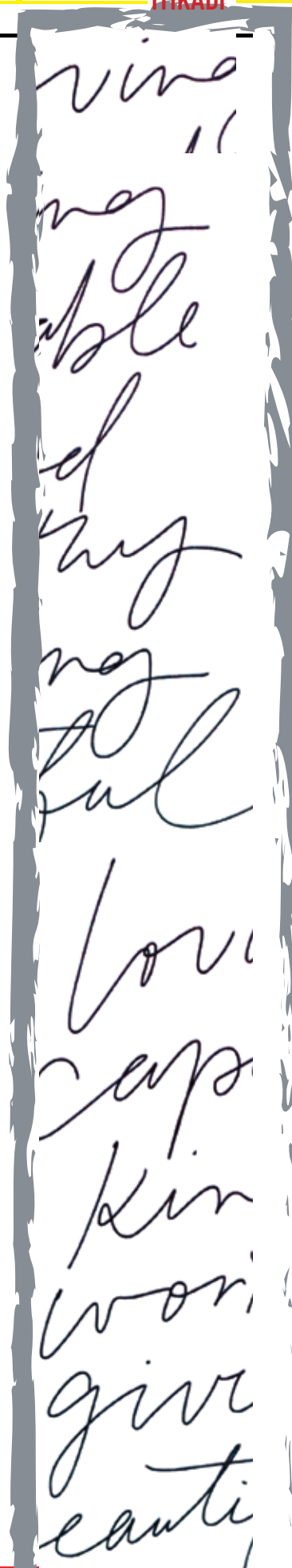
The purpose and priority of the Government is to ensure that life, liberty, nutrition, health, shelter, education and democratic governance, which shall be adequately and increasingly the possessions of all Kenyans. To guarantee that quality, universal education shall be the foundation of Kenya's future, constantly reaching out to the frontiers of knowledge in the service of the people. That today, the government and its systems are so corrupt that some of these rights sound alien to the majority of Kenyans.

We, the signatories of this Charter have come together to create national unity of all working people, of all regions, of all nationalities, of all genders and of all those oppressed and exploited by the government of the elites that has grabbed power by 'legal' and illegal means.

**A people united, can never be defeated!** We have learnt the lessons of 60 years. We can no longer trust the ruling elite, made up of all nationalities, who have betrayed us by deception, false promises and police batons. They have sold our country to global finance capital and corporations in exchange for power and wealth for themselves. An exploiter is an exploiter, irrespective of their colour, sex, religion, or nationality. This we understand.

This Charter will be true and remain real in its promise. When words are turned into action, they have a basis in truth and reality to those in difficulty. To the Kenyans in difficulty, change will only be change if something has moved from the intent of words to the tangibility of altered circumstance in a positive direction. We must not offer only words where we can deliver action. We must not offer only hope where we can offer change.

**RESTATING** that the attack on poverty is our nation's most urgent priority and thus our first duty is to our people; **REALISING** that only after the defeat of the corrupt, rich minority that the majority of exploited and oppressed Kenyans will be liberated; **We AFFIRM** that our guiding **IDEALS, PRINCIPLES AND BELIEFS** shall be:



1. The unity of the Kenyan people, led by the working class, is paramount and the firmest guarantee of the well-being of every Kenyan.
2. Denunciation and rejection of political activities and political parties based upon ethnicity, regional origin, gender or religious divisions.
3. Rejection of ethnic or racial hegemony by any group or groups. Every Kenyan is a part of the nation and its rightful beneficiary. Our diverse peoples in unity are cords of unassailable strength.
4. The unity of Kenya as the bedrock of all our national political, economic and social activity and the test of our political actors and actions.
5. The equality of All Kenyans in every part of Kenya, equal in dignity, in the equal right to resources, to equal opportunity and the right to justice.
6. The urgent task is to ensure a national democratic change away from the destruction, sectionalism and inequities of the past and the present.
7. The ultimate task is the establishment of democracy of majority against the dictatorship of the moneyed minority.
8. This shall be a coalition of political parties and organisations committed to progress of the Kenyan working class, peasants and the poor.

### **FURTHER we demand that our stolen RIGHTS are restored immediately. We demand:**

1. Respect for the rule of law and the Constitution.
2. An end to the state-sanctioned murder of our youth and minority nationalities by the police.
3. A limit to maximum land ownership and the settlement of squatters and landless people in line with the Constitution.
4. The independence of judiciary and acceptance of all judgements of the High Court of Kenya.
5. The restoration of the independence and the power of the Parliament and County governments.
6. Cessation of all corrupt practices from the President down to local officials. All those found guilty of crimes of theft, corruption or human rights and other violations of the constitutional right of Kenyans should be held to account.
7. Immediate change in government economic policies to support the livelihood of working people.
8. Technological knowledge and resources be made available for the widest possible use by all Kenyans in every single part of Kenya
9. Immediate change in government social policies so as to ensure people realise their right to adequate health, education and other social services.
10. Worker Rights: Living wages and respect for the right to organise themselves into trade unions.
11. Peasants small-scale farmers: Fair return for their produce.
12. Professionals: salaries to be commensurate with their education, experience and expertise.
13. Justice and equality for all, individuals, nationalities, regions. People without jobs and homes must get priority in government policies. Women have equal rights with men.
14. Immediate stop to foreign wars that the government has got the country involved in.
15. Follow an independent and ethical foreign policy that sides with oppressed people and nations worldwide, including the restoration of rights to the people of Palestine and Western Sahara.
16. All new resources that were and are discovered are national assets held in trust for all the peoples of Kenya and are to be managed according to the needs of the present and future generations, not for the personal enrichment of any holder of public office in Kenya or for the benefit of multinational corporations and their allies.
17. We demand the end of interference over government policies by foreign governments and their corporations.

#### **Our Assertion**

These rights belong to the people of Kenya. They are not granted as a favour by the governing elite. They have been stolen from us. We demand what is ours. We demand power to decide our future and our present. People throughout the country are behind these demands of the Charter. Those obstructing these rights will face the wrath of people. There can be no compromises. The people have spoken. The people demand their rights. They refuse to be subjected to colonial-style exploitation so the rich can gobble more wealth created by working people. **Tunakataa! We say NO.**

The parties to this charter have loyalty to these ideals and not loyalty to an individual or to any ethnic or racial group or region or ethnic hegemony. We therefore do not ask Kenyans to follow. We say, let us instead join hands in the efforts ahead of us. More and more Kenyans coming together for the real change for a democratic, free, liberated Kenya -- this is the vision of the Charter and that of the majority of Kenyans.

#### **TUNAKATAA THE STATUS QUO. ONWARDS TO A LIBERATED KENYA!**

*Notes: This Charter was first written by Shiraz Durani under the title JED Charter (Charter for Justice, Equality & Democracy in Kenya) in 2021. The Communist Party of Kenya and Revolutionary Socialist League have updated it to meet current needs.*

# Socialist Internationalism

## ADAPTING MARXISM TO THE LOCAL CONTEXT AND THE NEEDS OF OUR TIMES, COMRADE BOOKER

By Comrade Booker Omole

*On 27th April, Comrade Booker Ngesa attended the inaugural Webinar organised by the Communist Party of China and the Left Political organisations in Africa (ALNEF). The National Vice-Chairperson, addressed the members on the history and nature of capitalism, neoliberalism and US imperialism in Kenya and provided insights on how the CPK is dealing with the class struggle in Kenya through Marxism and Socialist ideology.*

*Following the theme of the webinar: Adapting Marxism to the Local Context and the needs of our Times, Comrade Booker highlighted potential opportunities that can be realised by a stronger solidarity and cooperation between the CPC and other Marxist and Political Parties by advancing Socialist Internationalism.*

In the name of Socialist Internationalism, the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) takes this opportunity to extend a message of friendship and revolutionary solidarity to the leadership, membership of CPC and the heroic people of China.

Through the leadership of CPC, China has succeeded to make immense economic, cultural, scientific, technological, diplomatic and military achievements that have transformed China from a poor, hungry, underdeveloped, colonial, imperialist dominated and exploited Country into a World superpower in all fronts.

In Africa, we do not forget the moral and material support that CPC and China provided in the anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles that led to the independence of our nations. Thanks to CPC and China, imperialism is impeded from imposing a unipolar World, driving developing countries deeper and deeper into the quagmire of imperialist economic, political, ideological, diplomatic and military slavery.

There can never be a better time to foster a closer relationship between CPC and sister organisations in Africa. We thank the South Africa Communist Party for taking the leadership role in this process. This will be a firm front against imperialism.

Let me now briefly introduce to you the Communist Party of Kenya. The history, ideology, and profile of the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) have developed progressively since 1992. CPK is a Marxist/Leninist party whose ultimate program is to achieve socialism in Kenya, East Africa, Africa, and the World. The strategies and tactics for achieving this objective are based on Kenya's historical and material conditions and the World today.

### **CPK is a product of the struggle of the Kenyan people.**

CPK is conscious of Kenya's noble history of struggle against foreign domination and imperialism. Our Party is the continuation of the social and national liberation struggle of the Kenyan patriots that ultimately brought about independence from British colonialism in 1963. We remember those elders who died or survived with great suffering in the struggles for national freedom.

They sacrificed their lives and blood to give us self-respect in the period and aftermath of colonial domination. To them, we owe and return, and shall forever return our respect and give them also our admiration and affection, and seek to emulate their love for our Country, courage and persistence against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

### **Capitalism and imperialism in Kenya**

Today Kenya is sharply divided into classes of various categories: the rich few and the majority poor, the capitalists and the workers, the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed. Few families own land the size of districts, while most Kenyans are either landless or eke out a living in small pieces of land.



Most Kenyan people live in abject poverty, but a few are billionaires who are among the richest people in the World. While the Country continues to receive foreign aid, there is enough wealth concentrated in the hands of the privileged few, which is capable of bringing about development to the Country.

### Neoliberal globalisation

The most important aspect of neoliberal globalisation is the political unity of the imperialist states of imposing this process as a rule of an international legal system legalising the inclusion of the non-capitalist countries, as periphery, into the capitalist world system. Bilateral and multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements coordinated and implemented through World Trade Organization and the twin Britton Woods Institutions - the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund - are bedrocks of the neo-colonial economic and trade policies imposed upon Kenya, Africa and developing nations.

The truth is that the political parties of the ruling class of Kenya and their affiliates are both committed to imposing the democracy of capitalism, neocolonialism, corruption, tribalism, cronyism, greed, primitive accumulation, dictatorship, and exploitation of person by person in the Country. CPK is sure that the democracy of the ruling capitalist class is not what the majority of Kenyans struggled for or desire for the present and future of our Country. To struggle for genuine democracy - participatory democracy - social and national liberation

CPK is committed to organising and struggling for political power through participating in national elections to provide to the Kenyan people alternative social, political, and economic policies away from the present status quo and geared towards socialism.

### What next between CPC and African Marxist Political Parties?

We see many possibilities, primarily in clarifying and strengthening our ideological positions. This can be done through a continental ideological school, joint publications and seminars, and rollout of Marxist people's libraries—concerted and coordinated effort on Marxist propaganda outlets like community radios and TV stations.

### Russian-Ukraine Conflict

CPK rejects all imperialist wars and remains in solidarity with the working people of Ukraine and the Russian Federation. CPK supports the legitimate security concerns of the Putin administration and the threat to the integrity of the Russian state. CPK remains anti EU-NATO-US hegemony generally but now, particularly the eastward expansion of NATO.

CPK supports any effort to deal with the Neo Nazi movement in Ukraine once and for all. CPK, therefore, justify violence and military intervention against those outfits. The CPK remains hostile to the puppet government in Ukraine; Zelensky is just an imperialist stooge. CPK strongly advocates for regime change in Kyiv. Our solution is an anti-imperialist global front.

#### Finally

CPK is committed to establishing 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 being published by imperialism in Africa and the World.

Long live CPC!  
Long live good relations between Africa and China!  
Long live socialist Internationalism!  
Long live socialism!



Image: Alejandro Luengo UNsplash

# Ideology

## AN INTROSPECTIVE CHRONICLE OF KENYA'S LEFTIST STRUGGLE.

Kenya's rocky road towards a progressive constitution, reactions to the just-ended 2022 elections, and the status of Communist Party of Kenya.

BY COMRADE BOOKER OMOLE



Kenya, is the undisputed financial giant in East Africa and one of Africa's top five economic powerhouses. The country, known for its wildlife, marathon runners and the most advanced internet coverage, is firmly a turbo-capitalist society.

Under the last government, inequality and unemployment rose to just over 30% and the living standards dropped by more than 30% in nine years. In contrast, Kenya's economy tripled in size, and with the exception of 2020 - during the global pandemic - and in 2008 - following post-election violence - the country has been reporting a positive GDP growth of nearly 5% per year.

In 2022, William Ruto, a right-wing Christian fundamentalist who was championed by US-evangelicals, was declared the winner following the national election in August. It is a maelstrom of class struggle heightened by a disgruntled working class struggling to make sense of their declining welfare.

The Communist Party of Kenya updates us on Kenya's political history from the socialist lens. This reflection takes through a journey of party building, pondering on the issues that informed Kenya's internal, regional and global positions and the progressives' struggles that have defined its current political and constitutional climate.

This background is essential for three reasons. **One**, Kenya's rich story of progressive struggle must be told if we are to fully appreciate the country's constitution, which is one of the most progressive in the continent.

**Two**, there is an air of anticipation building within Kenya's progressive communities and the Communist Party of Kenya in particular, following William Ruto's win. Progressives have analysed Ruto's presidency from the lens of his actions as the outgoing deputy president and his political history. As the Deputy presidency, Mr. Ruto's leadership was characterised by state corruption, oppression and collaboration with imperialism forces to further exploit Kenya's working class as seen in the numbers and state of the economy.

Based on his political past and his utterances, Ruto's regime is projected to become a nightmare for progressives. Ruto, whose political teeth were sharpened during the brutal YK92 under dictator Moi, is predicted to move quickly to tighten the noose on progressives and become a bigger dictator than this former principal.

**Three**, the Kenyan youth and working class in particular were largely activated during the elections by William Ruto. Ruto, who used the bottom-up rhetoric to drive a class-warfare campaign against his rival, offered a glimpse of hope to solve Kenya's exploitative capitalist culture. This is a good thing for the country's political debate and education; and we must credit Ruto for this rhetoric.

Whether he will implement his campaign promises or not, it is a door that cannot be closed because the pressure from the youth, who are

the majority, is quite high and will be impossible to ignore.

Besides the political awakening, the working class and Kenya's majority have, on their side, Kenya's very progressive constitution that backs up the demands for these desired changes. It is this legal provision that progressives and revolutionaries are expecting to deploy to fight oppression, brutality and corruption synonymous - and expected of - William Ruto's regime.

The Communist Party of Kenya is eager to provide a solid alternative to these forces. Furthermore, the influence of the Chinese people, through the development efforts in Kenya, has diluted the US-Western allied propaganda forces and created an ample space for independent, alternative voices to paint a different image of socialism, communism and the issues facing Kenyans away from the anti-communist propaganda and lies from the western media.

## PART I: MOISM AND THE DEATH OF THE WORKING CLASS AS TURBO-CAPITALISTS AND IMPERIALISTS TAKE CHARGE OF THE COUNTRY.

***It has been sixty years since Kenya's independence and Kenya's class struggle seems to have slipped back to the '90's. This is not an accident but a default bug built into the system.***

To understand Kenya's class struggle, we shall consider two things: the dominant political system, which is the era of dictator Moi's regime and then explore if there are any systemic problems that, together with the dictator's regime, fuelled the crisis.

From the Communist party perspective Kenya's independence was a sham one, for what was billed as independence was in name only. In reality, there was a group of retrogressive chauvinistic nationalists, led by the founding father Jomo Kenyatta, who took the reins of power and wielded those powers for the benefit of a few people at the time.

The beneficiaries were mainly the comprador and the national bourgeoisie, who entrenched neo-colonialism in the country's structures by adopting the same oppressive and exploitative policies as the colonialists to advance themselves.

Lacking any ideology and original thought, Jomo Kenyatta was a reactionary leader, who died in 1978. His legacy speaks of the horror and the problems that are emblematic of Kenya to this day. The first was the proof of his greed: being one of the biggest landowners in this country and thereby sanctioning theft and state corruption that lives to this day. The second was his predecessor and vice president Daniel Moi, who took over power following his death.

***Moi perfected the art of Jomo Kenyatta. He entrenched the neo-colonial state with an eagerness that has not been surpassed by any other president in the region; selling off the country to the highest bidder.***

***In finance and economic development, he made concessions for the international capital from the IMF and World Bank who brought in the largest mass unemployment through the now infamous killer policies known as Structural Adjustment programs, SAPs. Through SAPs, Kenyans were retrenched from their jobs, public institutions were privatised and public service became non-existence.***

Moi's IMF concessions paved the way for full decolonization that were painted as a means of addressing the effect of SAPs. The next round of concessions came when Moi welcomed big metropolises and multinationals to do business in our country - on their terms or dictates of the United States and the West.

As a result, Kenyans were subjected to modern-day slavery as workers were exploited and the country's resources were plundered. Workers, who were now unemployed were made to work at almost zero pay for the multinationals. Furthermore, our local industries were destroyed as the country was reduced as a raw material exporter; providing jobs in the West.

By the time he was leaving office in 2002, Kenya's economy was ravaged: operating worse at the levels of colonial Kenya during the second world war where colonies were nothing but production centres to feed the war needs in Europe. That is the effect and legacy of the dictator Moi.

Not surprising, Moi was a darling of the West. In a myopic obsession with 'democracy', Moi followed the United States foreign policy, which was influencing their client states abroad to ban communism. To appease them, he killed communism as a political ideology in our country and passed certain acts that proclaimed communist literature to be seditious in our country.



For this reason, many progressives or communists in our country were forced to go underground or seek political refugee status in friendlier countries.

By 1982, the progressives and other people, who could not tolerate dictatorship, organised a coup against Moi's KANU one-party dictatorship. The coup failed and things got worse for the country, particularly for the poor, because it led to a crackdown on progressives. Leftist organisations went underground as the regime conducted mass arrests and harassment of families, leaving Moi with no visible opposition in sight and giving him the opportunity to flex his dictatorship muscles.

Brutal and oppressive, Moi's full-on dictator mode served as an inspiration for the underground movements who had kept on organising. Within a decade, they rose strong enough to exert the second round of pressure. This time, they achieved a measure of success because the agitation led to the reintroduction of the multi-party system through an act of parliament. Unfortunately, this win was flawed as it was an Eurocentric and American-driven agenda that despite being called a multi-party system, allowed only the capitalist parties to participate. In other words, it was a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

With a multi-party system in place, the majority of the people realised that Moi had to be kicked out. There were mass organisations with the support of progressive trade unions and religious institutions, which culminated with Mwai Kibaki, the long-time leader of the opposition movement elected as president in 2002.

**Moi was out of power. Moism did not end with his departure. Moism, which was a hyper-accelerated neocolonialization primitive power grab from the Jomo Kenyatta regime under KANU, had been the country's system for more than four decades. Despite leaving, all aspects of KANUISM have stayed with us. After going underground for just a decade, Moism returned in full force and has been the dominant ideology since Mwai Kibaki left office in 2013.**

For example, Moi's handpicked successor in 2002, Uhuru Kenyatta, succeeded Mwai Kibaki in 2013. He is the outgoing president and if the name sounds familiar, Uhuru Kenyatta is Jomo Kenyatta's son. Moi's children dominate Kenyans because the money he took from the public is still circulating among the minority. The entire political landscape has been dominated by his appointees, many who were still in office during Kibaki's time; going full Moi during the Kenyatta government, which is why Kenya regressed so fast and the welfare of the country was eroded in less time than it took to rebuild.

Under Mr. Kenyatta, Moism was recycled and perfected many times over to the extent that the 2022 election cycle was all Moi's appointees. The two main candidates were all his people with Raila Amollo Odinga on one hand and William Samoi Ruto on the other. Odinga, who was appointed as one of the leaders in the KANU government towards the tail end of Moi's government, contested under the Azimio la Umoja coalition with the backing of Uhuru Kenyatta.

Ruto, who was one of the top members of the KANU youth known as YK92. The YK92 was Moi's political criminal gang. They were young people, infamous for their brutality, that were unleashed to ferret progressives and students who are mainly liberals for the State to punish. He was also the immediate deputy president who oversaw Kenya's decline to rise to the six most-corrupt country in the world, and will be the next president of Kenya.

Looking at Kenya from the perspective of its ruling elite, it appears as if we have turned back the clock, and it is 1992 once again. That would be the case, except for one main issue: the 2010 constitution. In 2002, people realised that the problem was not only Moi and removing him from power would not be enough to erase the problems that faced the country. It was clear to most people that there was also an issue of the entrenched political system dominated by a minority. They understood that the political system was neo-colonial; and being so outward-looking, it could never resolve our internal problems. This is what birthed the struggle for the constitution review.

The struggle for Constitutional review was the most horrendous experience since the 1982 coup. Many poor people lost their lives: the poor people sacrificed themselves and were martyred in the streets of Nairobi, Kisumu, and Mombasa, among others, to ensure that the constitution review would take place. The Constitutional Review process was mainly opposed by Christian fundamentalists and rich landowners.

The 2007/2008 post-election violence were the climax of the Constitutional Review struggle where thousands died and hundreds of thousands were injured and rendered homeless. One of the peace-deal stipulations was the constitutional review, and this was achieved when the 2010 constitution was born.

The class interpretation by the bourgeoisie state notwithstanding, the 2010 Constitution of Kenya is a highly progressive constitution and something we are proud of.

## ON 2022 ELECTIONS

The Communist Party of Kenya participated in the 2022 elections and made certain proposals to help Kenyans to see through the bourgeois election.

While we consciously decided to participate in the bourgeois election based on certain premises, we must make it clear that the Communist Party of Kenya does not see the bourgeois election as a way to liberate the Kenyan people, the poor, and the Kenyan workers. We published a document to guide the masses and to guide the cadres on the reasons why we ought to participate in the bourgeois election.

***That document, available on our website is called: 'On the 2022 elections, Kenyans think outside the box!'***

The primary reasons why the Communist Party of Kenya took part in this election was because if we don't participate when the masses are activated politically, we would be abandoning the workers to only the reactionary ideas of the ruling elite.

Have we done our work in terms of spreading our ideas in Kenya? We think the Communist Party of Kenya is a significant force both ideologically and organizationally but there is a hell lot still to be done.

We can say that the Communist Party of Kenya is known at a national and international level, so we have to a greater extent advanced our political propaganda.

The secondary reason we participated was to help expose the contradictions within the neo-colonial turbo-capitalist Kenya. When we conducted an analysis of the recent elections, we proved how the two factions - being the Raila Odinga-led faction and the William Samoei Ruto-led coalition - were only pretending to be protagonists. We had William Samoei Ruto, a corrupt, imperialist stooge leading an attack on Raila Amolo Odinga, another known imperialist stooge in order to capture votes. They pretended to be different, but these differences only in form, not in essence.

**In reality, Ruto and Raila are more similar than ever before because they both belong to the propertied class, and their attitude towards the oppressed strata of Kenyan society remained unchanged.**

On one hand, we have Ruto, who is a Christian fundamentalist supported by evangelicals from the West. He is a kleptocrat who has framed an ash to glory story to appeal to the masses. Ruto claims he rose from being a chicken farmer to a rich person to lead a right-wing 'success' story in Kenya. The rich in our country are ashamed to say they accumulated riches through theft, so they manufacture stories in their head about how hard they have worked to be billionaires. This is the most disgusting anti-people capitalist propaganda.

On the other hand, we have Raila Odinga, one of Africa's imperialists' beacons. You only need to look at his roles in the continent to read through him. For example, he supported the French-led offensive in Ivory Coast; becoming the darling of the French stooge called Alassane Ouattara. To this day, he has always taken a position against Palestine by supporting apartheid Israel mainly to receive alms. And if you look at Raila Odinga's position on the liberation of Western Sahara people, he has consistently sided with the Morocco king.

This is why their rivalry was nothing but pretence: we have, on the one hand, an outright imperialist stooge, and on the other, we have an ethnic and tribal bigot in the name of William Samoei Ruto who hides under the umbrella of Christianity to whip emotions of the poor people because he realised that he could use it to lie to the people to arise to a political position.

The Communist Party of Kenya has succeeded as well in shaping the national conversation in that regard, there has been a significant improvement in Kenyan politics. Growing up, there was always a raw ethnic mobilisation setting the Luo nation against the Kikuyu nation, the Kalenjin nation against the Kikuyu and so on. Things have changed.



This time, the Kenyan people led by the Communist Party of Kenya exerted a lot of pressure from below and through their respective Arms of government, mass actions and demonstrations, the majority of Kenyans rejected the Politics of outright ethnic mobilisation.

That is why this election was dominated by particular rhetoric around economic models. Ruto's infamous bottom-up approach was sold as a way to save the poor people from the dynasty economics that they framed was being sold by Raila. While we never saw much out of Ruto's hustler model, as it was nothing but rhetoric rather than policy - similar to what he used with Kenyatta in the digital-analogue era, the message resonated well enough that many young people bought into it and gave him their support.

The reason we call both parties for their rhetoric is because there was not a single corresponding effort to address their slogans and models with policy proposals. For example, if Ruto, who comes from the oppressing, wealthy minority class in this country means well to the poor people, then he should have provisioned policies that would help him commit class suicide and surrender all the wealth and the land that he has accumulated on the back of the poor people.

The same applies to the other side: we saw Raila's offensive talking about state welfarism, about giving USD 60 to the poor people. He failed to tell us how he would get the USD 60 to provide for the poor because Raila was unwilling to expropriate the expropriators. Like Ruto, he is in the class of those who have been expropriating the working class. As they have done time and time again, their slogans and rhetoric will die out and they will continue to exploit Kenyans by advancing neo-colonial policies in the country.

Another similarity between the two was their conduct after the elections when their first move was to pay homage to the United States Embassy and the Western allies. Under the pretext of defending their position in the electoral outcome, we witnessed the managers of this country showing their bellies to the imperialist interests.

Imagine paying homage to the people who continue slaughtering the poor and getting each blood from the poor people in this country. Instead of taking the moment to care for the welfare of Kenyans who are experiencing impossible economic strain, the two stooges prioritised their masters: more eager to prostitute themselves to the parasites who continue to suck Kenya dry than address the issues facing the people they purport to be managing!

By their actions, Ruto and Raila proved they were cut from the same cloth. Their validation and strength seems to come not from the people who elect them but the Western war consensus. Since this is their priority, we know nothing will change for Kenyans because the US and the West are users.

They use us to consume low substandard materials manufactured in their countries. They use us as a source of cheap labour. They ship expired vaccines spread death and terror in Africa. That is the clear convergence that marks both Raila and Ruto as agents of imperialism. For them, the validity of their leadership and political victory could only be measured through the capitalist United States and their Western allies. These are the alpha and omega. Not the people of Kenya.



## PART II: THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN KENYA.

***The evolution of the Social Democratic Party, a reformist party, to the Communist Party of Kenya, a communist party.***

The Social Democratic Party that was registered in 1992 was never a Communist Party but a Social Democratic Party both in essence and form. This is not a negative criticism of the party's roots, but just how things had to be.

As we have mentioned during the highlights on the political struggle under dictator Moi, the people who were organising under the umbrella of communism were organising under what was loosely an underground movement. Some of the more famous organised underground movements, like the Mwakenya movement or the December Twelve Movement (DTM), were mainly student-driven movements. Some were led by lecturers of the University of Nairobi and Union leaders.

These organisations operated covertly because organising any communist movement would have earned you a lengthy jail term or gotten you murdered by the Moi government.

When multi-partyism was introduced, the Social Democratic Party, SDP, became an overt, natural home for the revolutionaries. The party was agitating for reforms and asserting that the poor and the rich could live together in harmony without having to threaten the existence of one another. The party was purely a social democratic party: just another reformist party.

***It was not until later years, sometime in 2007, that a few revolutionaries within the party began the process of driving the party to the left.***

However, that move failed, as the revolutionaries who were mainly in the party's youth wing were unsuccessful, and the party fell back into the hands of the reactionaries.



This was only a temporary defeat, though, because the burn to turn left was internal and no amount of obstacles would kill it.

I was among the young people involved in the fight to take the party over to the left. We were driven to rescue the party from the kleptocracy that had matriculated the party, turning it from a reformist party into an ultra-right-wing element for primitive accumulation of power. Facing off against some prominent names like the former minister for health Mr Mutahi Kagwe and Njeri Ndwiga, who were part of the offensive, the political party's youth wing came out and redeemed the dignity of the party and restored its lost glory. That's how the debates about the left ideology started in the SDP.

It has to be known that the Communist Party of Kenya is a product of the struggle. No single individual can claim ownership of the party, non-whatsoever. The party has many heroes; those sons and daughters that continue to martyr in the streets to expand this civic and political space are our true heroes.

We will never forsake them because their names are written in our hearts with blood. In our confrontation with the brutal state, they inspire and give us morale to fight, always willing to donate their freedom and life to the struggle. We are a product of activism, and no amount of bourgeoisie legality can limit our activities and no state repression can thaw our spirit. We are the party of the future and have the whole world to win.

**The new constitution 2010 paved the way for a registrable communist party under capitalist legality.**

We, therefore, made an Amendment to the documents of the SDP and filed by the registrar of political parties to declare it a Marxist-Leninist party that follows a clear scientific line for the proletariat revolution.

For practical reasons, the party's leadership opted to retain the SDP name during the 2013 elections because SDP was already known among the masses. There was a debate in the party that the name could help us perform well in the 2013 election process.

Unfortunately, not even the hysteria of the SDP name helped us to get seats in parliament. We performed very dismally and were only able to get a few members of County assembly positions.



With that reality in our face, we started the process to change the name from the Social Democratic Party of Kenya to the Communist Party of Kenya. It was easier for the members because we were already calling ourselves communists, and as communists, we belonged to the Communist Party of Kenya and not the Social Democratic Party of Kenya.

So, the discussion that started in 2013 went on and evolved to birth a new Communist Party of Kenya in 2019. CPK is registered under bourgeois legality and can participate in bourgeois electoral processes, as we do now.

## THE IMPACT OF THE 2010 CONSTITUTION IN KENYA'S PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT.

Kenyans have always defied the so-called Manchester constitution in its colonial and neo-colonial forms. Both placed the power in the hands of the few, and democracy was controlled among the few elites who entrenched the system's managers on behalf of the bourgeoisie or the rich people in our country.

2010 was a momentous occasion for the working class following the passing of the new Constitution for a number of reasons: First, it was an emotional day to remember, as many of us got overwhelmed with the memories of our fallen brothers and sisters who died fighting in the streets demanding constitutional change; it was a day to give dignity to those martyrs.

Secondly, the 2010 constitution is one of the most progressive constitutions around; particularly in Africa and that is something we are proud to have in place as a safeguard from the current bourgeoisie attempts to dilute it and also as a promise of future usefulness when progressives take over management of the country. For example, we are dealing with the evangelical or the Christian fundamentalist issue, but the 2010 constitution clearly shows that Kenya is not a theocracy. There shall never be any state religion.

That, to me, is a very progressive start. Third, the 2010 constitution is a break from the past. For example, the Kenyan Constitution 2010 is very clear that all power is bestowed on the people of Kenya, and that at every given time, they can exercise that power indirectly through their elected leaders or directly through demonstrations, strikes and mass actions. Any single individual that uses its prerogative mandate against the people's collective interest declares war with the Kenyan people.

Other examples can be found in the clauses that deal with human rights, social rights, governance, issues to do with oversight, and even foreign policies.

It is clear to all that, by its design, content and provision, the 2010 constitution is the constitution of the people. If a responsible government is interested in entrenching pro-people policies and ideas, it can do so reliably using the 2010 constitution. The responsible government would only need to clarify some ambiguity introduced by the ruling elite, and then interpret it on the side of the working class.

Because a constitution is a tool of the state, each person or class in power interprets the constitution in the frame of that class. For example, when it comes to the issue of land, the 2010 constitution defines the three types of land as private land, public land and community land. But when it comes to interpretation, the rulers, who all come from one class, have chosen to interpret the constitution in favour of the rich.

In practice, private land takes precedence over the community and public land. This cascades across the entire system, where the judiciary, the executive and the parliament will interpret the 2010 Constitution in a way that only favours a minority; the ruling elite.

If the Communist Party of Kenya wins political power through electoral processes, we will start, from the firm foundation of the 2010 constitution, to entrench progressive reforms. These are reforms to provide social and human rights and expand access to essential services like healthcare, decent housing, and a job with dignity. And in that way, we will start a process towards building socialism, which is what the 2010 Constitution is all about.

This will only be in the transition stage since we are revolutionaries, and we have to go beyond mere reforms. We have to destroy the bourgeoisie state to atoms and, in its place, start the construction of a proletarian state. Remember that communism's end goal is to defeat all authorities.

Therefore, even though we can use the constitution to bring reforms, such as to give services to the poor and the working-class people, the end game is the end of constitutionalism. That means constitutions are only a transition, the workers' state is only a transition and even all authorities that are bestowed in the communist movement is only a transition to no authority because our end game is to seek man and woman that is advanced: a moral man and woman ready for his continental and intercontinental duties that do not need any authority to impose their will upon anyone.

***For example, we now see that the 2010 constitution has been interpreted for a super minority to impose the will of the minority against the majority's will. When in power, we will reinterpret it to impose the workers' will against those who oppress them. In the final analysis, we say that the 2010 constitution was a leap in the struggle which we can use to advance the struggle for the working class in this country.***

### **DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PARASITES**

The Communist Party of Kenya discloses why the welfare of Kenyans has deteriorated over the last decade despite the economy tripling in size. What determines the development of a country is the stages in which the productive forces are at.

While it is clear that Kenya's productive forces have grown since independence or even pre-independence and definitely in the post-independence period, the workers' benefits have been robbed by the factory owners, and the benefits of the farmers have been robbed by either the brokers or big landowners.

The answer to why Kenya, or even Africa, is so rich while most African people are poor is simple: we are poor because we are being robbed by a minority class in Africa which falls under the comprador bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

They rob us of our labour at the farm. They rob us of our labour in the factory. After that, they turn us to shopkeepers or supermarket owners who are brokers, for they do not create anything. Then they surrender us to the landlords to continue to suck more blood from the poor people in this country. We are poor because the wealth that has been generated in the last several decades in this country is concentrated in a super minority in our country.

### **HOW CAN THAT SITUATION BE RESOLVED?**

***It is upon the majority of the population to organise themselves politically, led by the Communist Party of Kenya, which is the workers' party to now wrest political power.***

Through the Communist Party of Kenya, we shall apply socialism to solve that contradiction within the neo-colonial Kenyan society or turbo Capitalist Society, by taking the political power from those who are board of directors of the bourgeoisie and bringing it under the able leadership of the workers through their political party.

When we finally do that, the first thing we will do, of course, is to expropriate the expropriators: to take the wealth from the robbers and bring it back to the workers, to take the wealth from the brokers and bring it to the workers, to take the wealth from the landlord and bring it to the tenants, to take the wealth from the big multinational firms and bring it back to the people who produced the wealth.

So, the contradiction between inequality and so-called development is when, in our position, we see that the development in our country is only geared towards external beneficiaries.

For example, suppose you look at the plantation's businesses. In that case, you realise that the people involved in the plantation business are mainly local people who are underpaid; they are malnourished and are slowly being killed by the dangerous chemicals they are made to use while at work, in those extensive plantations. They are being subjected to hard labour, and sometimes even the people who employ them do not respect the rule of law regarding the minimum wage. CPK holds an honest opinion that all undignified work should be mechanised.

That is why we see that, despite the riches in our country, we still have people who die of hunger. We have people who die of curable diseases like malaria and tuberculosis, and we have children that are malnourished and suffering from marasmus and kwashiorkor.





**This is all happening in a country where political leaders suffer from obesity because they have stolen so much that they have almost eight meals daily.**

Their days are spent eating: when they wake up, they have breakfast, and by ten o'clock, they have heavy tea. They have even adapted the coloniser's language to normalise their greedy appetites. At one o'clock, they settle for a three-stage meal, and before it is fully digested, they have high tea at four o'clock, two to three hours before they can retire for dinner. Their diners will usually transition to drinks and small bites for the rest of the night. What a hopeless life!

It is a life of consumerism: living like animals who live to eat, reproduce and have zero creativity.

In the shackled down slums in Nairobi, human beings live like warzones, with no running water and polythene bags as shelters and flying toilets dominate. Amid all that, churches and non-government organisations mushroom selling false hope to the wretched of the earth, to put it in Frantz Fanon's words.

Therefore, while it is clear that Kenya is rich, the rich in Kenya have robbed Kenyans, and the country is under the firm control of a few people from a few families.

### **PART III: A SOCIALIST TAKE ON KENYA'S ROLE AND RELATIONS IN AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.**

***Kenya's membership in the East African Community, the African Economy Community or the African Union and other blocs.***

As they stand, we have not yet bought into these unions. Whether you call it the African Union or the East African block, or the central block, as long as they see capitalism as the only way to organise the society, then those unions, we can say, are a dead start.

Another reason we do not consider them is because it has become clear that the African Union is only in place to lobby for the benefits of seating presidents and dictators.

The African Union members only seem to mobilise when defending the presidency of each other, but they're slow and inactive when it comes to the people's development, which is very disappointing for us.

For example, when Uhuru Kenyatta and William Samoei Ruto - Kenya's immediate former president and his deputy president - were under investigation by the International Criminal Court (ICC), they rallied a pan-Africanist movement to lobby for their freedom and protection.

They weaponised the idea of Pan-Africanism to get the support of other presidents and then abandoned it once they were saved! It was a cynical move: camouflaging under the idea of Pan-Africanism which has since been debunked.

**The Communist Party of Kenya is a Pan-Africanist organisation. The Communist Party of Kenya holds a very radical view that a free, united, liberated Africa is only possible under scientific socialism. In this scenario, Pan-Africanism is the objective, and the software that takes us to that objectivity is scientific socialism. We are cognizant of certain debates that have taken place around the issue of Pan-Africanism to guide this thinking.**

For example, there was a debate between Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere, the founding father of Tanzania. The two debated on the topic: 'Do we need to unite piecemeal, for example, the Central and the Southern and Eastern blocs or do we need a continental unity at once?' I think that the debate has already been finished.

Communists agree that any unity that advances a pro-people, united, free Africa from capitalism and imperialism is welcomed, whether piecemeal or universal.

**The second debate on pan-Africanism is on what is possible: do we have African socialism or a socialist Africa?** I think such arguments have already been debunked by the intellectuals on the left, like Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu, in his book African socialism or socialist Africa. The Communist Party of Kenya is convinced that only under scientific socialism we can see a liberated Africa.

Once everything has been declared a science, it becomes universal. Then, we don't have to name it, whether it is African socialism or Western socialism.

Still, we have to look at what we call the immortal science of Marxism-Leninism, which is our principle guide and our light that continues to illuminate our paths towards the total victory of the continent.

## ON KENYA'S MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SOMALIA.

The overall policy is that we do not allow or accept imperialist forces in our country. As far as that goes, our leaders have let us down because they have opened our air and naval spaces to the US and British military, equipment and personnel. The Communist Party has remained hostile to such moves by imperialist forces who seek to interfere with our internal affairs.

Regarding the issue of Somalia, we had a different policy. That is because there were continuous terrorist attacks from Somalia, which made it appear as if the Kenyan government was helpless to control the terrorists killing in our country.

That is why, for a moment, we supported the military offensive against Al-Shabab organisations in Somalia. We applauded Mr Kenyatta's administration for taking the bold step to secure our borders, especially after the unfortunate massacre of students in Garissa. And for sure, everyone can agree that after we had the Kenyan intervention in Somalia, the cases of terrorism have minimised.

However, we must also unveil the hypocrisy within Mr Kenyatta's administration. Because the Kenyan military went under AMISON, it was like we were using our soldiers only to earn profits from them. That is why you find that the money from AMISON was taken up by the political elite in our country, who are robbing the people who are putting their lives on the frontlines to protect the Kenyan borders and to make us safe.

While we disagree with the Kenya government - AMISON arrangement and the plight of the personnel fighting on the war front to make us safe, we think in terms of foreign policy, it was a good thing to go to Somalia to try to stop terrorism at its roots.

## ON THE RECENT SPATE OF MILITARY COUPS IN SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES SUCH AS SUDAN, CHAD, BURKINA FASO, AND MALI AND THE CIVIL WAR IN ETHIOPIA.

Africa is under attack. African governments are being destabilised by the United States and their western allies. For example, the French government has been very busy in West Africa, where they are interfering with the internal affairs of those

governments. The fall of the Ivory Coast government and, now, the recent statement by the Malian government are clear examples of this blatant interference. Mali reported how the French government had floated their rules by sending planes into their air space to deliver lethal weaponry to the extreme right-wing and Islamic extremists in Mali that are a threat to the Malian government.

Another unfortunate case of the West's interference is what happened in Sudan. After the revolution started, we had the Riyadh government in Saudi Arabia and the United States as their allies, together with Israel interfering when they moved to facilitate an installation of a military regime in Khartoum.

What for? Why is the West so keen to interfere - which always causes further disruption and worsened the situation? The answer is simple: they do it because interference enables theft and looting of Africa by their puppet governments and multinational corporations.

Because Africa as a continent is wealthy, there are only two ways to exploit Africa. The most obvious one is what the United States and their allies in the West have been doing: using their so-called democracy plan to install a puppet government. This is what they did in Ivory Coast, where they established the neoliberal kleptocrat Alassane Ouattara after the electoral coup against Laurent Gbagbo. It also happened in the Central Africa Republic, and it continues to occur in our elections in Kenya.

The other day in Kenya, Mr Odinga's and Mr Ruto's sides paid homage to the United States government in Nairobi. The embassy declared themselves very privileged and posted photos of their discussions on how to entrench the (US) democratic tendencies in Kenya. This unfortunate pandering was quite humiliating to Kenyans because the United States embassy in Nairobi is nothing but a CIA spy agency. Their primary role in our country is interfering with our internal democracy and processes, and Ruto and Raila made it appear as if the people's decision had no power until the US embassy had signed them off!

The other way that Africa is under attack is in the continued robbery and looting. Africa is poor because it is being robbed. Everyone who is aware of the geopolitics of imperialism knows what is happening to the biggest country in the continent to understand how well this robbery by the West has worked. Congo has enough resources that can feed Africa, but the imperialist and multinational forces in Congo will never allow peace to take place in Congo. They want to divide that country; they want to make it vulnerable so they can continue to loot gold and other mineral resources and they do so by causing war in Congo.

This is the tactic the US and her Western allies use when they fail to install puppet governments to do their bidding: they finance the reactionary elements to cause chaos in those countries. If they cannot manage to do it as the British did in Kenya, where they divided us through ethnic lines, they will use other trigger elements like different religious groupings. For example, they set the Islamic community against the Christian community, which divides the country: giving them a fertile ground to loot.

By and large, the wars in Africa are mainly imperialist, and we should continue to educate the continent's people on the roots of such wars. We also must continue organising to dent capitalism in readiness for its inevitable fall. Only the Communist Party of Kenya, with the support of the workers, will be able to neutralise the Western dogs littering and looting Africa.

### **ON THE WEST'S CONDEMNATION OF KENYA RECEIVING CHINESE CREDITS, INCLUDING THE MILLIONAIRE INVESTMENT IN THE "STANDARD GAUGE RAILWAY" PROJECT BETWEEN NAIROBI AND MOMBASA.**

***China is the future of the planet. African people have a lot of similarities with the Chinese Cultural Revolution thanks to a shared history where China was colonised by the most brutal imperialist forces that were the Japanese at that time, and Kenya was colonised by the British.***

In Africa, the British have continued to dominate its former colonies by giving loans and putting unnecessary bureaucracy stamps on our development. By remaining the permanent ally of the British and the United States, Kenya experienced a lot of under-development. It was not until the arrival of China, which disrupted predatory relationships they had nurtured, through United States financial and capital organisations like the IMF and World Bank, that the imperialists became jealous. Even then, theirs was an impotent jealousy for they could offer no alternative to the Chinese investment; which went to further prove their agenda with us.





## KENYA'S STANDARD GAUGE RAILWAY PASSENGER TRAIN (SGR)

Image: CGN

In contrast, the effect of the Chinese presence in Africa is visible to all. China has accelerated development in terms of infrastructure. It removed bureaucracies and even reviewed the loan arrangement between African countries. For example, they have substantially reduced Angola's poverty index. Therefore, the supremacy of the management of the Chinese community under the Communist Party of China has proven to bring progressive development.

*For many Kenyans and Africans, China is a country to admire. And if any flaws are in the Chinese socialist experiment, it would be very irresponsible for us to criticise those flaws based on racist bigotry and advance racism by profiling the Chinese people in our country. You know that is what the West would like us to do, using Africans as pawns.*

We see a lot of possibilities with the Chinese capital in Africa, we know a lot of cultural similarities with the Chinese people, and the Communist Party of Kenya has no hostility towards China. We will want to perfect our relationship with the Chinese people. We want to share our experiences, and we have gained a lot of knowledge from the leader of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, our chairman Mao, as we call him, in the party.

There can be excesses in terms of the access given to Chinese companies working in Kenya. But those excesses must be treated on their merit. The problem we face when it comes to this analysis is that there is a lot of Western-sponsored anti-Chinese propaganda in our country.

The big media houses in Kenya and the international media stations like BBC and CNN are here to parrot against China and the Chinese's socialist experiment. Besides the huge media propaganda to muddy the waters on the truth, we also have a big challenge with information and local conversations that are usually sponsored by Western non-governmental organisations that set the African people against the Chinese.

However, as the Communist Party of Kenya, we are happy that they have been losing, and China has proven to be a genuine friend. For example, when facing an electoral process in our country, we did not see the Chinese Secretary-General or leadership trying to interfere. **After all, the Chinese people have an extraordinary policy towards Africa: the policy of non-interference,**

and unlike the lip service of independence and non-interference parroted by the West and the US, the Chinese people stick to their policy.

The Communist Party of Kenya will not mind a CPC interfering or doing an intervention in Kenyan politics so long as they can advance our struggle politically. However, we still take it in peace that their policy of non-interference in Africa has contributed enormously in terms of people-to-people love between the two great nations.

We look forward to learning from our brothers and sisters in China. We want to learn from their mistakes as we continue to build our socialist experiment on the continent. While we may not want to import the Chinese Cultural Revolution, we will build our revolution here in Kenya, and build alliances with other left-wing organisations in Africa. In that way, we can have a United African continent based on a clear pro-people, scientific, socialist policy, which is the objective of the Communist Party of Kenya.

We must mention that the Communist Party of Kenya is not just not a Pan-Africanist or a national organisation: we are also an internationalist organisation. That means we are in solidarity with all the oppressed people. We are anti-capitalists and anti-imperialists, and we support the struggle of all the world's oppressed people. We strongly support the creation of alternative centres of power, whether those powers are, for example, Russia, Venezuela, Brazil, or South Africa.

**In the words of Hugo Chavez, "the world is much safer if we have a multipolar world." Not the big boys who have declared themselves the planet's prefects like in the United States case. That evil empire that is the United States of America will inevitably fall: who knew the Spanish empire, among others, would fall, but they fell in the end. That is what the science of history reveals to us. The empire is in its last days. Those warmongers in Washington want to prefect us; they want to determine what we eat and how we relate even to our African people. That is why I want to reiterate that the Communist Party of Kenya supports the multipolar world, and we are totally against any imperialist war.**

Of course, the only war we are willing to sacrifice it all for is a class war, so that's what brings our internationalist nature. We are in solidarity with the great people of Palestine struggling against the Zionist regime under apartheid Israel.

We are in solidarity with our brothers and sisters from Western Sahara that are fighting against the Moroccan King for stealing their freedom and denying their children and women their dignity. We are in solidarity with all the oppressed people of the world. We support international socialist globalisation based on solidarity and true friendship of a people! We are hostile to neoliberal globalisation's current arrangement!

Long live Internationalism!  
Long live socialism!  
Death to capitalism!



# In Solidarity

## MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY AND FRIENDSHIP TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA.AT ITS 20<sup>TH</sup> PARTY CONGRESS

**The Communist Party of Kenya passes its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of China (CPC) at its 20th Party Congress on October 16, 2022, in Beijing.**

In the name of Socialist Internationalism, the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) takes this opportunity to extend this message of congratulations, friendship and revolutionary solidarity to the leadership and membership of the CPC. CPK wishes CPC a fruitful discussion during this critical Congress and at this historical moment when US imperialism is getting desperate and escalating global wars. Through the CPC's leadership, China has made immense economic, cultural, scientific, technological, diplomatic and military achievements that have transformed the Country from a poor, hungry, underdeveloped, colonial, imperialist dominated and exploited Country into a World superpower on all fronts.

In Africa, we do not forget the moral and material support provided by the CPC and China in the anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles that led to the independence of our nations. Thanks to CPC and China, imperialism is impeded from imposing a unipolar World, driving developing countries deeper and deeper into the quagmire of imperialist economic, political, ideological, diplomatic and military slavery.

The CPC-led China continues to play one of the significant deterrent roles against the predatory tendencies of the USA and its imperialist allies in their planned destruction of Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Venezuela and other countries that it regards as its enemies. CPK also recognises the contribution of China under the guidance of CPC in the economic and infrastructural development of Kenya and African countries.

In more than a hundred years of its dynamic life, CPC has contributed significantly to developing the theory and ideology of communism and the fight for national liberation. As we build our Party, we benefit from the ideological works of the leaders of the CPC, from those of Chairman Mao Tse Tung and others. We learn how CPC creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to deal with specific problems of China under specific historical and material circumstances until the triumph of the socialist revolution in 1949. It is this creative application of socialism that the CPC continues to apply that enables China to continue developing as the largest nation in the World and to progressively deal with current emerging national and global issues and problems. We single out China's invaluable role and contribution to the fight against the Covid-19 World pandemic.

CPK is 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. When Kenya was under British colonialism, publications of the CPC - Peking Publications - were banned in our Country. Even after independence, revolutionary publications continued to be proscribed to prevent the Kenyan masses from accessing the liberating socialist ideology propagated by the CPC. Many Kenyans were arrested, tortured, detained, and imprisoned for having CPC publications that were regarded as dangerous sedition by the ruling regimes. It wasn't until 1997 that the legal reforms brought about by the struggle of the Kenyan masses removed the most reactionary clauses in the national laws that banned CPC publications in the Country.

Finally, CPK is committed to establishing 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 imperialism in Kenya and the World.

**Long live CPC!**  
**Long live good relations between Kenya and China!**  
**Long live socialist Internationalism!**  
**Long live socialism!**



## Reports

# THE BASIC NATIONAL CONDITIONS OF KENYA

A scientific analysis of the basic national conditions of Kenya in relation to the Party's organisation and mobilisation efforts.

## KENYA IN NUMBERS

### IN THIS ANALYSIS

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In November 2022, the Communist Party of Kenya published the first ever scientific analysis of the basic national conditions of Kenya in relation to the Party's organisation and mobilisation efforts. This publication captures the Kenyan scene in terms of Classes, ethnicity, conflicts, political structure and the economic situation facing Kenyans. It then outlines the activities of the Party as the vanguard Workers' Party in the class struggle and the challenges and milestones under each designated in the Party's organisation and planning activities as mandated by the Congress. The Party outlines its needs to meet the gaps and address these challenges in order to have a clear plan on its current position and progress going forward.

## The Basic National Conditions of Kenya

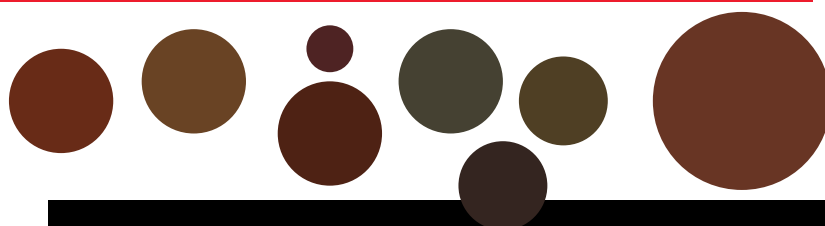
### ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND RATE IN KENYA

Kenya has a diverse population of most major ethnic, racial and linguistic groups in Africa. 92% of the population comprises the Bantu and Nilotic ethnolinguistic groups, with the Cushite consisting mainly of the Somali tribe with 7% and a foreign-rooted population made up of Asians, Arabs and Europeans making up 1% of the population (Wangare, 2022).

Despite this diverse multi-ethnicity of about 42 tribes recorded, the population composition is skewed, with only 20 tribes having more than 200,000 people. The top three tribes comprise almost half, 44.7% of the Kenyan population (Agutu, 2020).

With a total population of 47.6 million people, we have Kikuyu with 8.14 million, Luhya with 6.82 million, and Kalenjin with 6.35 million, making it 21.32 million.

There are several small tribes with as few as 10,000 people, while some are sub-tribes and clans of a major tribe. For example, the Kalenjin tribe has eight sub-tribes, including the Nandi and Kipsigis, and the Somali tribe has clans rather than subtribes.



## The Ethnic Composition of the people of Kenya (Kamer, 2022)

### Kikuyu: Bantu, 8.14 million people

(17.1% of the population) located in the Central Highlands and Mount Kenya area.

### Luhya: Bantu, 6.82 million people

(14.3% of the population) in Western Kenya. Sub-tribes: Banyala, Banyore, Batsotso, Gisu, Idakho, Isukha, Khayo, Kisa, Marachi, Marama, Samia, Tachoni, Tiriki, Wanga.

### Kalenjin: Nilotic, 6.43 million people

(13.4% of the population) located in the Western Highlands and the Rift Valley. Sub tribes include: Kipsigis, Tugen, Marakwet, Pokot, Keiyo, Sabaot, Terik and Nandi.

### Luo: Nilotic, 5 million people

(10.7% of the population) located in Western Kenya, at Lake Victoria.

### Kamba: Bantu, 4.6 million people

(9.8% of the population) located in South Eastern and Eastern parts of Kenya.

### Somali: Cushite, 2.7 million people

(5.8% of the population) located in Northern and North Eastern parts of Kenya. Clans: Isaak, Galjeel, Leysan

### Kisii: Bantu, 2.7 million people

(5.7% of the population) located in Kisii highlands in Western Kenya.

### Mijikenda: Bantu, 2.4 million people

(5.2% of the population in Coastal Kenya. Sub-tribes: Jibana, Rabai, Digo, Giriama, Ribe, Kauma, Duruma, Kambe, Chonyi.

### Meru: Bantu, 1.9 million people

(4.2% of the population) located in the North Eastern slopes of Mt Kenya.

### Maasai: Nilotic, 1.1 million people

(2.5% of the population) located in the South Rift Valley.

### Turkana: Nilotic, 1.1 million people

(2.1% of the population) located in North Western Kenya.

### Kenyans of non-indigenous racial groups, 200,000 people

(1% of the population). found in Nairobi, Mombasa, Rift valley and Kisumu. Composed of Kenyan Arabs from Omani, Yemeni, and Persian traders; Asians from India and Pakistan and Europeans from Britain, Italy and Germany.

### Other Kenyan tribes make up 8.2% of the population.

Include Bantu tribes such as Kuria (sub-tribes - Batimbaru, Bakenye, Bamerani, Baikoma, and Banyamongo), Embu, Suba, Taita, Taveta, Swahili, Mbeere, Tharaka, Bajuni, Orma, and Gosha. Nilotic tribes include Samburu, Nubi, Teso, Ichamis, Njembs and Walwana. And Cushitic tribes such as the Rendile, Oromo (sub-tribes – Borana, Galla, Sekuye, Waat), Konso, Gabra, Burgi and Daasanach.

## ETHNIC CONFLICT IN KENYA

*Conflicts in Kenya can be summed up in three ways: tribal flare-ups, political tensions and development eruptions (Rohwerder, 2015).*

### Tribal flare-ups

Tribal flare-ups are low-level persistent violence incidents among communities competing for resources. They also overlap with intercommunal violence as members of different clans or subtribes engage in these resource-based competitions. Their incidence, gravity and intensity have increased in recent years as the size of grazing, farming land, or fishing has diminished.

As these resources are usually communal spaces left aside for livestock grazing, the farming and fishing population increase and depleting productivity has caused fishermen, herders and livestock owners from different tribes and clans to fight. This results in cattle rustling and raids, theft of fishing boats, or armed exchanges between herders and wildlife guards along national parks and wildlife reservations.

Most tribal flare-ups occur amongst the nomadic and pastoralist communities in the Rift Valley, North Eastern and Eastern Kenya and parts of Western Kenya. The most common in Rift valley occur around Lake Baringo's many nomadic tribes, in Samburu and Laikipia (Nyoni, 2020).

There are also tribal and inter-clan flare-ups in North Eastern and Eastern Kenya; along the Tana River between pastoralists and farmers from the Orma and the Pokomo; and in the western region with clashes between the Luhya and Kalenjin over the rich Mount Elgon area and also between the Sabaot community and Luhya people who have been running battles to expand their land holdings (HRW, 2008).

### Political eruptions

Political tensions are cycles of election-related violence caused by intensifying ethnic hatred as political entrepreneurs use ethnic affiliation to manipulate ethnic grievances as a basis for political mobilisation to gain power and control over resources.

They do not occur in a vacuum: they fester in areas characterised by socially fragmented communities and partisan politics. Because they come in cycles, their gravity and intensity are hard to pre-determine before an election period. For example, there was little to no eruption during the 2022 election period. This does not mean it cannot happen during the next election cycle. After all, Kenya's 2002 election was very peaceful, and there was total violence in 2007.

The most frequent tensions are among the Kikuyu versus different tribes in different areas. For example, the Kikuyu against the Luo in Nairobi, Naivasha; the Kikuyu versus the Kalenjin in the Rift Valley; the Kalenjin versus the Luhya in Mount Elgon and Coastal tribes and the Kamba versus the Kikuyu in the Coast (Omondi, 2022).

The most notorious political eruptions include the Molo, Burnt Forest clashes, Coastal eruptions, and the 2007/2008 post-election violence.

Resettlements and potential land dispossession in the Rift Valley area between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin caused the flare-ups in Rift Valley. In the Coastal region, locals who did not have title deeds fought off new landowners who were alleged to have bought the land illegally: dispossessing the locals to access the mineral and resource-rich land, leading to the displacement of the local communities (Wasike, 2021).

The most infamous political-driven eruptions occur among close-quarter, poor communities in urban centres such as Nairobi, Mombasa and parts of Kiambu counties. This happens in slums and low-income estates such as Likoni in Mombasa. Nairobi's hotspot areas include the slums of Kibra, Mathare, Eastleigh and Kawangware. The conflicts in Githurai usually escalate into Ruiru, Kangemi and Kikuyu in Kiambu county, where the Kikuyu tribe battles with other tribes, mainly the Luo, Luhya and Kamba.

These eruptions sweep into the counties depending on the current political alliances. The unique case of the Eastleigh/Mathare neighbourhoods, which have a significant immigrant Somali community and lots of guns, leads to Kenyan versus non-Kenyan, criminal elements that can/have been activated during contentious political times.

It is important to note that for the first time since the multi-party politics of 1992, Kenya saw reduced inter-tribal conflicts caused by political tensions during the 2022 general elections.



During these elections, the divisions and tensions went along the socio-economic boundaries rather than tribal elements. Part of that was because the top three tribes were nearly united in a single coalition, and the fourth and fifth stood in another coalition, but with mixed elements of minor members of each other's tribes among the two coalitions (Narrelle et al., 2022).

## Development-related conflicts

Development eruptions are conflict dynamics caused by a mixture of systemic issues and regime policies that leave certain groups or communities feeling discriminated against and marginalised by the government. This discrimination is experienced as communities face exploitation because of Kenya's corrupt state and elite class who operate with impunity and lack of justice for their corrupt and exploitative activities.

Another cause of violence is the rising case of land and development projects where community land and resources are sold off or grabbed by the rich and connected individuals without proper compensation for the local owners.

These eruptions are the new trend of conflicts that have started since the Kibaki administration – Kenya's third political regime – went on a long-term development project, the discovery of oil reserves and other mapped development programs. These plans set out speculative buyers who bought off resource-rich communal land without consulting the community members or by obtaining the title deeds in a corrupt manner. The new landowners, who had the money and resources, did so to take advantage of the local resources leading to conflicts with the local communities who felt cheated out of their resources and lands (Gatehouse, 2012).

New conflicts are emerging in Lamu and Tana River areas due to the ongoing construction of the Lamu Port, Lamu – Ethiopia highway and the oil-rich regions of North Eastern provinces affecting the Garissa, Marsabit and Wajir areas (Triche, 2014). We have long-running labour tensions between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu estate owners. They employ low-end workers from the Luo, Luhya and Kisii communities to work in large tea and flower plantations in Kericho and Naivasha.

When the workers settle in semi-formal homes or purchase property, it creates tensions. Garissa county has massive insecurity that tapers off after conflict between quarter million refugees from Somalia and Ethiopia as land and resources are overextended.

## THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF KENYA

### *Proportion of petty-bourgeoisie, proletariat, national bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie*

The proportion of petty bourgeoisie, workers, and the bourgeoisie had mainly remained well proportioned, growing steadily since independence up to the 1990s. However, this trend changed twice in the last three decades (Kamau, 2021).

From 1990-2002, Kenya experienced tremendous economic decline and massive retrenchment. As a result, the poverty levels increased as the small businesses, and informal sector died. With it, the purchasing power declined, social amenities were cut off, and utility services became irregular, leading to the manufacturing industry's death.

During this time, the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie rose as the politically connected swooped to the international broker; with the recently privatised public services (social institutions and utility companies) and massive corruption, the class entrenched themselves in the country's social, political and economic life. This condition can also be attributed to the Structural Adjustments Plans that were imposed on the Kenyan people by twin Bretton Woods institutions – World Bank and IMF

From 2003 – 2013, Kenya enjoyed positive economic growth as the middle class and the public sectors also expanded. As a result, the working class increased as jobs in the informal and formal sectors grew. With capital, improved structures in government/service delivery and expansion of the public sector, the petty, national and comprador bourgeoisie solidified their ground. They benefited from the increased purchasing power of the Kibaki era (WB, 2022).



**FORMER PRESIDENT MWAI KIBAKI**

image: Capital News

*In the 2013 – 2022 era, Kenya enjoyed a declining economic condition among the working class despite devolution and positive economic growth.*

This is because of the rise of the petty bourgeoisie, where the middle-class workers and professionals employed during the Kibaki era took advantage of the economic growth to become brokers and landlords without producing anything. As a result, the economy became speculative, spurred by massive corruption, which was doubled as both country and national government employees competed to steal from the public (USAID, 2022).

This led to an impoverished working class – unable to meet their basic needs – as the speculative, non-productive economy set by the petty bourgeoisie went mainstream. Every year, unemployment, cost of living and poverty levels increased until Kenya's massive income, and wealth inequality rose so much that Kenya shot from 120 to 158 most unequal society and 12 in terms of corruption.

**With the Ruto administration of 2022, Kenya's prospects are expected to worsen (Anyanzwa, 2022) as Ruto is projected to turbo-charge corruption to pay off his friends and supporters.**

Coupled with a world undergoing an economic recession, this state is expected to continue for the foreseeable future unless there is a drastic change in the system (Omondi, 2022).

## DEFINITION OF TERMS FOR THE KENYAN CLASS STRUCTURE

### The Petite Bourgeoisie

This class includes government employees, teachers, police, small shop urban and rural land owners, professionals et al. This class is envious of bourgeois life. So, they mimic the bourgeoisie lifestyle, and even though they have minimal chances to develop into the full bourgeoisie, they have illusions of being part of the owning class someday. Many set up side hustles or businesses outside their 'government' or regular job to fulfil their goal. As a result, this class is massively corrupt as they seek government contracts and chase 'deals' to strike it rich. Their underperformance at work actively contributes to poverty and social disenfranchisement.

### Workers/the proletariat

This is the industrial/plantation worker who has nothing except his wife and children and who must sell his labour power to live. This is the class of the future, the revolutionary class. This class has the potential to provide revolutionary leadership in alliance with peasants and intellectuals.

Kenyan workers who are employed regularly can have formal or informal contracts, enjoy little to no benefits, and come in three separate categories: In the first category, we have casual and day jobs like construction, factories, flower farms and other seasonal farm or manufacturing jobs. The second category is daily workers in retail, transport and jua kali jobs in the informal sector but paid monthly. The third category is monthly workers working in industries or plantations with permanent contracts. These include supervisory and management-level employment in industries and the corporate sector—professionals in accounting, engineering, health, a vet in their set-ups or small agencies.

### Peasants

Kenyans who earn a living under this category can be employed or self-employed and have no contracts and or worker benefits. Small-scale, subsistence farmers in rural Kenya who practise agrarian farming. They have no other source of income except their small farms and face diminishing returns every new year due to climate change and population growth, leading to smaller plots of land for every subsequent generation. They are not mechanised and practise poor, traditional farming or herding methods, which are unprofitable.

### National Bourgeoisie

These are the propertied class; they own the means of production locally, have competing interests with the

international bourgeoisie, and both compete for the local markets, raw materials and labour power.

With the continued rule of Finance Capital even after the independence in 1963, it has been challenging to develop a fully-fledged "national bourgeoisie" with a national capital capable of developing national capitalism in Kenya. They are a tiny, spineless fraction whose existence is limited daily by the presence of the international bourgeoisie. They have a diminutive national capital which they use to exploit labour in the home market; it has sharp contradictions with the international bourgeoisie as it sees it as a stumbling block for its capital expansion.

### Comprador Bourgeoisie

These are conveyor belts of the international bourgeoisie; they prolong the dependency through the extension of metropolitan economic interests to Kenya; they produce nothing but form part of the owning class through the brokerage of the national economy to foreign interests. They may own some semblance of shares in the multinationals as well. They also form the political class; now, they are the primary enemy that we must fight and defeat.

The comprador class are local reactionaries who are directly linked with Imperialism. In the neocolonial state, they are the intermediary class that act as agents of International Finance Capital and are subservient to the International bourgeoisie/Financial Oligarchy. They own diminutive capital that is not "national" but inter-linked with foreign finance Capital; some are engaged in import/export trade and even small industrial and agricultural production as subsidiary activities.

Another section in this class is the top military and government functionaries (bureaucratic bourgeoisie), this section of the comprador class is engaged with the management of the instruments of the State; they do not have control of the state but are mere managers of the instruments of the neo-colonial state in Kenya, they represent a committee that serves and protect the interests of the whole bourgeoisie. They have no muscles to develop productive forces in Kenya and will always remain subservient to international monopolies and oligarchies on whom they depend.

### International bourgeoisie

These are wealthy foreigners who own companies, part of the international oligarchy, mainly multinationals in the extractive and plantation sector.

#### PROPORTION OF WORKERS

TYPE	TYPES	NUMBER	RATIO
<b>Peasants/Rural Petty Bourgeoisie: (9m, 39%)</b>	Farmers	7,500,000	32.28%
	Domestic	1,500,000	6.46%
<b>Proletariat (7.8m, 34%)</b>	Category 1	2,100,000	9.04%
	Category 2	1,800,000	7.75%
	Category 3	1,500,000	6.46%
	Category 4	2,400,000	10.33%
<b>Urban Petty Bourgeoisie (5.4m, 23%)</b>	Supervisory in corporate and industry	1,750,000	7.53%
	Professionals agencies	850,000	3.66%
	Government Group C4	2,150,000	9.25%
	Management and Directors NGOs	650,000	2.80%
<b>National and Comprador Bourgeoisie (1.035m, 4%)</b>	Business owners and MNC Directors	120,000	0.52%
	Corporate Suite C	80,000	0.34%
	Government	800,000	3.44%
	Charitable and religious organisation owners	35,000	0.15%
		<b>23,235,000</b>	<b>100.00%</b>



## ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE:

### The situation of the ruling Party

The ruling Party is a coalition between UDA, President Ruto's Party and other smaller ethnic parties like ANC and Ford; together, individuals from prominent ethnic groups form the Kenya Kwanza Alliance. After winning the presidency, William Ruto also recruited several independent candidates who won their seats. This led his coalition to achieve a majority in Parliament and the Senate.

In the Lower Chambers – the National Assembly, Kenya Kwanza Alliance has 179 of 349 seats and the Opposition – Azimio la Umoja has 158 seats. 12 Independent candidates have not aligned to either coalition. The opposition, Azimio la Umoja, is also a Coalition of Parties composed of ODM, Jubilee and Wiper.

In the Upper chambers, the Senate is split in the middle. Both coalitions have 33 members, although the Kenya Kwanza Alliance coalition has the Speaker role. There is a vacant position to be filled by Azimio la Umoja.

In the County Governments, the Coalitions are also dead-tied. Kenya Kwanza Alliance has 23 governors after bringing in an independent governor – Meru's Kawira Mwangaza to join the coalition post-election. Azimio la Umoja coalition won 23 seats during the elections. There is an independent governor allied with the Communist Party of Kenya, Taita Taveta's Governor.



### THE COUNTRY'S KEY ECONOMIC SECTORS ARE IN THE HANDS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL.

SECTOR	LARGEST OWNERS	NOTES
Agriculture	Foreign capital	British settlers
Tourism	Foreign capital	Investors, Europeans
Manufacturing	Foreign capital	Asian, British
Transport and Infrastructure	Monopolies	Buses, engineering, KQ
Information and communications technology	Monopolies	Three main
Building and Construction	Mixed – competitive	Mixed investment
Financial services	Competitive	Mixed, a publicly traded
Energy services	Monopolies	Monopolies.

## SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

## AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME LEVELS BY OCCUPATION

All currencies  
are in Kes.

OCCUPATION	CATEGORY 1	CATEGORY 2	CATEGORY 4
Worker wage	Domestic: 5,000	Farm: 10,000	Industry: 15,000/-
Worker – salary	Transport: 18,000	Retail: 15,000	Industry 2: 40,000/-
Farmer	Family land: 3,000	Commercial 1 modern: 10,000	Commercial estate: 600,000
Teacher	Primary: 20,000	Secondary: 35,000	University: 100,000
Soldier	Police: 30,000	Soldier: 40,000	
General enterprise staff	Apprentice: 20,000	Artisan: 40,000	Expert: 150,000
Civil servant	Entry, low-skilled: 12,000	Skilled: 35,000	Managerial, 115,000

## BASIC PRICE LEVEL

## AVERAGE COSTS ACROSS KENYA

All currencies  
are in Kes.

ITEM	NAIROBI MIDDLE	MOMBASA KISUMU	ELDORET MERU	NAKURU, NYERI, MACHAKOS
Staple food – maize/kg	170	200	150	150
Staple food – beans/kg	200	250	150	180
Staple food – Cabbage/head	120	120	80	100
Staple food – tomatoes/kg	100	150	80	100
Staple food – Sukuma wiki Bunch	30	50	30	30
Staple food – meat beef/kg	500	600	500	450
Staple food – Milk/litre	120	150	80	100
Staple food – Bananas/kg	80	120	60	80
Staple food – Potatoes/kg	120	150	100	80
Drinking water – borehole/20 litres	25	30	20	20
Drinking water – fresh 1/litre	100	120	100	50
The price of public transport rate/km	30	20	15	15
Medical consultation – public	250	250	250	100
Medical consultation – private	1,500	1,200	750	500
HOUSE RENT				
Bedsitter	7,000	5,000	4,000	5,000
One-bedroom	15,000	12,000	10,000	10,000
Two bedrooms	25,000	20,000	15,000	20,000
Three bedrooms	35,000	25,000	28,000	30,000
Four bedrooms	55,000	40,000	35,000	54,000
CLOTHES				
	T-SHIRTS	TROUSER	SHIRTS	SWEATER
Clothes - child newborn, new	400	600	500	350
Clothes - child newborn, 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand	50	100	50	50
Clothes - child under ten new	400	1,000	700	800
Clothes - child under 10, 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand	150	400	300	250
Clothes – 10-18 new	500	1,200	900	900
Clothes – 10-18 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand	200	600	500	400
Clothes - adult new	500	2,000	1,200	1,200
Clothes - adult 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand	300	700	500	500

## THIRD BASIC INFORMATION OF CP(K)

**1** The sum number and composition of Party members, the membership stands at a paltry 46,700 members

## BASIC PARTY INFORMATION

## MEMBERSHIP

## OCCUPATION PROPORTION

Worker 30%

Peasants 44%

Scholar 1%

Student 10%

Civil-Servant 4%

Soldier 4%

Full-time revolutionary 5%

others 2%

## Organisation of Workers

There are several Workers associations in Kenya. Most are organised for work and labour collective bargaining based on their employers, and others are organised on social welfare concerns, mainly to save for their future. With most workers not enjoying the national retirement schemes, these welfare schemes introduce a culture of savings and passive income (Owidhi, 2022).

Trade unions face internal and external threats, which have weakened them and, in turn, weakened the plight of Kenyan workers. The most significant external threat has been the continuous suppression and undermining of activities of trade unions by the government of Kenya and employer federations. In the past, the trade unions could mobilise and fight against these threats, putting the worker's rights and grievances and leading resistance to the political and employment regimes that infiltrated them and banned some existence.

Since British colonial rule, when trade unions stood up to the colonial exploiters, trade unions have significantly impacted the social and welfare rights of workers in Kenya. This trend persisted across all successive regimes: we had Makhan Sign, a revolutionary trade unionist of Asian origin who was driven to bankruptcy by the Kenyan state.

He died young, at only 59 years old. Makhan remains one of the most prominent leaders in the trade union movement fighting for workers' rights. Tom Mboya, a CIA agent, was a lethal man who was used to disrupt the organisation of labour unions and make them an appendage to the Kenyan state; the same CIA and the Kenyan government assassinated him. Traditionally, trade unions were part of the opposition leaders fighting in the second liberation, and many faced political and economic suppression (Sindabi, 2011).

Things changed during the Kibaki administration. The administration took a different capitalist approach that sought to suppress and undermine trade unions from within. As a result, they collaborated with the trade union leaders, with reports of bribery, non-persecution and freedom to retain their lofty positions and leadership roles while lining their pockets. As a result, trade unions became get-rich movements for operators who could win local elections. The dilution of the power of trade unions has led to the declining influence of workers in resistance to poor leadership and poor-to-no collective bargaining and enabled state corruption.

The trade unions have become diluted versions of themselves: issuing lame press releases on corruption and so weakened that the government and the federation of Kenyan employers no longer feel it should attend or listen to its issues because, at the end of the day, there is nothing they can do to the employers or the government (Imende, 2019).

Today, all trade unions and other labour and collective bargaining associations are toothless collaborators whose leaders work for the employers to make symbolic gestures. At the same time, workers are forced to pay union dues that only go to meet the upkeep of the self-serving union leaders.





## Communist Youth League

The youth wing of the Communist Party of Kenya is the Young Communist League of the Communist Party of Kenya. The Young Communist League (YCL) of Kenya is a voluntary mass organisation 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 organisation 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, 2018).

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 recognises the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) as its mother. YCL draws its life from the Communist Party of Kenya and enjoys political and ideological guidance from the Party.**

## Party Organisations in the Countryside

The Party has a solid rural organisation, mainly in the western and coastal regions. The Party has been leading peasants' revolts and movements of the landless for the last three years. There are still no military or armed units in the rural areas, but there are plans to start this process when the conditions allow immediately. The rural regions organise both socio-economic and political.

The party members do table banking to empower them economically; they also engage in communal farming to produce food and participate in the Party's ideological school through learning. They also organise demonstrations to challenge corrupt politicians. The Party has two factions; one faction supports the Kenyan government and believes in class collaboration, and on the left, we have a revolutionary faction that firmly believes in the class struggle and is advancing revolutionary organising among the oppressed strata of Kenyan society.

### NOTES:

*Parts of this document have been omitted because of its sensitive nature.*

*For references, download the full document from the CPK Website: [www.communistpartykenya.org](http://www.communistpartykenya.org)*

### **You can engage with the Party on social media:**

- Facebook: CommunistKenya
- Twitter: CommunistsKe
- Instagram: communistpartyofkenya
- YouTube: Communist Party of Kenya



# WANTED

## DEAD AND BURIED

### US IMPERIALISM



AFGHANISTAN  
BOSNIA  
CAMBODIA  
CONGO  
CUBA  
EL SALVADOR  
KOREA  
INDONESIA  
LAOS  
GUATEMALA  
HAITI

IRAQ  
IRAN  
KUWAIT  
LEBANON  
LIBYA  
NICARAGUA  
PAKISTAN  
PALESTINE  
PANAMA

PERU  
SOMALIA  
SUDAN  
SYRIA  
UKRAINE  
VIETNAM  
YEMEN  
YUGOSLAVIA



A PUBLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA