

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KENYA (CPK)

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(I)

Historical Background

(1)

CPK is the continuation of the struggle for social and national liberation in Kenya

The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) is a political party registered in accordance with the 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.

In this regard, 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.

Just as our patriotic ancestors did, CPK too believes that the establishment of a democratic and sovereign Government and State whose authority comes from all people of Kenya without excluding anyone, must always remain the demand of the Kenyan People. As is evident in the Constitution of Kenya that was inaugurated in 2010, the people do not want to have the present political and economic system based on capitalist social relations. They want a system that embodies the values of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people. However, these noble wishes and aspirations will only be realised when Kenya replaces the capitalist system with the socialist system.

It is upon this background that the CPK has risen to the historic challenge of spearheading the struggle to shift away from the present capitalist political, economical, social, cultural and moral arrangements that are the basis of exclusion, discrimination, oppression and reaction in order to move towards a socialist system that will bring about a new Kenya necessary for the liberation and progress of our country.

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The position of CPK on political and social reforms

CPK has always been part and parcel of the struggle for political and social reforms in the country. This is because as a communist party, CPK believes that reforms for bettering the lives of the exploited and oppressed people even under the capitalist system are progressive and necessary. In this we agree and collaborate with other political parties, trade unions, peasant organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations and other formations that work for democracy; human rights; peace, workers' rights; civil and political liberties; sustainable development; gender equality; women rights, youth rights, children rights, the rights of persons with special needs; and other democratic and popular demands.

However, the CPK does not view political and social reforms as an end in themselves. Neither does it believe that bourgeoisie democracy is the alpha and omega of democracy. CPK is conscious of the fact proved by history throughout the World that real freedom and liberation of the working class and the majority in society cannot happen under the capitalist system - a system based on exploitation and oppression of person by person. Instead, we insist that the road towards true freedom, development and liberation is the road that eliminates the

capitalist and imperialist systems while leading the way towards the establishment of the socialist system and ultimately communism.

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The struggle for political and social reforms

In the history of post independent Kenya, the one party political system has been used by representatives of the ruling class to entrench the capitalist system and suppress civil and political liberties of the majority of the citizens. That is why the struggle for national and social liberation has also been the demand for multiparty system of democracy. Today the Constitution of Kenya declares that Kenya is a multi - party democratic state. Multipartyism came about after long, hard and concerted struggles of the Kenyan people. Many patriots and democracy advocates were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, forced into exile, expelled from educational institutions, denied employment, persecuted in all ways and murdered in the struggle against the successive Kenya African National Union's (KANU) regimes that had oppressed Kenyans and impeded democracy since independence from British colonialism in 1963.

In fact, the struggle for freedom, democracy and human rights has also been the struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and for national and social liberation. Dictatorship, corruption and mismanagement of the economy of the country also embodied the politics and culture of negative ethnicity. KANU was a stumbling block to national cohesion, development and social progress. The values and ideals that Kenya brought to its nationhood in 1963 were the rejection of colonialism that among other things meant the abuse of power and the suppression of democracy and human rights. The national liberation struggle was about the affirmation of freedom, both national and individual, safety from arbitrary harm and the right to access and ownership of land. Uhuru was for national unity, tolerance, hospitality and inclusiveness; for the sharing of both power and resources equitably; for freedom to think, for the concept of individual and academic independence and the flowering of creativity, among other aims. These noble ideals of the Kenyan people were persistently violated by the successive KANU governments that instead, hitherto, embrace dictatorship, corruption, violation of human rights, capitalism and neo -colonialism.

For these reasons, the coming of in 1992 was akin to political revolution as it started the liberation of the society from the regime that was one of the most brutal dictatorships in Africa. Freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of press, civil and political liberties, recognition of the right of political parties to exist and operate and the growth and strengthening of the civil society are some of the concrete democratic gains that Kenyans achieved. However, it took another ten years before opposition parties were able to remove the notorious KANU regime from power. Remembering the suffering they underwent under the KANU reactionary regimes, Kenyans likened the defeat of KANU in the 2002 elections to the second liberation of the country.

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The struggle for the new national constitution

As soon as multipartism started becoming a reality in the country, Kenyans realised that it was also necessary to change the national constitution inherited from British colonialism. The constitution had only been changed by the previous regimes to entrench dictatorship, corruption, violation of human rights and primitive accumulation, especially of land property. Kenyans required a new national constitution to reflect and conserve the new system of democratic governance with popular demands for social justice, equity, equality, devolution of governance and people's participation in accruing benefits from natural resources around their communities. But just like it did to multipartism, the then Moi - KANU regime resisted constitutional reforms vehemently. Once again many Kenyans were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, killed and persecuted in all ways before the government acceded to people's popular demand for a new constitution by forming Kenya Constitutional Review Commission (KCRC). This led to the famous Bomas Constitution that was frustrated by

the reactionary forces in the government of the then National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) that managed to deny Kenyans a new national constitution in 2005.

However, the struggle of the masses of Kenya continued leading to the achievement of the present Constitution of Kenya. The constitution that was adopted in the August 4th 2010 referendum is the culmination of several processes and struggles for social and political reforms. Like multiparty democracy, the new Kenyan constitution is the collective achievement of popular Kenyan people's struggles from below. However, this fact has not stopped members of the ruling class who were only recently forced by mass struggles to give in to progressive change to organise parties and celebrations to claim that they are the ones that have given the country the new constitution. But their true colours are being revealed in the actual interpretation and implementation of the constitution that is a matter of the continuation of the past and existing class struggles in the nation. In this regard, CPK's position is "*Katiba mpya mfumo mpya wa kisiasa na kiuchumi na viongozi wapya*" - *New constitution new political and economic system and new leadership*. CPK does not believe that the existing leadership of the country that is determined to conserve the present status quo of capitalism and neocolonialism has the will and ability to implement the constitution in the interest of progressive change and that of the exploited and oppressed citizens who form the majority. The path towards implementing the progressive reforms embodied by the constitution is a matter of class struggle that ultimately and inevitably will lead to socialism.

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The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty continues

In spite of the realisation of a multiparty system of government and the Constitution of Kenya, Kenyans have not yet won freedom and national sovereignty. The ideals the Kenyan people had been fighting for, particularly since the 15-Century, continue to be blatantly betrayed by the successive regimes that have governed the country hitherto. Colonialism was appropriation by settlers of our best land, natural and human resources of our country for the benefit of the white settlers and the British colonial power. It was about forced labour, pass laws, colour bar, restricted movement, denial of basic freedoms and democratic rights, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and detention, torture and humiliation. It also meant being driven into backwardness, poverty, ignorance, disease, poor and inhuman living and working conditions and lack of adequate medical care, housing and other social services to the majority of the population. During colonialism, there was low-level and limited schooling for the children of the indigenous African people. There was also mass illiteracy and ignorance, foreign domination and imposition of a foreign language and culture and total impoverishment of our people. Colonialism was war against the cultures and languages of the Kenyan people. It was subordination of African people in their own country by foreigners.

Few and limited reforms aside, the governments that took over from colonialism have maintained the system that recycles the problems our people fought against. Those whose lands were forcibly taken away by the settlers are still landless. In fact, the problem of land has exacerbated with the majority of Kenyans hardly owning enough land to subsist on. More and more are becoming landless and squatters while few families, local and foreign individuals and companies claim ownership of thousands of acres of land, a lot of it under-utilised or unused. Squatting is a way of life for the majority of indigenous Kenyans especially at the Coast and many parts of the Rift Valley. The majority of the people in urban areas live in slums.

Slave - like labour conditions still exists in foreign and locally owned plantations that pay starvation wages to poorly organised labour. Similarly, in industries and commercial enterprises, the conditions of Kenyan workers have worsened. Foreign and locally owned companies continue to exploit and expose workers to inhuman working conditions with meagre slave-like wages. Colonial labour laws have been retained and enacted to ensure that the national workers organisations are nothing but pacifiers and demobilisers of the workers, while independent workers movements are suppressed and refused recognition. Contrary to the Constitution, many workers are denied by their employers the right to enter or form trade unions. The economy of our country is

highly influenced by the plans and management of foreigners through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, with the adoption of neo-liberal social and economic policies that include privatisation of state enterprises. Privatisation has added wealth to the rich while escalating unemployment and poverty among the majority of the people.

Despite the judicial reforms being implemented under new Constitution, the poor can hardly access justice as they cannot afford to pay lawyers' fees. The police still perpetuate the same colonial brutality against the Kenyan people; they arbitrarily arrest, detain, intimidate, harass, torture, and murder with impunity. The Kenyan prisons continue to be overcrowded and maintain their colonial character despite some minimal reforms. Our soldiers have no democratic military ideology and culture. They thus consciously or unconsciously regard the Kenyan people as their enemies.

The sovereignty of our nation has been mortgaged by those in power. Foreign nations have been granted military bases and facilities, without the consent of the people, to protect their interests in Kenya, while foreign security forces are allowed to arrest, interrogate and torture Kenyan citizens in the name of fighting terrorism. The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty therefore inevitably and of necessity continues.

II

Capitalism and imperialism in Kenya

(1)

Kenya is a class society

Today Kenya is sharply divided into classes, of various categories of 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 the majority of Kenyans are either landless or eke out a living in small pieces of land. Most of the Kenyan people live in abject poverty but 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. Class divisions are obvious in residential locations, living standards and lifestyles, particularly in urban areas. The education system does not offer equal opportunities to children and youth but instead it is structured to increase the gap between the rich and the poor, the rural and urban areas. The rich access the best social services, clean and safer environments, political and economic power while all this is hardly accessible to the poor who form the majority of the citizens. The economy is geared towards maintaining the status quo of capitalism and imperialism. The rich are far better placed to exercise all citizens and human rights denied to the poor.

The class and regional inequalities not only impede peace and social justice but also national unity. Under circumstances of such glaring inequalities, it is not easy to remove the bitterness, hatred, violence, lack of patriotism and feelings and expressions of negative ethnicity that engulf the country. Under the class system, the gap between the rich and the poor increases. There is also a sharp division between urban and rural areas. Most Kenyans live in rural areas yet social services are concentrated in urban areas.

But wherever there are classes there will inevitably and of necessity be class struggles and Kenya is not an exception. Class struggles that include workers struggles; strikes by teachers, health workers, civil servants, lecturers, plantation and industrial workers; conflicts over land and land resources; student's protests and riots; and mass demonstrations with popular demands in urban and rural areas are on the increase. Class struggles are necessary as they are the prime movers of progressive social change. However, CPK is conscious of its role of intervening to ensure that the class struggles in Kenya are not be left to happen spontaneously, instead they should be directed towards the revolutionary path.

(2)

Negative ethnicity and class struggles

Negative ethnicity - so called tribalism is one of the greatest impediments to social and national liberation. It has always been used by the bourgeoisie elites of Kenya since the time of colonialism to perpetuate them in power. Just before, during and after national elections, the political and economic elites of various ethnic groups deliberately provoke negative ethnic feelings and even organise and sponsor violence against other ethnic groups in order to propel themselves to elective positions. They do this by pretending to be champions of the political, economic, cultural, land and land resources interests of their ethnic groups, Counties and regions that are purportedly violated by the members of other ethnic groups. And since it is the ideas of those in power that dominate in a given society at a given time and place, ordinary citizens also imbue and even embrace the ideology of negative ethnicity that embodies hatred, jealous and discrimination against other ethnic groups. The unresolved issues of land and land resources, that embody historical injustices, have always been used to perpetuate the reactionary ideology that works against the unity of those who desire progressive change through class struggles.

On their part, the class of rich Kenyans from all ethnic groups who are part and parcel of the problem, including that of land, are always conscious of their class interests and are not prepared to help bring about a just and progressive natural resources, political, economic and social reforms in the country aimed at empowering the poor, eradicating poverty and inequality. For do so will mean compromising their own class interests, something they are not prepared to do. Instead, they keep on preaching falsehoods about seeking political power in order to bring about development, remove poverty and create a just and equitable society. Yet year after year these promises prove to be elusive living the country to continue simmering and erupting into cycles of conflicts that many a times develop into violence.

(3)

Neoliberal globalisation

The dynamic process of globalisation, particularly neo-liberal globalisation, which is in fact global capitalism spearheaded by imperialist countries has defied nation - state boundaries to penetrate the remotest parts of the world and nations, including Kenya, where both its positive and negative effects are being felt on a daily basis. However, the process of globalisation of capitalism, its positive achievements and dynamism aside, does not imply the expansion of the benefits of the rapid scientific, technological and economic development to all countries and all continents, but rather an attempt to create a unified world system, with a handful of imperialist countries dictating their will to the rest of the World.

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 Organisation 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.

Capitalist globalisation is affecting and determining negatively the economic, political, social and legal policies of developing countries such as Kenya. Bilateral and Multilateral policies and agreements signed in capital cities far away from Kenya and Kenyan villages nevertheless have direct and indirect impacts on lives and livelihoods not only in the cities and towns but also in the villages in rural areas, whether the people concerned are aware of them or not. Yet the policies and agreements are about the conduct of the economy, politics, trade, agriculture, food safety and security, environment, labour relations, property relations and most important the

relation between Kenya and other countries and nations, particularly imperialist countries. The policies have far reaching effects on the lives, livelihoods, culture, health and security of the people and nation.

However, as important as they are to the present and future of the country, these imperialists' policies together with their organisations remain obscure and remote to the majority of the population despite their effects upon their lives. Little is known about the multilateral and bilateral organisations and institutions by the majority of Kenyans who have to live with their decisions and practises approved and signed by the government without their participation.

Again, numerous and complex as they are, the multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements are still deliberately opaque, covered with secrets, intrigues and signed by the government, many times through positions of ignorance, and without their participation and that of the people of Kenya. Thus, the process of reaching agreements of the multilateral economic and trade organisations Kenya is committed to, is more often than not undemocratic, to say the least. But, the government, that is committed by the constitution to practise democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency and accountability and to champion national interests at home and abroad does not make concerted efforts to involve the citizens in understanding, discussing, making decisions and taking positions about the complex multilateral and bilateral policies before committing the country to them.

CPK is conscious of the fact that neoliberal globalisation has been and continues to be challenged, in theory and practise, throughout the world by progressive civil society organisations and particular by communist leaders, parties, states and countries. Our party is committed to the work of mobilising Kenyans to struggle for an alternative form of globalisation - socialist globalisation. Socialist globalisation will move our country away from neoliberal globalisation and instead to take the path of development by utilising our human and natural resources to realise development and social progress while at the same time building relations of peace, solidarity and mutual benefit with other countries in the region and the World.

(4)

The capitalist system has failed in Kenya

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In short, capitalism has failed in Kenya. Capitalism in all its political forms - colonial, neo-colonial, or global - has failed to serve the majority of Kenyans and has benefited only a tiny fraction of the population. Colonial capitalism benefited primarily the colonial settlers and foreign business persons; neo-colonial capitalism has admitted the rich Kenyan African while global capitalism has further admitted/allowed some professionals, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants, lecturers and chief executives of local and foreign companies into the exclusive club of the rich. The majority of Kenyans standards of living have improved little despite the seemingly major political and economic changes that have happened in the country.

(2)

The adoption, creation and development of economic policies geared towards neo-colonialism and neoliberalism have prevented the development of agriculture, manufacturing and industry in Kenya. Today Kenyan markets, whether in the rural or urban areas, are full of all sorts of imported sub-standard and second hand (*mitumba*) consumer goods. Trade in imported mitumba commodities has grown to be one of the largest formal and informal economies in the country. In the 1960s, there were hardly any mitumba in the Kenyan

markets. This is because during the 1960s up to early 1970s, the economy of the country was performing relatively well and causing positive development. Kenyans were enjoying the standard of living that nowadays they remember only with nostalgia. The majority of Kenyans are so poor that they cannot afford to buy new essential goods. As poverty escalates and implementation of the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund cut more and more jobs through retrenchments in the civil service, privatisation of state enterprises and the closure of local manufacturing and business enterprises unable to compete with cheap imports, Kenyans in rural and urban areas have been turned into hawkers and consumers of second hand goods. The problem is that while mitumba may alleviate the immediate problem it is certainly not the long-term solution to poverty and underdevelopment. On the contrary, mtumbaism contributes to undermining local textile industry, agriculture and the development the local economy.

(3)

Capitalism is inherently unequal, exploitative and oppressive and is responsible for the growing gap between the few rich and the majority poor. Kenya is one of the most unequal societies not only in Africa, but also in the World. Poverty and inequality is an impediment of development. Capitalism inherently breeds extreme inequalities not only between classes but between regions and communities. It is the root cause of the ethnic animosities virulent in our politics today. Gender inequality and violations of the rights of the vulnerable and marginalised people in society also continue to exist in Kenya. Capitalism reveals the great possibilities for improving the material and social wellbeing of our people, but immediately closes them to the majority on account of its high inequalities in the distribution of income.

(4)

Capitalism is inherently and expensively wasteful. It wastes the energies of millions of Kenyans, especially the youth, by not creating jobs and pushing them into poverty. Under capitalism, Kenya's rich human and natural resources have failed to end poverty and underdevelopment. Capitalism requires and demands large pools of unemployed to keep wages and salaries down so that high profits may be obtained by the capitalists.

(5)

Capitalism has failed to solve the problem of the mushrooming of slums in Kenyan urban areas. The majority of the population of urban areas are forced to live in unplanned, dirty, ugly, crowded, and unsafe settlements that lack basic services and which are unfit for human habitation. Some of the largest slums in the World are found in Kenya.

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Under capitalism crimes of all sorts including robbery, corruption, looting of public property, contraband trade, money laundering, drags trafficking, human trafficking; violence, piracy, etc. have become part and parcel of Kenyan society. Known criminals associated with mafia type activities are elected leaders and law makers in the country. Kenyans are dominated by moral values that put money and profits before the duty to serve humanity and the nation. That is why doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, elected leaders, teachers, lecturers, civil servants and even religious leaders, do not adhere to professional ethics in the provision of services. Kenya is person eat person society.

(7)

Under capitalism, Kenya is still dominated by imperialism economically, politically, culturally and militarily. The country is still dependent on foreign aid. The security, freedom, human rights and national sovereignty of

the Kenyan people have been compromised to imperialism. Foreign security agents enter Kenya and arrest, torture and abduct citizens to foreign prisons and detention camps with impunity and connivance with the Kenyan police and government authorities.

(8)

Capitalism is a big lie. It lies to Kenyans that they can realise the progressive aspects of the Constitution of Kenya, particularly chapter four on human rights while still under the capitalist system based on exploitation and oppression of person by person. The truth is that the national values described by the constitution of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people cannot be realised under capitalism but socialism.

III

Socialism in the World today

(1)

The twentieth century was marked by momentous changes in the world. It has been a century of struggle against imperialism. The century was witness to great revolutionary events, beginning with the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The victory over fascism in the Second World War in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, was a major event. The historic Chinese revolution, the success of the revolutionary forces in Vietnam, Korea and Cuba and the formation of the socialist states in Eastern Europe were a product of the titanic clash between imperialism and socialism. This was also a century of national liberation movements leading to the political independence of the colonies. These victories marked a new epoch in world history as was projected by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary events of the century and the major developments in science and technology opened up grand prospects for the advance of humanity on a scale never envisioned before.

(2)

The countries which adopted the socialist system blazed a new path. With the creation of the Soviet Union, for the first time in human history, the working people could live in a society free from class exploitation. Rapid industrialisation, elimination of feudal vestiges and all round progress in the fields of economy, culture and science led to a new life for the vast mass of the people and the empowerment of the working people. The eradication of poverty and illiteracy, the elimination of unemployment, the vast network of social security in the fields of health, education, housing and big strides in science and technology - these were the path-breaking achievements of the socialist countries. Such remarkable progress was registered in societies where capitalism had not yet developed significantly and were relatively backward. Socialism had to be built in the difficult circumstances of overcoming socio-economic backwardness and countering the aggression, subversion and threats of imperialism. The achievements registered in the Soviet Union had their effect on the capitalist countries as well. The ruling classes were forced to introduce and extend social security for their own citizens under the concept of a welfare State.

(3)

However, in the course of building socialism on an uncharted path, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe committed serious mistakes. Such mistakes flowed from the improper understanding of the protracted nature of building socialism; the wrong notion of the role of the party and the

State; the failure to effect timely changes in the economy and its management; the failure to deepen socialist democracy in the party, State and society; the growth of bureaucracy; and the erosion of ideological consciousness. These facilitated the sustained efforts of imperialism at subverting socialism. These distortions do not negate the validity of Marxism-Leninism, rather they represent the deviations from revolutionary theory and practice. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the setbacks suffered in Eastern Europe resulted in a new situation. At the end of the 20th century the forces of socialism had to once again face the challenge posed by an emboldened imperialism. The CPK is confident that notwithstanding the setbacks, the communist movement and the revolutionary forces will learn from the mistakes, regroup and meet the challenge of countering the offensive of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

(4)

Despite the twists and turns, successes and reverses, the developments of the twentieth century, particularly since 1917 reflect the profound impact of socialism and the people's struggles in the evolution of human progress. The revolutionary transformations have brought about qualitative leaps in history and left an indelible imprint on modern civilisation. The process of social emancipation and socialist transformation will be a protracted and complex one. History has shown that the transformation from capitalism to socialism is not a one-stroke transformation but a prolonged period of intense struggle of classes even after acquiring State power.

(5)

World capitalism is incapable of solving the basic problems affecting humanity. The tremendous growth of productive forces utilising the scientific and technological advances has resulted in growth taking place in the advanced capitalist countries without increasing employment and sharply accentuating income and wealth disparities. It has led to intensified exploitation of the workers by expropriating increased rate of surplus value. The advances in science and technology are utilised to perpetuate concentration of wealth and assets in the hands of a few individuals and multinational corporations. Imperialism has proved to be a predatory and destructive system. In the twentieth century it plunged humanity into two barbaric world wars claiming millions of lives. The armaments industry has become an integral part of the advanced capitalist economies, which serves to keep the aggregate demand afloat. The neo-liberal prescriptions advocating the withdrawal of the State have led to savage cuts in social security and welfare benefits for the working class and the ordinary citizens. Jobless growth, casualisation of labour, and growing disparities in incomes and wealth are a marked feature. The volatility of the financial system, the stagnant and low rates of growth in the advanced capitalist countries and the growing irrationality and wastage in the use of resources are all symptoms of the in-built crisis in the capitalist system. The rapacious drive for profits by the multinational corporations and the extravagant consumption of the rich countries have devastated the environment and is seriously threatening the world's ecology in general and that of the third world in particular. The fundamental contradiction inherent in capitalism between the ever-growing socialisation of production and the increasingly private appropriation of the surplus has become more acute.

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The concentration and internationalisation of finance capital has reached unprecedented heights in the current phase of capitalism. Globally mobile finance capital is assaulting the sovereignty of nations, seeking unimpeded access to their economies in pursuit of super profits. The imperialist order in the service of this speculative finance capital breaks down all barriers for its free flow and imposes the terms favourable to such capital in every part of the globe. The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation are the instruments to perpetuate this unjust post-colonial global order. The new hegemony of speculative finance capital results in sluggish growth in the advanced capitalist countries. For the developing countries it spells a vicious cycle of intensified exploitation and growing debt. The terms of trade, industrial and agricultural production, technology flows, and the services sector in the lesser-developed capitalist countries are all forced

to dovetail the interests of imperialist capital. The imperialist system has divided the world into two: the rich advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries where live the vast mass of humanity. The gap between the rich and poor countries began to sharply widen in the last two decades of the twentieth century. With the onset of the imperialist driven globalisation it has grown further.

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With the dismantling of the Soviet Union, imperialism which was pursuing a neo-colonial strategy since the end of the old style colonialism, has stepped up its efforts for global domination. US imperialism is using its economic, political and military power aggressively to establish its hegemony. The imperialist driven globalisation is sought to be buttressed by the expansion of NATO and military intervention around the world to impose the imperialist order. The socialist countries China, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea and Laos, faced with adverse conditions created by the change in the correlation of forces are steadfastly committed to the cause of socialism. Imperialism actively seeks to subvert the existing socialist countries and wages a relentless war in the ideological, economic and political spheres against them. Utilising the global communications revolution, imperialism with its control over the international media, aggressively seeks to discredit and suppress anti-capitalist ideas and socialism.

(8)

Despite the fact that the international correlation of forces favoured imperialism at the end of the twentieth century and capitalism continues to develop productive forces with the application of new scientific and technological advances, it remains a crisis-ridden system apart from being a system of oppression, exploitation and injustice. The only system, which is an alternative to capitalism, is socialism. The people of Latin America, for example, who are repeatedly electing leftist governments, parties and leaders in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil are realising this fact: that the path towards social and national liberation is that of socialism. The financial and economic crises in Europe and the United States of America is escalating with bankrupts, unemployment, poverty and anticapitalist demonstrations becoming the order of the day. The central social contradiction therefore remains that between imperialism and socialism for the epoch. The contradiction between the imperialist countries and the third world countries rapidly intensifies under the neo-liberal global offensive and it is coming to the forefront. Given the uneven development under capitalism, the contradictions within and between imperialist countries continue to exist. The contradiction between labour and capital aggravates with the current features of capitalism as noted above. All these contradictions continue to intensify and exert their influence on world events.

(9)

The working class and its parties have to equip themselves ideologically, politically and organisationally to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism and its exploitative order. The unity of the Left, democratic and progressive forces around the world must be forged to fight against imperialism and defeat the ruling classes who seek to sustain and perpetuate the present unjust global order. As a Party based on proletarian internationalism, CPK is committed to fight against imperialist hegemony and expresses solidarity with all the forces in the world who are fighting against the imperialist-driven economic order of globalisation and for peace, democracy and socialism.

IV

The minimum program of the CPK

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Towards an independent, developing, integrated and self - sustaining economy

The majority of Kenyans live a life of poverty. Poverty, which is a manifestation of underdevelopment, is painful, degrading, shameful and dehumanising. CPK is conscious of the fact that underdevelopment and poverty will only be eliminated through pro-people sound economic and social policies. Development should be measured in concrete improvement of the conditions of people's lives and not on abstract statistics of accounting figures that are presented as annual budgets but which have nothing to do with reality. To achieve sustainable development and social progress, the people must remain the subject and objects of economic, political and social policies. Poverty will be alleviated and ultimately eradicated by policies that aim, first and foremost, at providing all people with the basic necessities: food, housing, clothes and employment. This requires investment in primary economy centred projects in agriculture and industry. Investment in the secondary economy including people oriented tourism, trade and the service sector will also help.

For the country to move away from the path of near stagnation as far as the social development or economy of the majority is concerned CPK proposes socialist oriented economic policies and plans that arise from concrete researched information about the geography of our country that spells out the potential for development in terms of human, natural and strategic resources. The policies and plans will not remain on paper but will be implemented and measured against the actual improvement of the lives of the people by such indicators as nutrition, housing, clothes, water, employment, peace, security and access to essential services such as health and education - and generally in the progressive improvement of the quantity and quality of life of the majority of the people.

To realise its plans for improving the lives of the people, CPK will mobilise human and natural resources of Kenya to build an independent, nationally integrated and self - sustaining economy. The following dialectical relationships in the country will be analysed and utilised to inform CPK's economic policies and plans that shall establish the key links based on production, circulation, exchange and consumption: "between town and country; between agriculture and industry; between heavy and light industry; between producer goods and consumer goods; between food crops and industrial raw materials; between mass goods and luxury goods; and between internal and international markets; and between tourism and local agriculture and industry". The key links are economic objectives that will be addressed first to trigger sustainable development.

CPK will also work to shift the country from neo-liberal economic policies and instead focus on home grown creative economic policies that are based not only on the harnessing of our natural and human resources but also on our own priorities as a nation. Neo-liberal economic policies embody antistatist policies that are geared towards privatisation of state enterprises (parastatals) and removing the state from owning property and participating in business. To CPK this is not good to Kenya whose economy is so underdeveloped that the state hardly collects enough taxes to finance social services, cause meaningful development and create jobs. CPK's government will participate in the economy on behalf of the people while allowing the private and co-operative sectors to operate simultaneously but both regulated by the state. The present global financial and economic crisis has in fact driven capitalist countries to this conclusion. Private financial institutions, companies and industries are now being nationalised or controlled by states as chaotic capitalist market forces have failed to save them from bankruptcy and collapse.

Neo-liberalism also advocates for economic liberalisation policies that chaotically open internal markets to face unfair competition from all types of foreign goods and thus killing local agriculture, trade and industry. CPK believes that the state has the obligation to protect and nurture local agriculture, trade and industry and therefore jobs. Kenya needs direct foreign investments but not in the sectors that Kenyans are capable of investing and developing on their own or that are to do with protecting our national sovereignty.

CPK will also implement policies that aim at phasing out the economy based on second hand commodities (*mtumbaism*) and importation of sub - standard goods. *Mtumbaism* prevents the growth of local industry, agriculture and trade. The question of Kenya's external debts will be addressed and negotiated with lenders in favour of debt relief to the country to allow economic recovery and growth.

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Summary of CPK's minimum program

The minimum program of CPK will be implemented in the stage in the transformation of Kenyan society through which the highly productive/innovative aspects of capitalism will be put to the benefit of the development of the whole society by ameliorating, in a democratic manner, the socio-economic consequences and inhuman conditions created by capitalism. Our program is the partial antidote of the unacceptable social conditions of the poverty, exploitation, oppression and underdevelopment existing in Kenya today:

1. CPK will retain all the progressive aspects of capitalism and put them into the service of the people and instead the current search of super profits for the few.
2. CPK will create conditions for providing social security for all Kenyans by building a three tire democratic and complimentary economic systems composed of the state, cooperative and private sectors.
3. CPK will struggle against the illegitimate debt burden imposed on the country through unequal power, trade and other relations.
4. CPK will work to defend and consolidate the progressive political reforms and democratic gains won by the struggle of the people and that are embodied in the Constitution of Kenya. In this regard, CPK will collaborate with other progressive Kenyans, parties and movements to struggle for the realisation of the basic tenets of the constitution on the sovereignty of the people, human rights, national values, separation of powers, checks and balances and devolution of governments with popular participation of the people at all levels of government.
5. CPK will collaborate with the private sector and international partners to finance the large socio-economic development agenda necessary for triggering a national self-sustaining economy.
6. CPK will provide and guarantee, progressively, basic needs and services to the individual and the family such as, security to a person, shelter, food, water, health, education and employment that are also entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya.
7. CPK will reinstate freedom and sovereignty over our country, people and resources rather than surrendering out our nation to imperialism as is the case today.
8. CPK will foster partnership with the Kenyan people in the ownership and provision of services by the commanding heights of the economy, such as money/banks/financial institutions, transport and communications and infrastructure, major natural water towers and water works, power generation, etc.
9. CPK will engage the most suitable technologies available in the provision of services and implementation of development and maintenance of projects. We need not invent the wheel; we need only adopt it and make it work for our purposes.
10. CPK will mobilise and facilitate Kenyans to conserve, protect, develop and utilise our natural resources and environment sustainably for the present and future generations of Kenyans. The Party will make and implement policies that will ensure investment in natural resources brings direct and indirect benefits to the local communities.
11. CPK will strive to provide for public-funded universal and compulsory primary and secondary education as a first stage. It will also provide high quality, affordable and subsidised college and university education, with the ultimate objective of making education free at all levels. At the same time our Party will mobilise Kenyans to formulate a socialist education and cultural policy that aims at eradicating illiteracy and producing conscious,

creative and independent human beings capable of releasing their individual talents, knowledge and skills in the service of the nation, society and humanity.

12. CPK will implement policies of fighting negative ethnicity and of building national cohesion. It will mobilise Kenyans to celebrate their rich cultural diversity in the interest of national unity. Our party will develop the national and official languages of Kenya as well as those of the various Kenyan nationalities.

13. CPK will adopt a class and gender approach to development in all spheres of life.

14. CPK will implement chapter eleven of the Constitution of Kenya to reduce the gap between urban and rural areas and to lead to equality between the various regions and Counties of our country.

15. CPK will implement a foreign policy based on peace and friendship with all nations of the World based on relations of reciprocity and the right of all nations to self determination. The Party will also forge special and close ties with socialist countries and people struggling for freedom from capitalism and imperialism.

16. CPK will disseminate socialist ideas and will strive to deepen the debate on the alternatives to neo-liberalism and capitalism.

17. CPK will participate in the struggle for African Unity and socialism in the African continent in the spirit of Africa Left Network Forum (ALNEF).

V

The maximum program of the CPK - socialism

CPK is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and all oppressed and exploited people of Kenya. Its maximum program is the establishment of socialism and ultimately communism in Kenya, East African Community, Africa and the World. In all its activities, the Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism which shows to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of person by person, their complete emancipation. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism that has been developed and enriched by communists and communist parties of different countries of the World will be applied by CPK creatively to solve definite problems in definite historical, cultural and other material conditions of Kenya. The Party shall keep high the banner of proletarian internationalism.