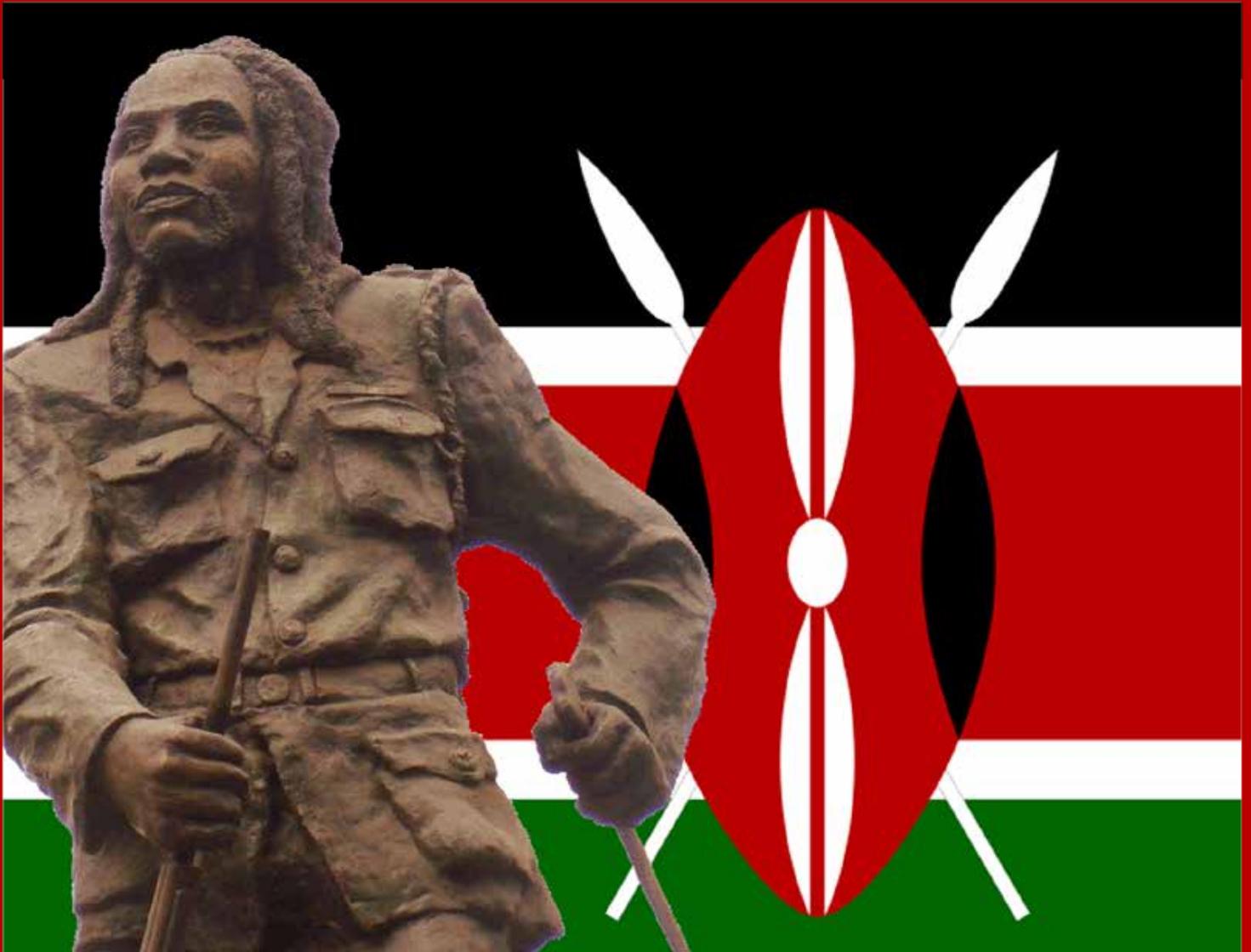




# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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## Capitalism and Class Struggle in Kenya in Past and Present

An Essay by Kimani Waweru with an Introduction of the RCIT

PLUS: Action Program for Kenya // May 1968 in France

## Social Investigation and Class Analysis in Kenya

By Kimani Waweru, October 2015

### Introduction

Kenya is an African country located in eastern part of the continent. It neighbours Uganda to the West, Southern Sudan to the North West, Tanzania to the south and Ethiopia to the North and Somalia to North east. The capital city is Nairobi, and the name came from the Masai phrase Enkare Nairobi meaning a place of cool waters. This capital city came about after the headquarters of the Kenya Uganda Railway in 1896 was established. Kenya has a total land area of 580,367 square kilometres; the dry land being 569,140 square kilometres while water surface area amounts to 11,227 square kilometres. The coastline stretches 536 km along the Indian Ocean. Most of the notable features include the second highest mountain in Africa Mt. Kenya, which is 5,199 m tall. The two main rivers are Tana (1,000 km) and Athi (390 km). The biggest lake in Africa is Lake Victoria which happens to be shared by the three East Africa countries.

### Population Distribution and Nationalities

Kenya has 42 nationalities living across the country, but the Agikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Abaluhya and Akamba constitute more than 70% of the population. According to Census conducted in 2009, the country's population stood at 38.6 million people, with an average growth of 2.46% per year. It is now approximately 46 735 133; the female demographic is 23 392 129 (50.1%) while the male population is 23 343 023 (49.9%).<sup>[1]</sup> Youth, people between 15 and 35 according to the African Union definition, account for the majority of Kenyans.

Almost all nationalities have their languages which they use to communicate among themselves. Nevertheless, Kiswahili and English are the official languages. Kiswahili is the most used, and particularly by workers and peasants. Religiosity is a factor in the lives of Kenyans as over 97% are believers of different faiths; 85% being Christians, Muslims 11.2%, indigenous<sup>[2]</sup> 1.5% while non-believers<sup>[3]</sup> are approximately 2%.

### Economy

Kenya's economy depends largely on agriculture. About 80% of the work force engages in subsistence agriculture. Most of large scale agricultural activities, that are mainly done for commercial purposes and using machines, such as tractors, harvesters etc. are done in the central highlands and rift valley which were illegally occupied by the white settlers in the colonial period, and were transferred to African ownership only after independence in the 1960s as is explored later. In these regions there is a lot of monocropping which has detrimental effects on the environment. Furthermore, poor wages and work conditions, as well as the use of environmentally harmful chemical fertilizer characterize a lot of this large scale farming. Related, tea and coffee are among the leading foreign exchange earners in Kenya. Coffee was first introduced in Kenya in 1905 while tea was first planted in 1923, and initially the white

settlers forced the colonial government to issue laws to bar Africans from growing coffee. The laws ensured that only the white settlers could profit from growing tea and coffee for export. Furthermore this legislation required African to seek licenses to grow these products and these were very difficult to obtain, all this was meant to keep Africans from competing with the settlers in this sphere of Agriculture. The Africans were only allowed to plant these crops in 1954 after the Swynnerton Plan<sup>[4]</sup> was put into place. Both crops are now produced in large and small scales. Large scale plantation farming is dominated by multi nationals such as Brooke Bond and Unilever, while small scale farming is done by the peasantry who face limited returns on these products due to fluctuating coffee and tea prices. Peasants have their own cooperatives which help in marketing.

Horticulture i.e. growing of vegetables, fruits and flowers for sale is another agricultural activity which is growing expeditiously. These exports are ranked second behind tourism and have overtaken tea and coffee as far as foreign exchange is concerned. Since it requires large capital, it is controlled by the wealthy and multinationals such as Homegrown limited.

Tourism is the country's principal source of foreign exchange, and has in the recent past experienced a number of challenges. This is due to negative travel advisories from the leading countries whose tourists visit Kenya. The said countries have advised their citizens against visiting Kenya due to what they say is insecurity. They cite terrorism incidents executed by the Somalia al-Shabaab militants. The government on its part has blamed those countries for what it sees as economic sabotage, claiming terrorism is a global phenomenon and should be handled careful by giving solidarity to the countries affected instead of issuing travel bans against them.

China has become the leading source of direct foreign investment in Kenya, and has contributed a lot towards infrastructure development in the country. This has seen Kenya shifting its reliance on grants from the western countries to those from China. This is seen to be one reason behind the cold relationship between the Western countries and Jubilee government. Notwithstanding this close relationship, the emergent role of China in Africa is viewed, often, suspiciously by a wide array of non-government actors and the public at large.

Kenya's gross domestic product for 2014 was 5.4% and is predicted to grow to 6% in 2015. Despite this, economic growth is rarely felt by the lower class who live below the poverty line; 46% of the population survive on less than two dollars a day. About two-thirds of Kenya's 4.3 trillion shillings economy, according to New World Wealth report 2014, is controlled by 8,300 super-wealthy individuals. This is as a result of continuous colonial and post-colonial policies that lead to entrenchment of an unequal distribution of wealth, and this continues to occur even while Kenya has recently been declared a middle-income country. For many years Kenyans have been struggling to remedy both political and economic injustice, it is on this basis that

it will be important to historically analyze Kenya so that we can be in a position to know how the challenges came about and how we can resolve them.

### Kenya Political History Up To the Present Time Pre-Colonial Period

Nationalities living in what is in the present Kenya territory lived relatively peacefully before the coming of imperialists, with each adhering to their respective cultural norms. The disputes among the different nationalities used to be resolved in an amicable manner, though in rare cases nationalities had to fight for a variety of reasons, such as livestock raids etc. One example is that of the Agikuyu and the Maasai who had intermittent conflict, yet despite this often consider each other "in-laws" as they used to intermarry. The Eurocentric notion that was formulated, and which is still being fostered, and states that Kenya nationalities used to live in a primitive way is far from the true. Many nationalities had their own ways of handling their affairs be it economic, social or political. They had structures which handled all issues that would come up. For example the [5]Agikuyu first unit was the family, and the husband or father was the head, although there are also longstanding examples of Kikuyu matriarchy. Several family members within a village used to form a Kīama gīa itūra (village council), and the oldest elder was the leader and a representative of the village. Representatives of various villages used to form Kīama gīa Ndundu (District council), and the most senior elder who had exhibited great wisdom used to be chosen as Mūthamaki or Mūchiri (leader or judge). All those elected in every district used to form Mwaki wa Matūra (National

Council), this is the national council which used to elect a judge during its meetings. The Gikuyu nation had its own military wing which was called Njama ya ita (council of war). This council was composed of young men between the ages 20 to 40 years who were the nation's fighters, and besides this they would perform the difficult tasks that the nation demanded of them. The leadership within the nation was based on merit and not inheritance. Any minor dispute within the family was resolved by the father, and the more the complex ones were referred to the village council. The village council dealt with family matters and also civil matters related to debts, as result of barter trade, and dowry. Criminal matters such as theft, witchcraft and assault were also brought before the council, and the offenders were usually made to pay compensation to the complainant.

Wealth created by people was shared equitably and the surplus remained in the territory for communal use. Land which was the source of wealth was in plenty, and you could hardly find people who did not have land. In some instances, particularly among Agikuyu, those who committed serious criminal acts were ostracized from the village. When these people landed in another village they were called Ahoi (seekers), since they had nothing of their own. They were, in most cases, then given a piece of land to start their life again. This means no one was denied the right to access land for subsistence.

### British Protectorate 1884-1920

The first foreigners to set their foot in in present day Kenya were the Portuguese, and this was in 1498. Their superior military and naval technology helped them to con-

## Books of the RCIT

### Michael Pröbsting: World Perspectives 2018 - A World Pregnant With Wars And Popular Uprisings

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – WORLD PERSPECTIVES 2018: A WORLD PREGNANT WITH WARS AND POPULAR UPRISINGS. The book's subtitle is: Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries.

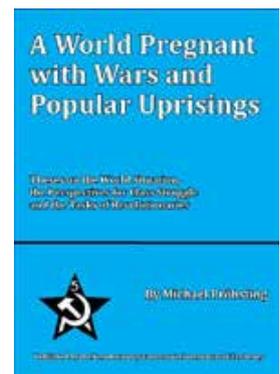
This book is a major contribution of our organization to keep the Marxists' analysis of the world situation and its accelerating contradictions updated. As we emphasize in the document, we consider it as crucial for revolutionaries to understand the nature and the inner dynamics of the current historic period. Without such an understanding it is impossible for socialists, indeed for all liberation fighters, to possess the necessary political compass on which they can base their program, strategy and tactics.

Since several years does the RCIT publish annual studies on the world situation in which it analysis its most important developments and changes. This book updates the Marxist analysis of the state of the world economy, of the relations between the Great Powers, of the struggle between the classes and the tactics of revolutionaries. We also deal in depth with new issues respectively extend our theoretical analysis on several questions. In particular we have deepened in this book,

among others, our understanding of the nature respectively the transitional character of the present world political phase, of the nature of different types of wars and the tactical conclusions arriving from this, of the complex nature of the conflicts in the Middle East, of the capitalist restoration in North Korea and, finally, we have elaborated a new proposal for an international platform for the unification of revolutionary forces in the present phase.

The book contains a preface, introduction and seven eight chapters plus an appendix (118 pages) and includes 23 figures , 9 tables and 2 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2018/>



quer the coastal part of the country. During that period they encountered constant resistance from the Africans and this made them build Fort Jesus, a fort that they used to defend themselves from both external (international) and internal (local) aggression. In the 17th century the Africans together with Omani Arabs living on the coast mobilized one another and defeated the Portuguese

By the 17th century, most parts of Europe had defeated feudalism, which was a system hindering further development of the productive forces, replaced it with capitalism. The defeat of feudalism and the ushering in of capitalism brought about competition for resources in the world. It is due to this that major countries in Europe, such as Germany, Britain, France, Dutch Holland etc., started sending people as explorers and missionaries to find areas where resources could be found in order to propel their respective economies. Some were people like German Doctor Ludwig Krapf, David Livingstone, John Hanning Speke, James Grant and Frederick Lugard among others. These people did a marvelous job for their respective countries because it is their work that made Europeans more geographically familiar with certain areas, as they had mapped out the land, thus facilitating the deepening of their imperial ventures.

As enslavement of Africans began to slow down and the scramble for Africa began to emerge, Portugal called for a conference in Berlin, from 1884 to 1885, so that Europeans could occupy different parts of the continent. It was a division of Africa as if it was a cake, and the dynamics between European countries at the time shaped which country received what part of the continent. At this conference, the entire continent, save for Ethiopia and Liberia, was divided among these countries.

#### **East Africa Protectorate (EAP) 1884-1920**

After the Berlin conference Kenya became a protectorate of Britain. Britain then gave the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC), under the leadership of Sir William Mackinnon, the right to administer and develop Kenya on its behalf. William embarked on deceiving different Kenya nationalities into signing dubious agreements. The first major task of the company was to construct a railway from Mombasa seaport to Kisumu and then Uganda, and this railway line was designed to help ensure the flow of the stolen wealth from Kenya and Uganda to Britain. Since most of the natives lacked skills for railway construction about 32,000 skilled and semi-skilled Indian workers were brought to execute the job. More than half of these Indian workers returned upon the completion of railway while about 6,700 settled in Kenya and Uganda. The company's mandate was cancelled and transferred to the British foreign office on 1st July 1895. The Kenyan people, upon seeing how things were developing and realizing that the people they thought were friends were actually on another mission to steal their wealth, resisted courageously. Some of the freedom fighters who resisted the British are listed below.

#### **Waiyaki wa Hinga[6]**

In 1890 Waiyaki organized his fighters of the Agikuyu nation to attack a military base that had been constructed by IBEAC in Dagoreti, and they burnt it down. The fort

was rebuilt later only to face the same fate. The IBEAC was forced to relocate the fort to Nairobi where it, nevertheless, was attacked constantly. The Britons were forced to devise a way of capturing Waiyaki and what they did is that they invited him for a fake peace agreement and captured him then. They took him to Kibwezi where they buried him alive in 1892.

#### **Nguunju wa Gakere[7]**

Nguunju Led Nyeri people in resisting British rule, he was arrested together with his son on 6th December 1902, and deported to Kismayu until 1905. He was transferred to Muranga where he died in detention in 1907

#### **Koitalel Arap Sameoi**

When the railway line reached Nandi land Koitalel led Nandi people in resisting British imperial rule. This went on for close to 10 years, and it was only in 1905 when Meinertzhagan, a British soldier, tricked him into signing an agreement only to shoot him later while shaking hands with him.

#### **Ebei**

Ebei, together with diviners called Oinyo, Koletiang' and a prophet called Lowatel, led Turkana people in resisting British rule. They lost many of their people and livestock but did not surrender. Ebei was unfortunately shot dead in 1924.

#### **Moraa wa Ngiti**

She was a woman who was married to Ngiti, a medical expert, who led the Gusii people in resisting the establishment of a military base in Kisii town in 1907. She was later arrested and tortured but she did not denounce her will to resist British slavery.

#### **Mekatilili wa Menza and Wanje wa Madoroka**

Metatilili was a woman while Wanje was a man. They both led the Giriama in resisting British rule, and urged people not to pay taxes, such as the hut tax, of the day. They also urged youth to combat the collaborators. The imperialists arrested them in 1914 and detained them in Kisii about 600 kilometers away. Surprisingly they escaped and walked back to Giriama land despite their advanced age. They were arrested again and deported to Kismayu in Somali until 1919.

Since capitalism entails the exploitation of labour and the accumulation of economic surplus, the British imperialists were determined to steal Kenyan wealth. To perfect this they encouraged settlers from Britain and South Africa to settle in Kenya. Nations such as the Agikuyu, Kamba, Kalenjin and Maasai who were living in the agricultural areas (North Rift and central parts of Kenya) lost most of their land as they were forced out to pave way for settlers. Some settlers allowed the displaced Africans to squat on their land in order to secure a continuous supply of cheap labour, and it is in this way that squatters in Kenya emerged. Since settlers were in need of labour, the imperialists designed laws which could force the Africans to work for them. Some of these laws included poll tax and

hut tax laws meant to force Africans to leave their homes and work on settler's farms. Furthermore the Natives Ordinance law was specifically designed to keep the worker with his employer and prevent him from deserting duty. Every time an African left employment the employer had to sign the worker's kipande (identification card), which was always hanged around the neck, as evidence that the African was not a labour deserter. The kipande had to be produced on demand for the police or the administration. This degrading practice continues up to today as Kenyan police have habit of harassing ordinary people by demanding an identification card from them. Another law was the Masters and Servants Ordinance and the Vagrancy regulations which later came to be called the Vagrancy act. This law was established to make sure that African's did not loiter at the expense of working for their employer. The squatters continued to use the European occupied land for themselves, while at the same time working for the settlers. Nonetheless, as time passed they began to compete agriculturally with settlers. It is on this basis that the Resident Native Ordinance was passed to demand that squatter payments be made in labour and not in any other kind or in cash.

### British Colony 1920-1963

In July 1920 the territory under the East Africa Protectorate became part of the British Crown, and was called the Kenya Colony. This meant that Kenya was like a County of Britain and was to elect its governor similar to the way the county government operates today. Major-General Sir Edward Northey was appointed as the first Governor of the British colony of Kenya.

Despite ostensive "self-rule" the change didn't affect the status quo as the exploitation and suppression of Africans went on, and it is in this regard that the Africans began to struggle to end British rule. In 1921 Harry Thuku, a colonial civil servant, formed the East Africa Association (EAA) and became its chairman. The organisation had the backing of workers and did a lot of work in campaigning for the end of exploitation by connecting the economic liberation of workers to politics. In this regard Harry Thuku asserted that Africans had to end their exploitation by overthrowing British imperialism in Kenya. The colonial government later arrested Thuku and detained him at the Kingways police station (today Central Police Station). When people heard that their leader has been arrested they mobilized one another and headed to the station where they demanded his release. A woman by the name Muthoni Nyanjiru challenged men to force themselves into the station and free their leader. The colonial police, together with some settlers who were enjoying the sweat of the workers at nearby Norfolk hotel, then began to shoot indiscriminately killing over 200 people and Muthoni Nyanjiru was one of them. The colonial government later banned the EAA and made it illegal the formation of national organisations, while still allowing for regional ones. This action precipitated the formation of regional organisations based on nationalities and examples of these are the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), Taita Hills Association, Young Kavirondo Association and Ukamba Members Association, among others. These associations continued to agitate for social justice and independence.

In order to prevent a potential African rebellion, the colonial government issued the Devonshire White paper in 1923 which stated that, essentially, when the interests of alien races (meaning the British and the Asians) conflicted with African interests, the latter would be paramount. The paper was not adhered to as it was a gimmick intended to hoodwink Africans while the racist status quo remained.

The colonial government also interfered with African cultural practices, and it perfected this through their religious missionaries. An example of this is when the protestant missionaries launched a campaign against female circumcision. Since most of the schools were run by the missionaries, parents of African children seeking admission to school were made to formally state that they were against female circumcision. Failure to do this meant that one had to be excommunicated. This was one of the reasons that led the KCA leadership to form Karinga Independent Schools Association (KISA). The Africans also devised other ways of promoting their endeared culture and an example of this in 1929 was the muthirigu (anti-government song). This song was an expression of protest against the suppression of African traditional values and practices, particularly female circumcision. While female circumcision, at the present time, has been medically proven to be of no health benefits as it harms girls and women in many ways, during that period female circumcision, especially among the Agikuyu, was highly valued and every woman was yearning for the initiation. Similarly, during the colonial period African customs such as brewing beer and traditional wedding ceremonies were termed as primitive, and African religious beliefs were demonized at the expense of Christianity and banned. Furthermore the promotion of colonial names as first names for the African were undertaken, and most Africans were made to feel that colonial names were superior to theirs. This habit has perpetuated up to present time, and those who practice Christianity adopt colonial names after being baptized, while European Christians do not adapt other names even after being baptized. These bestial practices by the colonialist contributed a lot to diverting Africans from their culture and coerced them to ignorantly embrace imported foreign practices

Harry Thuku was released in 1930 and became the president of the KCA in 1932. It seems that the jail sentence softened him since he then left the KCA to form a reactionary organisation called the Kikuyu Provincial Association (KPA). This new organization collaborated with the colonialists. Nevertheless, this did not demotivate Africans from exerting pressure on the colonial government to return back their stolen land.

### The Roles of Workers in Fighting for Liberation

By 1930s the working class in Kenya had become a force to reckon with, and this was a direct result of the colonial system which had facilitated the expansion of economy. It did this by exploiting the labour of the workers who continued to live miserable lives. Due to the significant amount of workers, in 1934, Makhani Singh formed the Indian Trade Union of Kenya (ITUK), and became its first general secretary. Since issues affecting workers could not be achieved by workers fighting along racial lines, he convinced his fellow members to change the name of the

union to the Labour Trade Union of Kenya (LTUK) so that it could accommodate other people irrespective of colour, race or religion. Under his leadership LTUK was able to take stands that were beneficial to the workers. Furthermore, it formed alliances with progressive political groups fighting for freedom of the country. In 1948 LTUK, the African Workers Federation (AWF) led by Chege wa Kibacia and other small trade unions merged to form the East African Trade Union Congress (EATUC). The merged trade union took an anti-imperialist stand and worked with the Mau Mau revolutionary movement in recruitment exercises, and also to educate workers. Due to its strong stand the colonial government refused to register it. One of its major successes was to organize a boycott against a member of loyal family (Duke of Gloucester) from commissioning Nairobi to city status. Both Makhan Singh and Fred Kubai were arrested and arraigned in court but were acquitted after fielding a strong defense through a lawyer. Makhan Singh was arrested again and detained in Lodwar until 20th October 1961.

There were some trade unions which sided with the colonialist and one of these was the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Union (KFRTU) which was formed in 1952. It later changed its name to the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL). This union was led by Tom Mboya who had a close relationship with the USA government and with the CIA. It is because of its reactionary history that after independence in 1963 some workers opted to form another union – the Kenya Trade Unions Congress. This forced the neo colonial government to form a ministerial committee, under the chairmanship of the reactionary late Julius Gikonyo Kiano, to bring the two unions together in 1965. The committee recommended the disbandment of the two trade unions and instead the formation of a single national trade union which was given the name the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU). The government did this in order to tactfully confuse disenchanted workers, and lead them to believe that the newly formed union was going to take care of their interests. COTU has always been on the side of the ruling class although it disguises itself by issuing “progressive” rhetorical statements in public forums and in press conferences. During the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that were spearheaded by IMF, and led to the loss of many jobs, COTU didn't fight the said policies.

### **Mau Mau Rebellion and other African Resistances**

In late 1930s and 1940s colonial resistance was basically reformist in character because the leadership of the political organisations was the petty bourgeoisie. These were people who had received colonial education and better employment opportunities, and thus were able to articulate issues affecting Africans in a clearer manner. It should also be noted that a large percentage of the population at that time had no formal education but this did not deter them from giving their leaders unwavering support.

In 1944 Eliud Mathu was appointed to the colonial Kenya legislative council in the same year a group of other petty bourgeoisie leaders, who included Mbiyu Koinange, James Gichuru, Albert Owino and others, formed a union which they called the Kenya African Study Union (KASU). In the following year the same people dissolved KASU

and in its place formed a political union which they called Kenya African Union (KAU). KAU became active and had its own weekly newspaper called Sauti ya Mwafrica (African Voice). When Jomo Kenyatta returned from Britain he took over the leadership of KAU in 1947. KAU continued to agitate for freedom but due to its petty bourgeois leadership it fell into the imperialist trap of delaying independence. This was because it was following constitutional means as the way of achieving ultimate freedom; they forgot that laws were serving the colonialists, and that they were being manipulated by these very same forces.

It happened that there were some dedicated members of KAU, as well as other non-members, who had realized that independence was not to be achieved by constitutional means. It is for this reason that the idea to form the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA), commonly known as the Mau Mau, was conceived. Many of the top KAU leadership were not even aware of the plan. Many of the members of the army were young men who were initiated in 1940s, and had been conscripted to fight in the Second World War on the side of Britain. These young men had acquired battle experience and realized that the British army was not invincible as was believed.

The Kenya Land and Freedom Army began a war against the colonial government around 1948, and inflicted great losses to the regime. In order to contain the movement the colonial regime declared a state of emergency in 1952 and banned KAU. Six members of the KAU (Jomo Kenyatta, Ochieng Oneko, Paul Ngei, Kung'u Karumba, Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai) were arrested for, ostensibly, being behind the movement. Of those six arrested it was only Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai who knew about the movement. Stanley Mathenge[8] was initially the leader of the movement but was replaced by Dedan Kimaathi in March 1953. The two later disagreed and this led to a division in the army, leading to two separate camps and each being led by these two leaders. Because of the determination of the movement to resist colonialism, the colonial government started to bring some cosmetic changes in the colony in order to hoodwink Kenyans. Among them was the 1954 Swynnerton Plan which was meant to get rid of communal access to land by individualizing it. The plan benefited the colonizers due to the fact that the African, who really only got small parcels of land, thought psychologically that they had won. Under the plan[9] land was registered in the names of the present male-heads of households without recognition of the use rights of female heads of households, and whose husbands were still with the Mau Mau. This plan therefore did not help Mau Mau fighters who were in the forest fighting.

Another gimmick was to increase the number of Africans in the legislative assembly, LEGCO, to eight, ostensibly, to highlight African issues. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, a progressive nationalist, became the chairman of this group. The regime, in its resolve to divide unity among the oppressed nationalities, allowed only the formation of political organisations based on districts. And since districts were then based on nationalities, the organisations that were formed were ethnic based e.g. the Baringo Independence Party among the Nandis and the Central Nyanza District Congress for the Luos. This division brought disunity among the Africans and continues to date.

The Mau Mau movement was supported by the peasants

and workers who would supply them with food and other necessities. In order to cut off this support, the peasants were forced to dig a trench measuring between 10 feet deep and 15 feet wide around the Nyandarua (Aberdares) mountain range. The colonialist also designed a scheme that coopted some Mau Mau to their side as spies, and this was a big blow to the movement as it was hard to know the genuine fighters from the fake ones. Some of these fighters revealed most of the movement's secrets and the hide outs. It is believed that it was the work of pseudo fighters that contributed to the shooting and arrest of Field Marshal Dedan Kimaathi, the leader of the movement, on 20th October 1956. Kimathi was arraigned in a colonial court and hanged on 18th February 1957 by the regime. The capture of Kimaathi did not deter the other fighters as they continued fiercely with the struggle.

On realizing that they could not hold on to power, the colonial government began, tactically, to groom the potential future African leadership. These were petty bourgeois politicians like Tom Mboya, James Gichuru and Jeremiah Nyaga etc. who Africans believed were on their side, but who were actually cultivated by the colonialists. The ones with radical views, such as Jaramogi, were demonized. Those who were won over attacked Mau Mau and its stand, claiming that everyone fought for independence. It did not take much time for the true colors of some petty bourgeois leaders to be noted, and it was due to this fact that some disgruntled members of Mau Mau, together with patriotic Kenyans, decided to form the Kiama kia Muingi (Mass Party). The party was meant to continue to agitate for the genuine demands of Africans—claims that were being negated. The demands included distribution of land to all landless Kenyans, support for the Mau Mau who were fighting in the forest and unity among all nationalities, among other issues. The party was viciously attacked by the regime and its lackeys, and was banned in 1960.

The USA, currently the leading capitalist state, partnered with rightist politician Tom Mboya to offer Kenyan students scholarship to study in the USA. The idea was meant to cultivate within the student leaders capitalist ideas, and that would assist in the preservation of the status quo. The colonial regime and USA knew well enough that if they

did not control the minds and the intellectual development of Kenyans, they would not be able to control the politics and the economy of the country. The idea helped many students, including Barack Hussein Obama Senior the father of the current US president (Barack Obama) and also the winner of 2005 Nobel winner the late Prof. Wangari Maathai, to go to the US. Others like Prof. Maina Kin'yatti, even after being a beneficiary of the program, opted to stick to leftist ideology. Likewise the USSR, through Jaramogi, helped many students to study in USSR. Some of the students' who benefitted, like the late former minister Kamotho, ventured from socialism and actually became very great defenders of the capitalist model of production.

#### Formation of KANU and KADU

In 1960 the colonial regime allowed the formation of parties with a national outlook, and it was because of this development that the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) were formed on 27th March 1960 and 25th June 1960 respectively. Both parties, though national, had ethnic biases within them, and an example of this is that KANU was dominated by the two bigger nationalities i.e. Agikuyu and Luo, while KADU was dominated by the Luhya, Masaai and Kalenjin. This can be traced to the seeds of ethnicity planted by the colonial regime in 1956 noted earlier. As far as ideological outlook was concerned, the two shared similar ideas. That said KANU had two camps; reactionary politicians like Tom Mboya and Gichuru and progressive politicians who had a pro people agenda among them Pio Gama Pinto, Bildad Kaggia and Jaramogi Odinga.

When legislative elections were held in March 1961 KANU emerged the winner but refused to form a government until Jomo Kenyatta was released from detention. This prompted the colonial regime to ask KADU to form the government, and this party agreed. This was an act of betrayal. Kenyatta was released on 21st August 1961 after the colonialists were fully convinced that he was to serve them and continue with the status quo. Due to prevalent progressive ideas put on Kenyatta because of his past patriotic work in the 1930s and 1940s. Peasants and workers celebrated his release believing that he was to free them

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from political and economic bondage. As a result he was elected as the leader of KANU after Gichuru stepped aside and joined the reactionary side of the party. Unfortunately, the statements which came from him while he was leader were contrary to the wishes of people who had celebrated his release. In contrast to what they expected he supported colonial land policy by stating that the land which had been stolen from the people had to be bought back from the settlers. People, especially freedom fighters, wondered where they could get money to buy the said farms yet they had spent most of their youth fighting and in detention.

Kenyatta was then elected unopposed as the representative of Muranga in LEGCO after Kariuki Njiri resigned for him. His election allowed him to become one of the delegates who went to London to negotiate the Kenyan constitution in Lancaster, in February 1962. The general elections were held in May 1963 and KANU won comfortably. In December of the same year Kenya was declared independent and Kenyatta became prime minister on December 12th 1963.

The new neocolonial government of Kenyatta didn't recognize the critical role that the Mau Mau played in the fight for national independence. Ironically, Mau Mau roles were recognized by people from outside Kenya e.g. African- American nationalists such as Malcom X. Mau Mau also inspired many oppressed people in Africa into taking arms to liberate themselves from the colonialists, and among them were FLN (Algeria), MPLA (Angola), FRELIMO (Mozambique), PAIGC (Guinea Bissau), MK (South Africa), etc.

### Flag Independence & Neocolonialism from 1963

The new government aligned itself with the imperialist forces and rarely questioned the neo-colonial policies that were hurting Kenyans and which they supported. The multinational companies that were exploiting workers continued to do so as though nothing had changed. The land that thousands had died for remained in the hands of the white settlers and collaborators. The military force that had been killing and maiming freedom fighters became the armed force of Kenya. The new leaders embarked on grabbing land, and the president became one of the biggest land owners in the country; Kenyatta's extended family alone owns thousands of acres of prime land in Kenya. In order to hide their grabbing they conspired with the land ministry to buy the said land at very cheap prices from a settlement transfer fund scheme that was established by the British colonial government and the World Bank to facilitate the buying of land from the British settlers. The left wing politicians in the then ruling party KANU, led by Jaramogi, Pinto and Kaggia, began to question the manner in which land issue was being handled since most Kenyans had no land. The government, in order to appease the landless, came up with idea of encouraging people to form cooperative societies so that they could buy land from the settlers. Peasants who were financially well off heeded the idea, and benefited from the scheme. Those who could not raise money remained landless and a majority of them were forced to sell their labour to earn their living.

In 1965 the neo colonial government, in a desperate move to deceive Kenyans that it was promoting socialist ideals,

developed an African socialism governance framework published in Sessional Paper number 10. In reality the paper had nothing to do with socialism and was purely capitalist. It was attributed to American economist Edgar Edward who had been contracted by Tom Mboya to draft it. It was later reviewed and revised, first by an informal group chaired by Mboya with Mwai Kibaki, Ndegwa, Knowles and Edwards as members, and then by the Ministers sitting in the Development Committee[10]

Pio Gama Pinto, together with other left leaning politicians, developed a counter paper in which Pinto himself was to table in parliament and which could have possibly led to a no confidence vote for Kenyatta. Pinto had also confided to his colleagues that he had information on how the funds given to Kenyatta government by foreign countries to help freedom fighters was misused[11]. The paper and the said information are attributed to Pinto's assassination on 22nd February 1965. The assassination of Pinto did not deter the progressive politicians in the government from highlighting people's issues, such as land, that were being neglected by the government. In response to this the reactionary wing of the KANU government convened a delegate conference meeting in March 1966 in Limuru with the aim of replacing the so called rebel members, and this mission was later accomplished.

Having been removed without procedure from the government, the said members resigned from KANU and decided to form an opposition party that they named the Kenya People's Union (KPU). The party was meant to further the people's ideals, and when general elections were called later that year KPU contested and won several seats despite the claims of rigging against them. The government, fearing the ideological challenge it faced from KPU, decided to ban the party in October 1969 for, supposedly, causing chaos in Kisumu during a presidential function. The banning was followed by the jailing and detention of KPU leaders, among them Jaramogi Odinga and Ochieng Onoko. Rivalry among reactionaries within KANU also led to the assassination of Tom Mboya, an imperialist stooge, in 1969.

With the silencing of the progressive forces the government embarked on entrenching a capitalist system in country. Multinational companies partnered with the comprador regime to steal from and exploit Kenyan workers. By the early 1970s about 65% of the multinationals faced no competition, and therefore could set prices of basic commodities at will allowing them to make abnormal profits which were then repatriated to their mother country. In 1971 there was conspiracy to overthrow the government of Jomo Kenyatta, and 13 officers were implicated, tried and jailed. In response to this Maj-Gen Joseph Ndolo, the first African head of the military, resigned and was replaced by Mulinge.

The clamour for land among the squatters, for better wages among the workers and better payment for cash crops produced by peasants in the rural areas continued. J.M Kariuki, a one time detainee and a former private secretary of Kenyatta, became the darling of the people for articulating their issues. The system felt threatened by his bold resolve to protect the rights of the lower class and thus conspired to eliminate him in 1975. His death led to protests against the regime even from its own backyard --central region.

Most of the open spaces to express discontent were shut down, and academicians within the universities decided to do something to free the country from the dictatorship. In 1975 the said academicians formed an underground party and called it the Workers Party. The party took a leftist stand and operated in innermost secrecy. The party, knowing too well that the people who were to bring genuine change were workers and peasants, endeavored to reach and enlighten them. It did this through some of its members working aboveground as individuals in cultural activities. The most famous of their activities was theater, and an example of this is Ngugi wa Thiong'o's play *ngaa-hika ndeenda* (I will marry when I want) was performed in Limuru by ordinary peasants. The play depicted the struggles of peasants and workers, and in recognizing its power the government of the day banned it and detained the writer. The party also produced newsletters and booklets, and due to the discipline and commitment of its members the regime didn't at one time know the origin of the publications nor the people behind them. The party was later to rename itself the December Twelve Movement (DTM).

#### Death of the 1st President and the Taking Over of Moi in 1978

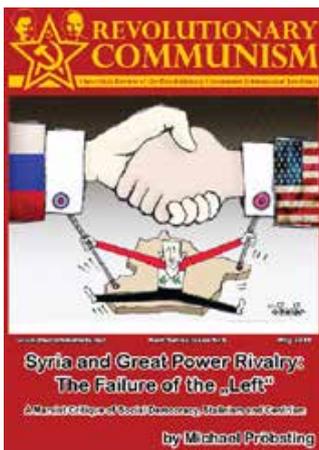
In 1978 the president passed on and his vice president Daniel Moi took over as leader and promised to follow the *nyayo* (footsteps) of his predecessor. The word *nyayo* then became synonymous with his leadership. He released all political detainees, including Ngugi wa Thiong'o, yet after warming his seat he showed his true colours by promoting nepotism, corruption and intolerance to criticism. He banned unions that he deemed powerful and that appeared to be able to challenge his leadership. Some of them were the Civil Servants Union (CSU) and the Nairobi Uni-

versity Academic Staff Union (UASU). He also won over some organisations such as Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO), a national non-governmental organisation for women, and made sure that it was aligned to his ruling party, the organisation then changed its name to KANU-MYWO. As the workers are a powerful sector that drive the economy, he courted the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) that was, and still is, an umbrella body for most of the trade unions in Kenya.

These developments led some politicians, led by Jaramogi and George Anyona, to form another party, the Kenya African Socialist Alliance, in 1982. The party was meant to challenge the KANU regime and offer Kenyans solutions to the problems they were facing. The government didn't allow the idea to get to the fruition stage as it arrested and detained Anyona, while Jaramogi, due to his age, was put under house arrest. This action by the two motivated the dictatorial regime to change the constitution by introducing Section 2A. This clause changed Kenya to a one party state, therefore making it illegal to form another party.

On 1st August 1982 a group of soldiers from the Air Force attempted to overthrow the government but were unsuccessful as loyal Kenya Army soldiers, led by Mahamoud Mohamed, thwarted the coup. After this coup attempt the government increased its oppression against those who were expressing different views on how the country should be governed. The first to bear the brunt of this aggression were student leaders and politicians who were thought to be critical of the government. Progressive academicians at the universities such as Maina wa Kinyatti and Mukaru Ng'ang'a were not spared either as they also found themselves driven to prisons. Others like Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Shiraz Durrani were forced to seek asylum in Britain to avoid arrest.

On 10th February 1984, the KANU government sent its military to Wajir to, as they claimed, smoke out members



### NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

## Syria and Great Power Rivalry: The Failure of the „Left“

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2018

*The bleeding Syrian Revolution and the recent Escalation  
of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry between the US and Russia –  
A Marxist Critique of Social Democracy, Stalinism and Centrism*

**Introduction \* The liberation struggle of the Syrian people against Assad retains its just character \* Against all imperialist aggressors! \* Old and new Great Powers \* The Ex-Stalinist turned social democrats: “God save the United Nations” \* The Stalinists (and some caricatures in Trotskyist camouflage): social-imperialist servants of Assad and Putin \* The Morenoite LIT, UIT and FLTI: the heart on the right place but not their brains \* CWI and FT: failure to understand the imperialist nature of China and Russia \* CWI / SWP(UK) / FT: refusing to support the Syrian Revolution \* Conclusion \* Footnotes**

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format*

of the Degodia clan who had refused to disarm following clan-related conflict with the Ajuuran clan. This region is the the North Eastern part of Kenya and is a region populated by Kenyan-Somalis. The army rounded up around 5000 men of the Degodia clan and took them to Wagalla airstrip for interrogation. Women were beaten up, raped and their houses burnt. After four days of torture, without food and water, hundreds of men lay dead after being mercilessly murdered. This extremely violent episode has been referred to as the Wagalla massacre.

The underground movement MKDTM (Mwakenya-December Twelfth Movement) went on with its work of distributing numerous newsletters, booklets and leaflets for several years without detection by the system. Most of the movement central committee members (Kamaji Wachiira, Al-Almin Mazrui, Edward Oyugi and Maina wa Kinyatti) were subsequently arrested not because of their movement work but because they were teaching progressive ideas to students at the universities. The arrest really affected the party as some ideologically inexperienced members of the DTM assumed leadership. Though committed, this leadership made some serious errors that caused some members to be killed, tortured and imprisoned by the regime. The leadership, for example, without clear ideological agreement merged with other groups that were opposing the Moi regime and formed the Muungano wa Wazalendo wa Kukomboia Kenya (MWAKENYA). Leaders also recruited people without fully vetting them as a revolutionary movement demands. All the same, even with the above weaknesses, Mwakenya played a critical role in awakening students, workers and peasants and in encouraging them to resist the regime.

With dissenting forces crushed the Moi government entrenched a dictatorship by manipulating the constitution and undermining democratic ideals. For example, the Constitution of Kenya (amendment) Act No 8 of 1988 made it lawful to detain capital offenders for 14 days before they could be formally charged in a court of law. The regime also denied its citizens the right to choose the person of their choice by introducing Mlolongo (queue) voting system in 1988. The system rigged out most people who the system was not comfortable with by making Kenyans too scared to openly vote (as the queue would betray who they were voting for) for the opposition. The church been the only institution that Moi shied away from suppressing, and it tried to fill the critical gap left by the crushed opposition through persistently and consistently criticizing Moi's authoritarian regime. The exiles also played a crucial role and exposed the dictatorial practice of the regime to international organisations such as Amnesty International.

#### **Fall of Berlin Wall and Mushrooming of Civil Societies 1990**

Away from the national space, internationally things were also changing as countries in Eastern and Central Europe that were under the influence of the Soviet Union, began to pull out of the Soviet camp. From 9 November 1989 East Germany finally allowed its citizens to visit West Germany and West Berlin, and this facilitated the fall of the Berlin Wall that had separated the two sister countries for decades. These developments led the Soviet

Union to disintegrate into fifteen separate countries, and each declaring its independence. All this precipitated the end of the cold war; a battle of ideology and propaganda between the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc. Following this the capitalist camp became bold as they had no serious challenge to their ideology. During the cold war both camps, capitalist and communist, had played key roles in trying to influence Kenya to join their respective camps. In the early 1960s the Soviet Union had helped build the Lumumba Institute and the Kisumu General Hospital in Kenya, and this was done through Jaramogi Oginga and Pinto. The influence of the Soviet became minimal after the crushing of the KPU in late 1960s. This left USA and other NATO countries with the space to impose their ideology, and thus Kenya became a comprador state under the influence of the USA and Britain. At home, the Kenyatta and Moi regime did their best to impress their masters and an example of this is when Moi hosted Mozambique terrorist group, RENAMO, that was been funded by the USA, to overthrow a leftist leaning FRELIMO government. Due to this and other similar actions, Moi was protected and was rarely criticized by the said governments even if he committed widespread human rights abuses.

Things changed with the end of cold war as most Southern countries under the influence of capitalists were forced to adhere to bourgeois democracy. Interestingly the USA and Britain, traditionally strong defenders of the Moi regime, began to exert pressure on the government to bring "change." Despite this other politicians who had been rigged in the 1988 elections, such as Kenneth Matiba, teamed up with activists, progressive lawyers and the church to demand change which would include the introduction of the multi-party system. Moi could not withstand all that pressure and in December 1990 summoned KANU delegates (National Governing Council) to propose the changing of the constitution to (re)legislate multi-party system in Kenya. The meeting ordered the Attorney General to prepare legislation that would make Kenya a multi-party state. Moi, in a desperate move to prove his claims that the multi-party system would bring divisions, sponsored ethnic clashes in which he incited Kalenjins against Agikuyu living in the Rift Valley. The clashes caused many deaths as well as significant displacement and loss of property.

#### **Introduction of Neoliberalism in Kenya (Privatization, Deregulation, Liberalization)**

The imperialist countries pushed for the "democracy" they wanted and also, at the same time, pushed the government into introducing structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the country. The SAPs were meant to open the country to the penetration of overseas commodities and enable the privatization of public companies and services. As is widely documented they led to the impoverishment of many Kenyans, and these effects were contrary to what the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), the main agents of the programs, were saying about the possible benefits of SAPs.

Neo liberalist policies that are intertwined with SAPs undermined the provision of free or affordable healthcare services. This was because the government was forced to slash the social services budget and was therefore com-

pelled to introduce user charges,[12] and also deregulated the prices of pharmaceutical drugs. Since then many poor Kenyans were and still are unable to seek health services in public hospitals and afford much needed drugs due to the said policies. Likewise the education sector was not spared either as public universities that used to give free tertiary education introduced tuition fees that even today are prohibitive to many families in Kenya

The policies contributed to the loss of many jobs as subsidized commodities and cheap counterfeit products from USA, Asia and Europe found their place into the Kenya economy, leading to the closure of local industries. Price controls were abolished thus giving the multinational companies, together with national capitalists, the ability to increase the prices of their products so as to receive maximum profits at the expense of the people.

### **Mushrooming of Non-Governmental Organisations**

This period witnessed the formation on many Non-Governmental Organisations with different mandates, and many with the goals to, ostensibly, reduce the effects of neo liberalism. The said NGOs were mainly funded by imperialist countries and foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, an organization that was named after America's first billionaire who bought the land on which the United Nations New York headquarters stands, and Ford Foundation etc. As can be discerned, the said funders were the same ones imposing and steadfastly adhering to neoliberal policies.

Former leftist activists were coopted into the NGO world and formed human rights organisations such as the Kenya Human Rights Commission (Al-Amin and Willy Mutunga who were both former members of December Twelve Movement) and SODNET (formed by Edward Oyungi etc) are but two examples. One progressive NGO the Release Political Prisoners Pressure Group joined other groups demanding change. The funding of the NGOs was and still is a well-designed tactic to divert activists from keeping on with the revolutionary route i.e. dismantling all the structures which uphold exploitation and oppression of human beings, and the fate of RPP can attest to this. The NGOs were confined to fighting for bourgeois democracy (reforms), although it is noteworthy that this helped in opening up the democratic space. The problem comes when they fail to proceed beyond bourgeois democracy as is the case today.

With the introduction of multi-party politics it was noted that most of the unjust laws were left intact and many of the people who had been jailed for fighting the same were still in prison. It was due to this that the civil society embarked on fighting reforms and for the release of political prisoners. This resolve led to the mothers of political prisoners to camp at Freedom Corner (Uhuru Park), and they staged a hunger strike demanding for the release of their sons. The fight for reforms was not that easy as it saw many activists arrested and charged with fake charges. The activists of early 1990s were very committed and courageous, as opposed to those of today whose big motive for engaging in activism is money.

The repeal of section 2A opened the floodgate of political parties formed mostly by the same politicians who had left the ruling parties. They had no ideological distinction

from KANU, and it happened that the liberal politicians and lawyers, many of whom had left KANU, opted to join Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) due to its connection with Jaramogi Odinga. The one time Moi vice president Mwai Kibaki, together with some wealthy politicians, formed another party and called it the Democratic Party. The December Twelve Movement that was operating underground at the time had a different ideological outlook from these parties. During this time it decided to change its name to MWAKENYA DTM (MKDTM). This change was meant to capture the history of the party. The leadership of the party met some opposition leaders, among them Jaramogi, and requested them to push for the change of the constitution before competing with KANU. Their request was not adhered to as the opposition leaders were not interested in this since they thought they could defeat the KANU regime with the same constitution. When elections were held in December 1992, the government used its state machinery and rigged them. Nonetheless, some opposition members won some seats and this brought about the first multi-party government.

The introduction of a multi-party system did not stop the KANU regime from brutalizing its citizens, and it continued to use oppressive laws to harass critics who at that time included civil society activists. MKDTM refused to participate in the 1992 elections and continued to operate underground producing leaflets and newsletters. Because of the party's ideological outlook it differed from other parties, and continued on with its work to end the system of capitalist exploitation. Due to this work the system planned and assassinated its national coordinator Karimi Nduthu on 24th March 1996. Karimi was also the secretary general of Release Political Prisoners that was an aboveground organisation fighting for release of political prisoners and the repeal of oppressive laws.

### **Fight for a New Constitution and Role of Civil Society**

It is around this time that the campaign for the change of the constitution that was led by organisations such as the Citizen Coalition for Constitutional Change (4Cs), the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) and Release Political Prisoners (RPP) among others was in top gear. The opposition later joined the CSOs in the campaign. The KANU regime, which was against the change, finally succumbed to pressure and agreed to bring about constitutional change. It is on this basis that the regime approached some opportunistic politicians within the reform movement and formed the Inter Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) that was comprised of representatives from KANU, DP, Ford Kenya, Ford Asili and Safina. The constitutional change process was unfortunately hijacked from civil society. By 1997, the IPPG had come up with minimal reforms, mostly on electoral process, but left the dictatorial powers and structures basically intact. When elections were held in December of that year, KANU, as it did in 1992, used the said structures to rig itself back by getting 40% of votes cast against 60% of the combined opposition.

After the 1997 general elections, and as a result of the IPPG recommendations, a bill on the Constitution of Kenya review was published in August 1997,[13] and became law in November after being assented to by the president. The law created a legal framework to carry out the con-

stitutional reform and provided a parliamentary route to constitutional change. All this time that this law was proposed and assented to CSOs and other stake holders were not involved, and it was on this basis that the said CSOs protested their absence in the process and the parliamentary route which was proposed. The protest bore fruits as the government agreed to include CSOs and the church in the process and this resulted in the amendment of the Constitution of Kenya Review Act. The amended act made people participation a key element in constitution making, and stated that 54 stakeholder groupings were to be represented in the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC). The composition of the commission led to disagreements, between the opposition political parties and the government, about the process of nominating members to the Commission. The impasse gave the government the audacity and opportunity to pick the members of the Commission without consulting other stakeholders. Having controlled the process, the government formed a Parliamentary Select Committee that was chaired by Raila Odinga's National Democratic Party. Raila had by then made alliances with KANU and had being appointed the secretary General of KANU and a cabinet minister. The civil society and churches disagreed with the manner in which the constitutional change process was being carried out and it was on this basis that they formed the Ufungamano Initiative that was supposed to run parallel to CKRC, and which was led by Prof. Yash Ghai. The two commissions later merged and started working as a team. The commission went countrywide collecting views from the public and later on came up with a draft of a new constitution. Delegates who were to debate the documents were chosen by the stakeholders.

In 2002 President Moi preferred Uhuru Kenyatta as the KANU flag bearer for the general elections that were slated for December of that year. Some politicians who were hoping to get the KANU ticket, such as Raila Odinga and George Saitoti, led a mass walk out from the party weakening it. The said politicians joined the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and that later on formed an alliance with the National Alliance of Kenya which was led by Mwai Kibaki, Kijana Wamalwa and Charity Ngilu. Together they formed the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Many civil society activists such as Kibutha Kibwana contested the election on NARC tickets, and other activists such as Willy Mutunga supported NARC with logistics. When elections were held in December 2002 KANU lost its first elections, since its formation, to the NARC party, and Mwai Kibaki became the third president of the Republic of Kenya.

### NARC Regime

The new government absorbed many people from civil society and gave them jobs. Notable persons were John Githongo who became a permanent secretary, and Maina Kiai who became the chairperson of the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR). Due to the government being largely composed by people associated with reforms, psychologically Kenyans thought that human rights abuses and corruption would become a thing of the past. Nonetheless, ideologically there was no genuine change as the capitalist system, that promotes corrup-

tion and the abuse of human rights, was still in operation. The new government reconvened the delegates that were appointed by the previous regime to debate the constitution draft. The debates went on for a long time as the two opposing parties took different stands. The NARC government also experienced internal wrangles as two sides that had formed the government started accusing one another of not honoring a memorandum of understanding that they had signed, and which stated how they would share government appointments. The differences made some of ministers, among them Raila Odinga, join KANU in opposing the government. In the meantime the delegates debated the draft and came up with the proposed constitution that came to be called the Bomas Draft. The draft was then put into a referendum, and sadly it was politics and not the content of the constitution that decided how the people cast their votes. Politicians who had disagreed with the government, such as Kalonzo and Raila, allied with the opposition KANU in mobilizing their respective nationalities and in opposing the constitution. Likewise, the government mobilized their supporting nationalities i.e. Agikuyu etc in supporting the draft. Eventually, when the constitution referendum was held in November 2005 the NO side, whose symbol was an orange, defeated the YES side whose symbol was a banana. The ministers who were on NO side were all sacked in a cabinet reshuffle. The NO side regrouped and formed the Orange Democratic Movement party. The YES side also worked closely with moderates KANU officials and formed the Party of National Unity (PNU).

The politicians didn't try to heal the seed of negative ethnicity that they had planted during the referendum campaign and which had divided the country along ethnic lines. In contrast ethnicity was hyped during the campaign for 2007 general elections, and intelligence reports had reported of the possibility of violence after the elections. The elections were held peacefully but when the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) declared Mwai Kibaki of PNU the winner of the presidential elections, violence erupted in many parts of country. This led to the death and displacement of hundreds of people and the loss of property. The ODM party claimed that the elections were rigged while the PNU side was emphatic that they had won fairly. The imperialists, knowing too well that their interests were in danger due to violence, forced the two camps to negotiate. They then chose Kofi Annan, a former UN secretary general who had served them appropriately during his tenure, as the mediator of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Committee (KNDRRC).

The two groups came up with four key resolutions (Agenda Four) that were to be tackled either immediately or in the long term. They were:

Agenda item one-- to stop violence and restore fundamental rights and liberties.

Agenda item two-- to address the humanitarian crisis and that involved resettlement of internally displaced people (IDPS).

Agenda item three -- to resolve the political crisis.

Agenda item four-- to examine and address constitutional, legal and institutional reforms, poverty and inequality, youth unemployment and land reforms.

The two main competing forces, Raila Odinga and Mwai Kibaki camps, signed the National Accord Reconciliation

Agreement (NARA) on 28th February 2008, and agreed to form a coalition government where they shared power. This government is often referred to as the nusu mkate government; the "shared loaf" government.

### Coalition Government 2008-2013

The coalition government, though very bloated, worked well save for squabbles related to the power between the two principles. Since the National Accord Reconciliation Agreement (NARA) had set the stage for constitutional change, all legal requirements for the steps to be undertaken were passed by the parliament. The important organs which handled the process were the Committee of Experts (CoE), the Parliamentary Select Committee, the National Assembly and the Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission (IEBC) that conducted the referendum on the constitution. The final draft of the proposed constitution was put into vote on 4th August 2010, and over 69% voted in favour of the draft constitution. The draft was then declared the new constitution on 30th August 2010.

### The International Criminal Court (ICC) Case

It should also be understood that the government had, on February 2008, set up the Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) also known as the Waki Commission, and the Independent Review Commission (IREC). CIPEV was created to investigate violence that occurred after the 2007/8 general elections, while IREC was created to look at whether general elections were conducted well. The two commissions did their work as stipulated and presented their reports to the president and prime minister. The CIPEV report had suggested that the parliament set up an internal tribunal which was to handle post-election violence cases, failure to which a list of alleged perpetrators that had been handed to Kofi Annan by CIPEV Chairperson Justice Waki was to be given to the International Criminal Court (ICC) prosecutor Ocampo. The parliament failed to set up tribunal. The ICC did its investigations and six people were indicted, and it seems

they were politically selected since three were from one side of the competing camp while other three were from the other camp. Four of the inductees have been acquitted while the remaining two still have cases in the ICC. The court gets most of its financial assistance from imperialist countries, while most of its logistical work is carried out by international NGOs through the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC) which has over 2 500 members including Kenyan civil society organisations.

### General Elections 2013

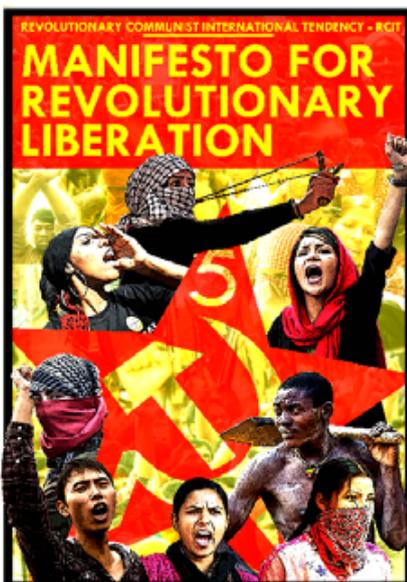
In 2012 a political realignment within the major rightist parties was witnessed; TNA allied with URP to form the Jubilee Coalition while ODM allied with Wiper to form the Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD). When elections were held in March 2013, the Jubilee Coalition won after garnering more than 50% of the votes. The results were disputed by CORD who appealed to the Supreme Court. The court, however, maintained that the electoral exercise was conducted free and fairly.

### Jubilee Regime

The Jubilee Coalition principals, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, were sworn into office on 30th March as president and deputy president respectively. Their government is different from the previous ones as it was formed on the basis of the 2010 constitution. With the new constitution, ministries were merged and those heading them are barred from engaging in politics. Devolution was introduced meaning there are two types of government; the national and county administrations. Most of the services that were historically undertaken by the national government, such as health, were transferred to the counties.

### The Jubilee Government and Civil Society Organisations

The relationship between the government and CSOs has not been cordial, and this is because of the perception that



## NEW RCIT PROGRAM!

# Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

*Adopted at the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016*

Introduction \* I. Decaying Capitalism \* II. Today's Worldwide Historic Revolutionary Period \* III. The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class \* IV. A Program for Socialist Revolution to Halt Humanity's Collapse into Barbarism \* V. The Crisis of Leadership and the Construction of a Revolutionary World Party \* VI. Work in Mass Organizations and the United Front Tactic \* VII. The Semi-Colonial South \* VIII. The Emerging Imperialist Great Powers of the East: China and Russia \* IX. The Old Imperialist Great Powers: The EU, North America and Japan \* X. Conclusion

*A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format*

the CSOs in Kenya significantly contributed to the ICC cases of the president and his deputy. It is also believed that it is on this basis that the government, through the Ministry of Devolution, introduced an amendment to the Public Benefit Organisation (PBO) Act that was passed by the 10th parliament with great input from the NGOs in January 2013. The main goal of the act was to encourage public benefit organisations to maintain high standards of governance and effective self-regulation. The amendment had limited external funds to not more than 15% of the budget of organisations, and if this proposal had been implemented it would have made many NGOs close as a majority depend on external funds. The amendment didn't go through due to pressure from the NGOs and politicians, and the Justice and Legal Affairs Parliamentary Committee subsequently rejected the bill and recommended some amendments; among these was the removal of the 15 % capping of funds.

### **Somali Question/Terrorism**

Terrorism has become one of the biggest challenges to the Jubilee government. This is because Al-Shabaab, a terrorist group operating in Somali and locally, targets non-muslims in Kenya for what they say is revenge for the killings that have been undertaken by the Kenya Defence Forces in Somalia. Kenya sent its military to Somalia in October 2010 following constant attacks, and the kidnapping of tourists and ships along the coastal region by criminals from Somalia who were suspected to be Al-Shabaab. The group had denied its involvement in the said kidnappings but the government, due to what was seen as pressure from imperialist countries, insisted that the criminal activities were committed by Al-Shabaab and that the invasion of Somalia was the only way to stop these occurrences. The Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) have since merged with AMISOM forces.

Al-Shabaab originally took advantage of the split of the Islamic Court (IC). The Islamic Court had taken power in 2006 after defeating warlords, and brought some stability in Somalia for the first time since the overthrow of Siad Barre in the early 1990s. The Islamic Court was dislodged by the Ethiopia military with the blessing of USA, and after this defeat the Islamic Court divided into two; the moderates agreed to work with Transitional government while the radicals formed Al-Shabaab which is influenced by Salafi or Wahhabi religious beliefs. The more radical group wanted to make Somalia an Islamic state governed by Sharia law. Their extremist actions have made them very unpopular in their country and worldwide. Opposition politicians in Kenya, who were behind the sending of the troops, are now calling for the withdrawal of the troops. They say that that act of terrorism in the country is as a result of Kenya armed forces in Somalia, assertions that have some national support. The government on its side has stated that withdrawing will be giving terrorists an upper hand to terrorize Kenya. In October 2014 the government introduced Security Laws (Amendment Bill 2014) that it said are meant to fight terrorism. Civil societies have been protesting this bill and state that the amendments were going against the constitution, and contained a number of controversial provisions that set back the process of reforming the police and the broader security

sector. The protests led the government to invite some political stakeholders to discuss the controversial provisions before they were taken to parliament. The MPs agreed on them and the amendments were brought to parliament for passage on 18th December 2014. The debate turned political as all the opposition MPs opposed the security bill while all those from the government supported it. The bill was, however, passed in an unruly manner, but it passed and was later assented to by the president becoming law. In response to this MPs teamed up with Civil Society to challenge the act in the High Court, and after deliberations the court nullified some sections but failed to nullify the entire act.

### **The Importance of a Social Investigation and Class Analysis in Kenya**

Social investigation entails the interrogation of the conditions of society. The division of society into classes means that one class is exploiting the labour of another and therefore expropriating the social surplus created by the productive class. It is therefore crucial to analyse the classes in Kenya so that the exploited classes can know who to align with, as they wage struggle for political and economic changes. Classes have different attitude towards bringing political and economic change. Below are some of the different classes

#### **Rich and Poor Peasants**

They are mostly found in rural areas and are of two types: rich and the poor. The rich have a lot of land that they use in commodity production (commercial) and employ day labourers and temporary labourers who they pay daily, and at the end of the week or month. Since the said peasants are driven by the urge to make a profit they exploit the labourers, a majority who are poor peasants who supplement their needs by selling their labour power.

The poor peasants have small pieces of land that they use for subsistence farming. Some also engage in zero grazing and sell their meagre products to, for example, dairies. They are, however, in most times forced to supplement their subsistence needs by selling their labour power to rich peasants or other owners of means of production. They have groups such as merry go rounds which they use to assist themselves economically. As noted earlier, they contributed a lot in the struggle for independence as they allied themselves with the Mau Mau and in this role they supplied food and other essential goods to this Land and Freedom Army. They possess togetherness and assist one another when misfortune happens to one of them. Some are organised through cooperatives that market their produce, and elect directors of the same. Unfortunately, in some instances, the elected directors conspire to defraud them and this forces them to rise up against them. One example is the case of the peasant farmers affiliated to Rumukia Coffee Farmers Society in Nyeri County who held a peaceful protest against the management of the cooperative for unfairly making deductions from their earnings in November 2014. A lack of strong organisation hinders them from achieving their goals.

### Pastoralists

Pastoralist culture and livelihood is shaped by the livestock that they rear for meat, blood and milk. They are mostly found in remote areas, and particularly in the Northern part of Kenya where there is a lack of infrastructure and basic services. They occupy more than 60% of total land in Kenya, although the larger part of this area is arid and semi-arid. The Maasai, Turkana, Pokot, Samburu and Rendille etc., are all pastoralists. Many pastoralist groups are very conservative as they have, for many years, been rigidly stuck within traditional cultural practices and animal husbandry even when the practices have been overtaken by time and contextual changes. In recent times a small percentage have started to diversify by cultivating various crops on small parcels of land. The money economy has forced some to exchange their animals for cash, and thus deepening their incorporation within the market economy. In their urge to maximize their wealth some pastoralist groups engage in cattle rustling using sophisticated firearms, thus exacerbating insecurity in pastoral regions. This urge has made them to go against cultural practices which forbade the killing of women and children during such the raids.

Most of the leaders from the region are, in most cases, anointed by ethnic spiritual leaders as the traditional norms dictate. This is one of the reasons the leaders are highly regarded by their respective community and in most cases use this loyalty to manipulate their subjects into fighting neighbouring communities. The ruling class, knowing too well how influential leaders are, normally win them over and make the pastoralists ignorant of their predicament. The pastoralist class though, being one of the groups marginalized by the system, remain inactive and their anger to their predicament is, most times, triggered by their leaders cum politicians. Therefore this class happens to be a very tricky one to organize for the actual revolution.

### Semi Proletariat (Traders, Petty Traders, Boda Boda Riders)

The Kenyan economy has, for a number of years, witnessed minimal growth and therefore is unable to absorb the thousands of youth who finish school every year. It is due to this that most people have opted to engage in small businesses in order to earn their livelihoods. In recent times there has been an abnormal increment of business levies by the county governments, and these levies have ended up affecting small business people. This has then made many small business owners protest, especially when they are made to move out of the street. An example of this is the case of traders in Thika town, Kiambu County who protested on 17th January 2015 when the county government closed Jamuhuri Market because the traders had refused to pay the new fee. Elsewhere, on 26th February 2015 Boda Boda riders in Mumias in Kakamega County organized a demonstration to protest increased levies on them from Sh20 to Sh30 per day. Notwithstanding this collective action, the problem is that the said protests are mostly spontaneous and do not last long due to the lack of organisation to spearhead and direct the struggle.

### The Proletariat or Working Class

The working class in Kenya is not powerful and this could be attributed to, as we have noted earlier, the ineptitude of the COTU which is an umbrella of all the private trade unions in Kenya. Nonetheless, this has not deterred some from rising up against injustices at their work places. There have been many cases where workers, due to poor working conditions and low pay, have protested and even downed their tools. The employers under this system are owners of the means of production and are connected to the state. The powerful class use violent state machinery, such as the police, to suppress protesting workers. A case in point is when workers of Kapric Apparels Export Processing Zone Limited in January 2015 held a demonstration protesting against low pay and poor working conditions, and the anti-riot police officers used teargas to disperse them.

### Petty Bourgeois

Petty bourgeois in Kenya can be divided into three parts; the lower part which consists of teachers is the most active of the three since it has strong organisations i.e. KUPPET and KNUT. Their problem is that they rarely protest about issues affecting the country and the education sector. Most of the time they protest due to salaries and allowance issues, and an example is the strike which the unions called in January 2015 and which lasted three weeks.

The middle petty bourgeois consists of doctors, professors and highly skilled people. They rarely protest as conditions allow them to live comfortably, although in recent times the doctors have been up in arms with the national government for devolving health services and including the payment of their salaries to the county level. On 10th December 2013 they went on a strike that lasted for more than ten days, and their core demand was that health functions be reverted back to the national government. Human rights activists can be categorized in this class as their attitude towards change is similar. They abhor the abuses perpetrated by the regime and they are good at criticising the state and in articulating the problems well. In addition, some go to an extent of saying that what is needed is revolution. On the other hand they are able to enjoy some privileges such as medical cover, a good salary and good housing under the current state of capitalism. And when it comes to the actual action they tend to shy away since they are not willing to forego the said privileges, as the revolution is not a joke and it demands dedication and sacrifice that they are not prepared to give. There are a few people of this class who forego the said privileges; rocking the boat and committing what Amilcar Cabral called class suicide and thus siding with the people in fighting for the real change. Most of the world revolutions in the world were led by such people e.g. Lenin in Russia, Cabral in Guinea Bissau and, Fidel Castro in Cuba

The upper petty bourgeois are the senior people of big local and international companies. Their status helps them live comfortably since they get many benefits in terms of allowances. They are indifferent towards the predicament of lower class, and in most cases they view them with contempt. It would take a major economic crisis for this class to rise up against the government.

### National Bourgeois

National bourgeois are Kenyan people who have a substantial amount of wealth which they have invested and used to employ people. Some of these people include Manu Chandaria, Naushad Merali, Chris Kirubi and the Kenyatta family etc. These are people who are happy with the way things are since they are able to squeeze surplus labour from their workers without any hindrance. They are closely tied with the system and most times during the general election they pour money to support the competing presidential candidates so that their investments can be protected. They are against foreign investors as they see them as competitors, and many times preach about the protection of local companies or nationalism that is just to advance their selfish agenda.

### Comprador Bourgeois

This class consists of the senior most people working for multi-national companies in Kenya. They help in promoting the imperialist agenda by siphoning national wealth and expropriating it to their mother countries. The class also consists of political leaders who promote the same. Since independence the political class have been comprador, but in recent past the same class has been caught in a catch 22 where it wants to serve the imperialists and at the same time wants to protect the national bourgeois. This again has made the imperialists turn against the current government; not necessarily abandoning them but rather chastising them for not protecting and serving them as the previous governments have. In April 2015, the political leadership of the country refused to renew a military agreement that supported the training of British troops at the British Army Training Unit, Kenya (BATUK). This unit operates from Kahawa Barracks and has bases in Archers Post and Laikipia County. Kenya refused even after the British Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond held talks with the Kenyan President.

### Declass or Lumpenproletariat

Declass mostly live in slums and are the most exploited and dehumanised by the system. The majority have limited levels of education and are unskilled. They include "hustlers", muggers, prostitutes, petty thieves and the unemployed. This class will do anything in order to survive and this is why it is used by politicians to do all manner of dirty work including beating and insulting rivals. It is also used by NGOs to fulfil their project goals e.g. attending workshops. On the other hand some members of this class can become agents for change if they are made conscious about their predicament by people who have a clear and pro people ideology. The class share the same characteristics as the petty bourgeois, in term of political wavering, and cannot be the main force for change in Kenya.

### Who are Friends and Enemies of Change in Kenya?

From the above analysis it is clear that those who are the most exploited by the system are bound to yearn for change, while those who benefit from it will defend the status quo. Since no genuine change can come about without involving the people it is therefore mandatory to reach them. The historical analysis has shown us that over the

year's people have failed to achieve what they want due to aligning themselves with the wrong people. For instance in the 1950s the petty bourgeoisie within KAU had disguised that they were for the land and freedom advocated for by the Mau Mau, but behind the scenes they were busy courting and cavorting with colonialists and demonising the movement. The masses who were not well advanced embraced them due to their sweet talk only to be disappointed after flag independence. Therefore, it is usually important to do a social investigation class analysis so that people can know the right people to align with, and not be deceived by words and superficial deeds.

In Kenya peasants, workers, and the lower petty bourgeois remain the leading force for change, and what they need most is a progressive movement offering them leadership and ideology. With those two they can accomplish miracles and change everything.

The middle petty bourgeois waver between the oppressor and the oppressed, they only join the side of the oppressed when they are in problems. Therefore the people should be wary of them due to their opportunism.

National, international and comprador bourgeoisie are whom we should aim to defeat since they own the means of production and they use it to exploit workers and strongly defend the status quo. They are the most powerful as they control the state machinery, and influence peoples thinking through their own media. Big media companies (NATION, Standard Group, Royal Media and Media Marx) are owned by this class. Revolutionary changes which have occurred in the world have shown that even with the power they possess, this class is usually defeated by organised masses lead by revolutionary party.

### Footnotes

- [1] <http://countrymeters.info/en/Kenya>
- [2] This is a religious belief which entail praying and worshiping God the way Africans used to before the coming of missionaries.
- [3] Nonbelievers are people who do not believe in any religion and may question religious doctrine, but are not necessarily anti-religious
- [4] Refer to Historical Background – Mau Mau Rebellion
- [5] Facing Mount Kenya-by Jomo Kenyatta, published in 1938
- [6] History of Resistance in Kenya 1884-2002 by Maina wa Kinyatti published in 2008 by Mau Mau Research Centre Nairobi.
- [7] Detained by Ngugi wa Thiong'o published in 1981 by East African Education Publishers Ltd, Nairobi,
- [8] Mau Mau from Within by Karari wa Njama and Barnett published in 1965.
- [9] Report of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission Volume 2b.
- [10] <http://www.developmentstrategies.org/Archives/1977ReviewEastAfrica/rea2.htm>
- [11] Bildad Kaggia Book – The Struggle for Freedom and Justice
- [12] Fees charged are for registration, consultation, for drugs and medical supplies or charges for any health service rendered, such as outpatient or inpatient care.
- [13] History of Constitution Making in Kenya by Media Development Association & Konrad Adenauer Foundation published in 2012