

CONSTITUTION AND MANIFESTO

COMMUNIST PARTY
MARXIST - KENYA
2024



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OF THE
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Communist Party
Marxist - Kenya
Second National Congress
2024

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY MARXIST - KENYA

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party Marxist - Kenya stands as the vanguard of the working people, embodying the collective voice of Kenyan workers, peasants, youth, students, and the marginalised. Forged in the fires of mass struggle, our party commits to dismantling the exploitative capitalist structures and establishing a just and equitable society—a socialist system that fulfils the aspirations of the Kenyan working people.

Guided by the living science of Marxism-Leninism, we apply its principles to the unique historical, cultural, and social context of Kenya. Our organisational line is rooted in democratic centralism, ensuring unity in decision-making and action while fostering active participation from our membership. This approach consolidates our strength and resilience in the face of relentless neo-colonialism, a force that entrenches imperialism. Imperialism, with its historical foundation in exploitation, oppression, genocide and subjugation, remains our principal enemy in its neo-colonial guise.

Our party is deeply committed to proletarian internationalism, building solidarity with progressive movements worldwide as we recognize that our struggle is part of a broader, interconnected battle against global capitalism. We draw strength from the rich history of African resistance and Kenya's own legacy of anti-colonial struggle, aware that imperialism's stranglehold has continued post-independence through economic and political manipulation. Foreign corporations, international financial institutions, and a complicit comprador bourgeoisie control the levers of our economy.

Socialism is the answer! Jawabu ni Usoshalisti!

ARTICLE 1: IDENTITY OF THE PARTY

Section 1: The name of this organisation shall be the *Communist Party Marxist - Kenya*.

Section 2: The party emblems shall be the red 5-pointed star and the crossed hammer and sickle in gold. The party colours shall be red, gold and black.

Section 3: The party flag shall be a red banner with a red, gold-edged star and the hammer and sickle at the centre of the star.

Section 4: The party is a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party with a clear mass line. It has no interests other than the interests of the working class.

Section 5: The party anthem shall be The Internationale in Kiswahili. It is titled Wimbo wa Kimataifa. It shall be sung at the start of all official party gatherings.

Section 6: The theoretical organs of the party shall be Itikadi and Mpatanishi. Mpatanishi shall be for internal circulation and Itikadi shall be for both external and internal circulation.

Section 7: The Ideological School of the Party shall be called Pio Gama Pinto Institute

Section 8: The Party Slogan shall be Jawabu ni Usoshalisti (Socialism is the Answer!)

Section 9: The Party Oath shall be:

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE 2: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1: The party seeks to recruit the finest members of the Kenyan working class and all other revolutionary class strata such as peasants, intellectuals, artists, students, and professionals. Any person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution and Program of the party, commits to working actively in a party organisation, carries out the party’s decisions, observes Party discipline and pays party dues, may become a member of the party.

Section 2: A thorough background check of new recruits and a statement by the recommender shall be submitted to the Ideological School to guide the party on whether or not to induct the recruit into the party. If there is no recommender, the Ideological School shall carry out the background check.

Section 3: Members of the party shall pay an induction fee upon acceptance into the party, and a monthly membership fee as determined by the Central Organising Committee. The Central Organising Committee may establish differentiated monthly fees for party members who are elected or appointed into various arms and positions of government, or in various positions of leadership within the party, or belong to any other group that warrants the application of differentiated fees.

Section 4: The Ideological School shall raise the ideological clarity of candidate members through political education and trial party work. The Ideological School may prolong or shorten the period of candidacy of any candidate member based on the performance of that candidate member. A candidate member’s candidacy shall be withdrawn if it becomes clear that they fail to meet the requirements to continue being a candidate member or to become a cadre member of the party

Section 5: The duties of a member of the party shall be to:

1. Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism, the party’s principles, policies and decisions, acquire essential knowledge concerning socialism, and obtain general, scientific, artistic and professional knowledge to enhance their ability to serve

the people.

2. Implement the party's decisions and policies and play an exemplary vanguard role in production, work, study and all social activities.
3. Conscientiously uphold party discipline, jealously guard party secrets, rigorously carry out party decisions and actively fulfil any party work assigned to them.
4. Uphold the party's solidarity and unity, be loyal to and honest with the party, match words with deeds, firmly reject factionalism and oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind.
5. Earnestly engage in criticism and self-criticism, and boldly expose and correct shortcomings and mistakes of the party, party organs and party members.
6. Maintain close ties with the masses, consult with them, keep the party informed of their views and demands, defend their legitimate interests and disseminate the party's views.
7. Promote socialist practices and customs and champion communist ethics. To step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty or danger, daring to make any sacrifice to defend the interests of the people.
8. Pay all dues to the party as and when required of them and provide material support to the party wherever possible.
9. Recruit the most advanced, radical and class-conscious members of the working class and their allies to the party.
10. Join and establish party structures to develop their skills and the party's capacity simultaneously and to be active in mass organisations in workplaces, villages and wherever else people gather.

Section 6: A member of the party has the right to:

1. Attend party meetings of any organ of which they are a member and read relevant party documents.
2. Participate in the discussion of questions concerning party operations at meetings of organs in which they are members of.
3. Make suggestions and proposals to any higher party organ regarding the operations of the party.
4. Make criticisms of any party organ or party member at party meetings, present information or charges to the party against any organ or member concerning violations of party discipline or laws, and demand disciplinary measures against such an organ or member.
5. Vote for or stand for election to any party organ or position which they are qualified to be a member of.
6. Attend, with the right to defend the actions in question, any disciplinary meetings concerning them.

7. Present their views to higher party organs for review in case of disagreement with the organ's decision, provided that they carry out the decision while it is in force.
8. Resign from the party in writing to the General Secretary

Section 7: Candidate members shall have the same rights and duties as cadre members of the party with the exception of the right to vote in party organs and to stand for elected positions within and without the party.

Section 8: A party member shall be considered to be in good standing if they:

1. Have not received a warning from a disciplinary committee in the last 30 days or a serious warning from a disciplinary committee in the last 90 days.
2. Have paid all party dues required of them.
3. Have been active in spreading party propaganda, doing party work assigned to them and writing the reports required of them.
4. Are a member of at least one party organ and actively participate in its work.
5. Are a cadre member of the party.

ARTICLE 3: PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

Section 1: The structure of the party shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism. Which is to say, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralised leadership. Individual members shall be subordinate to the organisation; the minority shall be subordinate to the majority; lower party organs shall be subordinate to higher party organs; all party members and party organs shall be subordinate to the National Congress.

Section 2: All party organs shall follow the principle of collective leadership and important questions shall be decided upon collectively. Lower party organs shall give regular reports about their work to party organs above them and they shall promptly request instructions concerning problems which require the decision of a higher party organ. Higher party organs shall always pay close attention to the views and reports of lower party organs and of party members by constantly studying their concrete experiences and rendering prompt assistance in solving problems.

Section 3: All leading organs of the party shall be elected. The Central Organising Committee shall be elected by the National Congress and County Committees shall be elected by the County Congresses in the respective counties. Their election shall be done through consensus or direct election.

Section 4: The Central Organising Committee shall set the standard requirements and procedures for elections. A higher party organ may recompose a lower party organ on an interim basis, subject within a reasonable period of time to election by the appropriate party organ. Party organs may also be dissolved or have their members dismissed by the party organs which elected or appointed them, even before the completion of their term of office. Due cause for dissolution or reconstitution shall be declared publicly within the party.

Section 5: Party organs shall be established on the basis of either territorial division or sphere of work. The party organ which arranges work in a given territory shall be the highest organ within that territory. The party organ which arranges work in a given sphere shall be the highest organ within that sphere of work.

Section 6: Internal disputes shall be resolved within the party organ in dispute itself, following democratic centralism and the methods stipulated in this Constitution. If the dispute cannot be resolved within the party organ itself, the party organ immediately above it shall intervene to resolve the dispute.

Section 7: All party publications must propagate the general line, policies and decisions of the party and higher party organs. Local party publications are required to get the approval of the Editorial Committee before publishing.

Section 8: Prior to a decision being taken by a leading party organ, lower party organs may freely discuss the issue and put forward proposals to the leading party organ. However, they must abide by the decision of the leading party organ after it has been taken. If they hold the opinion that the decision does not accord with conditions in a certain territory or sphere of work, they may request that the decision be reviewed provided that they implement the decision under appeal while awaiting review. If the higher party organ stands by its decision after making a proper review, lower party organs shall be obliged to carry it out.

Section 9: The Central Organising Committee shall make decisions and issue statements on major new initiatives and on questions of policy that are national or international in character.

Lower party organs may discuss national and international issues then submit their opinions in writing to higher party organs, but they shall be entitled to make their own decisions and issue their own statements only on matters within their sphere of work or territory.

Section 10: All members of a party organ shall be required to attend plenary meetings of that party organ.

Section 11: The dissolution of a party organ shall be decided upon by the party organ that formed it.

Section 12: Party organs at any level may organise and hold meetings, seminars or conferences of party members to plan and review their work or to discuss decisions of higher party organs.

Section 13: In the handling of disciplinary matters within the party, all party members shall be heard equally and punished equally without regard to their position or the length of time they have been in the party.

ARTICLE 4: PARTY STRUCTURES

Article 4.1: Cells & Study Circles

Section 1: The cell is the basic working organ of the party. They shall be formed in factories, mines, plantations, schools, offices and residential areas. Cells shall be formed by at least three-party cadres who can work together as a collective unit. Cells shall also be created within labour organisations and in mass organisations of peasants, youth, students, women, cultural workers, professionals, handicraftsmen and the like where there are at least three party members.

Section 2: The Ideological School shall form study circles of up to 15 candidate members and provide them with a convener who is a party member in good standing. All cells shall also elect a Chairperson, a Secretary and a Treasurer by majority vote. The term of office for all study circle officials, with the exception of the convener, shall be one year. After members of the study circle graduate into cadre members, the study cell shall form a party cell.

Section 3: Both study circles and cells shall name themselves after prominent revolutionary figures as a means of honouring and remembering their contribution and educating people of their revolutionary history.

Section 4: Cells implement party policies and decisions, strengthen the party's unity with non-party activists, develop close ties between the party and the masses in the mass organisations and recruit new members into the party.

Section 4: Several cells in the same territory or workplace may unite to form a party branch.

Section 5: A cell may, by majority decision, dissolve itself and form multiple cells if it grows too large to adequately carry out its tasks. These multiple cells shall be united under a party branch which shall arrange the work of those cells. The cell chairperson shall report this decision to the relevant higher party organ.

Section 6: Every party member shall belong to at least one cell. A party member transferring from one cell to another shall carry the prior authorization of the relevant higher party organ.

Section 7: The cell shall:

1. Recruit, educate and train cell members in Marxism-Leninism and other general, scientific, artistic and professional knowledge, and disseminate party publications to cell members.
2. Carry out propaganda, education and organisational work among the masses so as to implement the party line and the decisions of higher party organs.
3. Learn from the masses their aspirations and demands, make timely reports to the higher party organs, seek their criticisms and opinions regarding cell members and the party, give direction to and participate in the political, economic and cultural life of the people.
4. Mobilise and lead the masses through campaigns for the benefit of the people and on issues of local, national or international significance.
5. Recruit new party members, collect dues from cell members, examine reports from cell members and safeguard party discipline and security among members.
6. Recommend party members for training and work in other party organs, with the consent of the Ideological School.

Article 4.2: County Congresses & Committees

Section 1: County Congresses shall be held regularly. Congresses may be held at any time, however, upon the decision of a higher party organ or upon the petition of a majority of lower party organs.

Section 2: The County Congress shall:

1. Receive, discuss and endorse reports made by the party committees and other party organs at the same level.
2. Adopt resolutions on organisational and political questions.
3. Elect the County Committee with a secretary and a chairperson after determining the appropriate size of membership within the county.
4. Oversee and approve the formation of lower territorial committees that may be formed to deal with emerging issues within the county.

Section 3: County Committees shall carry out the decisions of the higher party organs, create provisional lower party organs, direct their activities and allocate party cadres within their region. The Regional Committees shall meet at least once every month.

Section 4: County Committees shall call work and study conferences as needed to be attended by delegates elected by the party branches and groups in mass organisations below. These conferences are empowered to make recommendations to leading party organs regarding matters or issues of ideology, politics, organisation and others.

Section 5: Party organisation abroad shall be built among overseas Kenyans, from the basic level upwards under the direction of the Secretary of International Affairs.

Article 4.3: National Congress

Section 1: The National Congress shall be the supreme leading organ of the party.

Section 2: The National Congress shall be called by the Central Organising Committee at least once every five years. If a majority of County Committees formally request that the congress be held, the Central Organising Committee shall accede to their request.

Section 3: The convention of the National Congress shall be announced at least two months in advance. The number of delegates and the method of their election or selection by lower party organs shall be determined by the Central Organising Committee.

Section 4: The National Congress shall represent the nationwide spread of the party. The specific composition of the party shall be determined by the Central Organising Committee in consultation with the County Committees.

Section 5: The National Congress shall:

1. Hear and examine the reports of the Central Organising Committee and all party organs.
2. Decide on the general strategy and tactics of the party.
3. Amend the Constitution and Program of the party.
4. Decide on criteria and procedure for alliances and coalitions with other parties.
5. Constitute, reconstitute and dissolve central party organs such as the Central Security Commission.

Section 6: The Central Organising Committee shall form the Central Security Commission as a central party organ which shall implement security protocols to protect cadre members and party records, carry out background checks on any party member at any level and review any external and internal requests for party documents. The Central Security Commission shall propose to the Central Organising Committee the suspension or expulsion of any party cadre who is found to have compromised the security of the party and its members.

Section 7: The National Congress shall elect a:

1. General Secretary
2. National Chairperson
3. National Vice Chairperson
4. National Treasurer
5. National Organising Secretary
6. Secretary of Ideology
7. Secretary for International Affairs
8. The Secretary for Propaganda
9. Secretary for Urban Organising
10. Secretary for Rural Organising

The holders of these offices shall form the Central Organising Committee together with up to 11 other cadre members of the party. The National Congress shall delegate to the Central Organising Committee the powers to decide on the general strategy and tactics of the Party and to hear reports from central party organs while it is not convened.

Article 4.4: Central Organising Committee & Politburo

Section 1: The Central Organising Committee shall:

1. Supervise and direct the work of all party organs and receive reports from all party organs.
2. Receive reports, supervise the work of, and delegate such work to lower party organs.
3. Confer honours on individuals.
4. Manage and control all assets of the party.
5. Form working committees to research and deal with particular issues within and without the party.

5. Call for a National Congress at most every 5 years and determine its specific composition.

Section 2: The Central Organising Committee shall form and lead central departments it deems necessary such as the Secretariat and Working Committees in a plenary meeting.

Section 3: The Central Organising Committee shall have the power to establish working committees with a defined duration of work to address any matters of concern within the party or society. The working committee's membership shall be selected from among cadre members of the party by the Central Organising Committee. Members of the Central Organising Committee shall have the power to attend any meeting of any working committee formed by the Central Organising Committee. The Central Organising Committee, through the General Secretary, shall also have the power to demand written reports from any working committee at any time.

Section 4: Should a vacancy occur on the Central Organising Committee for any reason, the Central Organising Committee shall have the power to fill the vacancy for the remainder of its term of office until the next convention of the National Congress.

Section 5: The Central Organising Committee at its first Plenary meeting shall elect the Politburo of the Central Organising Committee. The Politburo shall be made up of the Secretary of Ideology who shall also chair it, the Secretary of Propaganda, the Chairperson, the General Secretary and at most 3 other members of the Central Organising Committee.

Section 6: The Politburo shall give ideological direction to the party, ensure ideological unity within the party, and produce party documents and policy statements.

Section 7: The Politburo shall constitute the Ideological School, which is called the Pio Gama Pinto Institute. The Ideological School shall consist of the Politburo, serving as its head, and all cells formed to educate and train candidate members of the Party. The Ideological School shall create and revise the curriculum which all candidate members must study to graduate into cadre members. The Ideological School shall also train conveners to guide study and administer the curriculum within cells.

Section 8: The Politburo shall constitute the Editorial Committee of the party. The Editorial Committee shall supervise the production and operation of all party publications and presses to ensure the party's position is represented accurately and clearly.

Section 9: The Central Organising Committee shall meet at least once every two months. The Politburo shall meet at least once every two months. The Politburo shall have its meeting at least two weeks before the meeting of the Central Committee.

Section 10: A plenary meeting of the Central Organising Committee shall be convened by the Politburo or the National Chairperson at least once every two years. However, the Politburo or a majority of the Central Organising Committee may decide to hold it earlier or later.

ARTICLE 5: PARTY DISCIPLINE

Section 1: All party cadres shall have the right to offer well-founded self-criticism of themselves and of any actions taken by them within the party organ where the action was ordered or performed. All party cadres shall also have the right to offer well-founded, constructive criticisms of any party member or their actions within a party organ to which they both belong or which oversees the work of the party member being criticised. Party cadres shall also have the right to respond to any criticism of them or their actions offered.

Section 2: All party members shall have the right to present charges against any party organ or member which has violated party discipline to the party organ which the accused is a member of or to a higher party organ.

Section 3: On presentation of charges against a party member or lower party organ, the party organ shall form a disciplinary committee to investigate and rule on the charges and impose disciplinary measures if necessary. The disciplinary committee shall be made up of at least 3 but not more than 7 party members in good standing.

Section 4: Disciplinary action shall be taken where other methods such as discussion and persuasion, have failed to correct the party member concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken, efforts to help the party member to correct themselves shall continue. In cases where the party's interests or prestige are put at risk by a member's actions, disciplinary measures shall be taken promptly.

Section 5: Both the accusing and accused party members shall have the right to be informed of all disciplinary committee hearings at least 2 weeks before they are scheduled to happen. They shall also have the right to attend all disciplinary committee hearings concerning them and defend themselves and their actions.

Section 6: The disciplinary committee shall have the power to impose upon a party member found guilty after investigation any of the following punishments: warning, serious warning, imposition of fines, removal from a party position, demotion to candidate member, suspension from the party for up to 6 months and expulsion from the party.

Section 7: Removal from a party position shall only be imposed with the consent of the party organ immediately above it. Fines shall only be imposed with the consent of the National Treasurer. Demotion to candidate member, suspension and expulsion from the party shall only be imposed with the consent of the Central Organising Committee.

Section 8: In the event that a whole party organ is found guilty, all party members belonging to that organ shall be liable to receive the punishments listed in Section 5 above.

Section 9: Party members shall have the right to appeal the decision of a disciplinary committee to higher party organs up to the Central Organising Committee, provided they carry out any punishment imposed upon them while the decision remains in effect. The higher party organ shall form a new disciplinary committee according to Section 3 above to decide upon the case afresh.

ARTICLE 6: NATIONAL OFFICIALS

Section 1: The General Secretary shall:

1. Head the Secretariat of the party.
2. Be the custodian of all-party records.
3. Record and archive the minutes of Central Organising Committee, Politburo and National Congress meetings.
4. Conduct the correspondence of the Central Organising Committee within the party.
5. Conduct the correspondence of the party with external entities within the country.
6. Send out notice of all congresses and meetings to all relevant party organs and members.
7. Prepare reports on the work of the Central Organising Committee and other such documents which may be required by the Central Organising Committee or the National Congress.
8. Co-sign with the Chairperson all reports including minutes, annual reports, financial reports and any other party report.
9. Ensure that all central departments write reports on their work to the Central Organising Committee.

Section 2: The National Chairperson shall:

1. Present to the National Congress a comprehensive statement of the state of the party and the national political situation generally.
2. Preside over meetings of both the National Congress and Central Organising Committee.
3. Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the party outlining and explaining the policy of the party on any question.
4. Ensure order in the party in accordance with this Constitution
5. Establish unity in the party in all respects by ensuring adherence to party policy by all party members and organs.
6. Co-sign with the General Secretary all reports, including minutes, annual reports, financial reports and other party reports.

Section 3: The Deputy Chairperson

1. The Deputy Chairperson shall assist the Chairperson, deputise him/her when necessary and carry out whatever functions entrusted to him/her by the Party, and the Central Organising Committee.
2. Shall be in charge of discipline in the organisation

Section 4: The National Treasurer shall:

1. Approve and receive fines imposed on party members by a disciplinary committee
2. Be a signatory to any party bank accounts together with the General Secretary and the Chairperson.
3. Receive and/or bank all monies sent to the party.
3. Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial status of the party.
4. Audit and submit duly audited statements of accounts to the Central Organising Committee, the County Committees or to any other relevant party organ.

Section 5: The National Organizing Secretary shall:

1. Be responsible for supervision in the Party.
2. Be in charge of the recruitment of members of the party and the establishment of branches of the Party.
3. Be responsible in the organization of Party events.
4. In consultation with the Central Organising Committee, be responsible for the United Front.
5. Any other role that may be accorded to him/her by the Central Organizing Committee

Section 6: The Secretary for Ideology shall:

1. Chair all meetings of the Politburo.

2. Lead the Party's ideological school, the Pio Gama Pinto Institute, overseeing the development and implementation of Marxist-Leninist education programs with the approval of the Politburo.
3. Serve as a permanent member of the Editorial Committee, ensuring that all Party publications align with its ideological principles.
4. Safeguard the Party's ideological line through specialised courses and rectification programs.
5. Collaborate with the Secretary of Propaganda to promote the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist principles within the Party and to the masses through education and publications.

Section 7: The Secretary for International Affairs shall:

1. Be responsible for conducting correspondence with foreign organisations.
2. Sending party members as representatives outside the country.
3. Hosting members of foreign organisations who are visiting the country.
4. Be responsible for the party's internationalism and solidarity work.
5. Form bilateral and fraternal connections with workers and communist parties and organisations outside Kenya.

Section 8: The Secretary for Propaganda shall:

1. Approve all official statements published on behalf of the party together with the General Secretary.
2. Manage all official party social media pages, together with the General Secretary.
3. Oversee the work of party publications and presses.
4. Produce propaganda materials for non-party members.

Section 9: The Secretary for Urban Organisation shall:

1. Be responsible for the mobilisation of urban workers.
2. Form links with trade unions and other proletarian mass organisations based in urban areas.
3. Recruit workers into the party.

Section 10: The Secretary for Rural Organisation shall:

1. Be responsible for the mobilisation of peasants, semi-proletarians and rural proletarians.
2. Form links with peasant leagues and other fraternal organisations based in rural areas.
3. Recruit peasants into the party.

ARTICLE 7: PARTY FINANCES

Section 1: The party shall adhere to the principle of self-reliance in addressing the material and financial requirements for party operations.

Section 2: The party shall be financed by induction fees, monthly dues, by productive undertakings of the party, by special assessments, by a share in the income, properties and inheritance of members, by unconditional contributions or gifts and by fundraising campaigns.

Section 3: Persons wishing to enter the party shall be obliged to pay an induction fee upon acceptance into the party. All party members shall pay a monthly membership fee of an amount determined by the Central Organising Committee. Special assessments shall be made on members by the National Treasurer in order to reduce or eliminate the obligation to pay monthly dues to the party.

Section 4: Party members who hold positions made possible by the party in non-party entities shall hand over at least ten percent of their earnings to the party. The fraction of earnings to be paid to the party may be amended to be higher or lower by the Finance Committee.

Section 5: The Central Organising Committee shall receive eighty percent of induction fees, membership dues and any other monthly income and shall apportion the amount to lower party organs. The remaining twenty percent shall stay with the party organ where the funds were raised.

Section 6: The Finance Committee may temporarily waive the obligation to pay the induction fee or membership dues of party members who are unable to pay, after adequate investigation of their material conditions.

ARTICLE 8: PARTY MASS ORGANISATIONS

Section 1: The National Congress shall establish mass organisations led by cadres in order to further the party's agenda in organising and drawing all revolutionary classes and class strata into independent political life as classes and in class alliances. These mass organisations may target specific sectors of society such as the youth. These mass organisations shall also serve as part of the party's mobilisation, training, and recruitment machinery.

Section 2: Mass organisations shall derive ideological nourishment from the party, receive instruction from the Central Organising Committee and write reports on their activities to the Central Organising Committee. Party mass organisations shall also propose constitutions which may be approved by the Central Organising Committee.

Section 3: The Central Organising Committee may approve the chosen leadership of these party mass organisations.

Section 4: The leadership of mass organisations formed by the party may sit in the Central Organising Committee. The Central Organising Committee shall decide how many leaders of each organisation will be accepted into the Central Organising Committee.

Section 5: The status and rights of party mass organisations in the National Congress and in County Congresses shall be determined by the Central Organising Committee in consultation with the relevant County Committees.

ARTICLE 9: ALLIANCES & COALITIONS

Section 1: To ensure that the national democratic revolution is of a new type and has a socialist perspective, the working class must be the leading class through its advanced detachment, the vanguard party. The role of the working class shall be upheld by all party members in the united front explicitly, implicitly, informally, and practically in concrete alliances and coalitions. As a matter of principle and practice, the Party is the comprehensive leader and centre of the revolution in both the national democratic and socialist stages. It leads the united front, the mass movement, and local organs of political power.

Section 2: The foundation of the united front is the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It is crucial that the united front and the national democratic revolution are linked to the working class and the peasantry through the party. The party does this through base building and the formation of organs of people's power.

Section 3: The united front brings together the basic toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie as the basic forces of the revolution, wins over the middle bourgeoisie to the national democratic revolution and takes advantage of the factional strife among the exploiting classes to isolate and destroy the enemy that at the given time is the worst reactionary faction or an invading foreign aggressor.

Section 4: The Party shall engage in united and popular fronts through bilateral and multilateral relations of various types with other entities on the basis of consultations and consensus to achieve common purposes and fight common enemies and problems. These fronts may or may not be through formal organisations. The scope of the united front includes open legal alliances on the basis of class, sectoral and multi-sectoral interests or common issues, coalition with other political parties, discreet informal relations with various entities, and the organs of people's power at various levels along the united front line.

Section 5: The Party shall maintain its independence and initiative in the united front and shall not enter into any arrangement in which it shall lose these. It shall always seek common ground in political agreements with its allies and give concessions where needed, but shall not allow itself to be dictated upon by them nor subordinate itself to them.

MANIFESTO FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Achieve National
Liberation and People's
Democracy to Forge
the Path Toward a
Brighter Socialist
Future.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. CPM-K as the Continuation of the Struggle for National Liberation in Kenya

The Communist Party Marxist - Kenya (CPM-K) is committed to uniting all Kenyans, irrespective of ethnicity, gender, or age, in the pursuit of a socialist society that realises the freedoms, rights, and development of the people as a whole. We are deeply conscious of Kenya's proud history of struggle against foreign domination and imperialism. Our Party stands as the continuation of the national liberation struggle, which ultimately brought independence from British colonial rule in 1963. The Party upholds the correct position that the compromises made by our founding leader, Jomo Kenyatta, led to the establishment of the current neo-colonial state, which we are determined to overthrow.

We honour our ancestors, who sacrificed and even died in the quest for national freedom. Their courage and ultimate sacrifices have bestowed upon us a legacy of self-respect and dignity in the aftermath of colonial oppression. To these forebears, we owe unending respect, admiration, and affection, as well as a commitment to emulate their love for our country, their bravery, and their persistence against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

As our patriotic ancestors believed, CPM-K holds that establishing a democratic and sovereign government and state—one whose authority emanates from all Kenyan people without exclusion—must always remain the unwavering demand of the Kenyan people. Decades of struggle have made it evident that our people reject the present political and economic system founded on capitalist social relations. They seek a system embodying the values of human dignity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, equitable sharing, devolution of power, rule of law, democracy, and active participation by the people. However, these noble aspirations can only be fulfilled through the replacement of capitalism with a socialist system.

It is upon this historical foundation that CPM-K rises to the urgent challenge of leading the struggle to dismantle the current capitalist political, economic, social, cultural, and moral structures—structures that have perpetuated exclusion, discrimination, oppression, and reaction. We seek to establish a socialist system that will give rise to a new Kenya, one essential for the liberation and advancement of our country.

2. The Position of CPM- K on Reforms

The Communist Party Marxist - Kenya (CPM-K) has consistently been at the forefront of the struggle for political and social reforms in the country. As a communist party, CPM-K holds that reforms improving the lives of exploited and oppressed people under capitalism are both progressive and necessary. For this reason, CPM-K collaborates with other political parties, trade unions, peasant organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society groups, and similar bodies that work to advance democracy, human rights, peace, workers' rights, civil and political liberties, sustainable development, gender equality, and the rights of women, youth, children, and people with special needs, among other democratic and popular demands.

However, CPM-K does not regard political and social reforms as ends in themselves, nor does it believe that bourgeois democracy represents the pinnacle of democratic achievement. The Party recognises, as history has repeatedly demonstrated globally, that true freedom and the liberation of the working class and the majority cannot occur under capitalism, even with reforms. We therefore affirm that the correct path to genuine freedom, development, and liberation lies in dismantling capitalism and imperialism and advancing towards socialism, ultimately leading to communism.

3. The Struggle for Political Reforms

Since Kenya's so-called independence in 1963, the ruling class has entrenched the capitalist system and suppressed civil and political liberties, initially using a one-party system. Consequently, the national liberation struggle has historically included the demand for a multi-party system. The 2010 Constitution recognises Kenya as a multi-party state—a victory achieved only after prolonged and determined struggles by the Kenyan people. Many patriots were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, forced into exile, expelled from educational institutions, denied employment, persecuted in numerous ways, and even murdered in the fight against the repressive KANU regimes, which stifled the very possibility of liberal democracy.

The pursuit of freedom, democracy, and human rights has long been intertwined with the struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and the quest for national liberation. The ruling classes weaponised economic mismanagement, corruption, and ethnic divisions as obstacles to working-class unity, which had

been strong during the independence struggle, especially given the leading role of trade unions. "Uhuru" once stood for national unity, tolerance, hospitality, inclusivity, and the equitable sharing of power and resources, as well as the freedom of thought, intellectual independence, and creative expression. However, successive KANU governments systematically betrayed these ideals, instead embracing dictatorship, corruption, human rights abuses, and neo-colonialism.

For these reasons, the onset of multi-party democracy in 1992 marked a political transformation, as it signified the beginning of liberation from dictatorship. Freedoms of speech, association, and the press; civil and political liberties; and the rights of political parties and civil society to operate were among the tangible gains Kenyans secured. Yet, it took a further decade before opposition parties could finally unseat the oppressive KANU regime. Remembering their long struggle, Kenyans referred to the 2002 electoral defeat of KANU as the "Second Liberation."

4. The Struggle for a New Constitution

The advent of multi-party democracy underscored for Kenyans the necessity of replacing the British colonial-era constitution, which had been amended by previous regimes only to entrench dictatorship, corruption, human rights violations, and the unbridled accumulation of wealth, especially land. A new constitution was essential to strengthening liberal democratic governance and advancing social justice, equity, equality, devolution, and popular participation. However, much like its resistance to multi-partyism, the Moi regime fiercely opposed constitutional reforms.

Many Kenyans faced arrest, torture, imprisonment, extrajudicial detainment, death, and various forms of persecution before the government eventually relented to the people's demand for change, resulting in the formation of the Kenya Constitutional Review Commission (KCRC). This commission created the famed Bomas Constitution, which was later thwarted by reactionary forces within the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government, ultimately denying Kenyans a new constitution in 2005.

Nevertheless, the masses continued to press forward, and their efforts culminated in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, which was adopted following the August 4th, 2010, referendum. Like the achievement of multi-party democracy, the new constitution represents the triumph of popular struggles from below.

Yet members of the ruling class, who were only recently forced by mass mobilisation to accept progressive changes, now seek to claim credit. Their true intentions are revealed in their interpretation and implementation of the constitution, which remains a site of class struggle. In this regard, CPM-K asserts, “*Katiba mpya, mfumo mpya wa kisiasa na kiuchumi na viongozi wavya*” (New constitution, new political and economic system, and new leadership).

CPM-K affirms that the existing leadership, dedicated to maintaining the capitalist and neo-colonial status quo, is incapable of implementing the constitution for the benefit of the exploited and oppressed majority. The struggle to enact the progressive reforms embodied by the constitution is, therefore, an ongoing class struggle that will, inevitably, lead to socialism.

5. The Struggle Continues

Despite the realisation of a multi-party system and the enactment of the 2010 Constitution, Kenyans have yet to secure true freedom and national sovereignty. The ideals for which Kenyans fought remain unfulfilled, as successive regimes have continually betrayed them. Colonialism involved the expropriation of Kenyan land and labour for the benefit of white settlers and the colonial state.

This exploitation was enforced through forced labour, pass laws, racial segregation, restricted movement, denial of fundamental freedoms, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and detention, torture, and dehumanisation. The majority of Kenyans endured poverty, ignorance, disease, deplorable living and working conditions, and inadequate healthcare, housing, and other basic services. Colonialism represented an assault on Kenyan cultures and languages, subordinating African people within their own land.

Despite limited reforms, the post-colonial governments have largely upheld the system that perpetuates the very injustices our people fought against. Those dispossessed of land during colonialism remain landless, and the land problem has only worsened, with most Kenyans struggling to secure even subsistence land.

An increasing number have become landless squatters, while a few families and foreign companies hold thousands of acres, much of it unused. Squatting has become a way of life for countless Kenyans along the Coast and in parts of the Rift Valley, while urban populations are confined to slums.

Exploitation continues, as labourers endure near-slavery conditions on foreign and locally owned plantations, receiving starvation wages while poorly organised. Similarly, the working conditions for Kenyan industrial and commercial workers have deteriorated, with foreign and local companies profiting from inhuman conditions and meagre pay. Colonial-era labour laws remain, ensuring that national workers' organisations function only as pacifiers and demobilisers, while independent labour movements are repressed.

In contradiction to the Constitution, many workers are denied the right to join or form trade unions. Furthermore, the economy remains under foreign control, shaped by directives from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which promote neoliberal policies such as privatisation, benefiting the wealthy few while intensifying unemployment and poverty.

Judicial reforms under the new constitution have done little for the poor, who remain excluded from justice due to unaffordable legal fees. The police still perpetuate colonial-era brutality, routinely subjecting Kenyans to arbitrary arrests, detentions, harassment, torture, and extrajudicial killings. Overcrowded prisons continue to reflect their colonial origins, despite minor reforms. Kenya's soldiers lack ideological grounding and training to see the Kenyan people as their compatriots rather than enemies.

Our national sovereignty has been bartered away by the ruling elite, who permit foreign powers to establish military bases and security facilities in Kenya without the consent of the people. In the name of counter-terrorism, foreign forces have been given carte blanche to arrest, interrogate, torture, and deport Kenyans. Thus, the struggle for true freedom and national sovereignty is not only necessary but inevitable.

6. The Crisis in Our Party

In the 2022 general elections, the Communist Party Marxist - Kenya conducted a thorough analysis, ultimately concluding that the correct course of action was to participate independently, without forming alliances with bourgeois political parties for the sake of elections. This decision was grounded in the assessment that all available coalitions were dominated by members of the comprador bourgeoisie, whose interests conflicted with the revolutionary principles of the party.

Despite a shared understanding of this position, a reactionary clique, led by Mwandawiro Mghanga and Benedict Wachira—both then in positions of leadership—betrayed the party's line by joining the Kenya Kwanza coalition.

The majority of party members, resolute in their commitment to the revolutionary path, stood in firm opposition to this "gang of two," who shamefully exploited their access to party legal documents to sign a memorandum with the Kenya Kwanza regime.

This schism within the party led to a necessary split, with the majority consolidating through a successful rectification programme aimed at establishing unity in thought and purpose. This programme was instrumental in rooting out erroneous ideas, rejecting all forms of revisionism and opportunism, and clarifying the revolutionary line. Through this rectification process, the majority emerged stronger, launching the Communist Party Marxist - Kenya (CPM-K) as a distinct entity, thereby differentiating itself from the reactionary faction.

This course of events reaffirms a critical historical truth: divisions within the communist movement are never mere personal quarrels among comrades or conflicts among friends. Rather, they reflect the emergence of opportunism and revisionism, and the unyielding opposition to these destructive forces by those committed to the revolutionary cause.

CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN KENYA

1. Kenya as a Class Society

Kenya today is deeply divided into distinct social classes, categorised by exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, a capitalist minority and a working-class majority. A few wealthy families own land that spans entire sub-counties, while the majority of Kenyans are either landless or struggle to subsist on small parcels. The contrast is stark: while most Kenyans live in abject poverty, a handful of billionaires rank among the world's wealthiest. Class divides are also reflected in housing, living standards, and lifestyles, especially in urban centres. The education system further entrenches inequality, with the rich accessing top-tier social services, safe environments, and political and economic power, while these remain largely inaccessible to the impoverished majority. This system perpetuates the capitalist and imperialist status quo, enabling the wealthy to exercise rights and freedoms that are denied to the poor.

The vast disparities in class and region not only disrupt peace and social justice but also hinder national unity. Under such stark inequalities, bitterness, resentment, violence, lack of patriotism, and expressions of ethnic division permeate the country.

This system fuels a widening gap between rich and poor, urban and rural. While most Kenyans live in rural areas, essential social services are disproportionately concentrated in urban centres.

Wherever there are classes, there will inevitably be class struggles, and Kenya is no exception. Class conflicts manifest in various forms: workers' strikes by teachers, healthcare workers, civil servants, lecturers, plantation and industrial workers; land conflicts; student protests; and mass demonstrations in both urban and rural areas. These struggles are essential as they drive progressive social change. The Communist Party Marxist - Kenya (CPM-K) recognises its role in actively guiding these struggles along a revolutionary path, ensuring they do not occur spontaneously but are channelled towards transformative objectives.

2. Negative Ethnicity and Class Struggle

Negative ethnicity, often called tribalism, stands as a major obstacle to social and national liberation. Since the colonial era, Kenya's bourgeois elites have manipulated ethnic divisions to maintain their grip on power. Before, during, and after national elections, political and economic elites from various ethnic groups deliberately incite ethnic tensions and even organise violence against other groups to gain or retain elective positions. They posture as defenders of their ethnic group's political, economic, cultural, and land interests, claiming these are under threat from other communities. This tactic engenders ethnic animosity and discrimination, as ordinary citizens adopt these divisive ideologies and harbour resentment against other ethnic groups. The unresolved issues of land and historical injustices are frequently weaponised to sustain this reactionary ideology, working against the unity necessary for meaningful class struggles.

Wealthy Kenyans across ethnic groups, who benefit from the system, are ever conscious of their class interests. They resist reforms that would benefit the poor, fearing it would compromise their privileged position. Instead, they make hollow promises about eradicating poverty and creating a fair society, yet these pledges remain unfulfilled. Consequently, Kenya remains trapped in cycles of conflict that often erupt into violence.

3. Neoliberal Globalisation

Globalisation, particularly its neoliberal form – essentially global capitalism led by imperialist nations – has crossed national boundaries, impacting even the remotest areas of Kenya.

Though globalisation brings certain technological and economic advancements, it primarily consolidates a world system where a handful of imperialist countries impose their will on others.

The defining feature of neoliberal globalisation is the political unity of imperialist states in enforcing this process through a global legal system that subordinates non-capitalist countries as peripheries within the capitalist system. Economic and trade agreements enforced through organisations like the World Trade Organisation and the Bretton Woods institutions – the World Bank and International Monetary Fund – embody the neo-colonial economic policies imposed on Kenya, Africa, and other developing regions.

This capitalist globalisation negatively impacts Kenya's economic, political, social, and legal policies. Trade agreements signed in distant capital cities have profound effects on the lives of ordinary Kenyans, shaping the economy, politics, agriculture, food security, labour relations, and even the relationship between Kenya and other countries. However, these policies are obscure to most Kenyans, even though they fundamentally affect their lives. The negotiation processes for these agreements are opaque and often exclude public input, undermining democracy, transparency, and national sovereignty.

CPM-K recognises that neoliberal globalisation faces global resistance, especially from progressive civil society and communist movements. Our party is committed to mobilising Kenyans to seek an alternative: socialist globalisation. Socialist globalisation would steer Kenya away from neoliberal exploitation and towards a development model based on utilising our own resources for the people's benefit, fostering relations of peace, solidarity, and mutual gain with other nations.

4. The Failure of Capitalism in Kenya

Capitalism has unequivocally failed Kenya. Across its colonial, neo-colonial, and global forms, capitalism has served only a small elite while neglecting the majority. During colonial rule, capitalism primarily benefited settlers and foreign businesspeople. In the neo-colonial phase, wealthy Kenyans joined this exclusive club, and now, under global capitalism, professionals such as lawyers, doctors, and corporate executives are also allowed in. Yet, despite these changes, the majority of Kenyans have seen little improvement in their living standards.

The adoption of neo-colonial and neoliberal economic policies has stunted Kenya's agricultural and industrial development.

Today, Kenyan markets are flooded with imported, sub-standard goods and second-hand (mitumba) items, driving the once-thriving local textile and agricultural industries into decline. In the 1960s, the economy performed well, providing a quality of life that Kenyans now remember nostalgically. However, escalating poverty and structural adjustments mandated by the IMF and World Bank have led to job cuts, privatisation, and business closures, forcing many Kenyans to rely on selling second-hand goods to survive.

Capitalism is inherently unequal, exploitative, and oppressive. Kenya ranks among the world's most unequal societies, where poverty and inequality hinder true development. The capitalist system fosters extreme disparities not only across classes but also among regions and communities. Ethnic tensions, gender inequality, and marginalisation continue to fester within this unequal system, despite capitalism's superficial promise of improved living standards.

Capitalism's wastefulness is evident in the millions of jobless Kenyans, especially youth, who are pushed into poverty. Although Kenya possesses rich human and natural resources, capitalism has failed to use these to eliminate poverty or underdevelopment. The system demands a large, unemployed population to keep wages low and profits high.

The slums in Kenya's urban areas are a stark indicator of capitalism's failure. Urban populations are forced to live in overcrowded, unsafe settlements that lack basic services, some of which rank among the world's largest slums. Additionally, under capitalism, crimes such as robbery, corruption, money laundering, and human trafficking are rife. Kenya's elites prioritise profit over public service, with even professionals neglecting ethics for personal gain, fostering a 'dog-eat-dog' society.

Kenya remains dependent on foreign aid and subject to imperialist domination across economic, political, cultural, and military spheres. Security, sovereignty, and human rights are compromised as foreign agents freely conduct operations within Kenya, often with government collusion.

Finally, capitalism is a deception, misleading Kenyans into believing that the ideals outlined in the Constitution of Kenya, especially human rights, can be achieved within an exploitative system. The values of human dignity, equity, social justice, and inclusivity enshrined in the Constitution cannot truly be realised under capitalism. Only socialism offers the possibility of a just, equitable, and united society.

SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD TODAY

1. The twentieth century witnessed profound transformations globally, marked by intense struggles against imperialism. This century saw monumental revolutionary events, beginning with the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The defeat of fascism in the Second World War, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, was a turning point. The historic Chinese Revolution, the victories of revolutionary forces in Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba, and the establishment of socialist states in Eastern Europe emerged from the titanic clash between imperialism and socialism. This century also saw the rise of national liberation movements that culminated in political independence for former colonies. These victories signalled a new epoch in world history, as anticipated by Marxism-Leninism. Together, the revolutionary events of this period and significant advancements in science and technology unlocked vast potential for humanity's progress on a scale previously unimaginable.

2. Countries that embraced socialism pioneered a new path. With the establishment of the Soviet Union, for the first time in history, working people experienced a society free from class exploitation. Rapid industrialisation, the eradication of feudal vestiges, and comprehensive progress in the economy, culture, and science ushered in a new era for the masses and empowered the working class. Socialist countries achieved groundbreaking results: poverty and illiteracy eradication, elimination of unemployment, extensive social security in health, education, and housing, and remarkable advances in science and technology. This was achieved despite challenging circumstances, such as overcoming socio-economic backwardness and resisting imperialist aggression and subversion. Even capitalist countries felt the effects of the Soviet Union's achievements, with their ruling classes compelled to expand social security under the concept of a welfare state.

3. Yet, in building socialism along an uncharted path, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe made serious errors. These missteps arose from inadequate comprehension of the prolonged nature of socialist construction; flawed ideas about the roles of the party and the state; failures to implement timely economic reforms and management adjustments; an inability to deepen socialist democracy within the party, state, and society; growth of bureaucratism; and a decline in ideological consciousness. Such distortions facilitated imperialism's efforts to undermine socialism. However, these mistakes do not invalidate Marxism-Leninism; rather, they reflect deviations from revolutionary theory and practice.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and setbacks in Eastern Europe marked a new era. At the close of the twentieth century, socialism faced renewed challenges from emboldened imperialism. The Communist Party Marxist - Kenya (CPM-K) is confident that, despite setbacks, the communist movement and revolutionary forces will learn from these mistakes, regroup, and counter imperialism's offensive and the reactionary forces.

4. The developments of the twentieth century, particularly since 1917, highlight the profound influence of socialism and popular struggles on humanity's progress. Revolutionary transformations created qualitative leaps in history, leaving an indelible mark on modern civilization. The journey towards social emancipation and socialist transformation is inherently protracted and complex. History demonstrates that the transition from capitalism to socialism is not a sudden change but rather a lengthy, intense struggle of classes, even after achieving state power.

5. World capitalism remains incapable of solving humanity's core issues. The unprecedented growth of productive forces, driven by scientific and technological advances, has fuelled growth in advanced capitalist nations without generating employment and has sharply widened income and wealth inequalities. This has intensified worker exploitation, with an increased extraction of surplus value. Technological advances are harnessed to concentrate wealth and assets in the hands of a few individuals and multinational corporations. Imperialism remains a predatory and destructive system, plunging humanity into two devastating world wars in the twentieth century, claiming millions of lives. The arms industry has become integral to advanced capitalist economies, maintaining aggregate demand.

Neo-liberal policies, advocating state withdrawal, have led to brutal cuts in social security and welfare for the working class and ordinary citizens. Unemployment, casualisation of labour, and growing income and wealth disparities are pervasive. Financial system volatility, stagnant and low growth rates in advanced capitalist nations, and resource wastage are symptoms of capitalism's inherent crisis. The relentless pursuit of profit by multinational corporations and the extravagant consumption of wealthy nations have devastated the environment, threatening global and, particularly, Third World ecologies. The fundamental contradiction within capitalism—the growing socialisation of production and the increasingly private appropriation of surplus—has only deepened.

6. The concentration and internationalisation of finance capital have reached unprecedented levels in the current capitalist phase.

Globally mobile finance capital assaults national sovereignty, demanding unrestricted access to economies in pursuit of super-profits. This imperialist order, serving speculative finance capital, dismantles barriers to facilitate its flow and imposes terms favourable to capital worldwide. The International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organisation are instruments that uphold this unjust postcolonial global order. The dominance of speculative finance capital results in sluggish growth in advanced capitalist countries and, for developing nations, a vicious cycle of exploitation and mounting debt. Trade terms, industrial and agricultural production, technology transfers, and service sectors in less-developed capitalist nations are forced to align with imperialist interests. Consequently, the world is divided into two: the affluent advanced capitalist countries and the impoverished developing countries, where the vast majority of humanity resides. The wealth gap between rich and poor nations grew sharply during the last two decades of the twentieth century, exacerbated by imperialist-driven globalisation.

7. With the Soviet Union's dissolution, imperialism, which had pursued a neo-colonial strategy since the end of traditional colonialism, intensified its drive for global domination. US imperialism employs its economic, political, and military power to aggressively establish hegemony. Imperialist-driven globalisation is reinforced by NATO's expansion and military interventions globally to impose imperialist order. Socialist countries—China, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, and Laos—remain steadfast in their commitment to socialism despite adverse conditions arising from changing global power dynamics. Imperialism actively seeks to undermine existing socialist states, waging relentless ideological, economic, and political warfare against them. Leveraging global communications advances, imperialism, with control over international media, relentlessly discredits and suppresses anti-capitalist ideas and socialism.

8. Although the global balance of power shifted towards imperialism at the end of the twentieth century and capitalism continues to advance productive forces through scientific and technological innovation, it remains a crisis-ridden, oppressive, exploitative, and unjust system. Socialism stands as the only viable alternative to capitalism. People in Latin America, for instance, are recognising this truth, as demonstrated by repeated elections of leftist governments, parties, and leaders in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, and Brazil. The financial and economic crises in Europe and the United States are intensifying, with bankruptcies, unemployment, poverty, and anti-capitalist demonstrations becoming increasingly prevalent. The central contradiction in our epoch remains that between imperialism and

socialism. The contradiction between imperialist and Third World countries has intensified under the neo-liberal global offensive, rising to prominence. Given capitalism's uneven development, contradictions within and between imperialist nations endure. The contradiction between labour and capital worsens under capitalism's current conditions. These contradictions continue to sharpen, influencing global events.

9. The working class and its parties must equip themselves ideologically, politically, and organisationally to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism and its exploitative order. A united front of leftist, democratic, and progressive forces worldwide is essential to combat imperialism and overthrow the ruling classes that sustain the current unjust global order. As a party committed to proletarian internationalism, the CPM-K pledges to combat imperialist hegemony and stands in solidarity with all forces fighting the imperialist-driven economic order of globalisation and for peace, democracy, and socialism.

IMPERIALISM AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES IN THE WORLD TODAY

The rise of imperialist aggression around the globe presents a profound threat to the sovereignty of developing nations, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Western powers, driven by the unyielding demands of monopoly capital, continue to wage wars and impose economic sanctions, destabilising entire regions to maintain their dominance. Through instruments like AFRICOM, the United States and its allies project military force across Africa, masking their true intentions behind claims of peacekeeping and security. In reality, these bases undermine the independence of African nations, transforming them into mere extensions of imperialist interests. In Kenya, for example, foreign military installations have compromised national sovereignty, tying our military and intelligence agencies to imperialist agendas. This military occupation is a daily reminder of how imperialism operates to strip nations of their self-determination, using them as pawns on a geopolitical chessboard orchestrated by the dominance class of the West.

Yet, the growing resistance against this imperialist order signifies a shift in global dynamics. Across continents, countries like DPRK, Russia, China, Iran, and movements in the Global South have emerged as resilient counter-forces, aligning in a just struggle

against imperialist domination. This anti-imperialist coalition demonstrates that resistance is both possible and essential. Amidst relentless provocations, from NATO's expansionist manoeuvres in Ukraine to U.S. meddling in East Asia, these nations and movements are paving the way for a new multipolar world. The weakening of the U.S. dollar's dominance and the rise of alternative economic structures like BRICS are harbingers of a world order no longer shackled by US imperialist dictates. This transformation will allow national liberation revolutions to thrive, sparking a resurgence of socialism and people's democracies across oppressed nations. The decline of imperialism foreshadows a brighter future where nations pursue true independence, peace, and social justice on their own terms.

THE MINIMUM PROGRAMME

Towards an Independent, Developing, Integrated, and Self-Sustaining Economy

The majority of Kenyans live in poverty—a state that is painful, degrading, shameful, and dehumanising. The Communist Party Marxist - Kenya (CPM-K) recognises that underdevelopment and poverty can only be overcome through people-centred economic and social policies. True development must be measured by tangible improvements in people's lives, not by abstract statistics or budgetary figures detached from the realities faced by ordinary Kenyans. Achieving sustainable development and social progress requires that the people remain central to economic, political, and social policies as both subjects and beneficiaries.

To combat and ultimately eradicate poverty, CPM-K commits to policies that prioritise the provision of essential needs such as food, housing, clothing, and employment. This demands investment in primary economic sectors, specifically agriculture and industry, while also advancing the secondary economy, including people-focused tourism, trade, and services.

For Kenya to break free from economic stagnation that has perpetuated social and economic hardships for the majority, CPM-K proposes socialist-oriented policies rooted in a thorough understanding of the country's human, natural, and strategic resources. These policies will be action-based, monitored by measurable outcomes such as improved nutrition, housing, access to water, employment, peace, security, and essential services like healthcare and education. Ultimately, CPM-K aims to build an independent, nationally integrated, and self-sustaining economy by mobilising Kenya's resources.

To achieve this, CPM-K will analyse and utilise the nation's dialectical relationships to inform its policies and establish essential economic linkages, prioritising production, circulation, exchange, and consumption. These include relationships:

- between town and countryside,
- between agriculture and industry,
- between heavy and light industry,
- between producer and consumer goods,
- between food crops and raw materials,
- between mass goods and luxury goods,
- between internal and international markets, and
- between tourism and local agriculture and industry.

These foundational linkages will guide CPM-K's efforts to trigger sustainable development.

Rejecting Neo-Liberal Policies

CPM-K rejects the neo-liberal economic framework, opting instead for home-grown, creative policies based on Kenya's priorities and resources. Neoliberalism, with its anti-statist focus on privatising public enterprises and minimising state involvement, is ill-suited to Kenya's underdeveloped economy. With limited tax revenue to fund essential services and development, the state must play an active role in the economy. CPM-K envisions a mixed economic system where the state, private sector, and cooperative sector coexist, regulated for the people's benefit. Even capitalist countries have turned to state intervention during economic crises, nationalising and controlling private institutions that market forces have failed to stabilise.

Neo-liberalism's liberalisation policies, which open local markets to unfair foreign competition, have stunted Kenya's agriculture, trade, and industry. CPM-K insists on the state's duty to protect and support these sectors. While foreign investment is welcome, it must not undermine areas Kenyans are capable of managing independently or compromise the nation's sovereignty.

CPM-K will also implement policies to phase out dependency on second-hand commodities (mtumbaism) and the importation of substandard goods, which hinder local industries. The issue of Kenya's external debt will be tackled with lenders to secure debt relief, facilitating economic recovery and growth.

Summary of the Minimum Programme

The Minimum Programme aims to harness society's innovative potential for collective development by democratically addressing the socio-economic challenges and inhumane conditions imposed on Kenya. The Party's programme provides a partial antidote to the pervasive poverty, exploitation, oppression, and underdevelopment affecting Kenyans today.

1. CPM-K will pursue comprehensive land reform to restore land to the working people and ensure its equitable distribution and sustainable use.

2. The CPM-K will establish a democratic economic system led by state-run enterprises to ensure that the economy remains fundamentally controlled by the workers' state. This system will integrate cooperatives and collective farms while allowing for a regulated private sector.

3. CPM-K will defend and uphold the progressive reforms enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya, working with other progressive Kenyans and organisations to actualise the constitution's principles on sovereignty, human rights, national values, separation of powers, checks and balances, and devolved government with grassroots participation.

4. The CPM-K will forge alliances with progressive forces locally and internationally to fuel a radical socio-economic transformation aimed at dismantling dependency and building a self-sustaining, people-powered national economy. We reject partnerships that serve imperialist interests, focusing instead on collaborations that support our revolutionary path to sovereignty and the empowerment of the working masses.

5. CPM-K will guarantee and provide fundamental needs, including shelter, food, water, healthcare, education, security, and employment.

6. CPM-K will restore sovereignty over our country, people, and resources, ending the current subjugation to imperialist interests.

7. CPM-K will ensure collective ownership of key sectors of the economy, including financial institutions, transport, communication, water, and power generation infrastructure.

8. CPKM will employ the most suitable technologies available to deliver services and maintain development projects, adapting innovations to serve Kenya's needs.

9. CPKM will mobilise Kenyans to protect, develop, and sustainably use Kenya's natural resources for current and future generations, ensuring that local communities benefit directly.

10. CPKM will pursue public-funded, universal, and compulsory primary, secondary and university education. The Party will mobilise Kenyans towards a socialist education system that eradicates illiteracy and fosters creativity, independence, and dedication to the nation, society, and humanity.

11. CPKM will fight negative ethnicity and build national unity by encouraging Kenyans to celebrate cultural diversity. The Party will promote Kenya's national, official, and indigenous languages.

12. CPKM will adopt a class- and gender-conscious approach to development in all spheres.

13. CPKM will reduce urban-rural inequalities and promote equality across counties and regions, addressing the capitalist divide between town and countryside.

14. CPKM will adopt a foreign policy rooted in peace, friendship, and the right of all nations to self-determination, and will foster special relations with socialist countries and freedom-seeking movements.

15. CPKM will propagate socialist ideals and deepen the debate on Socialist alternative to neo-liberalism and capitalism.

16. CPKM will actively support the struggle for African unity and socialism across the continent.

THE MAXIMUM PROGRAMME

CPM-K, as the revolutionary vanguard of Kenya's working class and oppressed people, is committed to establishing socialism and ultimately communism in Kenya, the East African Community, Africa, and globally.

CPM-K's work is guided by Marxism-Leninism, an ideology developed by communists worldwide to eliminate human exploitation and achieve complete emancipation.

CPM-K will creatively apply Marxist-Leninist principles to address Kenya's unique historical, cultural, and material conditions, and proudly uphold the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

THE SYMBOLOGY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY MARXIST-KENYA: A Revolutionary Rebirth

During the Second National Congress of the Communist Party Marxist-Kenya (CPM-K) in November 2024, pivotal changes were made to the Party's name and symbols, marking a reassertion of its revolutionary identity and commitment to Marxism. The incorporation of "Marxist" into the Party's name and the adoption of new emblems like the hammer and sickle, the five-pointed red star, and the red flag reaffirm the Party's dedication to global communism and working-class solidarity.

Step-by-Step Evolution of the Party's Identity

STEP 1: PROPOSAL OF NAME CHANGE

The Working Committee introduced the name change to emphasize the Party's ideological alignment with Marxism. The inclusion of "Marxist" in "Communist Party Marxist-Kenya" was debated and agreed upon by the Congress. The new name positions the CPM-K as a vanguard of revolutionary ideology in Kenya, setting it apart from factions and emphasizing its role and commitment in the ongoing class struggle.

STEP 2: SYMBOLOGY PROPOSAL

Alongside the name change, the Working Committee proposed the adoption of powerful communist symbols. The hammer and sickle, symbolizing the unity of workers and peasants, and the red five-pointed star, and a red flag to symbolize worker-peasant unity and global solidarity. The official colors—red, gold, and black—represent resistance, hope, and the ongoing fight against oppression.

STEP 3: DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

Party members engaged in vigorous debate, discussing the historical and ideological significance of these symbols. They recognized the need for modernity, with symbols representing the Party's determination to lead Kenya toward socialism, while still reflecting its history of resistance and struggle.

STEP 4: FINAL APPROVAL

The National Congress ratified both the name change and the new symbology. The hammer and sickle, five-pointed red star, and red flag with gold highlights were officially adopted. These emblems now represent the CPM-K's revolutionary ambitions and commitment to leading the working class in Kenya's struggle against capitalism.

COMMUNIST SYMBOLOGY AND PARTY SYMBOLS

Communist symbols hold deep meaning, capturing the struggle for workers' rights and global solidarity. The hammer and sickle represent the alliance between workers and peasants, while the red five-pointed star reflects the unity of the working class worldwide.

The CPM-K's decision to incorporate these symbols underscores its alignment with international communism and its vision for uniting workers in the struggle for socialism. The red flag—adorned with gold hammer, sickle, and a red star—embodies the sacrifices of the working class and symbolizes the Party's ongoing fight for liberation and equality.

The official Party colors—gold, black, and red—further reinforce these ideals. Gold symbolizes prosperity and hope, reflecting the Party's vision for a future built on socialist principles. Black represents the struggle of oppressed people against oppression and exploitation, while red embodies the universal colour of resistance and bloodshed reflects the sacrifices made by workers.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION (NDR) SYMBOL

In addition to the international communist symbols, the CPM-K embraced Dedan Kimathi, a hero of the Mau Mau rebellion, as a symbol of Kenya's National Democratic Revolution (NDR). Kimathi's legacy in the anti-colonial struggle embodies the Party's commitment to completing the national liberation struggle and fighting neocolonialism. His image serves as a rallying point for the Party's efforts to achieve true independence and economic freedom for the Kenyan people.

PARTY ANTHEM: THE INTERNATIONALE

To further unify the Party's ideological stance, the Kiswahili version of "The Internationale" was adopted as the official anthem of the CPM-K. This anthem, a global call for workers' solidarity and revolution, aligns the Party with the broader international socialist movement, while its Kiswahili version grounds the Party's message in the Kenyan context.

By adopting these symbols, the Communist Party Marxist-Kenya reaffirms its dedication to Marxist principles and its commitment to leading a socialist revolution in Kenya. Through these symbolic updates, the Communist Party Marxist-Kenya steps forward into a new era of revolutionary leadership, positioning itself as a vanguard force in Kenya's political landscape and the broader global movement for socialism.

THE INTERNATIONALE IN SWAHILI

Tafsiri ya CPM (Kenya) ya Wimbo wa Kimataifa

Zindukeni enyi wafanyikazi
Nyanyukeni tokeni kifungoni
Amkeni wafungwa kuweni macho
Mwisho wa enzi za dhulmaaa
Ondokeni kwa na ushirikina
Halaiki zindukeniiiiii
Tuwachane na nyendo za zamani
Kukuteni vumbi tujikomboeee

Korasi

*Enyi ndugu na enyi dada
Tupambane hadi mwisho
Wimbo wetu wa kimataifa
Na utuunganishe
Wazalendo tushikaneni
Tupambane hadi mwisho
Wimbo wetu wa kimataifa
Watuunganisha*

Wadhalimu wasitugawanye
Wasipande chuki kati yetu
Hata jeshi letu litaasi
Kutumikia wanyanyasaji
Hao walafi wakitujaribu
Tutawatoa kafara sisi
Tuko tayari kuwapiga risasi
Majemedari wa ubepari

Korasi

Ukombozi hautoki mbinguni
Wala huruma za wadhalimu
Ni mkono wetu wa kulia
Utakaong'oa visiki
Na mizizi ya vita na chuki
Na ulafi na wasiwasi
Kila mtu ana jukumu lake
Chuma hugongwa kingali moto

Korasi

*Approved and Passed by the Second National Congress of the
Communist Party Marxist - Kenya
November, 2024*



CONSTITUTION AND MANIFESTO



COMMUNIST PARTY
MARXIST - KENYA
2024