

# **BUILDING THE VANGUARD PARTY IN KENYA**

*The Programme and Path of the  
Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK)*

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*The Programme and Path of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK)*

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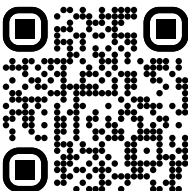
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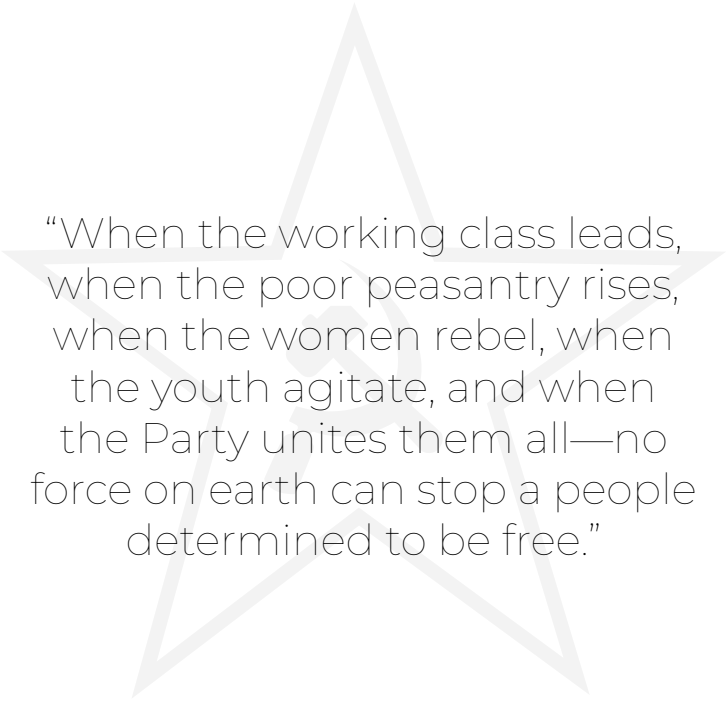
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“When the working class leads,  
when the poor peasantry rises,  
when the women rebel, when  
the youth agitate, and when  
the Party unites them all—no  
force on earth can stop a people  
determined to be free.”



## **DEDICATION**

To the martyrs of the Kenyan Liberation, known and unknown, whose blood waters the tree of liberation.

To the peasants of the forest, the workers of the towns, the youth in the streets, the women in struggle, who rose when it was easier to kneel.

And above all, to Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi, revolutionary patriot, organiser of armed resistance, builder of the Mau Mau command, and symbol of an undying struggle.

Your bones may lie in unmarked graves, but your names are etched in the memory of the people.

The betrayal of your cause by compradors and imperialists shall not be the final chapter. We, the Communist Party Marxist Kenya, take up your struggle; not in mourning, but in mobilisation; not in elegy, but in revolution.

# CONTENTS

<b>FOREWORD</b> . . . . .	1
<b>PREFACE</b> . . . . .	5
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
Why This Document, Why Now? . . . . .	7
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	
The Necessity of the Vanguard Party . . . . .	9
1.1 Why a Vanguard? Why a Party? . . . . .	9
1.2 What Kind of Party? . . . . .	10
1.3 The Basic Alliance and the Social Class Anchor . . . . .	11
1.4 Revolutionary Tasks of the Vanguard. . . . .	11
1.5 The Vanguard in the Global Struggle . . . . .	12
1.6 No Revolution Without the Party . . . . .	12
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	
The Two-Stage Theory and the National Democratic Revolution. . . . .	14
2.1 Historical Materialism: Strategy Rooted in Concrete Conditions . . . . .	14
2.2 Stage One: The National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	15

2.3 Stage Two: The Socialist Revolution . . . . .	15
2.4 Why the Two Stages Cannot Be Skipped. . . . .	16
2.5 The Land Question: Core of the NDR . . . . .	16
2.6 The Main Enemies in the NDR . . . . .	17
2.7 The Revolutionary Forces in the NDR . . . . .	17
2.8 Our Tasks in the Current Stage . . . . .	17
2.9 Closing Declaration: . . . . .	18

**CHAPTER 3**

**From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism—the Kenyan Trajectory . . . . 19**

3.1 Colonialism: Land Theft, Forced Labour, and White Supremacy . . . .	19
3.2 The Mau Mau Uprising: A Peasant Revolution Betrayed. . . . .	20
3.3 1963: The False Independence and the Rise of the Comprador State . .	21
3.4 Post-Independence Repression: The Anti-Communist State . . . . .	21
3.5 The Moi Era: Neo-colonialism with an Iron Fist . . . . .	22
3.6 Multi-Party Illusions and Neoliberal Democracy. . . . .	22
3.7 Continuity of Exploitation: Neo-colonialism Today . . . . .	22
3.8 The Lesson: No Real Independence Without Revolution. . . . .	23
3.9 Closing Declaration: . . . . .	23

**CHAPTER 4**

**National Sovereignty as the Foundation of Socialist Construction . . .25**

4.1 What Is National Sovereignty? . . . . .	25
4.2 The Illusion of Independence, the Reality of Dependency . . . . .	26
4.3 Sovereignty Betrayed: The Role of the Comprador Class . . . . .	26
4.4 Sovereignty and the National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	27
4.5 From Sovereignty to Socialism: The Dialectical Transition . . . . .	27
4.6 Sovereignty and Internationalism: Not Isolationism, But Liberation. . .	28
4.7 The People Must Govern: Popular Sovereignty from Below. . . . .	28
4.8 Closing Declaration: . . . . .	28

**CHAPTER 5**

**The Genesis of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya . . . . . 30**

5.1 The Long Thread of Kenyan Communism: From Resistance to Revolution . . . . .	30
5.2 Repression and Survival: The Underground Tradition . . . . .	31
5.3 The Post-Cold War Opening: From Legalisation to Compromise . . . .	31

5.4 From SDP to CPK: The Break with Social Democracy . . . . .	32
5.5 From CPK to CPMK: A Sharpening of Class Identity . . . . .	32
5.6 Cleansing the Party: The Rectification Struggle . . . . .	33
5.7 Building Forward: A Revolutionary Party for Our Time . . . . .	33
5.8 Closing Declaration: . . . . .	34

## **CHAPTER 6**

The Ideological Line of the CPMK . . . . .	35
6.1 What Is Ideology? . . . . .	35
6.2 The Foundation: Marxism-Leninism . . . . .	36
6.3 Creative Application: Marxism to the Kenyan Revolution . . . . .	36
6.4 The Dangers of Ideological Drift . . . . .	37
6.5 The Role of the Party School and Theoretical Work . . . . .	37
6.6 Internationalism and the Ideological Front . . . . .	38
6.7 Closing Declaration: . . . . .	38

## **CHAPTER 7**

The Political Line—The Minimum and Maximum Programme . . . . .	39
7.1 Why We Need a Political Programme . . . . .	39
7.2 The Two Stages of the Kenyan Revolution . . . . .	40
7.3 The Minimum Programme: Revolutionary Democratic Tasks . . . . .	40
7.4 The Maximum Programme: Socialism and Communism. . . . .	42
7.5 Rejecting Reformism and Electoral Opportunism . . . . .	42
7.6 The United Front and Revolutionary Alliances . . . . .	42
7.7 Conclusion: Programmatic Clarity is Political Power . . . . .	43

## **CHAPTER 8**

The Organisational Line—Democratic Centralism and Revolutionary Discipline . . . . .	44
8.1 Why Organisation is Central to Revolution. . . . .	44
8.2 The Core Principle: Democratic Centralism . . . . .	45
8.3 Revolutionary Discipline: Steel Tempered in Struggle . . . . .	45
8.4 The Mass Line as Organisational Method . . . . .	46
8.5 Building the Vanguard Party . . . . .	46
8.6 Rectification and Internal Education . . . . .	46
8.7 Rejecting Factionalism, Liquidationism, and Liberalism. . . . .	47
8.8 Party and Mass Organisations: Distinct but Linked . . . . .	47

8.9 Revolutionary Leadership in Times of Repression . . . . .	48
8.10 Conclusion: Organisation is Victory in Motion . . . . .	48

## **CHAPTER 9**

The Vanguard Party and the United Front . . . . .	49
9.1 The Vanguard is the Engine of Revolution . . . . .	49
9.2 The United Front: Strategic Alliance of the Oppressed. . . . .	50
9.3 Vanguard and United Front: Dialectical Unity . . . . .	50
9.4 The National Democratic United Front. . . . .	50
9.5 Conditions for Vanguard Leadership . . . . .	51
9.6 Beware of Substitutionism and Populism. . . . .	51
9.7 Political Education and Line Struggle within the Front . . . . .	51
9.8 The United Front as Strategic Weapon for Seizure of Power. . . . .	52
9.9 Case Studies for Cadre Learning . . . . .	52
9.10 Conclusion: The Party Must Lead the Front, and Learn from the Front . . . . .	52

## **CHAPTER 10**

Cadre Development and Revolutionary Consciousness . . . . .	53
10.1 Cadres Are the Backbone of the Revolution. . . . .	53
10.2 Raising Revolutionary Consciousness. . . . .	54
10.3 The Three-Stage Learning Process (Mao’s Method) . . . . .	54
10.4 The Role of the Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School . . . . .	54
10.5 The Mass Line as a Tool of Consciousness . . . . .	55
10.6 Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party . . . . .	55
10.7 Training in Class Struggle, Not Careerism . . . . .	55
10.8 The Revolutionary Cadre is a Warrior-Scholar . . . . .	56
10.9 Revolutionary Culture and Consciousness . . . . .	56
10.10 Conclusion: Forge Cadres Like Steel . . . . .	56

## **CHAPTER 11**

Women, Gender, and Class Struggle in the National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	57
11.1 Women as a Revolutionary Force . . . . .	57
11.2 Triple Oppression Under Neo-colonialism . . . . .	58
11.3 Revolutionary Feminism vs Bourgeois Feminism. . . . .	58
11.4 Revolutionary Women’s Organisation: The Revolutionary Women’s League (RWL). . . . .	58

11.5 Patriarchy and Semi-Feudalism . . . . .	59
11.6 Fight Against Sexism and Patriarchy in the Party . . . . .	59
11.7 Intersectionality Without Liberalism . . . . .	60
11.8 LGBTQ+ Rights, Gender Nonconformity, and the NDR . . . . .	60
11.9 Conclusion: Women Hold Up Half the Sky: Let Them Lead . . . . .	61

## **CHAPTER 12**

The Party and the National Democratic United Front . . . . .	62
12.1 The Necessity of a United Front. . . . .	62
12.2 The Basic Alliance: Workers and Peasants . . . . .	63
12.3 Classes to Unite . . . . .	63
12.4 Who to Isolate . . . . .	64
12.5 Forms of United Front Work. . . . .	64
12.6 Party-Mass Relationship. . . . .	64
12.7 Strategy and Tactics of United Front Work . . . . .	65
12.8 Conclusion: Unity as a Weapon of War . . . . .	65

## **CHAPTER 13**

The Youth and the Student Movement in the National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	67
13.1 Youth as a Revolutionary Force . . . . .	67
13.2 The Student Movement and Revolutionary Consciousness . . . . .	68
13.3 The Organisational Role of Revolutionary Youth and Students. . . . .	68
13.4 Issues Facing the Youth and Students . . . . .	69
13.5 Youth, Culture, and Revolutionary Morality . . . . .	69
13.6 Building the Youth Front in the United Front . . . . .	70
13.7 CPMK Principles of Mass Organization . . . . .	70
13.8 Conclusion: Youth Shall Be the Vanguard, Not the Reserve . . . . .	73

## **CHAPTER 14**

The Revolutionary Women’s Movement and the Gender Question in the National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	74
14.1 Gendered Class Oppression in Neocolonial Kenya . . . . .	74
14.2 The Proletarian Feminist Viewpoint and Standpoint . . . . .	75
14.3 Building the Revolutionary Women’s League (RWL). . . . .	76
14.4 The Organisational Principles of the Women’s Front . . . . .	76
14.5 Revolutionary Gender Politics in Practice. . . . .	77

14.6 The Gender Question and the Two-Stage Revolution . . . . .	77
14.7 Conclusion: Women Shall Be the Generals of the Revolution . . . . .	78

**CHAPTER 15**

The Diaspora, Internationalism, and the Global Struggle Against Imperialism . . . . .	79
15.1 The Kenyan Diaspora as a Social Force. . . . .	79
15.2 Proletarian Internationalism, Not Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism. . . . .	80
15.3 The Role of the Diaspora in the Kenyan Revolution . . . . .	80
15.4 International Fronts of the Global People’s War. . . . .	81
15.5 Building the CPMK International Department of the Central Organising Committee (IDCOC) . . . . .	81
15.6 The Vision of a Revolutionary Pan-Africanism . . . . .	82
15.7 On the Policy of Proletarian Internationalism. . . . .	82
15.8 Conclusion: The Diaspora Is a Detachment of the National Democratic Revolution . . . . .	84

**CHAPTER 16**

Education, Science, and Cultural Transformation in the People’s War .86	
16.1 Education: A Weapon, Not a Privilege . . . . .	86
16.2 The Party’s Ideological Arm: The Pio Gama Pinto Institute . . . . .	87
16.3 Science and Technology Under Neo-colonialism and Semi Feudal Kenya . . . . .	87
16.4 Culture: The Battlefield of Ideology. . . . .	88
16.5 Revolutionary Students and the Battle for the Mind . . . . .	88
16.6 Propaganda and Revolutionary Communication . . . . .	88
16.7 Building the Cultural Front of the People’s War . . . . .	89
16.8 Tasks for Cultural and Educational Transformation. . . . .	89
16.9 Conclusion: Education Must Liberate. Culture Must Mobilise.. . . .	90

**CHAPTER 17**

Environment, Ecology, and the Political Economy of Climate Crisis. .91	
17.1 Imperialism and the Ecological Crisis. . . . .	91
17.2 The Agrarian Question and Eco-Destruction . . . . .	92
17.3 The Climate Crisis is a Class War . . . . .	92
17.4 People’s Ecology and the Mass Line . . . . .	93
17.5 Tasks for the Ecological Front. . . . .	93
17.6 Conclusion: Red is Green – Revolution is the Only Solution. . . . .	94

## **CHAPTER 18**

### **The National Question, The Nationalities Question, and the African Revolution . . . . . 95**

- 18.1 The National Question in Kenya: A Neocolonial Structure . . . . . 95
- 18.2 The Nationalities Question: Unity in Revolutionary Diversity . . . . . 96
- 18.3 National Liberation and the Two-Stage Theory of Revolution . . . . . 96
- 18.4 African Unity and the Continental Dimension . . . . . 97
- 18.5 Tasks for Resolving the National and Nationalities Questions . . . . . 98

## **CHAPTER 19**

### **Party Education, Ideological Line, and the Mass Line in Practice . . . 99**

- 19.1 The Primacy of Ideological Clarity . . . . . 99
- 19.2 The Role of the Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School (PGPIS) . . . . . 100
- 19.3 From Social Investigation to Mass Line. . . . . 100
- 19.4 Political Education of the Basic Alliance . . . . . 101
- 19.5 The Party as the Vanguard of Revolutionary Theory and Practice . . 101
- 19.6 Tasks of Ideological Struggle . . . . . 101

## **CHAPTER 20**

### **Gender, LGBTQ+ Rights, and Revolutionary Humanism in the Struggle for Liberation. . . . . 103**

- 20.1 The Question of Gender: A Class Standpoint . . . . . 103
- 20.2 The LGBTQ+ Question: A Correct Position Rooted in Revolutionary Humanism . . . . . 104
- 20.3 Integration, Organisation, and Revolutionary Discipline . . . . . 104
- 20.4 Revolutionary Humanism and the African Context . . . . . 105
- 20.5 Conclusion: Towards Revolutionary Unity . . . . . 105

## **CHAPTER 21**

### **Security, Repression, and the Vanguard Party . . . . . 106**

- 21.1 Build a Party That Cannot Be Crushed . . . . . 106
- 21.2 The Jakarta Method—What Happened and Why It Matters . . . . . 107
- 21.3 Repression in Kenya—The Early Stages of a Jakarta Plan . . . . . 107
- 21.4 Core Principles of Revolutionary Security . . . . . 108
- 21.5 Build Underground, Even in Peace . . . . . 108
- 21.6 Institutionalising Security in the Party . . . . . 109
- 21.7 Revolutionary Culture Against Repression . . . . . 109

## **CHAPTER 22**

The Future of the Revolution and the Inevitable Victory of the People . . . . .	111
22.1 The Historical Necessity of Revolution in Kenya . . . . .	111
22.2 The Two-Stage Theory of the Revolution: From National Liberation to Socialism . . . . .	112
22.3 The Vanguard Party: Organ of Revolutionary Consciousness and Power . . . . .	112
22.4 The United Front and the Basic Alliance: Vehicle of Victory . . . . .	113
22.5 Revolutionary Optimism and the Lessons of Struggle . . . . .	113
22.6 The Call to Action: Forge the Future! . . . . .	114
22.7 Victory Is Certain . . . . .	114
<b>ACRONYMS &amp; ABBREVIATIONS GLOSSARY . . . . .</b>	<b>116</b>



## **FOREWORD**

*By Mwaivu Kaluka; The National Chairperson of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya*

This essential text is not a mere recounting of history; it is a living document of struggle. It is a mirror of our victories and defeats, a summation of lessons hard-won through fire and blood, and a guide for the coming storms. It emerges at a critical historical juncture: a moment when the Communist Party Marxist–Kenya (CPMK) is summing up its work, rectifying its errors, consolidating its gains, and preparing for the next great leap forward in advancing the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

As Amílcar Cabral reminds us: “Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies wherever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories.”

To draw strength from our past and clarity for our future, we must sum up our revolutionary experiences, identify errors, and rectify them. This is the essence of the two-line struggle and the method of ideological rectification. Only through this process can we strengthen the Party’s ideological clarity, organisational discipline, and political line.

The CPMK is a product of the long and obstinate struggles of our people. It has emerged not from the ivory towers of theory, but from the furnace of class war; tempered by history, sharpened by experience, and carried forward by the masses.

## The Legacy of Struggle

From the days of anti-colonial resistance, our forebears in the national liberation struggle: Bildad Kaggia, Fred Kubai, Makhan Singh, Chege Kibachia, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Pio Gama Pinto, Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi; taught us the transformative power of organisation.

Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai demonstrated the importance of United Front Work by linking the political work of the Kenya African Union (KAU) with revolutionary mass organisations like trade unions, and by offering leadership in the protracted People's War through the central command of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau).

But with the betrayal of independence and the rise of a comprador-bureaucratic regime, the progressive forces within KANU were pushed out. On 23 May 1966, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Bildad Kaggia founded the Kenya People's Union (KPU), launching the historic Wananchi Declaration, which proposed a socialist path in opposition to the imperialist blueprint of Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. The KPU was banned in 1969, and open socialist organisation was driven underground.

## The Underground Years

In December 1974, the Workers Party of Kenya (WPK) was formed as a clandestine Marxist-Leninist organisation. Key figures at its founding conference included Kamoji Wachira, Maina wa Kinyatti, Koigi Wamwere, Amin Kassim, and Adhu Awiti. The WPK adopted Marxism-Leninism as its ideological line and committed itself to the National Democratic Revolution as the strategic path.

Democratic centralism was adopted as the organisational principle. But even with these correct lines, internal errors and deviations threatened the Party's existence. As Mao reminds us: "Without struggle, the Party ceases to exist."

In 1982, the WPK adopted the name December Twelve Movement (DTM) as a cover for its underground work. That same year, it launched Pambana, its propaganda organ, to combat the bourgeois press. With the state crackdown in 1982; arrests, torture, and forced exile of cadres such as Maina wa Kinyatti, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Shiraz Durrani, Edward Oyugi, and others: the Party weakened. In response, the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC) was formed in 1983, and its internal journal Mpatanishi helped reconnect the central leadership with the rank-and-file.

In October 1984, ideological debates within the CRC culminated in the renaming of DTM to the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK). Mpatanishi became a key ideological tool. Yet by 1985, the Party was gripped by a deep ideological and political crisis. The name was changed to MWAKENYA (Muungano wa Wazalendo wa Kuikomboa Kenya). This marked a descent into right and left opportunism: On the political line, Party strategy was liquidated. On the ideological line, Marxist-Leninist theory was abandoned. On the organisational line, democratic centralism was undermined. Recruitment was based on oaths, not political clarity. Mwakenya degenerated into a loose mass formation, no longer a vanguard.

This degeneration continued into the 1990s with splinter groups forming, including: MEKARIMO (Dar es Salaam). Kenya Anti-Imperialist Front (KAIF) – led by Shadrack Gutto and Micere Mugo in Zimbabwe. Umoja wa Wazalendo (UWAKE). We shall reserve a full analysis of these splits and the reconstitution work under Karimi Nduthu for a separate essay.

### **The Question of Bourgeois Legality**

The repeal of Section 2A in 1991 legalised multiparty politics, but some underground revolutionaries rejected legal participation, clinging to pure underground work. This isolated the movement from the masses and became a costly strategic error.

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) was launched in 1992 by former underground revolutionaries, university lecturers, students, and civil society activists. Led by Apollo Njonjo and Anyang' Nyong'o, it became a reformist party—a replica of the social democrats of the Second International. Presidential candidates like Charity Ngilu (1997) and James Orengo (2002) ran on the SDP ticket but achieved little.

In the early 2000s, ideological struggle re-emerged. A radical youth wing, the Young Social Democrats, led by Booker Omole and Benedict Wachira, purged right opportunists like Mutahi Kagwe and Njeri Ndigwa. Mwandawiro Mghanga was installed as leader. The CPK was legally re-registered, and on 5 January 2019, the First Congress was held. The Party reasserted itself ideologically, built a political school, and trained a new generation of professional revolutionaries.

## **Betrayal and Rectification**

Yet old ghosts returned. Social-democratic hangovers persisted in the leadership. The Gang of Two, Mwandawiro Mghanga and Benedict Wachira in a betrayal reminiscent of Bernsteinian revisionism, abandoned principle for convenience. They: ideologically compromised with class enemies; organisationally violated democratic centralism, fabricating Party Congress resolutions; politically joined a bourgeois alliance from a position of weakness, tailing behind the United Democratic Alliance instead of asserting vanguard leadership. This betrayal necessitated the first Rectification Programme.

## **The Rectification Programme**

### **Ideological Line**

Reconstitution of the Political School under the Secretary of Ideology, Comrade Ashlyn Ajjambo. Revival of Mpatanishi as an internal ideological weapon. Heightened two-line struggle against opportunism and deviation.

### **Organisational Line**

Purge of right opportunists and liquidationists. Rebuilding of the ranks. Formation of an interim leadership based on democratic centralism.

### **Political Line**

Deepened social investigation and class analysis.

Clarified the central revolutionary task: advancing the National Democratic Revolution as a stage towards socialism and communism.

Let this forward breathe new life to all cadres as they study the summing up of our work in the party since the Second National Congress.

## PREFACE

“Revolution is not a dinner party... It is an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.”

*Mao Zedong*

This document, *Building the Vanguard Party in Kenya*, emerges from the concrete struggles of the Kenyan working class and peasantry. It is a product of sweat, sabotage, betrayal, mass mobilisation, and ideological rectification. It records a turbulent phase in the Party’s development; from legal recognition to internal rupture, from missteps in class composition to the reassertion of Marxist-Leninist clarity.

Since the Second National Congress, the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) has taken deliberate steps to clarify its ideological line, consolidate its political direction, and restructure its organisational base in fidelity to its historical mission: to lead the National Democratic Revolution towards socialism.

This enriched edition is not merely a report. It is a strategic document, a study manual, and a weapon of revolutionary education; for cadres in the factories, for peasant organisers in the countryside, for youth in the universities, and for international comrades seeking to understand

the living application of Marxism-Leninism in semi-feudal neocolonial Africa.

To our comrades abroad, particularly those involved in the People's Academy and the Iskra Books project, we offer this document as a contribution to the global process of revolutionary construction. We do not present this as a finished model. We offer it as a living experience; replete with contradictions, victories, and lessons; in the hope that it may inform the path of other struggles from Sudan to Palestine, from Haiti to the Philippines.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, this document affirms:

1. The two-stage theory of revolution as necessary in semi feudal, neocolonial societies;
2. The vanguard party as the indispensable vehicle of working-class power;
3. The basic alliance of workers and peasants as the core of our class line;
4. The united front as the strategic method of revolutionary unity;
5. And the inevitability of victory, however protracted the struggle may be.

The sharpening of this document marks the opening of a new phase of consolidation. It will be used to:

1. Train and re-train Party cadres;
2. Anchor ideological unity across Party organs;
3. Build political confidence in our mass organisations;
4. And reaffirm our historic tasks: to destroy neo-colonialism, seize political power, and construct socialism in Kenya and Africa.

Let this be studied in every Red Cell. Let it be debated in every student union. Let it be read aloud in the workers' canteens. Let it guide the hands that till the soil and raise the red flag in every village.

The time for ideological confusion is over. The road is clear.

Forward to revolution. Forward to socialism.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Communist Party Marxist Kenya!

# INTRODUCTION

*Why This Document, Why Now?*

In every revolution, there comes a moment when the Party must pause, look back, sum up, and look ahead. Not to retreat. Not to reflect for reflection's sake. But to clarify its line, draw hard lessons, and steel its forces for the next stage of battle.

This document, *Building the Vanguard Party in Kenya*, is the product of such a moment. It draws from internal Party reports, ideological summations, historical analyses, and the lived experience of our cadre. It marks the passage from political infancy to ideological maturity, from a formation navigating bourgeois legality to a proletarian vanguard prepared to lead the class struggle to its final victory.

Why now? Because:

1. Neo-colonialism in Kenya is sharpening. The crisis of imperialism is deepening.
2. Imperialism is restructuring; from dollar diplomacy to drone domination.
3. The comprador class, lubricated by IMF debt and foreign capital, continues to sell the country piece by piece.
4. Peasants remain landless, workers remain hungry, women remain doubly oppressed.

5. And within the Party itself, deviations and opportunisms were allowed to fester; until they split open in 2022, revealing the urgent need for rectification and reconstruction.

This document is the Party's reply; not with excuses, but with clarity, conviction, and a correct line. It is divided into thematic chapters.

It is not enough to say we are a communist party. We must prove it in action, in line, and in leadership. This document is both a testament to past failures and a manifesto of future possibilities.

As the African proverb says: "You do not climb a tree from the top." The building of the vanguard is from below; from the people; and upwards to power.

Let every section of the Party study this document. Let the international movement learn from it. And let us all return to the masses with renewed clarity, humility, and revolutionary fire.

# CHAPTER 1

## *The Necessity of the Vanguard Party*

“Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.”

*V. I. Lenin*

“The Party is the embodiment of the proletariat’s revolutionary experience, a sword and a shield forged in the furnaces of class struggle.”

*Mao Zedong*

In every society riven by class contradictions, where the wealth of the few rests upon the exploitation of the many, the oppressed require an instrument of emancipation; not merely an organisation, but a revolutionary party. Not a debating club, not an NGO, not a hollow electoral vehicle, but a vanguard party anchored in the working class, steeled in theory, and rooted among the people.

### **1.1 Why a Vanguard? Why a Party?**

Imperialism, especially in its neocolonial form, does not simply exploit. It confuses. It disorients. It trains the oppressed to think like the oppressor. It wraps exploitation in slogans of “freedom”, wraps poverty in

the illusion of “development”, and drapes recolonisation in the language of “aid”.

The working class does not spontaneously become revolutionary. It becomes militant, yes. It resists hunger and wage theft. It fights back against the lash and layoffs. But without organisation, without theory, without political education, this resistance is fragmented; crushed, co-opted, or sold off by opportunists.

This is why Marx and Engels declared that the proletariat must organise itself as a political party. Why Lenin showed that class struggle must be led by a disciplined, centralised formation capable of linking factory to village, street to state, struggle to strategy. In Lenin’s words: “The working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness.” In short, left to spontaneity, workers fight for better chains, not to break them.

The vanguard party is the concentrated expression of class consciousness, the general staff of the revolution, the vehicle through which the class becomes a force in history.

## **1.2 What Kind of Party?**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) is not a party of convenience. It is not a vehicle for ethnic chauvinism, petty bourgeois careers, or NGO tokenism. It is a Marxist-Leninist party, formed on the principles of:

1. Democratic centralism, where unity in action is based on full internal debate;
2. Mass line, where the ideas of the people are gathered, refined, and returned to them as programme;
3. Class leadership, where the working class and peasantry form the base;
4. Proletarian internationalism, where our struggle is linked to Cuba, Palestine, the Philippines, Haiti, and beyond.

The CPMK is not born out of elite boardrooms or foreign foundations. Its roots lie in:

1. The landless peasant revolts of the Mau Mau and the post-independence squatter movements;
2. The underground Marxist circles that defied Cold War repression;

3. The student uprisings and workers' strikes that refused to bow before the dictatorship of capital.

The CPMK stands as a continuation of the revolutionary flame carried by:

1. Field Marshall Dedan Kimathi, Kenyan National hero hanged by the barbaric imperial Britain
2. Pio Gama Pinto, the anti-imperialist martyr;
3. Bildad Kaggia, the forgotten communist of independence;
4. Wangari Maathai, whose environmental struggle was anti-imperialist in essence;
5. And the many nameless comrades who gave their lives in Nyayo House, forests, villages, and police cells.

### **1.3 The Basic Alliance and the Social Class Anchor**

We do not build the Party on sand. We build it on class. The CPMK is anchored in the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry; the two most exploited classes under Kenya's semi-feudal and neocolonial society. The workers face starvation wages, casualisation, and police repression. The peasants face land dispossession, market dependency, and bureaucratic neglect.

Their interests converge. Their enemies are the same:

1. The comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie;
2. The land-grabbing big landlord class;
3. The imperialist financial oligarchy;
4. The corrupt political elite in service to them all.

This alliance is not rhetorical. It is material. It forms the class foundation of the National Democratic Revolution, and must be expressed in every Red Cell, every Party campaign, every strike, every land occupation, every united front formation.

### **1.4 Revolutionary Tasks of the Vanguard**

The vanguard does not wait. It leads. The tasks of the Party are clear:

1. Educate: Build cadre consciousness through Marxist-Leninist education. Every comrade must be a thinker, organiser, and agitator.
2. Organise: Build cells in factories, schools, farms, universities, informal settlements, and diaspora communities.

3. Agitate: Carry the political line into every mass struggle; housing, hunger, gender oppression, landlessness.
4. Unite: Build the United Front of progressive forces, without diluting proletarian leadership.
5. Prepare: For deeper crises, for greater repression, for future insurrection. Revolution is not a fantasy; it is a question of preparation and timing.

## **1.5 The Vanguard in the Global Struggle**

Kenya is not isolated. We are part of the Global South's chain of semi-feudal Neocolonies, and the CPMK is part of the international front of resistance.

Our tasks intersect with:

1. The revolutionary movement in the Philippines, led by the CPP;
2. The anti-imperialist resistance of the Palestinian people;
3. The socialist construction efforts in Cuba, Venezuela, and DPRK;
4. The Pan-Africanist and left formations across the continent.

The CPMK does not copy foreign models. We learn, adapt, and apply; as Mao taught: "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions." But we do not isolate ourselves. The Kenyan revolution will either be internationalist in content or revisionist in betrayal.

## **1.6 No Revolution Without the Party**

To the youth, we say: Without the vanguard, your rage is wasted.

To the workers, we say: Without the Party, your sweat feeds the enemy.

To the peasants, we say: Without organisation, your land will remain stolen.

To women, queer comrades, and the marginalised, we say: Without proletarian power, liberation remains a slogan.

The Party is the people organised.

The Party is the future prepared.

The Party is the storm that clears the sky.

"Build the vanguard! Anchor it in the poor! Cleanse it of opportunism! Temper it in fire! Prepare it for battle!"

We now move to the ideological backbone of the CPMK's revolutionary strategy; the clear and principled articulation of the Two-Stage Theory as it applies to semi-feudal, neocolonial Kenya. This chapter shall anchor

the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) as the first, necessary phase toward socialism, rooted in our material conditions and guided by Marxism-Leninism.

## CHAPTER 2

### *The Two-Stage Theory and the National Democratic Revolution*

“The revolution must go through two stages: first the democratic revolution, and then the socialist revolution. The first is the preparation for the second and serves to clear the road for it.”

*Mao Zedong*

“In colonies and semi-colonies, national tasks and class tasks are inseparable; the anti-imperialist struggle and the class struggle are dialectically united.”

*Amílcar Cabral*

### **2.1 Historical Materialism: Strategy Rooted in Concrete Conditions**

Revolutions do not proceed from abstract wishes, nor are they cut from identical cloth. They unfold dialectically, shaped by the class forces, production relations, and historical development specific to each society. This is the essence of historical materialism: that revolutionary paths must be rooted in concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

In capitalist-imperialist states like France or Germany, the task is the direct expropriation of the bourgeoisie. But in semi-feudal, neocolonial formations like Kenya, the terrain is different: foreign imperial domination

forms the principal contradiction, and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and landlordism form the primary contradictions.

Thus, in such conditions, the revolution must pass through two distinct but dialectically linked stages:

1. The National Democratic Revolution (NDR); and
2. The Socialist Revolution.

## **2.2 Stage One: The National Democratic Revolution**

The NDR is the first, preparatory stage. Its essential content is the complete destruction of neo-colonialism, the abolition of feudal and comprador-capitalist structures, and the seizure of national sovereignty by the oppressed masses; led by the working class.

Objectives of the NDR in Kenya:

1. Land to the tiller: Smash the landlord class, redistribute land to peasants, and lay the foundation for collectivisation.
2. End imperialist domination: Break free from foreign financial control (IMF, WB), military bases, and trade dependency.
3. Democratise the state: Abolish the neocolonial state machinery and replace it with people's organs of power.
4. Forge the basic alliance: Cement the unity of the working class and poor peasantry as the backbone of the revolution.
5. Build the united front: Unite all classes and strata who can be won to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle.
6. Establish genuine national sovereignty: Control over resources, currency, borders, and state policy.

This is not bourgeois democracy. It is people's democracy; rooted in the oppressed classes, led by the proletariat, and oriented toward socialism.

## **2.3 Stage Two: The Socialist Revolution**

With the successful completion of the NDR, the revolution must advance uninterruptedly to its second stage; the Socialist Revolution. At this stage:

1. The means of production are socialised; in state, cooperative, and collective forms.
2. The dictatorship of the proletariat replaces the bourgeois state; to suppress counter-revolution.

3. The productive forces are developed to eliminate poverty, inequality, and dependency.
4. Education, culture, and gender relations are transformed to reflect socialist values.

This transition must be guided and guaranteed by the vanguard Party, without capitulation to reformist or petty-bourgeois illusions. It is not automatic. It is not peaceful. It requires continued class struggle.

## **2.4 Why the Two Stages Cannot Be Skipped**

Revolution is a process, not a jump. In Kenya, skipping the NDR would mean:

1. Ignoring the unresolved land question, rooted in colonial theft and feudal survivals;
2. Leaving intact the comprador state, which serves foreign capital and the local elite;
3. Pretending that a tiny urban working class alone can carry the revolution without uniting with the poor peasantry.

This is Trotskyist fantasy; a voluntarist line that has failed everywhere it was tried in the colonial world. Lenin rejected it. Mao rejected it. Cabral rejected it. As Cabral said: “Class suicide is necessary for the petty bourgeoisie to play a progressive role in the national revolution.” Only through the NDR, led by the working class, can the conditions for socialism be created.

## **2.5 The Land Question: Core of the NDR**

The principal contradiction in Kenya is between the landless masses (especially peasants, squatters, and indigenous communities) and the landed ruling class, both domestic and foreign. The big landlords are our sworn enemy. The absentee landlords must be defeated not negotiated with.

The colonial state dispossessed millions. The postcolonial comprador state protected those thefts. Today, land is held by:

1. Former colonial settlers (still owning vast tracts through trusts and corporations);
2. Local comprador elite families (via privatised land commissions);
3. Imperialist agribusiness firms (through “green economy” schemes and carbon colonialism).

Thus, the land question is the revolutionary question. Without land justice, there is no national liberation. Without national liberation, there is no socialism.

## **2.6 The Main Enemies in the NDR**

1. Imperialism – foreign domination through finance, military, and trade.
2. The comprador bourgeoisie – local elite acting as agents of foreign capital.
3. The landlord class – who live off the forced labour and landlessness of peasants.
4. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie – senior state functionaries enriching themselves under the capitalist order.

These classes must be isolated, exposed, and ultimately overthrown through revolutionary struggle.

## **2.7 The Revolutionary Forces in the NDR**

1. The working class – the leading class, carrier of socialist ideology.
2. The poor peasantry – the largest, most oppressed class; strategic ally.
3. The urban and rural semi-proletariat – informal workers, squatters, youth.
4. Progressive sections of the petty bourgeoisie – students, teachers, small traders who can be won to revolution.
5. Neutral or vacillating strata of the national bourgeoisie – can be tactically united with, but not relied upon.

All revolutionary classes and strata must be united under the leadership of the working class, through its vanguard, the CPMK.

## **2.8 Our Tasks in the Current Stage**

1. Raise political consciousness through ideological work and mass education;
2. Link land struggles, wage struggles, and gender struggles to the NDR;
3. Expand the United Front through principled alliances;

4. Build dual power in the form of People’s Committees, Red Cells, and mass organisations;
5. Prepare the masses for deeper confrontation with the state and its institutions;
6. Defend and expand national sovereignty in every area of life; economy, culture, security, and environment.

### **2.9 Closing Declaration:**

“We are not merely fighting for reforms. We are not begging for dignity. We are organising to seize power. From below, from the grassroots, from the base; and upwards to a sovereign, socialist future.”

The National Democratic Revolution is not an option. It is a necessity. It is not a detour. It is the road.

And on that road, the Party shall lead.

We now proceed to Chapter 3: From Colonialism to Neo-colonialism, this chapter that must expose the continuity of class oppression in Kenya; not as a mere sequence of political regimes, but as the uninterrupted domination of imperialism and its local agents, restructured through betrayal, bloodshed, and bourgeois diplomacy.

This chapter will ground the necessity of the National Democratic Revolution by exposing the class character of the colonial and post-colonial state. It will also reframe “independence” correctly as a sham transition, orchestrated to protect imperialist control under African names and comprador masks.

## CHAPTER 3

### *From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism—the Kenyan Trajectory*

“Imperialism leaves behind germs of rot which we must clinically detect and remove from our land and from our minds as well.”

*Frantz Fanon*

“Our enemies are not only those in London, Paris, or Washington. They are also those in Nairobi, in the ministries, in the banks — wearing our skin, speaking our tongues, but serving the enemy’s flag.”

*Pio Gama Pinto*

### **3.1 Colonialism: Land Theft, Forced Labour, and White Supremacy**

British colonialism in Kenya was not a civilising mission. It was a land-grabbing, labour-extracting, terror-enforced regime of imperialist exploitation.

Beginning in the late 19th century, the British Empire declared itself the sovereign of territories it did not own and peoples it did not represent. Through the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, all so-called “unoccupied” land was declared property of the Crown; thus, criminalising indigenous land tenure, erasing ancestral rights, and opening the door for settler colonialism.

The most fertile lands; the White Highlands; were handed to European settlers. The African majority were forced into native reserves, reduced to squatters, and subjected to:

1. Hut and poll taxes, meant to compel wage labour;
2. Pass laws and curfews, meant to control movement;
3. Corporal punishment and forced labour, meant to break resistance.

British colonialism was not merely exploitative; it was genocidal. Whole communities were uprooted. Language, culture, and land were targeted. Resistance was met with mass arrests, executions, and concentration camps.

### **3.2 The Mau Mau Uprising: A Peasant Revolution Betrayed**

The heroic Mau Mau War (1952–1960) was not a tribal revolt, as colonial propaganda claimed; it was a revolutionary peasant uprising rooted in the land question. The Kikuyu peasantry, alongside Embu, Meru, and Maasai patriots, rose in arms to take back the land, resist settler rule, and reclaim dignity.

The slogans were clear:  
“Land and Freedom!”

Under the leadership of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army, this war shook the colonial regime to its core. But it was met with savage repression:

1. Over 1.5 million Kikuyu were placed in concentration camps and villages;
2. Thousands were tortured, mutilated, and executed;
3. The British employed psychological warfare, collective punishment, and scorched earth tactics.

The Mau Mau were not defeated militarily. They were politically betrayed. As the war escalated, Britain changed strategy; not to give up power, but to transfer it safely to a loyal native class: the African comprador bourgeoisie.

### 3.3 1963: The False Independence and the Rise of the Comprador State

Independence in 1963 did not dismantle the colonial state; it redecorated it. Through secret conferences in Lancaster House, Britain crafted a new political arrangement:

1. The radical wing of the anti-colonial struggle (Mau Mau, trade unionists, communists) was excluded and suppressed.
2. The moderate elite, trained in European law and economics, were handed the reins of power.
3. The Kenya African National Union (KANU), with British backing, became the ruling party.
4. British commercial interests, including land and capital, remained untouched.

Thus, was born the Kenyan neocolonial state; a black façade with white control behind the curtain.

The comprador elite accepted:

1. Continued presence of British troops;
2. Debt dependency on Western financial institutions;
3. A capitalist constitution that protected settler property;
4. A political system based on ethnic patronage, elite unity, and mass exclusion.

This was not decolonisation. It was neo-domination. As the CPMK Manifesto states: “Few and limited reforms aside, the governments that took over from colonialism have maintained the system that recycles the problems our people fought against.”

### 3.4 Post-Independence Repression: The Anti-Communist State

The first Republic under Jomo Kenyatta quickly moved to consolidate power, marginalise radicals, and protect foreign capital.

1. Socialist voices like Pio Gama Pinto were assassinated.
2. The Kenya People’s Union (KPU), led by Oginga Odinga, was banned in 1969.
3. Leftist trade unions were infiltrated, fragmented, or co-opted.
4. Land redistribution was abandoned; public land was sold to the elite.

The Kenyatta regime practised “Africanisation” without decolonisation; transferring settler assets to a narrow African elite while deepening dependency on foreign donors.

### **3.5 The Moi Era: Neo-colonialism with an Iron Fist**

Under Daniel arap Moi (1978–2002), Kenya became a one-party dictatorship, presiding over:

1. Massive corruption and patronage;
2. Human rights abuses including torture at Nyayo House;
3. Suppression of all democratic opposition;
4. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that privatised state assets, cut public services, and expanded inequality.

This was the golden era of IMF recolonisation:

1. National industries collapsed;
2. Peasant agriculture was devastated by foreign imports;
3. Health and education were commodified;
4. Poverty, unemployment, and informalisation exploded.

The bourgeoisie cheered, and foreign investors profited. The working masses were pushed into deeper misery.

### **3.6 Multi-Party Illusions and Neoliberal Democracy**

The reintroduction of multi-partyism in the 1990s did not challenge the system. It rearranged the elite.

1. KANU, NARC, ODM, Jubilee, Kenya Kwanza; different factions of the same comprador class.
2. Elections became ethnic counting games;
3. Masses were weaponised for elite interests;
4. The state remained tied to imperialist trade, finance, and military partnerships.

The 2010 Constitution, while progressive in form, remains a capitalist legal document. It grants rights on paper but protects property in practice. As the CPMK analysis makes clear: “The values of dignity, equality, and justice cannot be realised under capitalism; only under socialism.”

### **3.7 Continuity of Exploitation: Neo-colonialism Today**

Today, Kenya remains a neocolony in every domain:

1. Economic: Subject to debt slavery, IMF dictates, foreign direct investment conditionalities.
2. Political: Client regimes do the bidding of Washington, Brussels, and Beijing.
3. Military: US AFRICOM operations, foreign bases, and outsourced sovereignty.
4. Cultural: Western values, education systems, and consumer ideologies dominate.
5. Ecological: Climate colonialism through carbon markets, “green” land grabs, and imperialist conservation.

The comprador elite continues to grow fat off this system:

1. Members of Parliament earn among the highest salaries in the world;
2. Elite families control media, real estate, banking, and energy;
3. Landless peasants remain squatters on stolen land;
4. Workers are casualised, underpaid, and criminalised when they resist.

### **3.8 The Lesson: No Real Independence Without Revolution**

The lesson is clear: Kenya has never been decolonised. The flag changed hands, but the system remained.

Therefore, the task is not reform. It is not to replace one bourgeois coalition with another. It is to overthrow the neocolonial state, dismantle its structures, and construct a sovereign, socialist Kenya under the leadership of the working class. “True independence means land, labour, and law in the hands of the people. Anything less is betrayal.”

### **3.9 Closing Declaration:**

“From colonialism to neo-colonialism, the enemy adapted. Now we must adapt. We must strike not at the branches, but at the root. The root is the neocolonial state. The axe is the organised masses. The handle is the vanguard Party.”

We now forge Chapter 4: National Sovereignty as the Foundation of Socialist Construction; a decisive theoretical and political intervention. In this era of recolonisation disguised as “development,” where imperialism

wraps its chains in donor grants, green energy partnerships, and digital finance, the question of sovereignty becomes central to the revolutionary struggle.

This chapter clarifies that national sovereignty is not a nationalist deviation, but the strategic precondition for socialism in neocolonial semi-feudal societies. It will reveal sovereignty not as a flag or anthem, but as a material reality of ownership, control, and self-determination.

## CHAPTER 4

### *National Sovereignty as the Foundation of Socialist Construction*

“A nation that cannot feed itself, clothe itself, defend itself, or direct its own affairs is not free. It is a satellite. It is a servant.”

*Thomas Sankara*

“Political independence without economic sovereignty is like a body without blood — it may stand for a moment, but soon it falls.”

*Samora Machel*

#### **4.1 What Is National Sovereignty?**

National sovereignty is not a legal phrase. It is a material condition; the real capacity of a people to control their own land, labour, resources, and destiny. It is:

1. Control over borders and natural wealth;
2. Control over currency and credit;
3. Control over production and trade;
4. Control over military, security, and state power;
5. Control over education, media, and cultural reproduction.

In Kenya today, none of these are truly sovereign. Our government may raise the flag, but imperialist capital gives the orders.

## **4.2 The Illusion of Independence, the Reality of Dependency**

After 1963, political independence was granted without economic liberation. Sovereignty remained on paper, while in practice:

1. The World Bank and IMF determine economic policy through structural adjustment and debt traps;
2. Foreign agribusiness and mining firms dominate land use and resource extraction;
3. Foreign embassies and intelligence agencies intervene in domestic politics with impunity;
4. The Kenyan currency is backed by the US dollar and manipulated by global finance;
5. Aid dependency funds health, education, and infrastructure; not as solidarity, but as leverage.

“We are ruled from Nairobi, but governed from Washington, Brussels, and London.”

## **4.3 Sovereignty Betrayed: The Role of the Comprador Class**

The Kenyan ruling class is not simply corrupt; it is comprador in character. It does not seek sovereignty. It profits from dependency.

1. It signs away land and ports to foreign investors;
2. It borrows billions in debt it cannot repay;
3. It militarises the police at the command of foreign intelligence;
4. It sells off national infrastructure; roads, electricity, hospitals; to private monopolies;
5. It criminalises resistance to these policies in the name of “order.”

This class is the chief obstacle to sovereignty. It has no vision beyond looting, no ideology beyond profit, no loyalty beyond capital. Thus, sovereignty cannot be won through elections or reforms. It must be seized through revolution.

## 4.4 Sovereignty and the National Democratic Revolution

For the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) to succeed, national sovereignty must be reclaimed; not as a slogan, but as a material transformation.

Sovereignty in the NDR means:

1. Land to the tiller, not to multinational agribusiness;
2. Natural resources under public ownership, not foreign concessions;
3. A state bank and national currency, not financial colonialism through the IMF and mobile money capital;
4. Education rooted in our history and reality, not neoliberal brainwashing;
5. Foreign policy based on anti-imperialist solidarity, not strategic servitude.

The struggle for sovereignty is the strategic terrain where the NDR either advances or collapses.

## 4.5 From Sovereignty to Socialism: The Dialectical Transition

We do not fight for sovereignty as an end in itself. We fight for it because without it, socialism is impossible.

Without sovereignty:

1. The means of production remain foreign-owned;
2. National planning is sabotaged by imperialist constraints;
3. Workers' power is constrained by international finance;
4. Social services are beholden to donor logic;
5. The working class remains under surveillance and subversion by imperialism.

Therefore, the struggle for sovereignty is the preparatory battlefield for socialism.

As Mao Zedong said in *On New Democracy*: “Only after the enemies of the people have been overthrown and national independence won can the working-class march forward to socialist transformation.” The national democratic state, under the leadership of the working class, is a transitional state; from imperialist dependency to proletarian dictatorship.

## **4.6 Sovereignty and Internationalism: Not Isolationism, But Liberation**

The CPMK rejects the bourgeois idea that sovereignty means isolation. We are internationalists, not nationalists. But internationalism must be voluntary and anti-imperialist.

True sovereignty enables:

1. Solidarity with Cuba, Palestine, and Venezuela on equal terms;
2. South–South cooperation outside the chains of the dollar;
3. Defence of the environment free from “green imperialism”;
4. Cultural revival that celebrates working-class African identity.

We reject “Africa Rising” propaganda that celebrates foreign malls and skyscrapers while our children die hungry. Africa cannot rise without sovereignty. Kenya cannot rise without revolution.

## **4.7 The People Must Govern: Popular Sovereignty from Below**

National sovereignty cannot be entrusted to parliaments, presidents, or private capital. It must be:

1. Built from below; by people’s assemblies, cooperatives, land committees, and unions;
2. Defended by the masses; armed with consciousness, organisation, and political power;
3. Guided by the Party; disciplined, rooted, and ideologically clear.

As long as sovereignty remains a façade, the people will remain enslaved.

## **4.8 Closing Declaration:**

“Sovereignty is not a speech. It is not a handshake. It is not a seat at the UN. Sovereignty is control. Over land. Over life. Over destiny. And it shall be seized, not granted. By the working class. Through revolution. Under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism.”

We now turn to Chapter 5: The Genesis of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya; a chapter that must trace the revolutionary lineage of the Party, drawing a clear line of continuity from militant anti-colonial resistance, to clandestine Marxist organisation, to the principled break

with social democracy and opportunism, culminating in the declaration of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the neocolonial terrain of Kenya.

This chapter highlights not only how the Party was formed; but why it had to be formed, against all odds, betrayals, and historical distortions.

## CHAPTER 5

### *The Genesis of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya*

“Every revolutionary party is born in contradiction. It is forged in fire, tested in betrayal, and proven in struggle.”

*Walter Rodney*

“The unity of the oppressed must find form in a party rooted in the proletariat. A party that serves the people body and soul. A party that knows when to march forward and when to cut off its own limb to survive.”

*CPMK Internal Report, 2023*

### **5.1 The Long Thread of Kenyan Communism: From Resistance to Revolution**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya did not fall from the sky. It grew from a long, suppressed, distorted, and often betrayed tradition of revolutionary thought and practice in Kenya.

The Mau Mau War of Liberation was not merely a peasant revolt. It carried within it a proto-revolutionary political programme: land redistribution, anti-imperialism, egalitarianism, and the beginnings of class-consciousness. Though ideologically diverse, its radical wing challenged the colonial state in ways that terrified both settler capital and the imperial core.

Figures like:

1. Bildad Kaggia; a former Mau Mau detainee and radical nationalist who declared that “freedom without land is fraud”;
2. Pio Gama Pinto; a Marxist martyr who insisted on anti-imperialism as the core of postcolonial policy;
3. Oginga Odinga; who led the left-leaning Kenya People’s Union (KPU) in calling for real socialism and anti-Western alignment; ...carried forward this revolutionary spark, only to be betrayed, isolated, or assassinated by the emerging comprador order.

## **5.2 Repression and Survival: The Underground Tradition**

Following the banning of the KPU in 1969 and the assassination of Pinto in 1965, left-wing organising in Kenya was forced underground.

The 1970s and 80s saw the rise of the December Twelfth Movement (DTM) and associated clandestine formations, including:

1. Socialist study groups at the universities;
2. Worker-led Marxist education circles in factories and teacher colleges;
3. Anti-imperialist cultural resistance among exiled musicians, playwrights, and intellectuals.

These movements:

1. Rejected both Western liberalism and modern revisionism;
2. Aligned themselves with the struggles of the Vietnamese, Palestinians, Mozambicans, and Cubans;
3. Paid dearly; with imprisonment, torture, exile, and murder.

The memory of these martyrs is the soil in which the CPMK grows.

## **5.3 The Post-Cold War Opening: From Legalisation to Compromise**

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reintroduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s, a new political space opened; but it was deeply compromised:

1. Anti-communism remained state policy;
2. Leftist organisations were marginalised or co-opted;
3. “Socialism” was repackaged by NGOs and social democrats as harmless reform.

Within this context, a progressive current emerged within the Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP); a legal political party that attracted former underground leftists, radical youth, and trade unionists. But the SDP was always ideologically unstable.

As observed in the first wave of rectification campaign in the party: “The SDP was a compromise; a container that allowed us to operate legally, but could not hold the fire of real communism.”

#### **5.4 From SDP to CPK: The Break with Social Democracy**

In 2019, at the National Congress held in January, the left-wing core of the SDP made the decisive rupture; formally transforming the party into the Communist Party of Kenya (CPK).

This was not cosmetic. It was a line struggle. A break between revolution and reformism. Between scientific socialism and NGO populism. The name change, however, was blocked by the state. The Registrar of Political Parties refused, declaring that: “Kenya is a neoliberal capitalist state and cannot allow socialist or communist parties.”

This naked repression was met with:

1. Legal challenge;
2. Mass mobilisation;
3. International solidarity campaigns.

In April 2019, the High Court ruled in favour of the Party. The Communist Party of Kenya (CPK) was officially registered. It was a victory not just for the Party; but for ideological pluralism, proletarian resistance, and anti-imperialist commitment in Kenya.

#### **5.5 From CPK to CPMK: A Sharpening of Class Identity**

The transition from CPK to Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) marked a deeper ideological consolidation.

Why this name?

1. To distinguish ourselves from parties that use “communism” as a label, but practice revisionism in content;
2. To affirm the scientific grounding of the Party in Marxism-Leninism
3. To root the Party in Kenya’s specific conditions, class composition, and revolutionary traditions.

This was not branding. It was a political-ideological sharpening; a revolutionary reassertion of class line and historical task.

## **5.6 Cleansing the Party: The Rectification Struggle**

But even within the Party, errors remained. In 2022, two senior Party officials, the gang of two, Mwandawiro Mghanga and his student Benedict Wachira betrayed the Party's ideological and political line and declared support for the bourgeois Kenya Kwanza coalition, using forged documents and class collaboration to attempt a right-wing takeover.

The Party responded:

1. Organisationally: Through a principled split and rectification campaign;
2. Ideologically: By affirming that the Party must be rooted in the working class, not dominated by the petty bourgeoisie;
3. Politically: By recommitting to the mass line, internal democracy, and revolutionary discipline.

As our internal resolution stated: "It is better to have ten loyal cadres than a hundred opportunists. It is better to be feared by the bourgeoisie than praised by the media. We are not a club. We are the vanguard."

## **5.7 Building Forward: A Revolutionary Party for Our Time**

Today, the CPMK stands as the only Marxist-Leninist party in Kenya, and among the few in Africa to publicly and organisationally uphold:

1. The two-stage theory of revolution;
2. The dictatorship of the proletariat as one of the key objectives of NDR;
3. Democratic centralism as its internal structure;
4. The mass line as its organising principle;
5. Internationalist anti-imperialism as its global orientation.

The Party is not perfect. But it is alive, learning, fighting, and growing.

### **5.8 Closing Declaration:**

“The CPMK is not a product of the ballot. It is a product of struggle. It was born in dungeons. In exiles. In red study circles. In martyrdom. It carries the spirit of Kimathi, Pinto, Odinga, Kaggia; and the hopes of millions still waiting. Let it be defended. Let it be disciplined. Let it be feared. Let it lead.”

We now turn to Chapter 6: The Ideological Line of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK); the steel backbone of the Party. Without a clear, living ideology, a party may grow in numbers but will rot in purpose. This chapter shall affirm the Marxist-Leninist line of CPMK, its grounding in scientific socialism, and the creative application of theory to Kenya’s specific historical conditions. Here we clarify: the CPMK is not Marxist in name only. It is Marxist in theory, in structure, in method, and in purpose.

## CHAPTER 6

### *The Ideological Line of the CPMK*

“Our doctrine is not a dogma but a guide to action. It is not an imported garment but a sword tempered in the furnace of struggle.”

*Karl Marx (adapted)*

### **6.1 What Is Ideology?**

Ideology is not a slogan. It is a worldview rooted in class, a tool of analysis and action. Every ruling class has an ideology to justify its rule; from colonial Christianity to capitalist “development.” So must every revolutionary class. The working class has only one ideology that expresses its historical mission; the ideology born of scientific socialism: Marxism-Leninism.

This is not Western. It is not foreign. It is universal in method, concrete in application.

1. Marx uncovered the laws of motion of capitalism;
2. Engels systematised the dialectical materialist worldview;
3. Lenin developed the theory of the vanguard, the state, and imperialism;
4. Stalin led the building of socialism in one country under siege;
5. Mao advanced the theory of contradiction, mass line, protracted people’s war, and cultural revolution.

The CPMK stands upon these foundations, but it does not recite them mechanically. It applies them creatively to the terrain of Kenya. As Mao warned: “To copy foreign models blindly is to invite failure.”

## **6.2 The Foundation: Marxism-Leninism**

The CPMK holds that Marxism-Leninism is the highest theoretical development of revolutionary science to date. This ideological line provides us with:

Dialectical and Historical Materialism

1. Understanding the world not as fixed, but as a system of contradictions in motion.
2. Seeing society not through morality or culture, but through class and material conditions.

Class Struggle and the State

3. Recognising the state as an instrument of class domination; not neutral.
4. Understanding that bourgeois democracy is a shell; real democracy emerges only through people’s power.

The Vanguard Party

5. The proletariat requires a disciplined, ideological, centralised force; without which it cannot seize or hold power.

Imperialism as Highest Stage of Capitalism

6. Recognising that Kenya’s poverty is not accidental; it is the necessary outcome of global capitalist extraction.

National Liberation and Protracted Struggle

7. The path to socialism in the Global South must pass through national liberation, agrarian revolution, and mass mobilisation.

## **6.3 Creative Application: Marxism to the Kenyan Revolution**

The Kenyan revolution is not Chinese, not Russian, not Cuban; it is Kenyan. But it is guided by the same laws of class struggle.

The CPMK applies ML creatively through:

1. Concrete Analysis of Concrete Conditions
  - a) Kenya is a semi-feudal, neocolonial society.
  - b) The principal contradiction is between the broad masses and the imperialist-comprador-landlord bloc.

2. The Two-Stage Theory
  - c) The Kenyan revolution proceeds through the National Democratic stage, then advances uninterruptedly to socialism.
3. Mass Line
  - d) All policy must come from the masses, be synthesised by the Party, and returned to the masses with clarity and confidence in form of a political program.
4. Class Analysis of Society
  - e) No tribalism, no populism. Society is divided into classes. All oppression flows through this structure.
  - f) Gender oppression, youth exploitation, rural marginalisation; all are rooted in class and deepened by capitalism.
5. Cultural Struggle
  - g) The Party rejects both imperialist culture and conservative “traditionalism.”
  - h) We promote a revolutionary culture of struggle, collectivism, liberation, and anti-imperialist pride.

### **6.4 The Dangers of Ideological Drift**

The Party is not immune to ideological error. Revisionism, postmodernism, social democracy, and identity liberalism constantly creep into movements.

The CPMK is committed to ideological rectification; cleaning and cleansing the Party of:

1. Class collaborationism disguised as tactical alliance;
  2. Opportunism disguised as flexibility;
  3. NGO-ism disguised as activism;
  4. Petty-bourgeois liberalism disguised as radical identity discourse.
- “To be soft on ideology is to be soft on the enemy.”

### **6.5 The Role of the Party School and Theoretical Work**

The Pio Gama Pinto Ideological Institute is the theoretical headquarters of the revolution. It’s the boiling pot of budding revolutionaries, every cadre must pass through the school. It:

1. Trains cadres in ML;

2. Develops materials in English and Kiswahili for mass education;
3. Summarises mass struggles for ideological clarity;
4. Organises red study circles, public education, and revolutionary publishing (Itikadi).

The Party believes that theory is not a luxury. It is a weapon.

## **6.6 Internationalism and the Ideological Front**

The CPMK is clear that we are advancing our Kenyan revolution in the era of imperialism, the party holds firmly the principles of proletariat internationalism and solidarity and continues to build bilateral and fraternal relations with communist and workers parties globally. CPMK also participates in different global anti-imperialist platforms. part of a growing global current of parties reasserting ML:

We are in dialogue, solidarity, and theoretical exchange. The Kenyan revolution is part of the world revolution; and it will contribute to its advancement.

## **6.7 Closing Declaration:**

“Our ideology is not up for negotiation. It is not a brand. It is the living method of liberation.

We shall not dilute it for elections. We shall not soften it for donors. We shall not apologise for Marx, Lenin, or Mao. We shall study. We shall apply. We shall teach. We shall struggle. And through Marxism-Leninism, we shall win.”

Let us now turn to Chapter 7: The Political Line: The Minimum and Maximum Programme; the compass of revolutionary transformation, the bridge between what is immediately necessary and what is ultimately possible.

Where ideology is our worldview, the political line is our roadmap. It tells us not only where we are going, socialism and communism, but also how to get there through concrete, historical stages.

## CHAPTER 7

### *The Political Line—The Minimum and Maximum Programme*

“To lead the revolution, one must have a programme. A Party without a programme is like a hunter without a spear. The question is not whether the revolution will be completed, but whether we shall dare to begin it on a correct political foundation.”

*CPMK rectification program*

#### **7.1 Why We Need a Political Programme**

The political programme is not a manifesto for elections. It is the summary of the revolution’s strategic and tactical tasks. It defines:

1. **The Minimum Programme:** Immediate tasks in the current historical stage (National Democratic Revolution – NDR).
2. **The Maximum Programme:** Ultimate goal — the establishment of socialism and, eventually, communism.

This structure allows the Party to organise the people around demands that strike at the root of their suffering today; while guiding them forward to the horizon of liberation.

## **7.2 The Two Stages of the Kenyan Revolution**

Following Lenin and Mao, the CPMK affirms that the Kenyan revolution must proceed through two distinct but connected stages:

Stage 1: The National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

1. This stage aims to eliminate the semi-feudal, neocolonial order.
2. It unites workers, peasants, women, and the progressive petty bourgeoisie against:
  - i. Imperialism
  - ii. Comprador-Bureaucrat capitalism
  - iii. The landlord class
  - iv. Patriarchal, ethnic, and cultural oppression

It is not yet socialist, but it lays the material and political foundation for socialism.

Stage 2: The Socialist Revolution

3. Once the bourgeois-landlord state has been smashed and the masses organised, we advance to:
  - i. Socialist construction
  - ii. A planned economy
  - iii. Collective ownership
  - iv. A people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat

There is no “High Wall” between these stages. The socialist revolution grows from the womb of the national democratic stage.

## **7.3 The Minimum Programme: Revolutionary Democratic Tasks**

The Minimum Programme is not reformist. It is revolutionary-democratic; it seeks to rupture the existing social order.

Key Tasks:

1. Land to the Tiller – Smash Landlordism!
  - i. Lower Land Rent and Abolish Usury: Organise peasants to resist exploitative tenancy and interest rates.
  - ii. Increase Farmgate Prices and End Market Exploitation: Establish producer cooperatives to fight price suppression by brokers and cartels.
  - iii. Promote Collective Farming: Mobilise women's groups and youth brigades into agricultural cooperatives.

- iv. Secure Customary and Communal Land Rights: Defend communities against evictions and land grabs under the guise of “development.”
  - v. Legal and Political Support for Peasant Struggles: Provide cadre-led legal education and advocacy at village level
  - vi. Confiscate idle land held by landlords, corporations, and corrupt officials.
  - vii. Redistribute land to the landless and land-poor peasants.
2. Dismantle Imperialist Control
    - i. Cancel unequal treaties, resource extraction contracts, and military pacts.
    - ii. Nationalise strategic sectors (energy, minerals, infrastructure).
    - iii. Expel AFRICOM and foreign military presence.
  3. Abolish the Neocolonial State
    - i. Replace bourgeois institutions with people’s councils.
    - ii. Establish revolutionary people’s power at every level.
  4. Liberate the Oppressed Masses
    - i. End gender-based oppression and guarantee full rights to women and LGBTQ+ people.
    - ii. Destroy tribalism and ethnic chauvinism; build class unity.
    - iii. Guarantee youth, workers’, and disabled persons’ rights.
  5. Education, Health, and Culture for the People
    - i. Free, universal, decolonised education.
    - ii. Socialist-oriented public health system.
    - iii. Promote revolutionary culture and anti-imperialist media.
  6. Organise the People’s Armed Defence
    - i. Form revolutionary militias under Party leadership to defend gains of the masses.

These are not policy options; they are non-negotiable revolutionary demands.

### 7.4 The Maximum Programme: Socialism and Communism

The Maximum Programme reflects our vision of a classless society, where:

- i. All means of production are socially owned.
- ii. Labour is freely associated, not exploited.
- iii. Production is based on need, not profit.
- iv. The state begins to wither away as class antagonisms dissolve.

The Maximum Programme is not a distant dream. It is the necessary outcome of our movement if carried to completion. As Lenin said: “We do not postpone socialism. We prepare for it through every act of struggle today.”

### 7.5 Rejecting Reformism and Electoral Opportunism

The CPMK does not confuse the Minimum Programme with reformism. The difference is clear:

Reformism	Minimum Programme
Adjusts the existing system	Dismantles the existing system
Begs for space	Builds new organs of people’s power
Accepts capitalist logic	Rejects imperialist-capitalist logic
Campaigns for elections	Organises for revolutionary rupture

We use electoral platforms only tactically, never strategically; and only when it serves revolutionary mobilisation, not vote-chasing.

### 7.6 The United Front and Revolutionary Alliances

The Minimum Programme is carried forward through a United Front of all anti-imperialist, democratic, and revolutionary forces, led by the working class and its Party.

The United Front must:

- 1. Maintain class independence;
- 2. Be flexible in tactics, firm in strategy;
- 3. Reject bourgeois leadership;
- 4. Be grounded in mass struggle, not elite dialogue.

The CPMK builds unity, but never at the cost of its ideological clarity or class orientation.

## **7.7 Conclusion: Programmatic Clarity is Political Power**

“Where there is no programme, there is no movement. Where there is no clarity, there is confusion. But where the Party defines its political line; and fights for it; the masses will rise.”

Let us now take up the steel backbone of our Party, organisational line, the iron discipline, the mass anchoring, the internal cohesion that makes it not just a grouping, but a vanguard. A weapon forged in struggle. A guidepost in storm.

## CHAPTER 8

### *The Organisational Line—Democratic Centralism and Revolutionary Discipline*

“Without revolutionary organisation, there can be no revolutionary movement.”

*Lenin*

“You may have a spear, but if you do not sharpen it, it cannot pierce the enemy.”

*Kikuyu Proverb*

### **8.1 Why Organisation is Central to Revolution**

Revolution is not spontaneous. It must be organised. The ruling class has its state, police, courts, and media. The people must have their own weapon: the revolutionary Party, organised with discipline, unity, and clarity of purpose

Organisation is the bridge between ideology and practice, between political line and mass action. Without revolutionary organisation, even the clearest ideas remain paper tigers. But with organisation, even a small force can defeat a giant.

## 8.2 The Core Principle: Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism is the organisational principle that gives the Party both flexibility and unity, freedom and discipline.

Its Four Pillars:

1. Democracy in Discussion
  - a. All members have the right and duty to participate in decision-making at their level.
  - b. Collective summing-up is encouraged at all levels, based on the mass line.
2. Centralism in Action
  - c. Once a decision is made through democratic means, all members must uphold it.
  - d. No factionalism. No double lines. Unity in practice.
3. Minority Obeys the Majority
  - e. This ensures the will of the Party is not paralysed by individual disagreements.
  - f. Internal debates are resolved within the Party; not in public or in the media.
4. Lower Organs Obey Higher Organs
  - g. The authority of the Central Committee is upheld.
  - h. Party discipline ensures ideological and political unity from the top down; and from the base up.

This principle is not mechanical. It is dialectical. It fuses creativity and control, initiative and coordination.

## 8.3 Revolutionary Discipline: Steel Tempered in Struggle

The CPMK understands discipline not as obedience, but as conscious loyalty to the cause.

Revolutionary discipline means:

1. Prioritising collective interests over personal ambitions.
2. Upholding the Party line even in the face of repression, exile, or death.
3. Being accountable to your unit, your comrades, and the masses.

“Without discipline, the enemy infiltrates. With discipline, the people triumph.”

## **8.4 The Mass Line as Organisational Method**

Organisation is not commandism. The Party does not sit above the masses. It draws its strength from the mass line:

1. Go to the masses
2. Listen to their concerns
3. Analyse their experiences through the living science of Marxism
4. Formulate a line
5. Return to the masses to lead struggle

This is how we build mass organisations: youth leagues, women's movements, student cells, trade unions, peasant committees. They are not substitutes for the Party, but extensions of its political line.

## **8.5 Building the Vanguard Party**

The CPMK does not aim to be a big party, but a correct party.

Criteria for a Vanguard:

1. Firm ideological training: Cadres study Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, and African revolutionary theory.
2. Tight organisation: Small units, clear hierarchy, regular reporting.
3. Deep mass anchoring: Red Cells rooted in workplaces, communities, farms, schools.
4. Collective leadership: No personality cults. Leadership is accountable to the collective.
5. Active struggle: Party leads, not follows; organises, not observes.

We reject both liberal NGO-ism and bureaucratic commandism. We forge a Party that is both rigorous in theory and relentless in struggle.

## **8.6 Rectification and Internal Education**

Mistakes will occur. Deviations will arise. Hence, the Party maintains permanent internal education and rectification.

Tools include:

1. Criticism and self-criticism sessions
2. Regular ideological summation
3. Cadre school, the Pio Gama Pinto Ideological Institute
4. Campaigns to correct mistaken ideas, as Mao outlined in his 1929 document

This ensures the Party remains a living, learning, correcting organism; not a rigid bureaucracy.

## 8.7 Rejecting Factionalism, Liquidationism, and Liberalism

The Party must guard against:

1. Factionalism: Organising secret groups within the Party around non-Marxist ideas.
2. Liquidationism: Abandoning Party organisation in favour of amorphous “movements.”
3. Liberalism: Prioritising personal feelings over collective interests.

“A single grain of sand in the eye can blind a fighter. We must be vigilant against liberalism.”

## 8.8 Party and Mass Organisations: Distinct but Linked

The Party leads, the mass organisations fight. But the line must be clear:

Party	Mass Organisations
Vanguard of the proletariat	Vehicles for specific class/sectoral struggle
Formulates political line	Implement line in practice
Organised in cells and committees	Organised in associations and formations

The two are connected through political leadership, not administrative control. Mass organisations must have internal democracy; but ideological leadership by the Party.

CPMK uphold a mass line of leadership that is not imposed from above but emerges from the concrete struggles of the masses. Leadership by good example is not a slogan; it is a material necessity. The revolutionary must be the first to suffer and the last to eat. Cadres must embody discipline, humility, and sacrifice, for to command without serving is to fall into the arrogance of the petty bourgeoisie.

Leadership through correct policies is not about personal wisdom, but about synthesising the scattered ideas of the masses into a coherent political line and returning that line to the people for validation through practice. This dialectic between leadership and mass initiative is anchored

in the principle of subsidiarity; the understanding that power and decision-making must rest at the lowest possible level, with the grassroots, unless elevated by necessity. Party branches, Red Cells, youth and women's organs must have the space and responsibility to lead within their terrain. True revolutionary leadership is not centralised commandism, but unified clarity forged through participatory struggle. Without this, there is no mass line; only bureaucratism and decay.

### **8.9 Revolutionary Leadership in Times of Repression**

In conditions of neocolonial violence, the Party must be able to operate clandestinely when necessary, while maintaining open mass work.

This requires:

1. Security consciousness
2. Tactical flexibility
3. Rotation of cadres
4. Underground communication and printing infrastructure

We study the experiences of the CPP, the ANC underground, and Latin American Marxist-Leninist parties; adapting their lessons to Kenya's context.

### **8.10 Conclusion: Organisation is Victory in Motion**

An idea becomes a material force when it grips the masses. But only organisation transforms force into victory. A Party rooted in ideology, anchored in the masses, steeled in discipline, and united in action; such a Party is invincible.

We now proceed to the question of alliance and leadership; how the Party leads without substituting, how the United Front is built, and why without the vanguard, revolution remains a slogan.

## CHAPTER 9

### *The Vanguard Party and the United Front*

“Only a party which is able to lead the working class, the poor peasantry and all the oppressed masses, only such a party, a real vanguard, can make revolution a reality.”

*Mao Zedong*

“The hunter does not go into the forest alone—he goes with those who know the terrain.”

*West African Proverb*

### **9.1 The Vanguard is the Engine of Revolution**

A vanguard is not merely a group with advanced ideas. It is a disciplined, organised force that leads in ideological clarity, political line, and mass practice. The vanguard is the brain, the spine, and the spearhead of the revolutionary process.

The CPMK stands as such a vanguard in neocolonial semi-feudal Kenya; not by proclamation, but by proving itself in struggle. It does not trail behind the masses, nor does it substitute itself for the masses. It leads through:

1. Class analysis rooted in Marxism-Leninism
2. The mass line as method
3. Organisational discipline and mass anchoring

## 9.2 The United Front: Strategic Alliance of the Oppressed

The United Front is the broadest possible alliance under the leadership of the working class, organised and led by its vanguard.

It unites:

1. Workers and peasants
2. Semi-proletarians and petty traders
3. Women and youth
4. Students and progressive intellectuals
5. National minorities and oppressed ethnic groups
6. Progressive elements of the petty bourgeoisie
7. The vacillating National bourgeoisie

The United Front is not amorphous. It has a political centre: the revolutionary Party. Without a vanguard, the United Front becomes a tailist bloc, easily manipulated by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opportunists. With a vanguard, it becomes a fighting front; a coalition that dismantles the old order and constructs the new.

## 9.3 Vanguard and United Front: Dialectical Unity

The relationship between the vanguard and the United Front is dialectical, not mechanical.

Vanguard (CPMK)	United Front
Provides ideological leadership	Provides mass breadth
Leads strategic direction	Mobilises wide forces
Exercises discipline and clarity	Exercises flexibility and inclusion
Holds state power in revolution	Supports revolutionary seizure of power

The vanguard must not dominate, but it must lead. Leadership is not imposition; it is won in struggle.

## 9.4 The National Democratic United Front

In Kenya’s conditions, semi-feudal, neocolonial, the United Front is constructed as a National Democratic Front (NDF), directed against:

1. Imperialism (especially US, British, EU)
2. Comprador and bureaucrat capitalism
3. Landlordism and Feudalism

Its class character is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and pro-worker-peasant. The NDF unites the basic revolutionary forces (workers and poor peasants) with the intermediate forces, and neutralises vacillating elements.

### **9.5 Conditions for Vanguard Leadership**

Leadership is not given; it is seized. The Party must:

1. Earn the trust of the masses by consistently standing with them in struggle
2. Prove its analysis through accurate predictions and correct political lines
3. Practise unity-criticism-unity in all mass alliances
4. Train cadres to serve in all class and sectoral formations of the Front

The vanguard must maintain ideological independence, political clarity, and organisational cohesion, even in the most complex alliances.

### **9.6 Beware of Substitutionism and Populism**

Two dangers threaten the unity of vanguard and front:

1. Substitutionism – when the Party acts for the masses instead of with them; when it stifles initiative
2. Populism – when the Party tails behind spontaneous movements, abandoning Marxism for popularity

Both lead to bourgeois hegemony in the United Front. The CPMK wages internal struggle to resist these deviations.

### **9.7 Political Education and Line Struggle within the Front**

The vanguard does not impose itself. It wins leadership by raising political consciousness within the United Front.

This requires:

1. Systematic education of allies in anti-imperialism and Marxism
2. Sharp ideological struggle against revisionism, postmodernism, identity politics, and NGO-ism
3. Continuous summation and rectification of United Front practice

Just as a fire needs air to breathe, a United Front needs education to survive.

## **9.8 The United Front as Strategic Weapon for Seizure of Power**

In revolutionary crisis, the United Front can:

1. Launch general political strikes
2. Disrupt the enemy's administrative and ideological apparatus
3. Build organs of dual power in liberated zones

Under Party leadership, the Front becomes a hammer to smash neo-colonialism and a seed to plant the new people's state.

## **9.9 Case Studies for Cadre Learning**

We draw lessons from:

1. The Chinese United Front against Japanese imperialism
2. The Vietnamese National Liberation Front
3. The Philippine National Democratic Front
4. The African National Congress and Tripartite Alliance

From these, we learn the necessity of:

1. Maintaining the class leadership of the proletariat
2. Guarding against bourgeois capture of popular fronts
3. Embedding the mass line in every level of the alliance

## **9.10 Conclusion: The Party Must Lead the Front, and Learn from the Front**

“A lion leads not by roaring, but by guiding the hunt.” The vanguard leads not with arrogance, but with clarity, discipline, and humility. The United Front does not substitute the Party, but neither can the Party march alone. They are the spear and the shield of revolutionary advance. Together, they forge the path to People's Power.

We now enter Chapter 10, Cadre Development and Revolutionary Consciousness, where we delve into the lifeblood of the revolution: the forging of revolutionary humans, the raising of political clarity, and the transformation of consciousness through ideological struggle and practice.

## CHAPTER 10

### *Cadre Development and Revolutionary Consciousness*

“The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace the criticism of weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.”

*Karl Marx*

“You cannot fatten a cow by shouting at it. You must feed it, daily and consistently.”

*Luo Proverb*

### **10.1 Cadres Are the Backbone of the Revolution**

Cadres are not mere members. They are the steel spine of the revolutionary movement; trained, tempered, tested. The CPMK understands that without revolutionary cadres, there is no revolutionary Party; without a revolutionary Party, the masses remain disorganised anger.

Cadres:

1. Study, understand and apply Marxism-Leninism
2. Link with the masses through the mass line
3. Serve the people wholeheartedly
4. Operate under discipline and ideological clarity

As Comrade Fidel Castro said: “The strength of a revolution lies in the clarity of its cadres.”

## 10.2 Raising Revolutionary Consciousness

Consciousness is not spontaneous. It must be raised, sharpened, and tested in the crucible of struggle.

There are three levels of consciousness:

1. Class-in-itself: Spontaneous awareness of suffering
2. Class-for-itself: Organised, conscious struggle
3. Class-for-others: Proletarian internationalism and Party commitment

Cadre development aims to elevate the masses from rage to revolution, from protest to power, from despair to dialectics.

## 10.3 The Three-Stage Learning Process (Mao's Method)

The CPMK has adopted and adapted Mao's Three Stages of Learning:

1. Social Investigation & Class Analysis
  - a. Learn from the people
  - b. Identify class forces, contradictions, and alliances
2. Assessment & Line Development
  - c. Draw political conclusions
  - d. Develop revolutionary line from facts
3. Summation & Rectification
  - e. Review practice
  - f. Correct mistakes, consolidate lessons

Each stage ensures that the Party remains grounded in reality and that cadres do not become bookish bureaucrats, but revolutionaries forged in the people's fire.

## 10.4 The Role of the Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School

The Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School (PGPIS) is the furnace of Marxist education for cadres.

It:

1. Conducts ideological training for all levels of the Party
2. Develops bilingual materials (English–Kiswahili) for accessibility
3. Trains Red Cells, youth leagues, women's cadres, and mass organisation leaders

4. Studies classical and contemporary theory rooted in Kenyan realities

The PGPIS develops not just understanding, but the capacity to teach, organise, and lead. It is not a school of the elite, but a university of the oppressed.

### **10.5 The Mass Line as a Tool of Consciousness**

The mass line is the red thread that links cadre to masses.

It is a method of:

1. Listening deeply to the masses' grievances and insights
2. Synthesising them through Marxist analysis
3. Returning them as clear revolutionary tasks

Cadres must never see themselves as above the people. They must act as students of the people, teachers of the people, servants of the people.

The slogan is clear:

“From the masses, to the masses; never above the masses.”

### **10.6 Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party**

Revolutionary consciousness is not a straight line. Deviations arise. The Party corrects them through criticism and self-criticism, and ideological campaigns.

Common errors:

1. Technocratism – ignoring class struggle for technical fixes
2. Commandism – issuing orders without investigation
3. Tailism – following spontaneity without leadership
4. Revisionism – replacing Marxism with liberalism or identity politics

The Party applies ideological struggle to defeat these errors without crushing comrades. As Mao taught: “Cure the disease, save the patient.”

### **10.7 Training in Class Struggle, Not Careerism**

Cadre education must develop:

1. Class hatred for oppressors
2. Scientific understanding of society
3. Skills for organising and leading

It must not become a career path. The Party fights the growth of:

1. Self-promotion
2. Academic elitism
3. Liberal NGO-infiltrated mentality

Cadre promotion is based on practice, loyalty, discipline and ideological clarity; not on certificates or bourgeois credentials.

### **10.8 The Revolutionary Cadre is a Warrior-Scholar**

The CPMK's cadre ideal is the warrior-scholar; a committed militant with:

1. The heart of a servant
2. The mind of a dialectician
3. The discipline of a soldier
4. The courage of a rebel

Every cadre must read theory, apply it to practice, and summarise experience for the collective. No cadre is too advanced to learn; no mass is too "backward" to teach. We all climb the mountain of revolution together.

### **10.9 Revolutionary Culture and Consciousness**

Cadres must absorb revolutionary values into everyday culture:

1. Simple living, high thinking
2. Collectivism, not individualism
3. Service to the people, not self-promotion
4. Love of labour, not idleness
5. Internationalism, not chauvinism

Culture is a tool of class struggle. The CPMK integrates revolutionary art, music, theatre, and storytelling into political education; to awaken not just minds, but hearts.

### **10.10 Conclusion: Forge Cadres Like Steel**

Without well-forged cadres, the revolution is a castle built on sand. With disciplined, conscious, and rooted cadres, the CPMK shall not only stand; it shall march forward, seize power, and build socialism.

We proceed to Chapter 11: Women, Gender, and Class Struggle; where we expose patriarchal oppression under semi-feudalism and neo-colonialism, affirm the leadership role of revolutionary women, and integrate gender struggle into the national democratic revolution?

## CHAPTER 11

### *Women, Gender, and Class Struggle in the National Democratic Revolution*

“The proletarian revolution must not only liberate the working class, it must also unleash the power of women — who carry half the sky.”

*Mao Zedong*

“When the cooking pot boils, even the child who plays far off runs to it.”

*Kiswahili proverb*

### **11.1 Women as a Revolutionary Force**

The liberation of women is not a side issue, a “women’s question,” or an add-on to the class struggle. It is a central contradiction in both the semi-feudal and neocolonial structure of Kenya.

The CPMK proclaims:

1. Women are not victims to be saved, but masses to be organised.
2. The subjugation of women is rooted in private property, patriarchy, and class society.
3. The liberation of women cannot be separated from the liberation of the whole people.

Without the full mobilisation and leadership of working-class and peasant women, the revolution cannot and will not win.

## **11.2 Triple Oppression Under Neo-colonialism**

In Kenya, the majority of women suffer from triple oppression:

1. As members of an exploited class – landless peasants, low-wage workers, informal sector labourers
2. As women under patriarchal traditions – denied property, autonomy, and voice
3. As oppressed national subjects – colonised by imperialist finance, militarism, and cultural domination

This triple burden is no abstraction. It is the everyday experience of millions of Kenyan women in:

1. unpaid domestic labour
2. childbearing without healthcare
3. rape and sexual violence by landlords, police, and bosses
4. land dispossession and inheritance exclusion
5. ideological control by religion and bourgeois “culture”
6. economic marginalisation in wage work and leadership

## **11.3 Revolutionary Feminism vs Bourgeois Feminism**

The CPMK rejects bourgeois feminism, which elevates individual elite women while leaving the masses in chains.

We uphold revolutionary, proletarian feminism, which insists:

1. Women’s liberation is inseparable from the destruction of the class system
2. Tokenism, NGO-ism, and gender-washing are weapons of reaction
3. The correct method is mass mobilisation, political education, and class struggle

Bourgeois feminism says: “Let women rule within capitalism.” We say: “Down with capitalism; and patriarchy with it!”

## **11.4 Revolutionary Women’s Organisation: The Revolutionary Women’s League (RWL)**

The CPMK’s Revolutionary Women’s League (RWL) is not a welfare wing, but an organised fighting force.

Its tasks:

1. Mobilise and organise women among the workers, peasants, informal sector and rural masses
2. Conduct ideological education rooted in Marxism-Leninism and African feminist traditions
3. Train women as cadre, leaders, and organisers of the national democratic revolution
4. Expose and destroy patriarchal practices inside and outside the Party
5. Build women's participation in the United Front and the basic alliance

As Lenin taught: "The experience of all liberation movements confirms that the success of a revolution depends on the degree to which women take part in it."

### **11.5 Patriarchy and Semi-Feudalism**

The CPMK identifies semi-feudalism as a key base of women's oppression in Kenya:

1. Bride price commodifies women as property
2. Land inheritance excludes women from productive assets
3. Customary law reinforces male control of decision-making
4. Rural religious authority (Christian, Muslim, traditionalist) upholds patriarchal dominance

This is why we say:

1. No true land reform without women's land rights
2. No rural revolution without breaking patriarchal customs
3. No Party growth unless women lead, speak, and decide

### **11.6 Fight Against Sexism and Patriarchy in the Party**

We must not only fight patriarchy in society; we must fight it within the Party.

Sexism within the revolutionary movement:

1. Silences women's contributions
2. Reduces them to "support roles"
3. Trivialises gender-based violence
4. Reproduces bourgeois gender roles in revolutionary form

The CPMK has adopted a policy of:

1. Zero tolerance for gender-based violence

2. Collective criticism and rectification of male chauvinism
3. Affirmative development of women leaders and organisers
4. Mandatory gender education for all cadres

Our internal slogan:

“No liberation of the people without the liberation of women!”

### **11.7 Intersectionality Without Liberalism**

We understand that gender oppression intersects with class, nationality, ethnicity, ability, and sexuality. But we reject liberal identity politics, which fragments the struggle and individualises oppression.

We apply a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist class analysis to gender oppression:

1. Not every woman is oppressed in the same way
2. The working woman faces different oppression from the bourgeois woman
3. Proletarian women lead the way; not NGO directors or imperialist feminists

We build unity through class line, not through identity tokenism.

### **11.8 LGBTQ+ Rights, Gender Nonconformity, and the NDR**

The CPMK recognises that gender non-conforming comrades and LGBTQ+ masses face:

1. State repression
2. Social exclusion
3. Patriarchal violence

We declare:

1. Every human being has the right to dignity, security, and revolutionary participation
2. Trans and queer comrades belong in the struggle
3. Their liberation is part of the people’s liberation

We oppose both:

1. Imperialist rainbow-washing of neocolonial regimes
2. Reactionary moralism and bigotry

We do not liberalise the revolution; we revolutionise the fight for gender justice. We reject the rainbow capitalism that only fights for

inclusion of Trans and queer but we correctly identify with the struggles of the oppressed LGBTQ+ as comrades in arms.

## **11.9 Conclusion: Women Hold Up Half the Sky: Let Them Lead**

“A revolution is not a dinner party. But neither is it a men’s club. Let every revolutionary woman rise, organise, and lead!”

The CPMK upholds the complete integration of women into:

1. The basic alliance (workers and peasants)
2. The United Front
3. The vanguard Party
4. The struggle for national and gender liberation

The revolution in Kenya shall not be complete until the rural woman, the working mother, the young comrade, the gender-diverse worker, the queer organiser, and the elder matriarch stand up, not as tokens, but as leaders. Revolutionary women, to the front!

We proceed to Chapter 12 – The Party and the National Democratic United Front; to clarify how the CPMK builds a broad revolutionary alliance of class forces for anti-imperialist and anti-feudal victory.

## CHAPTER 12

### *The Party and the National Democratic United Front*

“Unite all who can be united. Strike at the enemy’s heart with the strength of many arms. A single stick breaks easily; a bundle does not.”  
*Mao Zedong, On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship*

“Unity is strength. Division is weakness. Even the teeth and the tongue sometimes fight; but they must share the same mouth.”  
*Luo proverb*

### **12.1 The Necessity of a United Front**

The National Democratic Revolution cannot succeed through the isolated action of the proletariat alone. In a semi-feudal, neocolonial society such as Kenya, the revolution must be fought by a broad alliance of all oppressed and patriotic classes.

The Party leads the revolution, but it must not substitute itself for the masses. The CPMK must forge a United Front; a revolutionary alliance of all classes and strata opposed to imperialism, feudalism, landlordism and comprador capitalism.

This United Front is not an opportunist coalition. It is a strategic, class-based alliance under the firm ideological, political, and organisational leadership of the proletariat, through its vanguard Party.

## 12.2 The Basic Alliance: Workers and Peasants

At the heart of the United Front is the basic alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

1. The proletariat provides revolutionary theory, organisation, and direction.
2. The peasantry, especially the poor and landless peasants, provides revolutionary energy and numbers.

This alliance is the spine of the National Democratic Revolution. Without it, the revolution collapses. With it, it becomes invincible.

As Mao taught:

“Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the utmost importance for the revolution.”

In Kenya, this means:

1. Organising rural masses against landlords and land-grabbers
2. Linking urban strikes with peasant land occupations
3. Educating workers and peasants in revolutionary ideology
4. Uniting industrial labour and rural poor in common anti-imperialist struggle

## 12.3 Classes to Unite

The United Front must bring together:

1. Industrial workers (formal and informal)
2. Landless peasants and poor farmers
3. Patriotic petty bourgeoisie (students, intellectuals, small traders, progressive professionals)
4. Urban poor and marginalised informal sector (Semi-proletariat)
5. Oppressed minorities (indigenous communities like the Ogiek)
6. Gender and sexual minorities

Some intermediate forces; such as the national bourgeoisie, middle and rich peasant; may be temporarily or partially won over depending on the stage of struggle, provided they are anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and not enemies of the people. The United Front is both flexible and firm. It must include the many; but always be led by the few who represent the working class.

## 12.4 Who to Isolate

The CPMK's revolutionary United Front must unite the many to isolate the few, namely:

1. Imperialists (US, EU, and their military and financial institutions)
2. Big landlords and feudal remnants
3. Comprador bourgeoisie who serve foreign capital
4. Bureaucrat capitalists who plunder the state for private gain
5. Neo-fascist forces, religious chauvinists, ethnic inciters, and reactionaries

This isolation is not rhetorical; it must be political, economic, and social. These enemy forces must find themselves surrounded by a sea of organised masses.

## 12.5 Forms of United Front Work

The Party leads; but the United Front organises and mobilises. It must take diverse forms:

1. Mass organisations (youth, women, students, trade unions, tenants, peasants)
2. Alliances with patriotic parties and movements
3. Joint campaigns on issues such as land, food, housing, education, health, and imperialist war
4. Cultural and media fronts; revolutionary art, music, press, and theatre
5. People's self-defence and mutual aid networks

In all these, the principle holds: "Independence and initiative under unified leadership." The Party leads, but the masses organise themselves. The Party educates, but the people speak for themselves. The Party gives direction, but not dictation.

## 12.6 Party-Mass Relationship

The CPMK's mass line remains our guide: "From the masses, to the masses."

The United Front is not a cover for opportunist alliances. It is the concrete form through which:

1. The Party listens to the people's struggles
2. The Party educates the masses in class consciousness

3. The Party builds revolutionary confidence and unity
4. The masses learn through their own participation in struggle

No organisation can join the United Front as a passive affiliate. All must agree to:

1. Uphold anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism
2. Respect the leadership of the working class
3. Participate in joint action and ideological development

## **12.7 Strategy and Tactics of United Front Work**

Our strategy must be:

1. To build the broadest unity of revolutionary and progressive forces
2. To isolate and crush the enemies of the people
3. To expand the political consciousness and initiative of the masses

Our tactics include:

1. Winning over wavering classes without conceding class struggle
2. Exposing reactionary politics in popular language
3. Building campaigns that connect daily struggles to revolutionary goals
4. Using every arena; schools, workplaces, markets, churches, cultural spaces; to build revolutionary alliances

We must be bold but patient, militant but flexible, uncompromising on principle but strategic in practice.

## **12.8 Conclusion: Unity as a Weapon of War**

The United Front is not merely a political slogan. It is a weapon of war in the hands of the oppressed.

“To win liberation, we must unite all who can be united. The wind may scatter dry leaves; but the fire spreads faster in the forest when all trees catch flame together.”

The CPMK shall:

1. Build the basic alliance of workers and peasants
2. Lead the masses in forming revolutionary mass organisations
3. Forge principled unity with anti-imperialist forces across Kenya and Africa
4. Never abandon class leadership, never betray revolutionary clarity

### 5. United Front for Land, Food, and National Liberation!

Let us now proceed to Chapter 13: The Youth and the Student Movement in the National Democratic Revolution: where we clarify the revolutionary role of the new generation and the tasks of building the Red youth and student front.

## CHAPTER 13

### *The Youth and the Student Movement in the National Democratic Revolution*

“The youth are the firewood of the revolution. If they burn bright, the nation sees light. If they are dampened, the fire smokes and chokes.”  
*Luo proverb*

“The world belongs to the youth. The future belongs to the youth. But they must seize it with iron hands and build it with iron discipline.”  
*Mao Zedong*

“The Youth are the spark of the revolution”  
*Kwame Nkrumah*

### **13.1 Youth as a Revolutionary Force**

In every genuine revolution, the youth have stood in the frontlines, their energy electrifying the streets, their daring unmasking hypocrisy, and their vision daring to imagine a new world.

In Kenya, youth form the majority of the population. Yet they are shackled by:

1. Mass unemployment and precarious work
2. Police brutality and state repression
3. Drug abuse and lumpenisation
4. Cultural alienation and moral decay

### 5. Miseducation under a neocolonial curriculum

The system seeks to depoliticise and neutralise youth, turning them into tools of electoral violence, capitalist consumption, or despair. But the National Democratic Revolution sees youth as builders of a new society.

## **13.2 The Student Movement and Revolutionary Consciousness**

Students; especially in secondary schools, colleges, polytechnics, and universities; represent a critical segment of the radicalised petty bourgeoisie. They sit at the crossroads of:

1. Social contradiction (many come from working-class or peasant families)
2. Political exposure (many experience direct state repression)
3. Intellectual potential (they have the capacity to grasp Marxist-Leninist theory)

When students ally with the workers and peasants, they become a powerful force. When they remain detached, they drift into liberalism, careerism, or reactionary elitism.

The task of the Party is to:

1. Win students to the revolutionary line
2. Link their struggles to the broader masses
3. Elevate student politics from liberal protest to proletarian consciousness

## **13.3 The Organisational Role of Revolutionary Youth and Students**

The CPMK has fostered the development of mass youth and student organisations, including:

1. The Revolutionary Youth League (RYL)
2. The Revolutionary Students' Commission (RSC)

These organisations serve multiple roles:

1. Ideological education in Marxism-Leninism
2. Mobilisation around anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles
3. Training grounds for future Party cadre
4. Mass organisations for political action; in schools, communities, and workplaces

They must uphold:

1. Class independence — never tailing forces
2. Mass line — drawing from and returning to the lived conditions of youth

### **13.4 Issues Facing the Youth and Students**

The revolutionary youth and student movement must organise around concrete, material issues, including:

1. Free, decolonised, and scientific education
2. Jobs and secure livelihoods
3. Affordable housing and healthcare
4. Resistance to police brutality and state repression
5. Mental health and collective healing
6. Gender and sexual justice
7. Freedom of association and expression

But these are not reformist ends; they are entry points for radicalisation, windows into the structural roots of oppression.

As Lenin taught: “Every strike teaches the worker more than a thousand pamphlets; if revolutionaries are there to provide analysis.” So too, every youth protest, school boycott, or student demonstration must be connected to the larger struggle for national and social liberation.

### **13.5 Youth, Culture, and Revolutionary Morality**

Youth are the main producers and consumers of culture. But under imperialism, culture becomes:

1. A weapon of alienation
2. A channel for individualism
3. A market for capitalist interests

The revolutionary youth movement must:

1. Promote socialist values; collectivity, equality, discipline, sacrifice
2. Defend indigenous languages, music, and traditions with critical awareness
3. Cultivate revolutionary art; music, poetry, graffiti, theatre, dance
4. Struggle against lumpen culture, drug abuse, and misogyny
5. Build moral strength rooted in proletarian ethics

Revolutionary culture is not neutral. It must be guided by political line and class struggle.

### **13.6 Building the Youth Front in the United Front**

The youth and student organisations must play a vanguard role within the broader United Front:

1. Linking school-based struggles to national campaigns
2. Forging unity with rural youth, informal workers, and unemployed graduates
3. Participating in land occupations, rent strikes, mutual aid, and self-defence
4. Building alliances with women's movements, LGBTQ+ youth, and disabled youth
5. Raising political consciousness through forums, media, and study cells

The CPMK must equip youth with ideological clarity, organisational tools, and the confidence to lead struggles in their own names; under Party guidance.

### **13.7 CPMK Principles of Mass Organization**

1. Mass Line: From the Masses, To the Masses

We do not invent struggles in the abstract. We go to the people, investigate their conditions, gather their scattered ideas, synthesise them through Marxist analysis, and return a clear line to the masses for testing and verification. This is the revolutionary method of Mao Zedong:

“Take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own.”

This is not populism, nor tailism. It is a dialectical unity of leadership and mass initiative.

2. Politics in Command

CPMK insists that mass work must always be political work. We do not engage the masses as NGOs or charity workers. Whether in a workers' cooperative, a tenant association, or a youth study group, class struggle must be made conscious, and exploitation must be named.

We do not hide our ideology. We unfold it organically, anchored in the concrete contradictions people already face; hunger, landlessness, unemployment, sexual violence, state brutality.

### 3. Serve the People Wholeheartedly

Every cadre must place the interests of the oppressed above self-interest. The masses must come to see the Party as their own; not an external saviour, but an organised expression of their own power.

This principle requires:

- a) Living among the people
- b) Sharing their labour and hardship
- c) Listening before speaking
- d) Building relationships based on trust, not instruction

We serve not for prestige or applause; but to awaken class consciousness and prepare the ground for revolution.

### 4. Organise, Don't Mobilise Alone

CPMK distinguishes between mobilisation (getting people into motion) and organisation (building structures that sustain struggle). Mobilisation without organisation is like a wave without direction; it rises and crashes. Mass work must:

- a) Form Red Cells, tenant committees, peasant unions, study circles
- b) Train mass leaders from the ranks
- c) Build independent working-class institutions

So that the masses are not only followers of struggle, but its protagonists.

### 5. Subsidiarity and Collective Leadership

In mass organisations, CPMK promotes the subsidiarity principle; decisions must be made at the lowest effective level. This ensures:

- a) Local initiative is not stifled by centralism
- b) Revolutionary democracy thrives in real conditions
- c) Each mass sector leads its own liberation under Party guidance:
  - i. Youth lead youth
  - ii. Women lead women's struggles
  - iii. Workers organise workers
- d) The Party leads through ideological unity, not commandism.

### 6. Class Struggle is the Heartbeat

No matter how technical the issue; housing, farming, health, education; we bring out the class line. We show:

- a) Who exploits and who is exploited
- b) Who owns and who toils
- c) Why suffering is not natural, but the product of a system designed to serve capital
- d) We never allow mass work to drift into liberal reformism or NGO logic.

#### 7. Revolutionary Culture as a Tool

CPMK mass work embraces songs, theatre, art, storytelling, spoken word; as tools for agitation and education. We weaponise culture to raise consciousness, revive memory, and celebrate resistance. Every meeting, every struggle, every banner must carry the spirit of revolutionary aesthetics.

#### 8. Combine Class Investigation with Action

We practise social investigation and class analysis; not from textbooks but in direct contact with the people. Before launching campaigns, we:

- a) Map class forces
- b) Identify contradictions
- c) Understand the terrain
- d) Then we act. Theory and practice march together.

#### 9. Build Dual Power from Below

Mass work aims to build alternative structures; community justice forums, food committees, people's tribunals, security patrols, women's assemblies. These challenge the legitimacy of the bourgeois state and prepare the embryo of proletarian governance. We do not wait for the revolution; we begin building it now, cell by cell, base by base.

#### 10. Correct Mistaken Ideas Through Struggle

We do not punish or belittle backward views. We struggle patiently with incorrect ideas through education, example, and collective experience; especially regarding patriarchy, tribalism, religious fatalism, or NGO dependency. This ideological work is a form of mass line rectification; transforming spontaneous consciousness into class consciousness.

Mass work is not a task; it is the revolutionary method itself. The CPMK exists not to rule over the masses, but to walk among them,

to awaken them, and to organise them into an unstoppable force for national liberation and socialism.

As Mao teaches: “The masses are the real heroes... We are often childish and ignorant. It is only by going to the masses that we can correct our mistakes and become truly revolutionary.”

### **13.8 Conclusion: Youth Shall Be the Vanguard, Not the Reserve**

“We must educate a new generation of young people to be both red and expert. Let them study the world; but let them change it, too.”

*Mao Zedong*

The Kenyan revolution will not be made by tired elites or frightened liberals. It will be made by the:

1. Worker who refuses to bow
2. Peasant who reclaims stolen land
3. Youth who dares to speak the truth
4. Student who chooses the people over profit

The Party must:

1. Train youth as political leaders, not just followers
2. Guard against spontaneity and reformism
3. Unleash youth energy with revolutionary discipline
4. Wage ideological struggle within the youth movement against postmodernism, identity politics, and NGO liberalism

Youth, rise up and build the new Kenya!

We now advance to Chapter 14: The Revolutionary Women’s Movement and the Gender Question in the National Democratic Revolution. This will outline our strategy for proletarian feminist struggle, the Party’s stand on gender oppression, and the organisational building of the Revolutionary Women’s League.

## CHAPTER 14

### *The Revolutionary Women's Movement and the Gender Question in the National Democratic Revolution*

"If you educate a man, you educate an individual. If you educate a woman, you educate a nation. But if you mobilise the working woman, you awaken a volcano."

*Gīkūyū proverb, adapted for the masses*

"Women hold up half the sky. But in class society, they are chained to the earth by feudal customs and capitalist exploitation. We must break the chains with revolutionary struggle."

*Mao Zedong*

### **14.1 Gendered Class Oppression in Neocolonial Kenya**

The oppression of women in Kenya is not simply cultural or moral. It is structural, historical, and class-based. Under precolonial patriarchy, women were subjected to clan-based control over their labour, sexuality, and mobility.

Under colonial rule, the settler state disrupted communal systems but preserved patriarchal domination, both among the colonisers and in the reconfigured African customary law. Colonial capitalism:

1. Excluded women from land titling
2. Forced men into wage labour, deepening women's burden in the reproductive sphere

3. Criminalised and regulated African women’s sexual autonomy (labelled many urban women as “prostitutes”)

Under neocolonial semi-feudal Kenya, these forms of oppression have been modernised but not eliminated:

1. Land remains in male control under customary practices
2. Wage inequality and hyper-exploitation dominate feminised sectors (e.g. domestic work, floriculture, EPZs)
3. Gender-based violence is normalised and institutionalised (including by police and state officers)
4. Patriarchal ideology is reinforced through religion, media, and bourgeois education

## 14.2 The Proletarian Feminist Viewpoint and Standpoint

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) upholds proletarian feminism. This is not liberal feminism of boardroom seats and bourgeois tears. This is class-conscious, militant, revolutionary struggle to uproot the patriarchal, semi-feudal, and neo-colonial system.

Our analysis begins with:

1. The material basis of gender oppression (division of labour, property relations, state violence)
2. The intersection of class and gender (proletarian and poor women bear the double yoke of exploitation and oppression)
3. The unity of production and reproduction (indirect imperial accumulation relies on unpaid domestic labour)

Our standpoint rejects:

1. NGO feminism — which co-opts women’s struggle into donor-dependent reformism
2. Identity politics — which fragments the masses instead of uniting them in class struggle
3. Postmodernism — which denies objective truth and materialist analysis

We uphold the dialectical unity of:

1. Women’s liberation and class liberation
2. National democratic revolution and gender justice
3. Party leadership and mass initiative

### **14.3 Building the Revolutionary Women’s League (RWL)**

The CPMK has launched the Revolutionary Women’s League (RWL); not as a welfare group, but as a mass organisation of women committed to the NDR and socialist construction.

The RWL is tasked with:

1. Educating women in Marxism-Leninism
2. Organising working women in farms, factories, informal economy, and domestic work
3. Linking gender issues to land, wages, healthcare, education, and state violence
4. Combating patriarchal practices within the mass movement and Party itself
5. Promoting leadership of women in all spheres of revolutionary work

The RWL is not a “women’s issue” body. It is a fighting front in the United Front; waging struggle against all forms of oppression.

### **14.4 The Organisational Principles of the Women’s Front**

The RWL functions under the ideological and political guidance of the Party, but with relative autonomy to mobilise, educate, and struggle among women.

It is grounded in:

1. Democratic centralism — unity in action, collective leadership
2. Mass line — from the lived experiences of women, through collective analysis, back to the masses in struggle
3. Vanguard discipline — rejecting petty-bourgeois liberalism, embracing proletarian organisation

The RWL also undertakes:

1. Social investigation and class analysis of women’s conditions across rural, urban, and diaspora settings
2. Gender-conscious cadre development to break male monopoly in political leadership
3. Cultural resistance through art, theatre, song, and storytelling

## 14.5 Revolutionary Gender Politics in Practice

The revolutionary women’s movement does not focus on “gender” as an abstract category. It fights on concrete fronts, including:

1. Access to land for peasant and rural women
2. Equal wages and safe workspaces for working women
3. Maternal and reproductive health care, including abortion rights
4. Justice for survivors of rape, femicide, and domestic violence
5. Education for girls and gender minorities
6. Political power in trade unions, community organising, and the Party

The CPMK believes there is no socialism without women’s liberation, and no women’s liberation without socialist revolution.

## 14.6 The Gender Question and the Two-Stage Revolution

In the two-stage revolutionary theory upheld by the CPMK:

1. The first stage is the National Democratic Revolution; to overthrow neo-colonialism, feudalism, landlordism and bureaucrat capitalism
2. The second stage is socialist construction and transformation of all class relations

But gender struggle cannot wait for the second stage. It must begin within the NDR, as part of the process of uniting the most oppressed and revolutionary forces.

Therefore:

1. The basic alliance must include peasant and working-class women
2. The United Front must integrate women’s organisations and gendered demands
3. The Party must practice gender equality internally — in leadership, training, and rectification

As Clara Zetkin taught, and Alexandra Kollontai lived:

“The woman question is not a side question. It is the question of half the human race.”

## **14.7 Conclusion: Women Shall Be the Generals of the Revolution**

“Where women rise, no army can suppress them. Where women lead, the future is assured.”

*Dedan Kimathi, to Mukami*

The women of Kenya have never been passive victims. They have:

1. Led peasant revolts and Mau Mau resistance
2. Fed families under crushing poverty
3. Defied patriarchy at every turn
4. Built the Party and defended its line

Now they must take their rightful place in the vanguard of the revolution.

Let us now proceed to Chapter 15 – The Diaspora, Internationalism, and the Global Struggle Against Imperialism.

## CHAPTER 15

### *The Diaspora, Internationalism, and the Global Struggle Against Imperialism*

“A person who has not travelled thinks his mother is the best cook.”  
*African proverb*

“Proletarian internationalism is not a mere slogan. It is a law of revolutionary motion. Without internationalism, the working class is defenceless. With it, we become invincible.”  
*V.I. Lenin*

#### **15.1 The Kenyan Diaspora as a Social Force**

The Kenyan diaspora; scattered across North America, Europe, the Gulf, Asia, and other parts of Africa; is not a monolith. It contains:

1. Highly educated professionals integrated into imperialist economies
2. Working-class migrants in precarious and racialised labour sectors
3. Refugees and exiles fleeing repression or economic hardship
4. Youth students and scholars, exposed to global class contradictions

These layers experience:

1. Racial capitalism and immigrant exploitation

2. Surveillance and xenophobia in the imperialist core
3. Cultural alienation and ideological confusion
4. Economic remittance extraction by the Kenyan state

Thus, the diaspora is both a victim of imperialism and a potential weapon against it, depending on how it is organised and politicised.

## **15.2 Proletarian Internationalism, Not Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism**

The CPMK rejects bourgeois notions of “global citizenship” and elite “diaspora engagement” that promote technocracy and donorism. We uphold proletarian internationalism; the solidarity of the working and oppressed peoples of all countries in common struggle against imperialism.

This means:

1. Mutual support between liberation movements
2. Exchange of theory and experience
3. Solidarity actions; protests, boycotts, mobilisation
4. Material and moral aid in times of repression and resistance

The Party draws inspiration from the internationalist legacy of Frantz Fanon, Amílcar Cabral, Thomas Sankara, Patrice Lumumba, and Che Guevara; revolutionaries who understood that no nation is free until all are free.

## **15.3 The Role of the Diaspora in the Kenyan Revolution**

The diaspora can serve the revolution in multiple, strategic ways:

### **A. Political Education and Ideological Struggle**

1. Disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideas among diaspora communities
2. Combating liberalism, tribalism, and religious fundamentalism
3. Creating study circles, ideological schools, and revolutionary media

### **B. Organising and Mobilisation**

1. Building Party-linked cells in cities abroad
2. Supporting CPMK mass organisations from outside
3. Mobilising against repressive state policies targeting revolutionaries

### **C. Solidarity Work**

1. Linking with internationalist organisations and movements

2. Organising anti-imperialist actions (e.g., BDS for Palestine, Congo solidarity)
3. Supporting African liberation struggles on all fronts

#### D. Material Support

1. Facilitating resource flows for political, educational, and organising work
2. Offering technical and professional skills to support Party infrastructure

But this must never become a donorist or elitist pipeline. It must be subordinate to the mass line and the needs of the revolutionary movement on the ground.

### 15.4 International Fronts of the Global People's War

Imperialism is not just a policy; it is a system. It has bases, banks, drones, corporations, and think tanks. But it also has faultlines, and these are where the international working class must strike.

The CPMK recognises multiple international fronts of anti-imperialist struggle:

1. Palestine – the frontline of resistance to Zionism and US imperialism
2. Congo – the epicentre of imperial plunder in Africa
3. Sudan, Mali, Burkina Faso – sites of armed resistance to neocolonial domination
4. Haiti – the symbol of Black liberation, under siege by US imperialism and UN occupation
5. Cuba, Venezuela, DPRK – socialist nations resisting imperialist strangulation
6. Philippines, India, Turkey – where people's wars challenge comprador regimes

We draw direct inspiration from the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), whose principled and militant internationalism remains a guiding light.

### 15.5 Building the CPMK International Department of the Central Organising Committee (IDCOC)

The International Department (IDCOC) of the CPMK has been tasked with:

1. Forging bilateral and or fraternal ties with revolutionary parties and organisations worldwide
2. Representing the Party in international forums and solidarity campaigns
3. Developing strategic alliances; particularly with other African, Asian, and Latin American movements
4. Countering imperialist narratives through global media and education work

The IDCOC coordinates with diaspora-based cadres and allies to:

1. Monitor geopolitical developments
2. Analyse the international class struggle
3. Position CPMK as a revolutionary pole in the anti-imperialist movement

## **15.6 The Vision of a Revolutionary Pan-Africanism**

We reject the neo-Pan-Africanism of the AU, EAC, and NEPAD; it is toothless, compradorist, and serves imperialism.

We uphold revolutionary Pan-Africanism rooted in:

1. The vision of Kwame Nkrumah, Mwalimu Nyerere, Sekou Touré, and Pio Gama Pinto
2. The principle of African Unity based on anti-imperialist, socialist struggle
3. The reality that Africa must unite under scientific socialism or perish

This is the Pan-Africanism of:

1. African Liberation Day (ALD); not as a ritual, but as a day of revolutionary convergence
2. Working-class continental solidarity – through strikes, resistance, and culture
3. Red internationalism – where the African working class joins hands with the oppressed of the world

## **15.7 On the Policy of Proletarian Internationalism**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK), as the vanguard of the Kenyan proletariat and peasantry, holds proletarian internationalism to be a core principle of revolutionary practice. The global struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of class

exploitation is indivisible. As Lenin taught, “the victory of socialism is impossible in one country alone.” As Mao Zedong further clarified, the revolution in any country is part of the world proletarian revolution. Lets us look at the foundations of CPMK Proletariat International Solidarity

**a) On Internationalism**

International solidarity is not charity. It is mutual support among oppressed peoples and revolutionary parties in their shared struggle against imperialism and reaction. The people of the world who oppose imperialism are our friends.

**b) The Principle of Non-Interference**

CPMK upholds the correct understanding that international support must not infringe upon the sovereignty of fraternal peoples or impose hegemonic political lines. We should respect the paths chosen by the people of other countries. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others.

**c) Revolution Must Be Self-Reliant**

CPMK believes every revolutionary movement must be based on concrete conditions and class analysis in its own country. Foreign assistance is supplementary, not foundational. We confirm verily that the people of each country must rely upon their own efforts.

**d) Support to Revolutionary Struggles and Movements**

CPMK expresses firm material, moral, and political support to genuine anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-capitalist movements around the world. This includes resistance movements in the Global South, national liberation fronts, and workers’ struggles in the imperialist heartlands.

**e) No Imposition of Political Lines**

CPMK does not export revolution, nor does it impose its ideological line or methods on fraternal organisations. However, we share theoretical insights, strategic experience, and revolutionary literature through fraternal exchanges, educational conferences, and joint statements.

**f) Mutual Respect and Mutuality Among Parties**

All international relations must be based on mutual respect, equality, and consultation. No revolutionary party should act as a “big brother” to another.

**g) Opposition to Imperialist “Interventionism”**

CPMK categorically opposes all imperialist interventions, including so-called “humanitarian interventions”, regime change operations, and proxy wars under the guise of democracy or human rights. Instead, CPMK calls for the sovereign right of peoples to determine their own political and economic systems, free from neocolonial manipulation.

**h) Pan-African and South–South Revolutionary Cooperation**

CPMK actively works to strengthen ties with progressive forces across Africa, Latin America, and Asia, in the spirit of the Bandung Conference, Tricontinentalism, and the Organisation of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

**i) Principles of Engagement**

CPMK’s international engagements shall be guided by the following principles:

- i. Sovereignty: Respect for national and revolutionary self-determination.
- ii. Non-Interference: Rejection of meddling in internal affairs of other parties or peoples.
- iii. Mutual Exchange: Sharing experiences and analysis as equals, without dogmatism.
- iv. Self-Reliance: Encouraging internal mobilisation over dependency on external aid.
- v. Unity Against Imperialism: Uniting broad forces against imperialist aggression and domination.

**15.8 Conclusion: The Diaspora Is a Detachment of the National Democratic Revolution**

“The wind blows stronger when it crosses the ocean.”

*African proverb*

The diaspora must not be treated as a bank account, nor romanticised as saviours. They are comrades in struggle, and their tasks are clear:

1. Educate
2. Organise
3. Mobilise

4. Support

5. Struggle

Let us look at Education, Science, and Cultural Transformation in the People's War in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 16

### *Education, Science, and Cultural Transformation in the People's War*

"The enemies of the people have always understood the power of knowledge. That is why they have always sought to deny it to the masses."

*Walter Rodney*

"The cultural revolution is the soul of the social revolution."

*Mao Zedong*

### **16.1 Education: A Weapon, Not a Privilege**

In neocolonial semi-feudal Kenya, education is commodified, class-stratified, and ideologically sterilised. It is designed to produce:

1. Obedient workers for capitalist exploitation
2. Nationalist technocrats for comprador administration
3. Alienated intellectuals who serve imperialist knowledge regimes

But for the revolutionary movement, education is a weapon. It is a tool to awaken class consciousness, build cadre capacity, and link theory with practice.

The CPMK therefore upholds:

1. Free, universal, and scientific education as a democratic right

2. Ideological education as the spine of political work
3. Education tied to productive labour and class struggle, not detached scholasticism

We say: “From the people, for the people, with the people.”

## **16.2 The Party’s Ideological Arm: The Pio Gama Pinto Institute**

The Pio Gama Pinto Ideological Institute functions as the Party’s boiling pot for revolutionary education. It:

1. Trains Red Cell leaders, mass cadre, and party members
2. Produces ideological materials in English and Kiswahili
3. Coordinates cadre schools and study groups
4. Develops theoretical responses to current class contradictions

Its pedagogical method is grounded in Mao’s Three-Stage Approach:

1. Social Investigation & Class Analysis
2. Assessment & Internalisation
3. Summing Up & Rectification

The Institute’s work is not academic; it is mass-based, field-oriented, and politically militant.

## **16.3 Science and Technology Under Neo-colonialism and Semi Feudal Kenya**

In the current setup, science in Kenya serves:

1. Capital accumulation, not social development
2. Agribusiness and extractivism, not food sovereignty
3. Digital surveillance and militarisation, not people’s empowerment

The CPMK calls for:

1. Scientific socialism, where technology is planned and directed to serve the masses
2. Democratisation of research and innovation
3. Rejection of bourgeois technocracy and NGO knowledge-gatekeeping

Science must break the chains of capital. It must serve the peasant farmer, the factory worker, the urban poor; not the donor, the bank, or the warlord.

## 16.4 Culture: The Battlefield of Ideology

Culture is not neutral. It is class struggle on the terrain of meaning. The ruling class uses:

1. Mass media to normalise exploitation
2. Religious fundamentalism to pacify revolt
3. Tribalism and chauvinism to fragment unity
4. Western consumer culture to hollow identity

In response, the CPMK advances a revolutionary cultural programme, centred on:

1. People's art that uplifts resistance and exposes injustice
2. Historical reclamation of anti-colonial legacies
3. Class-centred critique of patriarchy, chauvinism, and superstition
4. Fusion of traditional and revolutionary cultural forms

We echo Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o: "Decolonise the mind. Reclaim the word. Return to the people."

## 16.5 Revolutionary Students and the Battle for the Mind

The student movement remains a critical site of resistance. Youth in universities and colleges are:

1. Exposed to elite ideology but also to mass poverty
2. Rebellious in energy, but vulnerable to careerism and NGO capture
3. Often the first to rise, but easily co-opted or repressed

The CPMK is building the Revolutionary Students Commission (RSC) to:

1. Deepen ideological training of students
2. Root struggle in the broader peasant-worker movement
3. Resist liberal identity politics, nihilism, and bourgeois radicalism
4. Reclaim campuses as training grounds for people's revolution

## 16.6 Propaganda and Revolutionary Communication

Capitalist propaganda is not a mirror; it is a weapon. It defends class rule, distracts the masses, and vilifies revolution.

The CPMK's propaganda strategy includes:

1. Party-run publications, podcasts, and online platforms
2. Political theatre, music, and film as tools of agitation

3. Counter-narrative campaigns that expose police brutality, land theft, and corruption
4. Digital literacy programmes for rural and poor youth

This is not just about telling our story. It is about arming the masses with clarity, courage, and conviction.

## 16.7 Building the Cultural Front of the People's War

The cultural front is not secondary. It is integral.

Just as we train Red Guards for physical struggle, we must also train Cultural Workers for ideological struggle. These include:

1. Revolutionary artists and poets
2. Scientific educators
3. Workers' historians
4. Peasant intellectuals
5. Digital agitators

They must:

1. Embed themselves in the life of the masses
2. Translate theory into idioms of daily struggle
3. Transform despair into discipline, and suffering into struggle

As Fidel said: "A revolution is not just rifles. It is also ideas, songs, stories, and science."

## 16.8 Tasks for Cultural and Educational Transformation

1. Strengthen the Pio Gama Pinto Ideological Institute
  - i. Develop Mass Course
  - ii. Develop Cadre course (Beginners, intermediary and advanced courses)
  - iii. Expand Red School chapters nationally
  - iv. Produce more bilingual, class-rooted materials
2. Build revolutionary student and teacher organisations
  - i. Infiltrate academic spaces with militant ideas
  - ii. Reclaim curriculum spaces for working-class interests
3. Create a People's Culture
  - i. Coordinate cultural workers and campaigns
  - ii. Develop a national revolutionary arts programme
4. Advance People's Science
  - i. Mobilise radical professionals to serve people's needs

- ii. Resist digital colonialism and data extractivism
- 5. Deepen cultural mass line
  - i. Draw from African proverbs, stories, and songs
  - ii. Root revolutionary symbols in lived experiences

## **16.9 Conclusion: Education Must Liberate. Culture Must Mobilise.**

“Education is the key to the door of freedom. But who holds the key?”

The CPMK asserts: Let the people hold the key. Let the people decide what to learn, what to teach, what to remember, and what to build. Let us now focus our lenses to Environment, Ecology, and the Political Economy of Climate Crisis.

## CHAPTER 17

### *Environment, Ecology, and the Political Economy of Climate Crisis*

“We are not defending nature as a museum. We are defending the soil beneath our feet, the rivers that feed us, and the skies under which our children are born.”

*CPMK Mass Line Document*

“Only socialism can reconcile humanity and nature.”

*Karl Marx (paraphrased)*

### **17.1 Imperialism and the Ecological Crisis**

The climate crisis is not a natural disaster. It is the direct outcome of capitalist accumulation — of production for profit, not for need.

Under capitalism:

1. Nature is commodified, extracted, and wasted.
2. Fossil fuel corporations pollute with impunity.
3. Forests, rivers, minerals are turned into assets, not commons.
4. Indigenous and peasant communities are displaced in the name of “green growth”.

In neocolonial semi-feudal Kenya:

1. Agribusiness, extractivism, and conservation NGOs are fuelling land dispossession.

2. Climate finance is another form of imperialist control.
3. “Carbon markets” turn the sky into a commodity, while the people starve.

We say clearly: No climate justice without anti-imperialism!

## **17.2 The Agrarian Question and Eco-Destruction**

Kenya’s semi-feudal, neocolonial agrarian system is at the heart of environmental collapse:

1. Land concentration into the hands of big landlords and agro-capitalists.
2. Pesticide-based farming destroys soils and rivers.
3. Cash crop monoculture undermines food sovereignty.
4. Peasant communities pushed into ecologically fragile zones.

The CPMK asserts:

1. Agroecology under people’s control
2. Peasant-led reforestation and soil restoration
3. Ban on foreign land grabs and ecocidal mining projects
4. Revolutionary land reform as a foundation for ecological justice

## **17.3 The Climate Crisis is a Class War**

While the imperialist North accounts for:

1. Over 80% of historical CO<sub>2</sub> emissions,
2. They now blame the global South for “population pressure” and “lack of capacity”.

But who suffers?

1. African peasants, not European landlords.
2. Fisherfolk of Lamu and Lake Victoria, not Wall Street executives.
3. Urban poor in Mathare and Kibera, not Davos billionaires.

The CPMK rejects:

1. The greenwashing of imperialism.
2. False solutions like carbon credits, smart agriculture, and privatised conservation.

Instead, we demand:

1. Ecological reparations from the imperialist powers
2. A just transition led by workers and peasants
3. De-linking from imperialist climate finance architecture

“The Earth is not dying. It is being killed. And those killing it have names and addresses.”

### **17.4 People’s Ecology and the Mass Line**

Revolutionary ecology is not imported from Western NGOs. It must emerge from the lived reality of the oppressed.

This means:

1. Respecting indigenous knowledge systems, but transforming them through class struggle
2. Drawing from peasant practices of land stewardship and communal water management
3. Rejecting eco-mysticism and religious fatalism
4. Reconnecting ecological consciousness to the revolutionary project

Through the Mass Line, we extract from the people’s ecological experiences:

1. Struggles against toxic dumping
2. Resistance to dam projects and forced evictions
3. Community water mapping and agroforestry practices

### **17.5 Tasks for the Ecological Front**

1. CPMK People’s Ecology Programme
  - i. Link agrarian revolution to ecological restoration
  - ii. Mobilise Red Cells to conduct eco-social investigations
  - iii. Popularise scientific understanding of the climate crisis
2. Resist Green Imperialism
  - i. Reject carbon markets and Western-controlled “climate funds”
  - ii. Expose neocolonial conservation schemes (e.g., forced evictions in Laikipia, Lamu)
  - iii. Build alliances with other anti-imperialist ecological movements
3. Advance Ecological Education in the Party and Mass Organisations
  - i. Train ecological cadre in CPMK youth, women, and peasant wings
  - ii. Translate technical issues into mass language

- iii. Use theatre, song, and local idioms to popularise eco-socialist consciousness
4. Forge the People's Green Front
  - i. Unite peasant farmers, fisherfolk, urban poor, and scientists in ecological resistance
  - ii. Organise community-controlled seed banks, forests, and water cooperatives
  - iii. Rebuild the commons as a material base for socialism

## **17.6 Conclusion: Red is Green – Revolution is the Only Solution**

“Environmentalism without class struggle is like rain without clouds.”

The climate crisis cannot be resolved within capitalism. It demands a rupture; not reforms. It demands a people's revolution, not technocratic management. What about the National Question, the Nationalities Question, and the African Revolution?

## CHAPTER 18

### *The National Question, The Nationalities Question, and the African Revolution*

“For a nation to truly be free, it must possess the power to determine its destiny in all spheres; economic, cultural, territorial, and political.”

*V.I. Lenin*

“Without solving the national question, there is no path to people’s democracy; without resolving the nationalities question, there is no socialism in a multi-ethnic society.”

*CPMK National Democratic Programme*

### **18.1 The National Question in Kenya: A Neocolonial Structure**

Kenya is not a nation in the true sense. It is a colonial construct, stitched together by imperial decree, held together by military repression, comprador treachery, and class rule.

1. The Kenyan state was born through colonial conquest, not popular consent.
2. The post-1963 comprador elite maintained the British-designed architecture of territorial disunity, ethnic manipulation, and regional underdevelopment.
3. The result: a neocolonial state serving imperialist interests, not the national will.

The national question, in Kenya, remains unresolved because:

1. Sovereignty is not exercised by the people.
2. Land remains in the hands of colonial settlers, local landlords, and foreign capital.
3. The working people of all nations within Kenya remain disenfranchised.

The solution lies in revolution; a two-stage revolution that completes the unfinished democratic tasks and advances towards socialism.

## **18.2 The Nationalities Question: Unity in Revolutionary Diversity**

Kenya is a multi-ethnic society. Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, Kamba, Somali, Mijikenda, Turkana, Maasai, Borana, and many others; each with unique histories, cultures, and material experiences.

But:

1. Under capitalism, ethnic difference is weaponised.
2. Under imperialism, divide-and-rule reigns supreme.
3. Under neo-colonialism, ethnic elites serve foreign masters while claiming to defend “their people”.

CPMK upholds:

1. The right of all nationalities to self-determination; up to and including secession as so long it advances the struggle for socialism.
2. The need for a voluntary union based on equality, justice, and shared revolutionary goals.
3. The formation of a People’s Democratic Republic of Kenya, not a tribal state, not a settler colony.

Revolutionary unity cannot be built on tribal tokens. It must be rooted in class struggle and a shared fight against imperialism.

## **18.3 National Liberation and the Two-Stage Theory of Revolution**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya stands firmly on the two-stage theory:

1. First Stage – National Democratic Revolution (NDR):
  - a. Overthrow of neocolonial comprador rule.
  - b. Seizure of land, industries, and sovereignty.

- c. Construction of a people's democratic state.
  - d. Establishment of genuine national unity based on the basic alliance.
2. Second Stage – Socialist Revolution:
- e. Advancement to collective ownership and workers' power.
  - f. Abolition of class exploitation.
  - g. Cultural revolution and socialist transformation.

These stages are dialectically linked, not separated by decades. The momentum of the democratic stage flows into socialism through the leadership of the vanguard party and the consolidation of people's power. Without national liberation, there is no socialism. Without socialism, national liberation will be betrayed.

#### **18.4 African Unity and the Continental Dimension**

The national question cannot be resolved in Kenya alone.

Kenya is part of:

1. A fragmented Africa, divided by Berlin, ruled by Brussels and Washington.
2. An imperialist-controlled regional economy (e.g. EAC, AfCFTA) that deepens dependency.
3. A militarised security apparatus tied to AFRICOM, AMISOM, and Western imperialism.

The CPMK calls for:

1. The Pan-African Revolution to unite the continent under people's sovereignty.
2. A confederation of people's democratic republics, not a bourgeois African Union.
3. Coordination among Marxist-Leninist parties in Africa to build a continental red front.

We echo the spirit of Nkrumah, Cabral, Kimathi, and Sankara. Africa must unite; not under comprador flags, but under the red banner of proletarian internationalism!

## 18.5 Tasks for Resolving the National and Nationalities Questions

1. Expose and oppose ethnic-based compradorism
  - i. Unmask “ethnic kingpins” as tools of imperialism.
  - ii. Reject elite manipulation of identity to divide the masses.
2. Advance the national democratic programme in every region
  - i. Tailor local strategies within a national framework.
  - ii. Link land struggles, cultural revival, and economic liberation to the broader revolution.
3. Forge revolutionary unity across all artificial tribal boundaries
  - i. Through class struggle, education, and shared organisation.
  - ii. Reject narrow nationalism, champion internationalism.
4. Prepare the ground for a People’s Democratic Republic
  - i. With autonomous, self-governing zones under workers’ and peasants’ control.
  - ii. With full equality of languages, cultures, and communities.

“True unity is not given from above; it is forged in struggle, sealed in blood, and guaranteed by people’s power.”

Let us proceed to Chapter 19: Party Education, Ideological Line, and the Mass Line in Practice.

## CHAPTER 19

### *Party Education, Ideological Line, and the Mass Line in Practice*

“Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.”  
*V.I. Lenin*

“To lead the revolution to victory, the Party must master three tools: the correct ideological line, a disciplined political line, and a rooted organisational method—the mass line.”  
*Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School, CPMK*

#### **19.1 The Primacy of Ideological Clarity**

The Party is not a cheerleader of the masses. It is the organised vanguard; the most conscious detachment of the working class.

It must grasp:

- a. The laws of social development, revealed by Marxism-Leninism.
- b. The specific features of Kenyan society—its semi-feudal, neocolonial structure.
- c. The dialectic between spontaneity and consciousness; rejecting tailism, advancing leadership.

This demands continuous ideological education, not as academic ritual, but as a weapon of class struggle.

## **19.2 The Role of the Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School (PGPIS)**

The PGPIS is the central ideological institution of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya.

Its mandate is to:

1. Systematise Marxist-Leninist theory in the Kenyan revolutionary context.
2. Train Party cadre, mass organisers, and Red Cells.
3. Publish bilingual (English–Kiswahili) materials for political education.

Core components:

1. Foundational courses: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Sankara, Kimathi.
2. Class analysis of Kenya's mode of production.
3. Historical materialist method of social investigation.
4. Applied study of the two-stage theory, basic alliance, and united front.

Education is not neutral; it is either for liberation or domination.

## **19.3 From Social Investigation to Mass Line**

Mao Zedong taught us to follow the three-stage learning process:

1. Social Investigation and Class Analysis
  - i. Go to the people, live among them.
  - ii. Learn from their grievances, struggles, traditions, and contradictions.
  - iii. Map class relations concretely.
2. Assessment and Summing-Up
  - iv. Distil the advanced ideas from the spontaneous consciousness of the masses.
  - v. Critically evaluate these within the framework of scientific socialism.
3. Return to the Masses with a Programme
  - vi. Transform spontaneous rebellion into conscious revolution.
  - vii. Translate ideology into action programmes guided by mass participation.

This is the mass line: From the masses, to the masses.

It is the heartbeat of CPMK's revolutionary practice.

## 19.4 Political Education of the Basic Alliance

The basic alliance; of the workers and peasants; must be politically educated to:

1. Understand the nature of the enemy (imperialism, comprador capitalism, landlordism).
2. See themselves as the revolutionary subject, not as passive victims.
3. Reject petty-bourgeois illusions and comprador manipulation.
4. Build Red Cells in factories, farms, schools, slums, universities, and villages.

Cadre must use:

1. Revolutionary songs, theatre, poetry, art.
2. Literacy drives, radical pedagogy, people's history.
3. Collective study and shared practice—not preaching from above.

## 19.5 The Party as the Vanguard of Revolutionary Theory and Practice

The Party's ideological line must be:

1. Rooted in material reality; guided by historical materialism.
2. Tested in struggle; not abstract idealism.
3. Sharp against deviation; left and right opportunism, revisionism, identity liberalism.

Thus, the CPMK has:

1. Rejected bourgeois democracy as a sham; exposing it as a mask of neocolonial domination and indirect imperial rule.
2. Opposed postmodernist eclecticism, which fragments class unity and obscures objective reality.
3. Advanced a Marxist-Leninist line for national democratic revolution as the first stage towards socialism.

The Party leads not only through theory; but through practice, discipline, and deep roots in the people.

## 19.6 Tasks of Ideological Struggle

1. Combat revisionism inside the Party and mass organisations
  - i. Uphold criticism and self-criticism.
  - ii. Rectify mistaken ideas, and link theory with practice.

2. Expand the ideological reach of PGPIS
  - i. Train thousands of Red Cell educators across Kenya.
  - ii. Develop multilingual materials accessible to all nationalities.
3. Establish study circles among youth, women, workers, and peasants
  - i. Link study with mobilisation.
  - ii. Use real experiences as teaching material.
4. Defend Marxism-Leninism from ideological distortions
  - i. Expose liberalism, economism, tribalism, NGOism, and identity fragmentation.
5. Link ideological clarity with revolutionary commitment
  - i. Every lesson must end with a political task.
  - ii. Every cadre must be a thinker, organiser, and fighter.

“Ideas become a material force when they grip the masses.”

Karl Marx

“He who has the correct ideological line is invincible, even in the face of tanks and prisons.”

Mao Zedong

We proceed to Chapter 20, The Question of Gender, LGBTQ+ Rights, and Revolutionary Humanism in the Struggle for Liberation.

## CHAPTER 20

### *Gender, LGBTQ+ Rights, and Revolutionary Humanism in the Struggle for Liberation*

“He who rides on the back of a tiger ends in its belly; we must never ride with oppression, be it colonial, patriarchal, or bourgeois.”

#### **20.1 The Question of Gender: A Class Standpoint**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) affirms that the liberation of women and all gender-oppressed peoples is inseparable from the class struggle. Patriarchy in Kenya is not merely a relic of custom; it is an instrument of class rule; reinforced by semi-feudal traditions, religious fundamentalism, neocolonial policy, and bourgeois commodification of the body.

The struggle for gender liberation is therefore not a diversion from class struggle. It is a class struggle. For in every factory, farm, slum, school and street, women, especially poor peasant women and working-class women, are exploited both as labourers and as gendered subjects.

Hence, the CPMK rejects all liberal and NGO-centred approaches that seek gender “equality” within the confines of the neocolonial imperial order. We do not seek equality within a burning house; we seek to overthrow the house and construct a new one under the dictatorship of the proletariat, founded on the liberation of all the oppressed.

## **20.2 The LGBTQ+ Question: A Correct Position Rooted in Revolutionary Humanism**

The Party recognises that LGBTQ+ comrades; workers, students, peasants, and lumpen youth; are part of our class, and thus part of the revolution. The oppression they face, both socially and legally, is a product of neocolonial law, patriarchal tradition, and bourgeois morality.

We reaffirm the position that being queer is not bourgeois. What is bourgeois is the commodification and depoliticisation of identity, as done by imperialist NGOs, rainbow capitalism, and the postmodern academia. What is revolutionary is the unification of all oppressed under a single banner of class-conscious, disciplined struggle.

The Party does not adopt identity politics. We reject all attempts to fragment the working class into isolated categories based on subjective identity, rather than objective relations of production and historical development. However, we also reject reactionary tendencies within the Left that dismiss the legitimate suffering and struggles of LGBTQ+ people.

We affirm that in a truly revolutionary Party:

1. A queer peasant is not an abstraction—they are part of our basic alliance.
2. A transgender worker is not a Western export—they are a comrade in arms.
3. The liberation of the oppressed is not a Western agenda—it is a historical necessity rooted in the contradiction between exploitation and emancipation.

## **20.3 Integration, Organisation, and Revolutionary Discipline**

The CPMK upholds the unity of oppressed sections under proletarian leadership and scientific socialist ideology. Therefore, the Party supports:

1. The integration of LGBTQ+ comrades into the Revolutionary Women's League (RWL) Working Committee, through a class-oriented approach that centres their participation in mass struggle, not identity consumerism.
2. The education of the masses and Party cadre against both bourgeois-liberal moralism and reactionary conservatism.

3. A clear line of discipline, ensuring that gender and sexual freedom within the Party strengthens unity, not bourgeois individualism or factionalism.

This is guided by the understanding that freedom under socialism is not the freedom of the individual to exploit or alienate, but the collective freedom of the people to flourish without domination.

## **20.4 Revolutionary Humanism and the African Context**

The CPMK situates its line not in imported liberalism, but in the living struggles of Africa’s people. Our ancestors lived in communal formations where multiple gender expressions and same-sex bonds existed. It is colonial Christianity and Victorian capitalism, not African cultures, that introduced homophobia as a weapon of social control.

As such, our revolutionary humanism restores the dignity of all; male and female, queer and straight, young and old; as members of the collective class engaged in liberation.

As Mao Zedong taught: “To right a wrong is to liberate a force.” We shall right the wrongs of patriarchal oppression and bourgeois repression, and thereby unleash the revolutionary potential buried under centuries of silence.

## **20.5 Conclusion: Towards Revolutionary Unity**

Let this be clear:

1. We shall not allow imperialist NGOs to define the gender question in Africa.
2. We shall not allow reactionary forces to silence our queer comrades.
3. We shall not allow patriarchal semi-feudalism to divide the basic alliance.

We do not demand to be accepted by the bourgeoisie. We demand the destruction of all systems of oppression and the construction of a socialist society where no person is treated as less than human. This is the line of the Communist Party Marxist Kenya.

The next Chapter 21 will look at The Future of the Revolution and the Inevitable Victory of the People.

## CHAPTER 21

### *Security, Repression, and the Vanguard Party*

“If we are not prepared, they will bury us like they buried the Indonesian communists. Let every cadre read, understand, and act. Let every Red Cell become a fortress. Let every comrade become unbreakable.”

*National Security Commission, Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK)*

### **21.1 Build a Party That Cannot Be Crushed**

A revolutionary party is not built for comfort. It is built for war. Not a metaphorical war. Not an intellectual debate. But a real war; of arrests, torture, executions, betrayal, black sites, informers, disinformation, imperialist kill lists, and paramilitary death squads.

In Kenya, repression is not coming. It is already here. From Changanwe to Kayole, Garissa to Mathare, comrades have been abducted, disappeared, tortured. The comprador state is preparing for its final defence. It is sharpening the knives. AFRICOM trains our executioners. Mossad spies on our meetings. MI6 funds our political police.

To build the vanguard Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK), we must build a Party that cannot be abducted, cannot be silenced, cannot be broken; even by bullets, dungeons, or death itself.

## 21.2 The Jakarta Method—What Happened and Why It Matters

**A Massacre Hidden in Plain Sight:** In 1965, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI); with over 3 million members, 20 million supporters, and deep ties to the peasantry; was annihilated. In less than six months, more than one million workers, peasants, students, and leftists were executed, dumped in rivers, buried in mass graves, or disappeared without trace.

This was no accident. It was a CIA-orchestrated plan. The United States compiled lists of communists, handed them to the Indonesian military, funded right-wing militias, spread propaganda, and watched the blood flow. British intelligence joined. The UN looked away. The West applauded.

And the PKI?

They had no underground line, no armed wing, no real security consciousness. They believed in bourgeois legality. They relied on the popularity of their ideas. But as Lenin warned: "The ruling class will never allow itself to be voted out of power." The PKI was not voted out. It was butchered.

**The "Jakarta Method" Today:** This model of extermination was exported across the Global South: Chile (1973): Pinochet murders Allende's supporters; Argentina (1976–83): "The Disappeared" executed by the junta; Congo: Lumumba assassinated with CIA backing; Rwanda, Sudan, Guatemala, El Salvador, and now: Kenya. Whenever a mass-based, anti-imperialist, radical project arises, imperialism responds not with debate; but with massacre. The lesson is clear: a vanguard that is unprepared for repression is not a vanguard; it is a funeral procession.

## 21.3 Repression in Kenya—The Early Stages of a Jakarta Plan

Let us open our eyes. Kenya is not immune. The Jakarta Method is being deployed in our own backyard. The signs are clear: Plainclothed officers abduct youth militants in Mombasa; DCI-SSU and ATPU operate black sites in secret locations; AFRICOM trains Kenya's special forces in "counter-terrorism", but targets anti-imperialists. Comrades are charged as "terror suspects" for teaching Marxism in the slums. This is the Kenyan model of the Jakarta Method. A silent purge in peacetime. A covert war against consciousness.

### 21.4 Core Principles of Revolutionary Security

Security is Not a Department—It Is a Class Line: We do not do security because we are paranoid. We do security because we are serious. Security is not a technical affair. It is a question of class survival. The Party must prepare for war before the shooting begins. Discipline is life; a disorganised Party will be picked off one by one. Secrecy is strength; what the enemy cannot see, he cannot destroy. Silence is gold; a single broken comrade can compromise a hundred others.

“Security is not fear. Security is preparedness. And preparedness is revolutionary love.”

Every Cadre a Fortress, Every Cell a Shield: Every Party member must be trained to: detect surveillance; use encrypted platforms; memorise emergency numbers and legal protocols; never carry sensitive material without need; refuse to talk under torture; resist psychological operations; never centralise sensitive knowledge. “If one falls, ten must rise. If one is taken, none must be exposed. That is how a vanguard lives.”

### 21.5 Build Underground, Even in Peace

Never confuse the enemy’s silence for peace. Silence is preparation. Even during “normal” times, the Party must maintain: clandestine leadership lines; secure housing networks; safe communication nodes; youth and student scout cells; anonymised political logistics. A Party built only for legal operation is a Party already waiting to die.

Ten Strategic Lessons from the Jakarta Massacre:

Jakarta Error	CPMK Correction
No underground structure.	Build dual structures: open and clandestine
No armed wing	Establish self-defence networks among workers and peasants
No anti-repression training	Train every cadre in arrest survival, interrogation resistance
Overcentralisation of information	Operate on strict “need-to-know” basis
Trust in bourgeois legality	Prepare for extra-legal repression
No contingency leadership	Rotate command, prepare backup leadership
Public exposure of leadership	Shield identities of critical organisers

Jakarta Error	CPMK Correction
Underestimated imperialism	Expose and document imperialist involvement in Kenyan security
Isolation of prisoners.	Mobilise legal, material, and political support
Emotional disarmament.	Train in psychological endurance

## 21.6 Institutionalising Security in the Party

To survive the coming repression, the CPMK must build a death-proof organisational structure. This means: The National Security Commission (NSC) becomes an active organ with independent operational capacity. All Red Cells undergo monthly security drills; Youth League to develop a Revolutionary Defence Corps: Every Regional Secretariat maintains updated threat and breaches reports; The Pio Gama Pinto Institute produces regular security education manuals and jail-readiness courses. An emergency response network (legal, digital, communication) is created for real-time mobilisation; Infiltration detection training must be taught to all cadre formations.

## 21.7 Revolutionary Culture Against Repression

Let the culture of the Party be forged in fire: Celebrate the abducted who survived; honour the murdered who refused to betray; study the traitors who cracked: and why; build the memory of martyrs into political education; conduct rectification campaigns for ideological laxity. Let our poetry sing of defiance. Let our music tell the tales of those who spat in the face of the enemy. Let our culture serve the revolution and steel us against repression.

Build the Uncrushable Party: In the eyes of imperialism, there is no such thing as a “safe communist.” Every Marxist is a threat to private property. Every militant is a future insurgent. The people’s dreams must be stopped before they become plans. That is the logic of repression.

We say NO! Kenya will not become the next Jakarta! Our comrades will not be slaughtered like cattle! Our revolution will not end in silence. But only if we act now. “A Party that is ready for the bullet will not fear the ballot. A Party that is ready for the grave will not fear the jail.”

Let the vanguard be built like a mountain. Unshakeable. Unbreakable. Undetainable.

## CHAPTER 22

### *The Future of the Revolution and the Inevitable Victory of the People*

“Even the darkest night is torn by the spear of dawn—and that spear is the vanguard party of the proletariat.”

#### **22.1 The Historical Necessity of Revolution in Kenya**

The Kenyan people are not merely deserving of liberation. They are the engine of liberation. From the peasant insurgencies of the past to the urban revolts of today, the Kenyan masses; workers, peasants, lumpen youth, gender-oppressed; have waged continuous and unrelenting struggle against the chains of exploitation.

The colonial conquest imposed foreign domination. The independence betrayal entrenched comprador rule. The neoliberal turn ravaged our land and labour. But every crisis sharpens contradiction. Every betrayal exposes the enemy. Every hardship trains the people.

The Kenyan Revolution is not a romantic dream. It is an inevitable historical outcome of the contradictions between the oppressed and their oppressors; between neo-colonialism and the people’s sovereignty; between imperialist plunder and socialist construction.

## **22.2 The Two-Stage Theory of the Revolution: From National Liberation to Socialism**

The Communist Party Marxist Kenya (CPMK) reaffirms its commitment to the Two-Stage Theory of the Revolution:

1. Stage One: The National Democratic Revolution (NDR); a broad-based, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-comprador struggle, led by the working class, rooted in the alliance of workers and peasants, aimed at smashing the neocolonial state, redistributing land, repossessing natural wealth, and asserting people's sovereignty.
2. Stage Two: The Socialist Revolution; the continuation and deepening of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, aiming to eliminate all classes, abolish private property in the means of production, and construct a planned, people-centred economy.

This is not a mechanical sequence, but a dialectical process. The seeds of socialism must be planted in the national democratic stage; in people's power organs, in cooperatives, in Party cells, in revolutionary culture, and in militant class education.

There can be no genuine socialism without national liberation. There can be no genuine national liberation without socialism.

## **22.3 The Vanguard Party: Organ of Revolutionary Consciousness and Power**

The CPMK is not a commentator of history. It is a maker of history. The vanguard is the motor force of the revolution, not by declaration but by practice; by being the most disciplined, the most rooted, the most ideologically clear force of the working class.

The Party does not tail the masses. It learns from them, organises them, and elevates their everyday struggles to the level of revolutionary consciousness.

The Party is:

1. The living link between past and future.
2. The steel spine of the revolution.
3. The organiser of the basic alliance.
4. The leader of the United Front.

Without the Party, there is rebellion without revolution. With the Party, rebellion becomes power; becomes the command of history.

## **22.4 The United Front and the Basic Alliance: Vehicle of Victory**

The United Front is not a slogan. It is the form of political unity required to isolate the enemy, unify all who can be united, and drive forward the revolution. It is the tactic of revolutionary hegemony; with the working class at the helm.

At the heart of the Front is the basic alliance of workers and peasants. This alliance is the foundation upon which all other revolutionary coalitions must rest.

1. Without the worker, there is no revolutionary leadership.
2. Without the peasant, there is no revolutionary mass base.
3. Without their unity, the revolution is stillborn.

To every revolutionary—organise the united front!

To every peasant—unite with the worker!

To every worker—lead the peasant!

To every cadre—deepen the alliance!

This is how victory is won.

## **22.5 Revolutionary Optimism and the Lessons of Struggle**

We reject despair. We reject cynicism. We reject the fatalism of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Our optimism is not utopian. It is materialist. It is rooted in the science of class struggle. It is guided by the victories of our comrades in Cuba, Vietnam, China, Palestine, the Philippines, and beyond.

We study the setbacks.

We sum up the errors.

We correct the line.

We advance; always forward, never backward.

As Fidel taught, “Revolution is a sense of the historical moment... it is changing everything that must be changed.”

## **22.6 The Call to Action: Forge the Future!**

Comrades,

Now is not the time to wait. Now is not the time to debate endlessly.

Now is the time to build:

1. Build the Party.
2. Build the Red Cells.
3. Build the People's Committees.
4. Build the land repossession movement.
5. Build the food sovereignty campaign.
6. Build revolutionary women's and youth leagues.
7. Build ideological schools.
8. Build the armed consciousness of the masses.

Let every slum, every estate, every campus, every rural village feel the fire of revolutionary organisation. Let every injustice be answered with resistance. Let every exploitative act of the ruling class be met with the militant unity of the oppressed.

## **22.7 Victory Is Certain**

History moves not by mercy, but by motion. Not by chance, but by contradiction.

We, the Communist Party Marxist Kenya, stand with history. We stand with the working class. We stand with the people. We stand with the future.

And because of that, victory is not only possible; it is inevitable.

Long live the workers and peasants of Kenya!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the Communist Party Marxist Kenya!

Long live the Revolution!



# **ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS GLOSSARY**

<b>CPMK</b>	Communist Party Marxist Kenya
<b>SDP</b>	Social Democratic Party
<b>COC</b>	Central Organising Committee
<b>CC</b>	Central Committee
<b>RYL</b>	Revolutionary Youth League
<b>NDR</b>	National Democratic Revolution
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>LGBTQ</b>	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning
<b>RWL</b>	Revolutionary Women's League
<b>IMF.</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>PGPIS</b>	Pio Gama Pinto Ideological School
<b>UF</b>	United Front
<b>SICA</b>	Social Investigation, Class Analysis
<b>SU</b>	Summing UP
<b>CPK</b>	Communist Party of Kenya
<b>AFRICOM</b>	United States Africa Command
<b>CPP</b>	Communist Party of the Philippines
<b>KPU</b>	Kenya People's Union
<b>ML</b>	Marxism-Leninism
<b>DPRK</b>	Democratic People's Republic of Korea

<b>EAC</b>	East African Community
<b>NDF</b>	National Democratic Front
<b>RSC</b>	Revolutionary Students Commission
<b>ALD</b>	African Liberation Day
<b>AMISOM</b>	African Union Mission in Somalia
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress (South Africa)
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>DTM</b>	December Twelfth Movement

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