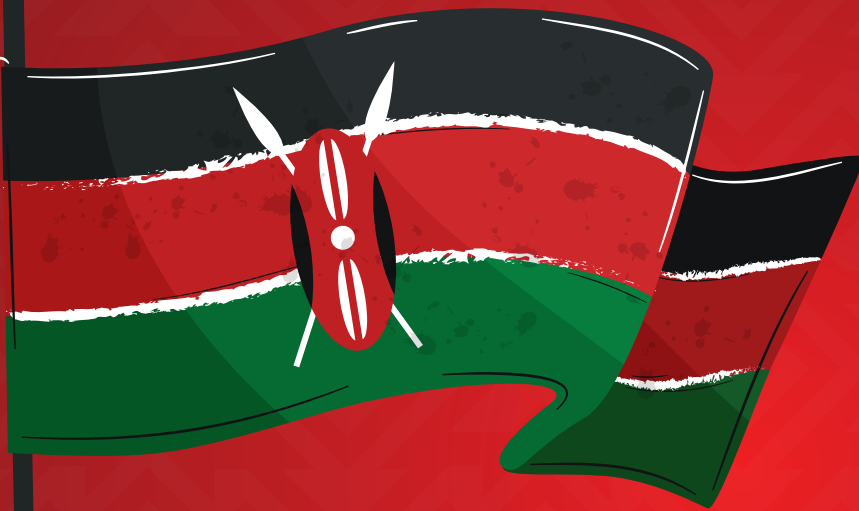


No.8 2024

The Kenya

SOCIALIST



Haiti and The Kenya Police

Of Liberalism and the pitfalls of Radical Activism

Populist Trends or Revolutionary Pan-Africanism?

UMOJA Seen Through its Documents, 1987-1990 (Parts 2 & 3)





The Kenya Socialist is published by Vita Books in partnership with Ukombozi Library.
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December 2024

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The Kenya Socialist aims to encourage free flow of information, knowledge and discussion which can lead to a better understanding of socialism. It will seek to:

- Promote socialist ideas, experiences and world outlook
- Increase awareness of classes, class contradictions and class struggles in Kenya, both historical and current
- Expose the damage done by capitalism and imperialism in Kenya and Africa
- Offer solidarity to working class, peasants and other working people and communities in their struggles for equality and justice
- Promote internationalism and work in solidarity with people in Africa and around the world in their resistance to imperialism
- Make explicit the politics of information and communication as tools of repression and also of resistance in Kenya

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Paper copies are available from African Books Collective (ABC)
<https://www.africanbookscollective.com/publishers/vita-books>

ISBN 978-9914-945-4-1 (Paper)
ISBN 978-9914-945-5-7 (eBook)

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EDITORIAL

The eighth issue of *The Kenya Socialist* comes at a time when the factions of the ruling class are uniting in an effort to solidify their power. Some of these factions, which over the years have used progressive rhetoric to deceive the masses into supporting them, can no longer hide their true colours. This unmasking is a result of the shock that occurred in mid-2024, when a youth-led movement took to the streets in large numbers to protest against the proposed new taxes on basic goods, including sanitary pads, diapers, edible oil, and bread. These tax increases were part of a stringent package recommended by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The taxes, introduced under the Finance Bill, 2024, sparked widespread protests that forced the comprador government to withdraw the Finance Bill which by then had become the Act.

Shiraz Durrani provides a historical background to these protests, drawing parallels with past resistance movements such as the Mau Mau, the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU), the December Twelve Movement, and Mwakenya. He relates these struggles to the unresolvable contradictions within the capitalist system.

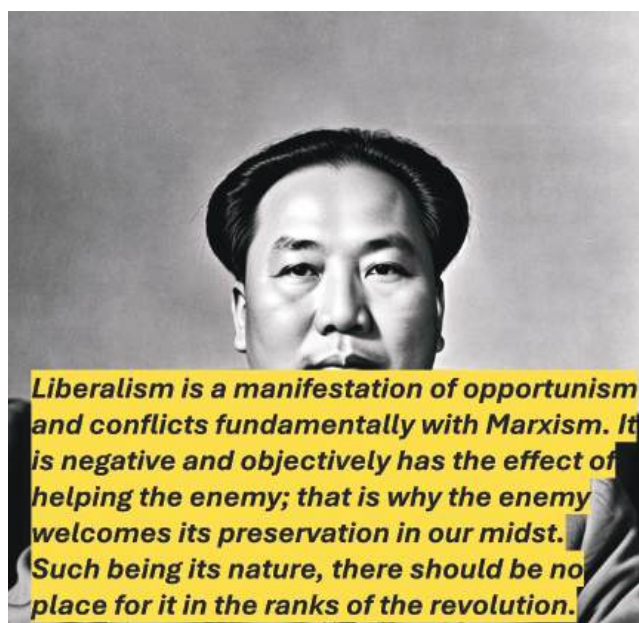
The Kenyan government has also sent 400 police officers to Haiti, ostensibly to help combat gang violence in the country. Kimani examines Haiti's history to help readers understand the genesis of the violence and the hidden role of imperialist countries in fostering the very violence they claim to be concerned about. He also highlights how the Kenyan government is being used by imperialist powers, particularly the United States, to advance their own interests. In the end, Kimani draws important lessons from this intervention.

In our sixth issue, we published Part One of *UMOJA Seen Through its Documents, 1987-1990*, and promised to feature Part Two in seventh issue. However, we decided to dedicate Issue Seven to solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle against Zionist genocide. In this current issue, we have included both Part Two and Part Three of the article on Umoja. Those who missed Part One are encouraged to read it first for context and a deeper understanding. The article delves into the publications produced by Umoja and their significance in today's struggle.

Pan-Africanism has recently gained significant traction among Africans both on the continent and in the diaspora. This surge in interest has seen many promoting the idea. However, some are distorting the true essence of Pan-Africanism as envisioned by its founding figures, such as George Padmore, CLR James, WEB Du Bois, and Kwame Nkrumah. In a joint article, Kinuthia Ndungu and Nicholas Mwangi explore what genuine Pan-Africanism is by revisiting its history and exposing the watered-down versions advocated by liberal forces. They illustrate how these distortions manifest and argue that they hinder Africa from achieving true liberation.

Finally, Alieu Bah takes us through a paper written by Mao in 1937, where he critiques liberalism and its role in maintaining the status quo. Bah contextualizes Mao's critique and shows how liberalism serves the interests of the ruling class while pacifying the masses with false promises of change. He argues that, despite its image of tolerance and progress, liberalism stifles real revolution by promoting reformist figures who, although appearing to rise from the people, are co-opted by the system and supported by imperialist agents like the National Endowment for Democracy.

- Kimani Waweru



HAITI AND THE KENYA POLICE


A look at Imperialist Influence.

By Kimani Waweru

Over the couple of months, Haiti has dominated local and global news for insecurity reasons. The insecurity and other related challenges have increased especially after the assassination of country's president Jovenel Moïse on 7th July 2021. Heavily armed gangs and militias are controlling most of the country; controlling 80% of capital Port Prince. The national police force is overwhelm thus failing to bring sanity into country. Insecurity in the country keep on increasing year by year for example according to UN Report that was released in January 2024 the number of reported homicides for 2023 increased by 119.4 per cent compared with 2022. 4,789 people were reported to have been killed during 2023, against 2,183 in 2022. The report also noted that the number of victims of kidnapping rose from 1,359 reported in 2022 to 2,490 in 2023, representing an 83 per cent increase¹. the insecurity has demoralised police, who sometimes protest some opting to leave the force for instance the report said a total of 1,663 officers were recorded to have left the service. The demoralisation is partly attributed to death and the injuries that the police continue to endure² for example 48 of them were killed while 75 were injured in 2023. The number of police officers is about 13,196 in a population of 12 million.

It is based on this that on 7th October 2022 Haiti government ostensibly approached The UN Security Council for the urgent deployment of the Multinational Security Support (MSS) to help restore security and alleviate the humanitarian crisis. On 8 October 2022, Secretary-General António

Guterres without waste of time submitted to the Security Council a special report (S/2022/747) outlining options to enhance security support for Haiti, requested by resolution 2645 of 15 July 2022 renewing BINUH's (United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti) mandate³. On 29 July 2023, Kenya government agreed to lead a multinational force to Haiti by pledging to deploy 1,000 police officers to what it said was to help in training and assisting Haitian police bring normalcy in Haiti. It is believed the US imperialism, which has dominated Haiti since 1915 is a key player behind the scene though is hiding itself by using Kenya as its protégé. This is authenticated by the fact that the US has pledged to facilitate the deployment of the MSS by pledging \$300 and also the discussion Kenya president William Ruto had with US Secretary of State Antony Blinken in which he promised Blinken of Kenya taking leadership of MSS⁴. On 2nd October 2023 the UN Security Council authorized the deployment of a MSS mission to support the Haitian National Police in combating the violence unleashed by gangs. The authorization excited the Kenya government which seemed to be more interested on the money it was going to get than the safety of its officers. The government through its Foreign Affairs Principal Secretary Korir Sing'oei vowed to seek parliamentary approval for deployment of its police officers to Haiti. The government knew too well that such kind of approval could easily sail through due to the fact it controls of parliament.



The silencing of the Haitian Revolution is only a chapter within a narrative of global domination. It is part of the history of the West and it is likely to persist, even in attenuated form, as long as the history of the West is not retold in ways that bring forward the perspective of the world.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot

1. United Nations Security Council. (2024) 'United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti-Report of the Secretary-General', [online]. Available at: https://binuh.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/report_of_the_un_secretary_general_on_haiti_binuh_-_15_january_2024.pdf-(Accessed: 30th August 2024)
2. "Anonymous". 'Gunfire reported near Haiti PM's home after rebel police rampage through capital', The Guardian [online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/26/haiti-rebel-police-rampage-gang-killings-protest> - (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
3. United Nations Security Council. (2023) 'October 2023 Monthly Forecast', [online]. Available at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2023-10/haiti-22.php> - (Accessed: 7th June 2024)
4. Mutambo A. 'Kenya on 'standby' as US raises funds for Haiti mission', The East Africa [online] 14th March. Available at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/kenya-on-standby-as-us-raises-funds-for-haiti-mission-4555926-> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

It is upon UN Security Council authorization and government determination of sending its police that Ekuru Aukot a lawyer and a politician rushed to court to challenge the deployment arguing that the deployment was unconstitutional as it was not backed by any Kenya law. He was granted an interim injunction (temporary order) on 9th October 2023 restraining the government from deploying police officers to Haiti or any other country until 24 October 2023 when the ruling was to be made⁵. The temporary order was extended to 9th November 2023 and again to 26th January 2024. On 16th November 2023 the parliament as expected approved the deployment after adopting a parliamentary joint committee report that recommended the same. The adoption was however opposed by some opposition Members of Parliament (MPs)⁶. The Kenya comprador government disregarded the court rulings and dispatched the initial group of police on 25th June 2024. The interests of the imperialists take precedence over the people under the comprador government. It hypocritically espouses sovereignty to its citizens while secretly receiving instructions from its imperialist sponsors. For this not to be seen as empty rhetoric, it might be helpful to briefly explore Haiti's brief history so that we can fully grasp the extent to which imperialism, especially from the US, has devastated the country.

Brief Haiti Historical Background

Before invasion by foreigners, Haiti belonged to a group of people called Taíno⁷, meaning 'men of the good'. Arriving from Spain, Christopher Columbus was the first foreigner to set foot on the island. It is frequently claimed that Columbus 'discovered' the island in 1492, indicating that the indigenous Taínos he encountered were not human beings. Columbus invited Spanish colonial settlers to exploit Haiti's wealth, particularly gold, enslaving Taínos within their own land. The Spanish colonialists proceeded to brutally exterminate the entire Taíno population, many thousands fell prey to smallpox, measles and other European diseases for which they had no immunity creating a shortage of human labour. Thus, in 1503 the colonialists brought black people (African) to work in Haiti's mines⁸.

When the French arrived in Haiti in 1625, conflict arose between them and the Spaniards over Haiti's wealth. The fight ended in the signing of the Ryswick Treaty in 1697. The treaty gave France control over Haiti, which was known as Saint-Domingue at the time. To exploit Haiti's wealth, France embarked on a mass importation of slaves from Africa⁹. The slaves were forced to work under extreme conditions to

produce wealth, which solely benefited the slave masters.

Black slaves did not sit around waiting for the messiah to save them or hoping to get sympathy from the slave masters, rather they demonstrated resistance in various ways. For example, some took to the mountains where they attacked and killed slave masters. This rebellion culminated in the rise of an inspirational leader called Toussaint L'Ouverture¹⁰. L'Ouverture organised an army of slaves which terrorised French exploiters. Because of his leadership, slaves believed in themselves and were able to fight with determination.

To end the resistance, the French tricked L'Ouverture into agreeing a deal and subsequently arrested him in 1802. He was taken to prison in France, where he died of pneumonia. Haiti's slave population did not despair; they continued with the fight.

By 1 January 1804, Haiti became the first black country, and the second in the world – after the United States – to regain independence, under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who had taken over from Toussaint L'Ouverture. Upon taking over, Dessalines under the banner "Liberty or Death" ordered the killing of Frenchmen who remained in Haiti sparing Polish and German colonists. He justified his actions as necessary to protect Haiti's sovereignty as well as acts of retaliation for the years of white cruelty and savagery during French rule¹¹.

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5. Chemam M. (2024) 'Kenya court puts Haiti deployment on temporary hold for two weeks', RFI [online] 11th October. Available at: <https://www.rfi.fr/en/africa/20231011-kenya-court-puts-haiti-deployment-on-temporary-hold-until-24-october> - (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 6. Tongola M. (2023) 'Parliament approves deployment of police officers to Haiti', The Standard [online] 11th October. Available at <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/health/national/article/2001485474/parliament-approves-deployment-of-police-officers-to-haiti> - (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 7. Poole M.P. (2023) 'Who Were the Taino, the Original Inhabitants of Columbus' Island Colonies?', Smithsonian Magazine [online] 5th October. Available at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/who-were-taino-original-inhabitants-columbus-island-73824867/> - (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 8. Lamp V and Dundes L. (2017) 'Who Were the Taíno, the Original Inhabitants of Columbus' Island Colonies?', MDPI [online] 31st October. Available at <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/6/4/132> - (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 9. Mocombe P.C. (2010) 'Why Haiti is Maligned in the Western World: The Contemporary Significance of Bois Caiman and the Haitian Revolution', ENCUESTROS ISSN 1692-5858. No. 16 P. 31-43 [online] 16th November. Available at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/225609166.pdf> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 10. (Anonymous) 'Slavery and Remembrance - Toussaint Louverture 1743 — 1803', [online]. Available at <https://slaveryandremembrance.org/people/person/?id=PP052> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 11. Editors (2021) 'Proclamation: Proclamation: Liberty or Death, Jean Jacques Dessalines, 1804, Black Agenda Report [online] 6 October. Available at <https://blackagendareport.com/proclamation-liberty-or-death-jean-jacques-des-salines-1804> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

This action angered the imperialists, particularly the US and Western Europe, who refused to recognise this newly government. They viewed Haiti as a challenge to their system and were worried about the response this independent Black nation would receive from slaves in their own countries and other colonies. So they tried to do everything they could to weaken the country¹².

Haiti assisted, and expressed solidarity with Latin American countries struggling for freedom. The great Latin American liberator, Simon Bolívar was once granted asylum in Haiti. France was irritated by their defeat to Haiti revolutionaries and kept playing all tricks to win back their loots by reinstating slavery. France was also envious of the US due to the fact it was enriching itself through slavery particularly on the South part of the country. It because of these reasons that France on July 3, 1825, sent its diplomat Baron de Mackau to Haiti to demand 150 million francs as compensation or face invasion. The French argued that they deserved restitution for destroyed wealth and commercial ventures. By their accounting, the value of the five hundred thousand humans who worked the hundreds of cotton, coffee, and sugar plantations rounded to approximately 150 million francs¹³. President Jean-Pierre Boyer, who by then was in leadership chickened out and surrendered to France's demand of 150 million francs (ten times of Haiti annual income) by signing a dubious document. This capitulation led to Haiti's dependence on France and it took Haitians more than a century to pay off the debt to France. The fake compensation regressed the economic growth of Haiti as most of its wealth was channeled towards the payment of the debt. President Boyer did like other comprador leaders do when they face liquid challenge by imposing taxes upon his people. Since country could not meet debt obligation it was forced to reach out to France, Germany and US banks for loans to pay France government. The dubious compensation which had been reduced to 90 million francs was fully paid in 1888. this however did not leave off the hook as it continued to pay the banks that had loaned it until 1947. President Boyer was eventually overthrown in 1843 by masses for his ineptitude and corruption; he escaped to Jamaica then to France.

Between 1911 and 1914 Haiti faced a crisis where presidents were overthrown as well as assassinated. The US used its influence in assisting Jean Vibrun Guillaume Sam to become the president. During the leadership of Jean Vibrun Guillaume Sam in 1915, 3,000 US marines invaded Haiti on 28th July 1915 and

occupied the country for 19 years, ostensibly because Vibrun had killed 167 political prisoners and therefore there was need to protect US investment in the country. The US took control of financial institutions and the national treasury. In the budget more funds were allocated to paying salaries and expenses of American officials at the expense of basic needs of two million Haitis¹⁴. Thereafter, the US ruled Haiti through proxies, and even forced the Haiti deputies to amend an article in Haiti's constitution banning foreigners from owning Haitian land in 1917.



When the said deputies refused to ratify the constitution US officials rewrote the constitution, and the said officials dissolved the assembly then held a "referendum" in which about 5 percent of the electorate voted and approved the new constitution--which conveniently changed Haitian law to allow foreigners to own land--with 99.9 percent voting for approval¹⁵. In actual sense the aim of the US invasion was to steal wealth of the country for the benefits of US corporations.

The US was also wary of Germans who had integrated with Haitians through intermarry and also their economic influence. Concerned about being outdone by the Germans, the US used their proxies in the Haitian government to deport Germans and seize

12. Lyon R. (2005) 'Haiti: Which Way Forward Against Imperialism?', In Defence of Marxism [online] 22nd January. Available at <https://www.marxist.com/haiti-against-imperialisme.htm> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

13. Alcenat W. (2017) 'The Case for Haitian Reparations', Jacobin [online] 14th January. Available at <https://jacobin.com/2017/01/haiti-reparations-france-slavery-colonialism-debt/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

14. Porter C, Méheut C, Apuzzo M and Gebrekidan S. (2022) 'In 1791, enslaved Haitians did the seemingly impossible. They ousted their French masters and founded a nation', The New York Times [online] 16th November. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

15. Weisbrot M. (2021) 'U.S. threats against Aristide', Socialist Worker [online] 17th February. Available at <https://socialistworker.org/2011/02/17/us-threats-against-aristide> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

their assets. This led to the US assuming sole control of the country and thus exploiting the people of Haiti, akin to slavery. About 50,000 peasants were deprived of their land as the US seized at least 260,000 acres for its corporations. US control of the country made 40% of Haiti's GDP to be channeled to US banks. The Haitians revolutionaries like their forefathers organized themselves and resisted the invasion courageously. Thousands of them majority being peasants were tortured and killed. The killings attracted world attention forcing the US to end occupation in 1934, however it made sure that the Haitian army (FAdH) as well as leadership that was left served its interests.

After the US left the country in 1934, there followed several leaders, with the election of François Duvalier alias Papa Doc in 1957 garnering the most attention due to the president's infamous anti-people policies. Prior to his presidency, Duvalier excelled in articulating issues affecting common people. Another thing that need to be noted is that since independence 1804 a small section mulatto (biracial) bourgeois dominated politic and economy of the country over the majority blacks. No wonder Duvalier rhetoric was able to attract many people. Being a US puppets Duvalier came up with private militia called Tonton Macoutes which was trained by the US that as we mentioned killed his perceived opponents. So the emergence of criminal gangs is not a recent thing but it can be traced during the reign of Duvalier. In 1963, he entrenched himself as the future of Haiti's leadership by changing the constitution to ensure he maintained his presidential position for life. He outlawed socialist parties and crushed any leftist groups. A significant number of members from the underground United Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) were subjected to torture, imprisonment and murder. He died in 1971, and his son Jean-Claude Duvalier, whom he had designated as his heir, was made president at the age of 19.

The younger Duvalier like his father continued with violent repression all those who rose up against him. According to Amnesty International report his government tortured and killed political leaders, journalists, trade unionists and those suspected of being opponents of the government. Detainees were kept incommunicado for long periods of time and were frequently subjected to torture and ill-treatment¹⁶. It is during his tenure that the leadership of United Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) left the country in an effort to escape the wrath of regime and sought asylum in France. More than 100,000 people were estimated to have been killed under his and his father's regime. His

authoritative leadership caused dissatisfaction among many, resulting in a desire to depose the Duvalier dynasty.

Under the leadership of a Catholic priest called Jean-Bertrand Aristide, peasants, urban workers and members of the petty bourgeoisie took to the street demanding Duvalier's resignation. Aristide was the leader of the Fanmi Lavalas, a movement which played a crucial role in the uprising. On 7 February 1986, Jean-Claude Duvalier gave in to mounting pressure marking the end of the hated dynasty. The U.S. imperialists who were his main backer in committing atrocities against his people came to his rescue and took him to France for a peaceful and lavish life.

From 1986 to 1990, Haiti was ruled by provisional governments and military who were friends to Duvalier government. These governments continued commit human rights abuses particularly to those questioning them. It is during this period that the constitution was amended. In the first election under the new constitution held on 16th Decemberv1990, Aristide emerged the victor with 67 per cent of the votes cast. This election was perceived as the first free and fair election in the history of Haiti. The US was uncomfortable with Aristide because of his combination of liberation theology and anti-capitalist rhetoric, thus the American government chose to support Aristide's opponent, a former World Bank official, Marc Bazin.

The imperialists tried their best to trash the wishes of Haiti people for example on 16th January 1991 their stogy and leader of Macoute called Roger Lafontant tried to overthrow Aristide. This however did not happen as this illegal move was thwarted by his supporters who took to the street in protest. The elections did not change the state structures as Aristide inherited the oppressive army which continued to harass ordinary people. in an effort to bring sanity he instituted series of reforms among them forcing army commander-in-chief Herard Abraham to resign, trying to combat drug dealing, starting investigations of the people who had committed atrocities in previous regimes. These reforms did not sit well with imperialists and their agencies (bourgeois) who had benefited from country's loots. It based on this that that US hatched a move aimed to destabilize his government. The

16. Amnesty International (2014) 'Haiti: The truth must not die with Jean-Claude Duvalier', [online] 7th October. Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/10/haiti-truth-must-not-die-jean-claude-duvalier/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

destabilisation led to Aristide's overthrow in September 1991 in which the US secretly backed a military coup. General Raoul Cedras, named chief of general staff of Haiti's army by Aristide, did exactly what Joseph Mobutu had done to the Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba in the early 1960s, cooperating with the US to overthrow the country's leader. Poor people did not take this lightly and poured into the streets to protest. Their protests were mercilessly crushed by the military regime. It is estimated that under his military reign approximately 7,000 people were killed.

To curb resistance, the military government facilitated the formation of FRAPH (Revolutionary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti) Emmanuel "Toto" Constant was the founder and leader. FRAPH was responsible for most of dirty work required to keep the first coup-regime in place, and the organization received thousands of military-style weapons from US authorities in Miami, often via Michel Francois' brother Evans, in flagrant violation of a (notoriously selective) "embargo" against the coup-regime¹⁷. Because of the oppression and economic hardship that followed, many people fled to the US using motor boats. Most of them were deported back to Haiti.

The US government continued working with notorious military government for three years. But in order to deceive masses that it was concerned about the suffering of the suffering Haitian. It ostensibly started to pressure the military government to step down so that the elected president Aristide could take over the leadership of the country. It influenced the United Nations Security Council to back the removal of the military regime. To accomplish it deceptive move it invaded and occupied Haiti on 19th September 1994. The US now in control restored Aristide in power in October, it however as usual set conditions which the Aristide government had to honour. These conditions included complying with IMF and World Bank conditionalities, co-opting former officials of the Duvalier dictatorship and accepting to complete the term without asserting any rights to the years of his presidency that were lost during forced exile and not seeking re-election in the 1996 general elections. Acceptance of these conditions made Aristide unpopular among his supporters, since his compliance affected them negatively. He however made a bold move in which he disbanded army ignoring US advise of retaining army of 4,000 soldiers that was to led by some the former commanders. The US did not take much bother since it knew very well its 3,000 marines were in command. The US handed the army mandate to

the United Nations Mission in Haiti in March 1995. When Aristide's term culminated in 1996, he persuaded his friend, Rene Preval, to run for president under the Lavalas party. The election saw Preval win with 88% of the votes, allowing him to continue Aristide's reforms.

Due to party differences there was a split between the two friends, which led to Aristide forming a breakaway movement called Lavalas Family. When the next election was held in 2000 and was boycotted by the opposition, Aristide emerged triumphantly with 90 per cent of votes. After Aristide's 2001 inauguration, the Bush administration stepped up a coordinated campaign of political isolation, economic sanctions, diplomatic pressure, and paramilitary guerrilla attacks to drive him from power¹⁸. This was done under the banner the Democratic Convergence coalition and Group 184.

To counter the Democratic Convergence coalition and Group 184 formed by the US and Haitian ruling classes to destabilise him, Aristide relied on in his Chimères security force, comprised of lumpenproletariat, namely, the impoverished from Haiti's slums. This force attacked Aristide's opponents, who in turn formed similar forces to counterattack. Knowing that they could not beat Aristide in a fair election, his opponents formulated excuses, suggesting that the 2000 elections were irregular. Aristide's opponents were fully supported by the US and other imperialists countries, who suspended foreign aid to the Aristide government as a symbol of protest around ostensibly unfair elections. The suspension of aid was meant to turn Haitians against Aristide.

By February things had turned from bad to worse; the US together with other imperialist countries such as France capitalised on this downturn, and facilitated another coup which involved abducting Aristide and his family then flying them to the Central African Republic (CAR). The US insisted that they were helping Aristide since he had resigned. But all these obnoxious excuses were debunked when Thierry Burkhard, France's former ambassador to Haiti, revealed to The New York Times that France and the United States effectively orchestrated the coup. He stated that the main reason for that was Aristide's

18. Ives K. (2016) 'The Case for Haitian Reparations', Jacobin [online] 4th November. Available at <https://jacobin.com/2016/04/haiti-hillary-clinton-elections-martelly-fraud/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

campaign demand for France to pay Haiti over 21 billion U.S. dollars, which he claimed was the equivalent of 90 million gold francs that Haiti was compelled to pay Paris after achieving independence¹⁹. Jean-Bertrand Aristide was granted political asylum in South Africa, where he remained until his return to Haiti in 2011. The chief justice of the Supreme Court, Boniface Alexandre, took over the government in accordance with Haiti's constitution, and invited UN peacekeepers to participate in the governance of Haiti.

Supporters of Aristide took to the streets to demand his reinstatement, but were confronted by the peacekeeping force. This confrontation continued for several years, costing many injuries and deaths. According to WikiLeaks Cables high-level U.S. and U.N. officials coordinated a politically motivated prosecution of Aristide to poison the minds of innocent Haitians and the world. This persecution included labeling Aristide as a drug trafficker, human rights violator, and heretical practitioner of voodoo. The aim was to prevent him from going back to his country during his exile in South Africa²⁰.

The interim government finally held elections on February 2006; Preval won with 51 per cent of the vote, albeit amidst allegations that he had not in fact gathered the 50 per cent needed for one to be declared president. Preval used opportunistic tactics to win both left and right global leaders. He worked well with Cuban and Venezuelan governments. He even signed development agreement with Hugo Chavez and consistently voted against US embargo against Cuba in United Nation General Assembly. On the other side he was dining with US imperialism by embracing neoliberal policies geared to satisfying imperialists interests at the expense ordinary people. In the last years of his second term an earthquake strike Haiti killing more than two hundred thousand people and destroying Port-au-Prince²¹. His responses to the disaster was wanting and it believed that this was one of the reasons that made him not to contest the 2010 elections as he feared defeat.

The imperialists continued to play behind the scenes and doing their best to groom Duvalierist elements. It is on this basis that they supported and financed Michel Martelly during 2011 general elections. Actually he was funded by the same groups which drove Aristide from power in 2004 to tune of \$15billion²². Martelly was member of Macoutes which was accused killing and torturing people during Duvalier regimes. When the first round of elections was held Martely became distanced third

behind Mirlande Manigat and Jude Celestin but surprisingly Organisation of American States (OAS) selected him instead of Jude Celestin to contest for the runoff ostensibly because of elections irregularities.



Haitians demonstrating in the capital city, Port-au-Prince, in 2020, demanding the resignation of President Jovenel Moïse. Photo courtesy of Peoples Dispatch

The same script played around during 2016 general elections in which Martelly party Haitian Tèt Kale Party (PHTK) nominated Jovenel Moïse as its presidential candidates of November 2016 general elections. When elections were held Moïse fraudulently emerged winner with turnout of less than 12%²³. his elections were protested by Haitians who poured in the streets in fury. When he consolidated power he re-established army which had been disbanded by Aristide in 1995 naming former army colonel Jodel Lesage as acting commander-in-chief. He ruled with iron fist Since he knew he got to power illegitimately refusing to call elections and instead pushing elections to the following year (2022). This illegality was however supported by imperialists led by United States along

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19. (Anonymous). (2022) 'Ex-Ambassador Admits France & U.S. Orchestrated 2004 Coup in Haiti to Oust Aristide', Democracy Now! [online] 22nd May. Available at https://www.democracynow.org/2022/5/23/headlines/ex_ambassador_admits_france_us_orchestrated_2004_coup_in_haiti_to_oust_aristide (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 20. Ives K. (2016) 'Ex-Ambassador Admits France & U.S. Orchestrated 2004 Coup in Haiti to Oust Aristide', Democracy Now! [online] August 2021. Available at https://www.democracynow.org/2011/8/11/haiti_wikileaks_cables_expose_how_us (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 21. Rivet N. (2017) 'The Case for Haitian Reparations', Al Jazeera [online] 22nd July. Available at <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/preval-rene-garcia-preval-rene-1943-2017/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 22. Gradin G. (2011) 'Martelly: Haiti's Second Great Disaster', Black Past [online] 4th May. Available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2011/5/4/martelly-haitis-second-great-disaster> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)
 23. John T. J. (2021) 'Slain Haitian president faced calls for resignation, sustained mass protests before killing', The Conversation [online] 7th July. Available at <https://theconversation.com/slain-haitian-president-faced-calls-for-resignation-sustained-mass-protests-before-killing-164131> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)



with other Caribbean countries. His refusal attracted wrath of Haitians who protested along the streets targeting US embassy demanding his resignation. On 7th July 2021 the gun men stormed into his bedroom after overpowering security and shot him dead injuring his wife. Claude Joseph the prime minister by then took over the government though in interim basis. This however did not please imperialist under the banner of Core Group who demanded his resignation. The said imperialist under the stewardship of USA without caring about the wishes of Haitians imposed their stooge Ariel Henry as prime minister on 20th July 2021.

Imposition of Ariel did not mitigate the challenges the country rather it increased them. The gangs whose majority are bank rolled by the oligarchy politicians and bourgeois class took control of the country. Ariel like his predecessors did not meet the needs of majority Haitians but those of the imperialists. He even failed to hold elections ostensibly because of insecurity. his stay in power angered Haitians more who kept demanding his resignation. The imperialists on their end seeing things were going out of hand prevailed upon him to resign. It is on this basis that he announced his resignation promising to hand over power to another imperialist formed the transitional council. The council consist of nine members of which seven have voting powers. The nine members of the council are

believed to be involved in political corruption, theft, and have direct affiliations with imperialist forces that have caused immense destruction in Haiti²⁴. Among its role includes to appoint a provisional electoral commission, setting up a new cabinet, establishment of a national security council. It nonrenewable mandate expires on 6th February 2026 and it is assumed by then new president will have been sworn in²⁵. The council appointed Gerry Conille as interim prime minister and took over the leadership on 3rd June 2024 after been sworn in. This was followed by appointment of the cabinet on 11th June 2024. Gerry was however disposed on November 10, 2024 by the council through an executive order, signed by eight of members, and replaced by a Alix Didier Fils-Aimé as Conille's a businessman and former president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Haiti²⁶.

24. Joseph K. (2024) 'Haiti: Transitional Council has direct ties to imperialist forces wreaking havoc in Haiti', Liberation [online] 2nd May. Available at <https://www.liberationnews.org/haiti-transitional-council-has-direct-ties-to-imperialist-forces-wreaking-havoc-in-haiti/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

25. Coto D. (2024) 'Ariel Henry resigns as prime minister of Haiti, paving the way for a new government to take power', CTV News [online] 25th April. Available at <https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/ariel-henry-resigns-as-prime-minister-of-haiti-paving-the-way-for-a-new-government-to-take-power-1.6861889> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

26. (Anonymous). (2024) 'Haiti Faces Turmoil as Prime Minister Garry Conille Removed', The Carembian Camera Inc [online] 16 November. Available at <https://thecaribbeancamera.com/haiti-political-crisis-prime-minister-dismissal/> (Accessed: 27 December 2024)

On the other side the UN Security Council on 30th September 2024 voted to renew the Multinational Security Support (MSS) mission to a year. However, it failed to make it fully sponsored by the UN after two permanent members i.e. China and Russia vetoed stating the past initiatives have failed to bring peace in the country. This means the imperialists led by the US will continue to fund the Kenya led mission. The funding is believed to be one of the reasons that the Kenya government has not fully sent the 1,000 police it had promised. The Prime Cabinet Secretary and Cabinet Secretary for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs Musalia Mudavadi was quoted when begging for funds during a Multilateral Meeting on Building on Progress to Restore Security in Haiti held on 25th September 2024 saying that “the donations thus received far cannot sustainably support even the 410 officers, not to mention the yet-to-be-deployed personnel”²⁷. The meeting was attended by him, Secretary Antony J. Blinken, Head of Haiti’s Transitional Presidential Council Edgard Leblanc Fils and the then Haitian Interim Prime Minister Garry Conille.

In conclusion it is in the best interests of Kenyans to learn from Haiti’s tumultuous history and present experiences.

Firstly, blindly following Western rhetoric can be catastrophic to people of any Third World country. Any government seeking to succeed must prioritise the interests of its own people, especially the poor majority. Looking at Haiti, we realise that some of the country’s problems are a result of its leaders playing as stooges of the West. Aristide tried to focus on his people’s needs, but betrayed them upon his return after the first coup. Though he came to senses after his election in 2000 and this caused his presidency. Secondly, imperialism survives through the exploitation of Third World countries for example for decades’ imperialists have been plundering Haiti wealth impoverishing masses. It is now salivating its minerals it is believed Haiti has a \$20 billion untouched mineral wealth²⁸. These minerals include iridium a metal worth three times more than gold. Haiti has the second largest reserves in the world²⁹. It is on this basis that imperialist particularly US has over the years sabotaging initiatives promoting alternative way of production and distribution of wealth. In the case of Haiti, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) was ostensibly used to maintain peace but in real sense it was used to maintain the status quo. Now Kenya led mission is being used for the same purpose

Thirdly, it is duty of every pro people leader to stay in

course in fulfilling the needs of his people and use the revolutionary tactics to counter any reactionary elements. He should bear in mind that enemies of the people will use all manner of tactics to dislodge the revolutionary government. For example, when the imperialist US collaborated with the local ruling comprador class to remove Aristide, the Haitian president used Chimères security force, comprised of lumpenproletariat to counter reactionaries. Chimères went overboard and attacked innocent people contributing to him losing some support among ordinary people. It is duty of every revolutionary leader to understand conscientisation among his people is very important. Conscious people will stand with leader at a time of reactionary challenges. Lumpen class because of dehumanization tends waver between the exploiters and oppressed. This means one cannot rely with them in countering counterrevolutionaries.

Kenyans progressives should take a lead in pressurizing the Kenya comprador government to bring back Kenyan police in Haiti. Peace in Haiti can only be brought by Haitians themselves. Foreigners as we have seen will only add more problems and if peace is achieved it will only be superficial

Lastly, organisation is critical. For any struggle to succeed it has to be led by an organised group of people. This is precisely the reason why Aristide used his Lavalas movement in dislodging the Duvalier dynasty from power. Another key element which coalesces with organisation is ideology: one may be organised but nevertheless fail to lead the struggle to total victory because of lack of ideology. One has to adopt a pro-poor or a revolutionary ideology. Such ideology states that things keep on changing, thus one must examine society the way it is, not the way he thinks it is. By applying revolutionary theory, the oppressed under the leadership of revolutionary organisation can liberate themselves from the chain of neocolonialism.

27. U.S. Department of State Press Releases (September 25, 2024) ‘Secretary Antony J. Blinken, Head of Haiti’s Transitional Presidential Council Edgard Leblanc Fils, Haitian Interim Prime Minister Garry Conille, and Prime Cabinet Secretary and Cabinet Secretary for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs Dr. Musalia Mudavadi at a Multilateral Meeting on Building on Progress to Restore Security in Haiti’. Available at <https://www.state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-at-a-multilateral-meeting-on-building-on-progress-to-restore-security-in-haiti/> (Accessed: 2nd October 2024)

28. Soto S. (2012) ‘Haiti \$20 billion untouched mineral wealth to help the country out of poverty’, CTV News [online] 25th July. Available at <https://www.mining.com/haiti-20-billion-untouched-mineral-wealth-to-help-the-country-out-of-poverty-46646/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

29. Soto S. (2021) ‘Haiti has the World’s Second Largest Iridium Deposits’, CTV News [online] 6th October. Available at <https://haitiliberte.com/haiti-has-the-worlds-second-largest-iridium-deposits/> (Accessed: 30th August 2024)

OF LIBERALISM AND THE PITFALLS OF RADICAL ACTIVISM

By Alie Bah

"Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second, and this gives rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism."

~ Mao Tse-Tung

Living and dying within this capitalist dystopia, the word liberal conjures an image of a tolerant, easy going, open-minded and progressive person. Whenever it is called into question, many are the ones that rise up. Many are the voices and pens that charge you with extremism. They will try to remind you, "Don't you see this is the middle ground, that this is the way to a peaceful and coexistent society?" The blueprint has long been drawn for the one who ought to rise up in defiance and rebellion. The liberal fist goes viral, the revolutionary fist gets cut off before it even reaches these polluted skies of our pathos. The neocolonized being is reminded to be thankful to western civilization that such a democratic model was developed and given to them.

"Don't you see how long you have been shedding clothes in ultimate barbarism, don't you see the monarchies that have long ruled you and yours? Haven't you seen how they disappeared to give you rounds and rounds of voting, stockpiles of protests and angry activists? Be thankful and stop being extreme!"

Such is the pontification of liberalism and its prophets. When history was declared at an end, it was told to us in no uncertain terms that this liberalism, this wellspring of human governance, is post-history itself. Nothing better can come after this, don't you see. We are now to celebrate our final becoming and bow before the sacred cows of Euro-American accomplishment and be forevermore in gratitude and reverence.

But as the cosmic clock never stops, the cracks start appearing. The well-fortified wall of liberalism started slowly showing weakness and shakiness. The

earthquakes and tornadoes of peoples' struggles for new worlds started rocking it in sometimes silent and sometimes loud ways. The wealth that proudly funded the system started getting more claimants. The little slave, told to stay in his little place, is at long last questioning the old religion. The promised human rights and the dividends of voting didn't show up at the poor man's house. Crisis deepened as the economic base of this civilizing ideology started receiving more assaults from those it rightfully belongs to. The prophets get to work, blaming one dictator after another, one communist after another – but there is a difference this time.

The faithful are becoming self-aware, asking the right questions and refusing to settle for easy answers. They have tried everything handed to them in this post-historical phase of their darkened, back-bent lives. They have voted, fought over policies, marched and protested for more rights. All this they have done dutifully as it befits the believer. Yet, they saw little to no gains; instead, the prophets and their financiers live evermore richer and luxurious. Life now is one long nightmare. For all their human rights and democracy, they're still hungry, still shuffling and begging on their knees. Peaceful coexistence flies out the gate as they turn against each other in wanton, naked violence –impoverished humanity turning on itself.

This infighting is welcomed and encouraged as the masters find ways and means to keep this violence from becoming organized and spilling out of the bounds of the slums, ghettos, townships and shanty towns. But the contradictions sharpen as they recognize the police, not as one of their own, but as

the protector of another being. They start seeing how the NGOs get funnier with the charities and conversations around change in leadership. Things start changing qualitatively at such a fast pace the think tanks don't have explanations and expositions for what is rapidly becoming an enlightened people. This must stop! they say. They know they can't have this festering, righteous indignation within the dispossessed.

The system, though, never sleeps or lags for long. It might be sleep-deprived and slumber a little while, but soon it gets back up and carries on with its mission of manifest destiny. The slaves must be kept in their quarters. But how can that be done if you don't employ their own kind? Then the reformists appear amongst the poor, brandishing old, servile slogans, sometimes newer ones. The reformists are studied from afar by the system that never sleeps, and it's agreed that they can be groomed. They're then given millions, speaking gigs, and spanking new spaces. They bask them with honorary degrees and are afforded the opportunity to sit and have forums with the old prophets.

The masses, forever looking forlornly while trusting their own, welcome them back with gusto, trusting that these new rebels who have risen from amongst them will be with them through this long struggle of theirs. They attempt to fool the people by showing off some little harsh truths at the conferences and forums they're invited to; the people, ever trusting, cheer them on and bring them back on their shoulders.

Then they —these groomed, sold-out activists —soon start their real work and call for calm and dialogue with “the authorities”. The people, convinced they are one of their own, start that very process, trusting both their judgement and guidance. But the people soon learn that not all skinfolk is kinfolk.

Liberal democracy, as represented by white supremacy, has all but lost its legitimacy before the masses of oppressed people. They can now only go through back channels — an acknowledgment here that this is an old tactic they always ran to. Now, more than ever, they have rooted themselves amongst these so-called activists who call the people back to burning houses and broken bridges. They stir ancient fears amongst the people to keep them in check for their masters. Their historical accounts of change all revisionist, even as they attempt to co-opt revolutionaries of the past in their well-crafted narratives. Revolution and radical demands for

abolition are treated very nicely and coyly before being dismissed. The reformation processes they spearhead in the communities are welcomed as George Soros, The National Endowment for Democracy, and all such insidious institutions clamor to give them more funds for capacity-building and strengthening the hidden hands of soft and hard imperialism. They make rousing speeches when the funds come, because soon after they will be in the billionaires' yachts — as their little meek slaves of course — basking in the glow of their blood money. Call 911 for them soon, because the masses have all but found them out. Today's uprisings bear testimony to the historical process of the great awakening that is grinding capital's easy flow to a halt. In some places they have already been chased out with sticks and whips, and in some others they are being slowly recognized for what they truly are. Because they all parrot the same liberal-speak, it isn't illogical that they are sent packing as soon as the people rise up against the system. The university gigs and fancy book deals aren't covering for them any longer as they join the petite bourgeois handlers within the impoverished.

What is more interesting in their evolution is their falling out with each other. They have no loyalties except to the houses of power and the flags of oppression, so they rat each other out, snitching on all the righteous ones fighting the glorious but unannounced fight amongst the disinherited. Liberalism and its various tendencies are this and much more. Its adherents, even the sincere amongst them, aren't here for radical change and the frenetic movement of the masses to freedom. They might be many and they might be well-funded, but they have brought about little to no gains for the people's struggles. They don't talk about a revolutionary takeover of the means of production, because whence then will they eat? They belong ultimately to the parasitic class of hustlers and pacifiers who must be brought to an end in the historical movement of the people's revolution. In the final analysis of class struggle, they will be accorded the dustbin of history, forever to be trashed with their constitutions, memoirs, gigs, and well-funded neocolonial institutions. Their lies catching up with them, their little victories swept along with the cyclone of the righteous risings of the many billions, they will not be remembered, as it's finally said by the masses: this far and no further.

Alieu Bah is writer with Mwamko

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE RESISTANCE OF GEN Z IN KENYA

By Shiraz Durrani



PART 1: The Story

Volcanoes do not erupt suddenly, although they seem to do so. It may take years or decades of underground activities which build up the pressure to push lava out of the ground. In the same way, social 'eruptions' do not happen without years and decades of underground and overground work by those most affected by the bourgeois misrule in countries under capitalism and imperialism. Many working-class activities have remained hidden from official public notice in Kenya and so the recent events came as a surprise to many, including the ruling class and international finance, among others. So, some background may help.

Contradictions in Kenyan Society

The existence of capitalism in Kenya is often ignored or taken for granted as a 'social norm', just as the presence of air is taken for granted as a natural phenomenon. And yet, the manifestation of its existence is everywhere: existence of classes and class struggle is the main feature under capitalism. This in turn leads to lack of employment, housing, water, healthcare, education, appropriate infrastructure for the working class – in other words, means of survival. Poor wages and unemployment for workers, landlessness and poor returns for peasants and rural workers are also caused by the same capitalist forces. The fact that the ruling elite

faces no such shortages explains why these facts and capitalism itself have remained hidden. For them, life is perfect with everything they need – and more – easily available.

While colonialism was defeated in 1963, imperialism, which was behind the colonial and neo-colonial phases in Kenya, was not. It continued where colonialism had left and created a new homeguard – comprador – class, just as the colonial regime had created the first set of homeguards to fight Mau Mau. Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel arap Moi, Uhuru Kenyatta and now William Ruto have been declared chief homeguards to keep Kenya under imperialist control.

Class division and class struggle are the primary facts about Kenya, not only today, but during colonialism and after independence too. It was the young generation during colonial days who decided that resistance against colonialism must take a different turn – from local wars and petitioning the enemy to active, national struggle, armed, if necessary. This qualitative change in strategy led to the defeat of colonialism and brought independence to Kenya. Today, Kenya is undergoing a similar qualitative change in its struggle against capitalism and imperialism under a new generation of young warriors.

Thus, the social volcano is building up even more pressure. But a spark to set it ablaze was missing – until now.

The Spark

The spark was created, ironically, by capitalism which, as Marx explained, carries the seeds of its own destruction. Capitalism in our times needs an educated workforce able to navigate the new world created by information technologies. While at independence, there was only one university – University of Nairobi – the number has increased in 2024 as follows²:

Public Chartered Universities: 35
Accredited Public University Constituent Colleges: 6
Accredited Private Chartered Universities: 25
Accredited Private University Constituent Colleges: 3
Institutions with Letters of Interim Authority: 8
Specialised Degree Awarding Universities (Public): 2

In addition to these, there are a number of campuses of overseas universities and well as a large number of colleges of higher learning. In keeping with this expansion, the number of university students also

increased. Those enrolled in universities in 2022/23 was almost 563,000.³

Unemployed Educated Workers Without Trade Unions

Imperialism influenced the policy of the ‘independent’ government in every aspect, particularly its land and finance policies. In addition, it had seen the power of trade unions which influenced Mau Mau in its armed struggle by providing it with working class ideology. Under imperialist guidance, the new government separated the political aspect of trade union work and instead gave it a narrow ‘industrial’ remit to keep it away from class and national politics. To ensure that its new policy was well implemented, it set up the government-controlled Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) and linked it up with Western international trade unions. It did succeed in its policy as there is a notable absence of trade unions in working-class and people’s struggles today.⁴

Yet, the hundreds of thousands of students in universities, colleges and schools have managed to acquire working-class consciousness as they follow global struggles against imperialism on their mobile phones. Their formal education may not have taught them the working-class history of Kenya and Africa, but their access to such information was easily available on-line. Out of a population of over 56 million in 2024⁵, there were almost 22 million internet users in Kenya; Internet penetration stands at 40%; the number of social media users increased by 2.2 million (ie an increase of 25%) between 2020 and 2021.⁶ Mobile connections in Kenya in 2024 stood at 66 million.⁷

2. List of Accredited Universities in Kenya 2024. Available at: <https://victormatara.com/list-of-accredited-universities-in-kenya-2018/> [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

3. Statista: University enrolment in Kenya from 2017/2018 to 2022/2023. Available at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1135785/university-enrollment-in-kenya/>. [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

4. Some aspects of trade union work is available in Flanagan, Nigel and Shiraz Durrani (2024): Trade Union Studies in UK and Kenya. Nairobi: Vita Books. Available at: <https://www.africanbookscollective.com/books/trade-union-studies-in-the-uk-and-kenya>

5. World Population Review. Available at: <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/kenya-population> [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

6. Digital 2021: Kenya. Available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-kenya>. [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

7. Statista. Available at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1246821/number-of-mobile-connections-kenya/>. [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

The knowledge and national and international news and working-class perspective that trade unions had provided during Kenya's war of independence are now being provided on the Internet which links Kenyan — and indeed, African — youth with each other and with progressive forces around the world. Many of the young people are social justice activists, often unpaid, as they find it difficult to get jobs in Kenya. The Federation of Kenya Employers⁸ notes:

Although the overall unemployment in Kenya is at 12.7 percent, youth (15 – 34-year-olds), who form 35 percent of the Kenyan population, have the highest unemployment rate of 67 percent. Many of these unemployed are university, college and higher education graduates, with advanced skills in the use of digital technologies.

Growth of Study Circles

We saw how there exists in Kenya a group of well-educated young people who had expertise in using digital technologies and who use social media to articulate their demands from the government of Kenya. But educated youth and media skills, necessary as they are, do not automatically create class consciousness which is an essential requirement for any social or political movement to succeed. Class consciousness is what trade unions provided in the past. With the silencing of radical trade unions, this important source of raising workers' class consciousness is missing today. Also missing is an active organised working class itself, defined as Karl Marx defined it: "the working class or proletariat as individuals who sell their labour power for wages and who do not own the means of production".⁹ Lenin emphasised the need for organising for building socialism. Are these elements missing from resistance in Kenya today? There is also a danger of the movement being hijacked by the bourgeoisie and international finance to pretend to change but leading to the same imperialist exploitation. Imperialism cannot afford to 'lose' its grip on Kenya as it will set an important message to all the working class in Africa. Indeed, some countries have already seen a Kenya-style youth resistance movements. Thus, the struggle for Kenya will be harder than in many other African countries.

However, the young people in Kenya were well educated in understanding social and political forces at play in Kenya and globally. Many have educated themselves and others by participating in many study groups that have become well established over

the last 5 years or so. Some are based at the various Social Justice Centres, others were linked to a growing number of political organisations, such as the Communist Party of Kenya and the Revolutionary Socialist League. Among many such organisations, Ukombozi Library has become a trendsetting in charting a new path for libraries in Africa. It has become a centre of many study groups, as Waweru and Balhorn explain:¹⁰

The library recently launched a series of study and discussion sessions for college and university students and social justice activists from both the older and younger generations. Geared towards sharpening attendees' ideological standpoint, the sessions are conducted at the library every Monday from 17:00 to 19:00. Activists also use the space to organize key events that are ignored by the ruling class and the government, such as Kimathi Day (18 February) and African Liberation Day (25 May). Dedan Kimathi was the leader of the Land and Freedom Army, popularly known as the Mau Mau, which is credited with achieving Kenya's independence from colonial rule. Over the years, the Kenyan neo-colonial regimes have ignored the contribution made by the Mau Mau under the leadership of Kimathi. It is against this backdrop of official silence that activists organize activities to celebrate the Mau Mau and Kimathi's work. The activity is also meant to inspire people in their daily struggles today ... The library has also become a key reference centre in matters to do with the Mau Mau, with Nairobi journalists visiting us to find materials on the subject.

An important issue is the availability of relevant material for study sessions. Many socialist and Marxist resources are now available online. In addition, new Kenyan material is also now available, as Kimani and Bullhorn show:

8. Kenya Federation of Employers: Youth Employment. Available at: <https://www.fke-kenya.org/policy-issues/youth-employment>. [Accessed: 12-07-2024].

9. Wikipedia: Working Class. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Working_class. [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

10. Waweru, Kimani and Loren Balhorn: Kenya's First Socialist Library. Available at: <https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/41361/kenyas-first-socialist-library/> [Accessed: 11-07-2024].

As one of very few (and perhaps only) sources of Marxist and socialist literature in Kenya, the Ukombozi Library is a unique and deeply worthwhile endeavour, contributing to the revival of socialist thinking and action in Africa following decades of repression and neoliberal political hegemony.

Such material is supplemented by publications from Vita Books¹¹ which provides some missing ideological and historical material for the young readers as part of their study.

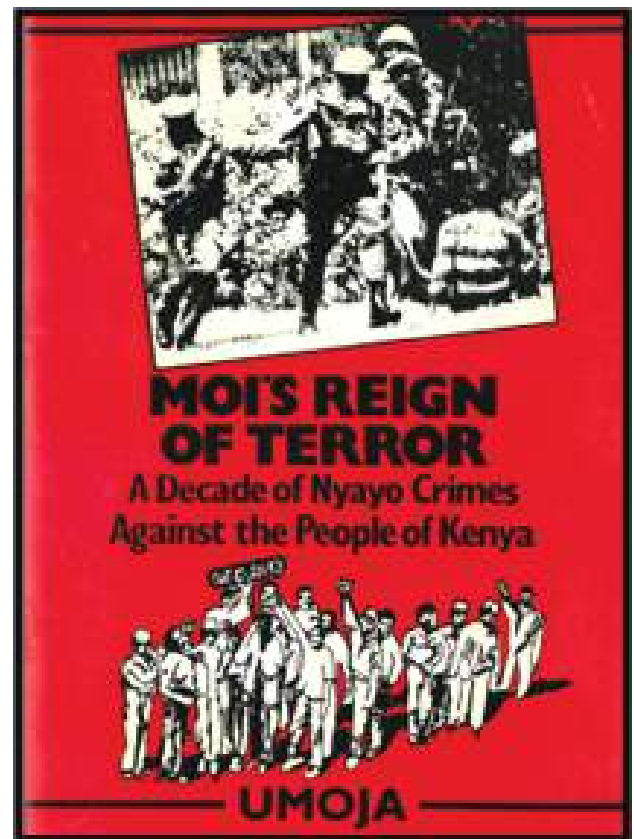
The IMF Push Lights the Spark

Thus, all the ingredients for a major resistance movement were ready. It just needed a final event that could set the prairie fire alight. The ruling class and its financial and imperialist backers were high with their success in capturing Kenya completely since Ruto became the President. He had no legitimacy in Kenya as he had avoided being tried by the International Court of Justice. Yet he managed to build support and used corrupt methods to get into power. He immediately surrendered the reigns of the country to IMP dictates and jumped into the clutches of USA. With the euphoria from these 'successes', he introduced the Finance Bill 214 as dictated by IMF. That was it. The fire was lit and took over the country. The rest is history. It is not the aim of this article to document and analyse events as they are unfolding in Kenya. A selected reading list is added at the end of this article to provide further reading for those interested.

Liberating Culture, Resisting Massacres

An important aspect of the resistance in Kenya is that it has liberated artists and activists to articulate new forms and content for their output. Just as Mau Mau launched many songs of liberation and developed new channel of communications, the activists today are creating their own content and forms of expressing the ideas and thoughts that inspire their liberation. Mau Mau used underground and overground press and had control over 50 newspapers to disseminate their views¹². The activists today use social and other media to articulate their visions and news.

While the response so far from the Ruto to people's demand is promising, the struggle is far from over. The only solution in the long term for Kenya is to move out of the IMF clutches and possibly join BRICS. That would require a well-developed strategy from those on the streets today.



At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the progress so far has been at the expense of dozens, perhaps, hundreds, who have been massacred and assassinated under Ruto's orders. And hundreds who have been wounded. Someone who claims to be listening to people on the street would not continue killing people unless he has another agenda behind his sweet talk. These are dangerous times for Kenya. The struggle is long and hard. Its reality cannot adequately be covered in words alone. Part 2 of this article contains some images from social media which capture the murders and massacres by Ruto. In 1989, Umoja documented Moi's Reign of Terror¹³. It is time now to document Ruto's Reign of Terror. But Ruto faces a fiercer force lined up against him. The struggle for real liberation is on-going.

But the hopeful sign for the future is that there is awareness of what the real issues are and what the solution is, as Ben Curry (2024) explains:

11. Publications from Vita Books are available worldwide from the African Books Collective. See their list at: <https://www.africanbookscollective.com/search-results?form.keywords=vita+books>
12. For further details see: Durrani, Shiraz (2006): Never Be Silent. Nairobi: Vita Books. Available at: <https://www.africanbookscollective.com/books/never-be-silent>
13. UMOJA (1989): Moi's Reign of Terror: A Decade of Nyayo Crimes Against the People of Kenya. London: UMOJA. Background Document No. 2. Available at the Kenya Resistance Archives, Ukombozi Library, Nairobi.

There is no future for the masses under capitalism. This system must be smashed and replaced with a democratically planned socialist economy. Only along this road will the masses find a future worthy of human beings.

Once the Kenyan workers are in power, it would be possible to cancel the debt, to nationalise the assets of big business and foreign capital, and the huge natural wealth of the country, and to plan the economy to dramatically improve the living standards of all. Such a socialist workers' republic in Kenya would become a beacon for the downtrodden masses of the whole continent and the whole world. That would be a real revolution that would soon spread to East Africa and far beyond.

That clarity is what has been lacking, at least in the public domain, during the period of Mau Mau and the underground resistance by the December Twelve Movement and Mwakenya. It was the Kenya People's Union (KPU) that had openly sought socialism for Kenya. The young generations today are not likely to be banned, detained and silenced as KPU was. There is hope for the future when ideology is grabbed by the activists. A beacon for the downtrodden masses of the whole continent and the whole world – indeed!

Further Reading: A Selection

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POPULIST TRENDS OR REVOLUTIONARY PAN-AFRICANISM?

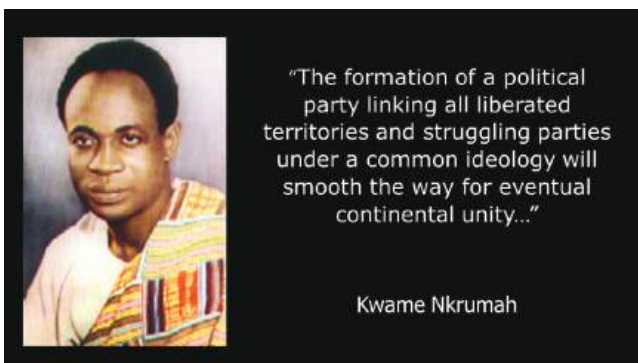
By Kinuthia Ndungu & Nicholas Mwangi

“A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa. The evidence is all around us. In essence, it is, as in the rest of the world, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed.”

~ Kwame Nkrumah

We are indeed living in interesting times, witnessing a resurgence of Pan-Africanism that is both reinvigorating and complex. The African continent is witnessing the dynamic movement of leaders who deliver passionate speeches, captivating the youth and the diaspora. However, beneath this energetic facade lies a challenge – the rise of pseudo-populist Pan-Africanism that regurgitates empty rhetoric. This practice has also extended among African presidents who are now becoming overnight celebrities around the world with short YouTube videos going viral.

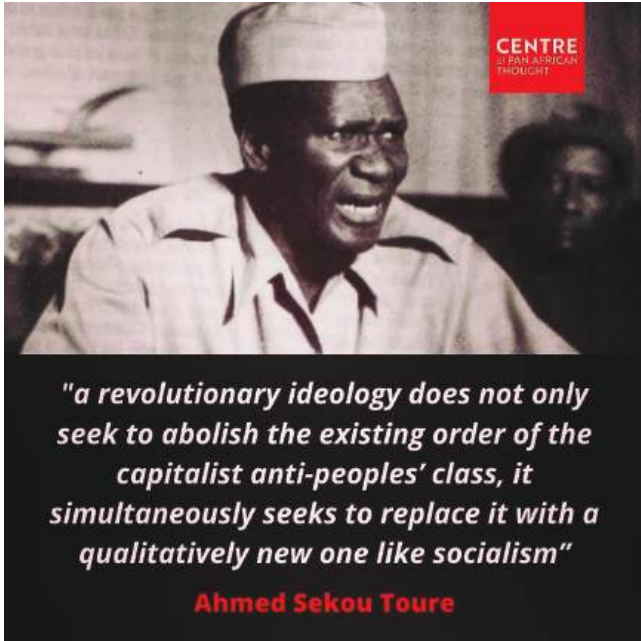
We've also seen the emergence of 'public intellectuals' who give lectures on Pan Africanism and dress in beautiful African prints, and African universities that offer tailor made marketable courses on Pan Africanism. Most disguise themselves through our Pan African revolutionary martyrs' quotes but are not engaged politically in fighting against internal and external oppression. They ignore the understanding that Pan Africanism is a political project and to be a pan Africanist is to intensify the struggle from below, emphasizing grassroots movements and collective action in bringing transformative change.



At a certain point in history, Pan Africanism was hijacked by African autocrats like Mobutu Sese Seko, Paul Biya, Nguema and others who used Pan Africanism as an excuse to not only mortgage their countries to foreign interests, but also evade accountability for human rights violations and grand corruption. They identified as Pan Africans and at the same time abducted, tortured, killed, exploited and imposed stringent visa travel restrictions on fellow Africans. Today, majority African leaders like President Museveni and Ruto, are portrayed as Pan Africanists, yet advance imperial interests across Africa and beyond. We have been forced to witness in great displeasure and frustrations Ruto allowing Kenya to be further entrenched into the imperialist activities of the United States. Kenya with support of the United States will send a contingent of police officers who will be used as black faces to brutalize Haiti. This is the latest in a long and tragic history of imperialist intervention in Haiti.

In today's world, where Pan-Africanism faces populist dilution and superficial rhetoric, the call for a rejuvenated Revolutionary Pan-Africanism becomes more urgent than ever. This movement's potency lies in its unyielding stance against imperialism and capitalism, upholding scientific socialism's rigorous analysis. The African youth must be empowered with historical insights and analytical tools to be able to differentiate between empty populist appeals and genuine revolutionary ideologies.

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, in its essence, stands as an ideological tower against imperialism and capitalism. Contrary to critics who label the reflection of history as mere nostalgia, the heart of



Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is found within the principles of scientific socialism and its history. The emergence of Pan-Africanism can be traced back to the devastating impact of transatlantic slave trade and colonialism on Africa and its people. These twin forces, driven by European capitalism and imperialism, had a profound and lasting impact on the continent. As Kwame Ture aptly stated, Africa's evolutionary process was interrupted by European capitalism/imperialism, which came in two forms: slavery and colonialism." This interruption left Africa plundered and its social fabric torn.

Emergence of Pan Africanism

Some of the early Pan-Africanists, like Martin Robinson Delany and Robert Campbell, ventured to Africa and were embraced, despite the geographical and historical disconnect caused by the slave trade. These interactions with the African continent fuelled a growing recognition of the need for unity and a longing for repatriation to Africa. Martin R. Delany, for instance, held the belief that blacks could not prosper alongside whites, advocating for a separation from America. Delany's views were reflective of the prevailing sentiment among early Pan-Africanists, who saw Africa as a place of refuge and opportunity for people of African descent. Returning to the continent would enable them to rebuild their lives and culture, free from the shackles of racial inequality.

Other early Pan-Africanists, such as Alexander Crummell and Edward Wilmot Blyden, proposed a different approach. They envisioned Africans returning to the continent not only to reclaim their heritage but also to civilize and convert its inhabitants, much like the missionaries of the time.

This approach emphasized the importance of Africa's role in shaping the destiny of the African diaspora. Nevertheless, As Pan-Africanism evolved, it transcended these narrow approaches and embraced a more inclusive and comprehensive ideology. It recognized that the struggle for justice and equality was not limited to a geographical return to Africa but encompassed the broader goal of unity, solidarity, and self-determination for all people of African descent, regardless of their location.

Haiti Revolution

The Haitian Revolution, that began in 1791, was an important struggle for independence. The enslaved people of St. Domingue, predominantly of African descent, rose up against the oppressive French colonial regime, sparking a violent and protracted conflict that ultimately led to the establishment of Haiti as a sovereign nation in 1804. This momentous achievement marked the first time in history that enslaved Africans successfully overthrew their oppressors and formed an independent black republic. The most profound consequences of the Haitian Revolution was the creation of a safe haven for Africans escaping the brutality of slavery. Haiti became a beacon of hope to the oppressed seeking freedom and refuge from the horrors of the transatlantic slave trade. It offered a glimpse of what was possible when oppressed people united in their quest for self-determination, inspiring similar movements throughout the African diaspora.

Haiti's commitment to the cause of freedom extended beyond its own borders. The Haitian leaders, particularly Jean-Jacques Dessalines, offered crucial support to Simon Bolivar, the South American revolutionary leader. However, this support came with a condition: Bolivar had to agree to free the slaves in the countries he liberated. Haiti's willingness to back Bolivar's efforts demonstrated the connection of freedom struggles across the African diaspora and the importance of solidarity among oppressed peoples. CLR James, a Trinidadian historian, and political activist, recognized the significance of the Haitian Revolution and its impact on Pan Africanism. In his groundbreaking work, "The Black Jacobins," James chronicled the heroic struggle of the people of Haiti against powerful European colonial powers. The title of the book itself draws a connection between the Haitian revolutionaries and the Jacobins, who led the French Revolution. The book was written with the intention of making people of African descent the active subjects of their own history. By doing so, James recognized the Haitian Revolution's broader significance in the context of

the Pan Africanist movement. He acknowledged that Haiti's struggle for freedom was not an isolated event but part of a larger global struggle for African liberation from colonial oppression.

Pan African Congress and Internationalism

The Pan African movement would find its organizational form in the late 1900. When Henry Sylvester Williams, then residing in the United Kingdom, organized the First Pan-African Conference in London. One of the prominent figures at this conference was W.E.B. Du Bois, an African American sociologist, historian, and civil rights activist. In this Conference, Du Bois played an important role as he chaired the committee responsible for drafting the "Address to the Nations of the World." This address was a clarion call to the colonial powers, demanding an end to the discrimination faced by people of African descent worldwide. Du Bois and his fellow Pan-Africanists identified the color line as the defining problem of the 20th century, emphasizing the urgent need to confront racism and colonialism. The racist treatment of people of African descent in various parts of the world, including the African diaspora, served as a unifying force for the Pan-African movement. Du Bois further, provided a new impetus to Pan African movement in his 1915 essay titled "The Negro." In this essay, he advocated for a socialist orientation for the movement, emphasizing the importance of unity among working-class individuals and people of color. Du Bois called for "Unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of men." His ideas expanded the horizons of Pan-Africanism, connecting it not only to the struggle for racial equality but also to broader socio-economic and political movements.

The revolutionary fervor of the early 20th century, exemplified by events like the Russian Revolution of 1917, had a profound impact on the Pan-African movement. The Communist International (Comintern), led by the Bolsheviks, adopted a revolutionary Pan-Africanist approach. This approach openly opposed colonialism and imperialism. Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Bolsheviks, presented a draft Thesis on the National and Colonial Question at the second congress of the Communist International. This document demanded that communist parties worldwide provide direct aid to anti-colonial movements in the colonies. The Comintern's support for Pan-Africanism added an international dimension to the struggle for African independence and equality. In an interview with Selim Nadi, Hakim Adi sheds light on Comintern's

role in shaping the ideology of Pan-Africanism. Prompted by black communists, Comintern adopted various aspects of Pan-Africanism. One of the key elements they embraced was the idea that Africans shared common forms of oppression and were engaged in a common struggle. This perspective was instrumental in uniting Africans and African descendants in their quest for liberation.

Du Bois revived the march towards uniting the African diaspora and establishing black internationalism. In 1919, he organized the first Pan African Congress in Paris, marking a significant turning point in the Pan-African movement. Recognizing the limitations of isolated conferences, Du Bois aimed to ensure the continuity of the Pan-African struggle through the Congress. The timing of the first Pan African Congress was significant, coming just after the end of World War I, with Germany's defeat. The gathering in Paris had a clear purpose: to make demands and present them to the peace negotiators convened in Versailles, France, for the negotiation and signing of a peace treaty. The Congress demanded that the victorious allies administer the former German territories in Africa on behalf of the African populations living there. In stark contrast to Du Bois' intellectual approach, Marcus Garvey was a black nationalist who advocated for the Back-to-Africa movement. Garvey's impact on the Pan-African movement was felt through his charismatic leadership and mass mobilization efforts. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which attracted over 4 million members. Garvey's message of black pride and self-determination resonated with people of African descent, dispelling false consciousness and fostering a sense of unity and purpose within the black community.

Du Bois would organize a series of Pan African congresses in 1921, 1923 and 1927. The most important of the congresses organized by Du Bois was the Fifth Pan African Congress held in Manchester in July 1945, that included African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah. Unlike previous congresses, it placed a strong focus on the African continent and its demand for independence. The leaders and intellectuals gathered at this event aimed to dismantle colonial structures and pave the way for self-determination in Africa.

Liberation in Africa

When Nkrumah took power in Ghana in 1957, Pan Africanism arrived home from the diaspora as a nation building project, to finally answer the national question. The independent nation leaders began

grappling with the question of how to build a post-colonial society, one ravaged for a long time by colonialism and slavery. How they would move away from a colonially structured society to a new one that honored, humanized and dignified the African people. Socialism became a necessity when considering the restoration of Africa. However, there was inconsistency regarding the meaning and policies of African Socialism, leading to a general confusion among African leaders who denied the existence of classes in Africa. Some African intellectuals like Nkrumah, Nyerere and Amilcar Cabral made genuine attempts to imagine the political and social life in Africa rooted in African Culture. They fought against the ignorance of Africa's rich cultural heritage.

Nkrumah proposed "Consciencism," a philosophical framework rooted in Western Christianity, Islam, and traditional African communalism. These elements were reflective of various facets of African reality and identity. On February 5, 1967, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, a committed anti-imperialist, introduced the Arusha Declaration, which espoused the concept of Ujamaa deeply embedded in African traditional culture. His nation became a haven for radical scholars like Walter Rodney and revolutionary movements dedicated to Africa's liberation.

In his 1964 work, "Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea," Amilcar Cabral emphasized the necessity of a rigorous historical approach when analyzing the evolution of underdeveloped countries towards socialism. He argued:

"We believe that when imperialism arrived in Guinea, it severed our connection with our own history. While acknowledging that our country's history is shaped by class struggles, imperialism and colonialism disrupted our historical narrative. Our entire population is now in a struggle against the ruling class of imperialist countries, fundamentally altering our country's historical trajectory."

Furthermore, during his address at the inaugural Tricontinental Conference in 1966, Cabral acknowledged the existence of social classes but opposed reducing historical materialism to merely a theory of class struggle. Instead, he proposed an alternative perspective, framing historical materialism as a theory of mode of production. He stated:

"As we have observed, classes themselves, class struggle, and their subsequent definition are outcomes of the development of productive forces in conjunction with the ownership patterns of the means of

production. Therefore, it seems appropriate to conclude that the level of productive forces, the essential determinant of the content and form of class struggle, is the true and enduring driving force of history."

However, Nyerere held a different view, asserting that social classes did not exist in Tanzania. Hence, he found it illogical to adopt a theory that emphasized the role of class struggle in effecting social transformation. Walter Rodney, in his assessment of Ujamaa, critiqued Nyerere's perspective on African socialism, deeming it non-scientific socialism.

Nkrumah, too, initially rejected the notion of class struggle in Ghana until his overthrow in 1966. In 1970, he published "Class Struggle in Africa," where he offered a comprehensive class analysis and self-critique. He wrote,

"The myth of African Socialism is used to deny the class struggle and obscure genuine socialist commitment."

He emphasized that, "Intellectuals and the intelligentsia, if they are to contribute to the African Revolution, must become aware of the class struggle in Africa and align themselves with the oppressed masses."

Senghor of Senegal stressed the need to accommodate so-called 'positive' contributions from colonialism, such as economic and technical infrastructure and the educational system. While, In Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1963 on African Socialism blurred fundamental socialist principles, effectively establishing Kenya as a neo-colonial capitalist state under the guise of socialism. This era also witnessed the emergence of factions in the conception of the new African society, notably the Monrovia and Casablanca blocks. The former advocated for a unified Africa, while the latter opposed this idea. Nkrumah strongly advocated for immediate African unity. Today, the situation in Niger, among others, recalls the ideological divisions of the 1960s between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), viewed by some as an imperialist tool, imposed economic sanctions and mobilized troops in an attempt to overturn a people-backed coup d'état challenging French imperialism in Niger.

Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania was part of the Monrovia group, which held the position against immediate African unity. Instead, Nyerere advocated for the establishment of regional economic communities as a gradual step towards continental unity. Ultimately, Nyerere and his Monrovia faction

prevailed in the debate, marking a setback for Pan-Africanism as the underlying ideology for African unity. On May 23, 1963, African leaders did form the Organization of African Unity (OAU), albeit with limited strength and effectiveness. In hindsight, unlike many in the Monrovia block, Nyerere was candid in his argument. He later came to acknowledge that Nkrumah's analysis was correct and ahead of its time. He realized that Africa should have pursued continental unity directly, without the intermediary step of regional economic communities.

Neocolonialism

With the end of colonialism, the era of neocolonialism loomed on the horizon. Neocolonialism launched an offensive against national projects and prominent Pan-African figures. In the Congo, the first democratically elected Prime Minister was assassinated in 1961 with assistance from Belgium and the United States. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X, a revolutionary figure in the Black liberation movement of the 1960s, was killed in Harlem, New York. Three days later, Pio Gama Pinto, a key figure in the Socialist movement in Kenya, was assassinated in Nairobi. Nkrumah was overthrown by the CIA in 1966, just four months after the publication of his work 'Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism' (1965). Amilcar Cabral, the anti-colonial leader from Bissau-Guinea and Cape Verde, was assassinated in 1973 by members of his own movement influenced by Portuguese intelligence. In 1980, the revolutionary socialist and pan-African activist Walter Rodney was killed in a car bomb attack. Thomas Sankara also faced assassination in 1987 with the involvement of France and the CIA.

By the 1980s, neocolonialism had firmly entrenched itself, paving the way for the emergence of the neoliberal era. This period signaled a return to the liberal capitalism reminiscent of the 18th century. It was characterized by the restructuring of international capitalism based on principles of individualism, a free market, and limited state intervention in economic affairs. Simultaneously, the ascent of neoliberalism sparked the rise of various social movements.

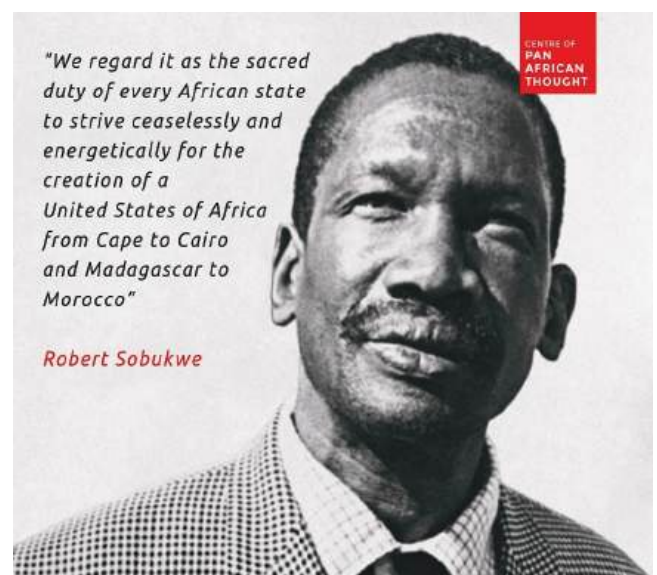
In response to the diminishing role of the state and the adverse effects of neoliberalism, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were introduced. Operating under the banner of human rights and freedom, these organizations played a role in diffusing political discontent and blunting the sharp edges of resistance. Their primary focus lay in charitable activities and initiatives aimed at

alleviating various symptoms of the capitalist crisis. Consequently, they redirected the attention of movements away from seizing power and establishing a new societal framework to addressing these symptoms.

However, this shift also had its downsides. It led to a discouragement of ideological and theoretical clarity within these movements. A dichotomy emerged between those with the courage to take action but lacking an understanding of the laws governing social development and the necessary steps for effecting a significant leap in their struggle. This disconnect gave rise to adventurism and celebrity activism, ultimately isolating the movement from the broader populace.

This trend has undermined the essence of Pan-Africanism. The contemporary state of Pan-Africanism is characterized by its widespread presence on social media and its resurgence as a response to global crises. However, this newfound popularity and visibility has come at the expense of ideological clarity. While the appeal of Pan-Africanism is understandable given the challenges posed by capitalism and imperialism, a Pan-Africanism that does not explicitly confront these systems will struggle to realize its ultimate objective of unity and liberation for African people.

In conclusion, populist Pan-Africanism dilutes and depoliticizes genuine grassroots political movements, making them susceptible to vague slogans, superficial speeches, and reactionary leaders. By distinguishing between the superficial and the substantive, the African youth can pave the way for a promising future. This future would be one where the flames of true Pan-Africanism burn brightly, guided by an understanding of scientific socialism as the ultimate goal of Pan-African unity.



WHAT NEXT FOR RESISTANCE IN KENYA AS THE COMPRADOR GOVERNMENT INCREASES REPRESSION IN WORLD?

By Shiraz Durrani

The on-going resistance in Kenya is sometimes referred to as a revolution. This is perhaps because the hope for change from the *status quo* is stronger than the reality. It perhaps shows a lack of understanding of relative strengths of the opposing forces in the class war. It is indeed a class war that is taking place in Kenya today, although this aspect is often hidden or not clearly understood. That then leads to not basing one's thinking on the reality on the ground.

It took a long time for resistance in Kenya to achieve independence from British colonialism. This period was made up of highs and lows for the forces of people. The process is well documented in Durrani and Kimani (2021). It is perhaps understandable for some to think that the current resistance will lead to success in the struggle for liberation and that the campaign for 'RutoToGo' will be successful and will then lead to solving all the problems facing working people in Kenya. The events in Bangladesh, where the Prime Minister was forced to flee, may have given an incorrect impression that such struggles are easy to win. But the situations in Kenya and Bangladesh are quite different and the experience in one cannot be used to understand the situation in the other. Besides, the underlying factors in the struggle there are not yet fully known, nor its final outcome confirmed.

Further, the withdrawal of the infamous Finance Bill, 2024 and the 'dismissal' of the cabinet by Ruto may also have created an expectation of easy victory over the comprador government. This would be a misunderstanding of the tactics used by the government, presumably under imperialist guidance. These moves by Ruto, even if made as genuine change, would not have achieved the demands of resistance. It is seen that when the ruling class, made up of so-called different parties, comes under attack, they unite against working people and consolidate

their rule and continue their pro-imperialist policies. If the demands that resistance are making are to be achieved, it would require a change of the system — capitalism, backed by imperialism — that created the problems highlighted by resistance in the first place. To expect the enemy to give up so easily would be a misunderstanding of the current struggle. However much the current resistance has achieved in a short period, it should be seen as steps in a long struggle, not the end of the journey. The struggle is a protected war, not a one step to victory,

Understanding the strengths and weakness of the opposing forces Ruto is powerful and Weak!

Ruto and his government may give an impression of being weak. But that is just an impression, created by design or by accident. Underestimating the strength of the comprador government may lead to failure of resistance before it has had time to be consolidated. Remember that the system that has created the present comprador government has had over sixty years to prepare for the resistance that is now taking place. The stages that led to the defeat of resistance in the past should always inform current and future resistance. Some milestones can be mentioned:

1. The defeat of the socialist-oriented KANU party at independence which led to the birth of KANU-B under Jomo Kenyatta. This was followed by the killing of Mau Mau activists by Kenyatta.
2. The defeat of the mutiny in 1964.
3. Sidelineing of Makhan Singh and the suppression of the radical trade union movement.
4. The assassination of Pio Gama Pinto in 1965.
5. The banning of the Kenya People's Union in 1969.

6. The massacres and murders committed by President Denial arap Moi.
7. Suppression, jailing and death sentences for the participants of the Coup in 1982.
8. Violent suppression of December Twelve Movement and Mwakenya underground movements.

The comprador governments are ruthless, as Ruto himself has proved to be. These and other actions of comprador governments in Kenya should never be forgotten. They should also be factored in resistance of today and tomorrow. The reason that the comprador regimes have survived all attempts to dislodge them are also clear. They are supported by imperialism — USA, UK and the rest of the capitalist world. This support comes in various form, but all these are backed by the use of force. The positioning of British and USA armed forces on Kenyan soil is not only for supporting imperialism in Africa and West Asia: its first purpose is to maintain control over Kenya and East Africa. The tactics of police in the current resistance were all learnt from 'Israel' which has used similar ones against the people of Palestine. Kenya is too valuable an asset for imperialism to let go so easily and will do everything in its power to retain its chosen comprador governments in power — if not Ruto, another similar figure. Remember Mwakenya's call "Moism without Moi". Ruto is no different from Moi as their policies are dictated by the same imperialist powers, IMF and the World Bank.

At the same time, it is futile to believe that resistance forces can overthrow this government at the elections in 2027. Elections in Kenya have never been free and fair, right from the time of Jomo Kenyatta. In fact, the methods of manipulating elections have become more precise and have been fine-tuned by technological developments introduced by 'Israel'. The parliamentary way of achieving the demands of resistance is not feasible.

In the final analysis, Ruto has power — political power in terms of the parliament and government machinery, police and the army, control over social media, mass media as well as financial power. That is difficult to match for the resistance.

But all the power behind Ruto does not mean all is lost for resistance. Mau Mau faced even bigger obstacles yet won independence. The current resistance has managed to discredit the comprador ruler, its government and its system of exploitation of working class. He has no legitimacy left. The people's power may seem weak and disorganised but it has the

capability to spring surprises. The 2010 Constitution has provided further ammunition for attacks on Ruto and his government. Ruto has alienated not just the working class, but many petty bourgeoisie who have become activists supporting resistance. At the same time, the resisters, who are well educated and in command of social media, have shown an ability to take over key streets in towns and cities. Police bullets, kidnappings and murders have not deterred them from the struggle.

Power of Resistance

The forces of resistance have strengths as well as weaknesses. Their commitment to change and unity in opposing repression and economic hardship are their key assets. Learning from the experience of earlier resistance movements, they have hidden their leadership and their organisation perhaps to protect them from Ruto's hired mobs who kill and kidnap individuals in order stem the tide of history. Yes, history is on their side as no oppressive system exists for ever. They have shown no fear in front of police murders and brutality, perhaps because that is the fate of many of them anyway.

They have learnt how to organise demonstrations and marches and use social media to carry on their planning and learning of history and tactics. They have managed to continue to communicate with their colleagues to continue the resistance.

Yet they face daunting tasks. For one, they do not have support of organised labour nor of organised peasant movements. There is thus a danger that they may be isolated by the comprador government and killed or disappeared or injured one by one. They have no organised defence to meet the organised assaults from Ruto who has time to see the resistance dwindle and die out. He can wait months or years if necessary, while the resistance has to struggle not only against state resistance but also for their daily survival. The resistance is spread around the country which has the advantage of spreading out the enemy forces. But it also means that it is difficult to get support for those under attack from a united national force.

The resistance has not openly declared its vision of a Kenya should Ruto and his system be defeated. Mau Mau declared boldly their aim of 'Land and Freedom'. The underground December Twelve Movement and Mwakenya issued their Programmes and aims; the Kenya People's Union sought socialism. This helped to energise and activate those who were not part of

these movements. In contrast, the present resistance has not set out a clear vision that can help workers and peasants to support them and become part of the resistance movement.

The future is a protracted struggle

Expecting to overthrow Ruto in the near future is rather an impossible wish. The resistance needs to see its role as a long-term resistance movement and organise accordingly. They face the danger of being isolated by the regime and perhaps not supported over the longer period by their supporters and sympathisers.

One scenario that may lead to the formation of a strong national resistance movement made up of workers and peasants can be seen from examples of China. Imagine if all those active in the resistance today go underground and disappear from open attacks on Ruto. That may be seen as capitulation and giving up the struggle. But see what happens if all those on the streets, who are politically and otherwise educated were to join workers, peasants and marginalised nationalities as a planned move to raise educational levels and class consciousness of people throughout the country. In years to come, they can build a formidable force that can attack the Rutos of their times and have the full political and economic support from all people – workers, peasants as well as the unemployed. This is happening on some scale anyway as study groups take over vacant lands and set up their study classes. But the future requires a study movement of the entire nation. Every school and college would become a study centre not only for students but their parents and families too. At the same time, the activists would support the struggle of survival of those they live and work with as well meet their own survival needs.

It is then possible to see a situation where some areas, particularly in the 'informal settlements' or areas far from the national capital of capital, Nairobi, are turned into liberated areas where forces of repression enter at the risk of losing their limbs or lives. Such, indeed, was the situation under Mau Mau. The liberated zones can then become springboards for national liberation, giving support where needed. Such an achievement would be revolutionary justice indeed.

At the same time the ideological struggle needs to be kept at the forefront. Only socialism can meet the demands of resistance. Only a just land policy can satisfy workers and peasants. There is no shame in

proclaiming socialism as the aim of resistance as capitalism has failed working people in every country it has captured. That way, they stand to get support from socialist forces around the world too. The struggle in Kenya is not an isolated one. It is part of the struggle for socialism, justice and equality waged all around the world. It is easier today than was the case for Mau Mau to establish friendly links with those in similar struggles around the world.

Sounds feasible? Difficult to say. But the alternatives seem rather grim as the force of local and foreign repression unite to drown the resistance.

Plenty to think about.



UMOJA SEEN THROUGH ITS DOCUMENTS, 1987-1990 (PART 2&3)¹

A Brief Analysis on the formation of UMOJA

By Shiraz Durrani

The formation of UMOJA in 1987 fulfilled the main aim of those behind it: to unify the various external Kenyan organisations into a united front and support internal (Kenyan) struggles, in this case to support MWAKENYA. In the process, an important issue that had divided some overseas Kenyan organisations was also resolved. This was to establish that UMOJA was open only to Kenyan organisations abroad, not any organisation that was, or claimed to be, based in Kenya. At the same time, the policy of UMOJA was clarified in one of the documents of the Conference, under the heading, Points of Clarification:²

We are not a mass movement and so do not go after quantity in our recruitment policies; rather we should emphasise the quality of membership. High commitment, discipline, high ideological level and consciousness, ability to struggle against liberalism – these points should be understood together with need for active practice at every level of the organisation, at branch level and at the central coordinating committee level which should pay particular attention that these points are in command in all activities of the organisation at all levels.

So it was clear: UMOJA was not another KANU party where membership was open to all who pay the membership fees. That was an important lesson for any Left political party in Kenya, that it is the ideological commitment and practice that determined party membership.

The Conference created a strong central authority in the UMOJA Secretariat. It had a Chairperson who was the Co-ordinator and official spokesperson of the organisation, a Secretary of Finance and Administration, and a Secretary for Editorial work, Publications and Production and a Secretary for Information. It will be seen that information,

publishing and ideological direction were seen as key aspects of UMOJA's work. Similarly, the Chairman had the task of 'coordinating relationship with MWAKENYA and other democratic and progressive movements at home [Kenya]; relationship with other Kenyan organisations abroad'.³

It is ironic that the the Secretariat, while carrying out successfully all the other tasks set for it, failed in completing its Immediate Task, 'To compile and distribute the Proceedings of the Unity Conference, October, 1987'⁴ That failure has kept hidden one of the most important historical events in the history of Kenya Resistance. The Secretariat's success was in maintaining regular relations with Branches, in issuing a large number of documents and keeping in close touch with developments in Kenya, particularly with the underground movement, MWAKENYA. UMOJA became the mouthpiece of the movement which, with the restrictive nature of its work, had limited chances to express its views openly. It responded well to its mandate:

The Committee should be sensitive to events at home and abroad and be aggressive in responding to particular needs. It has the mandate to be the spokesperson of the organization; the chairperson of the Committee is the one mandated to issue statements for press and public on behalf of the organisation.

1. Part 1 was covered in issue 6

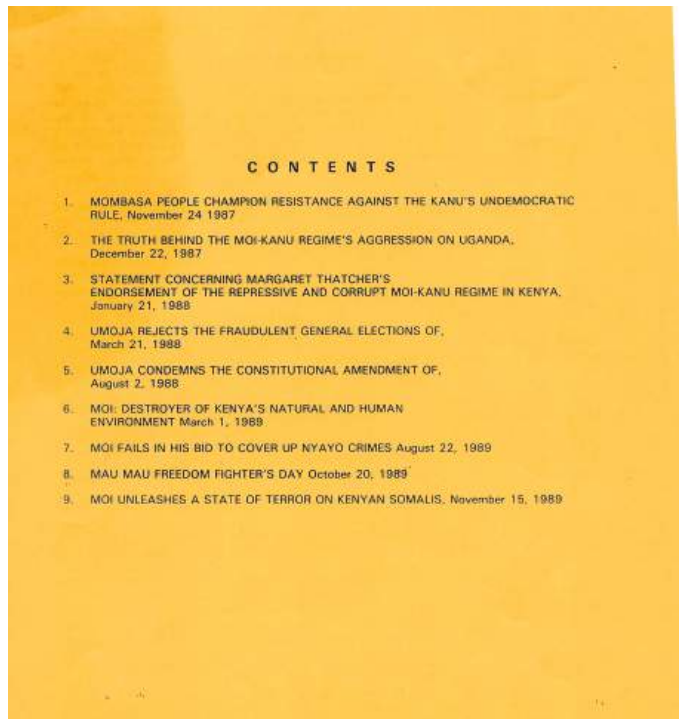
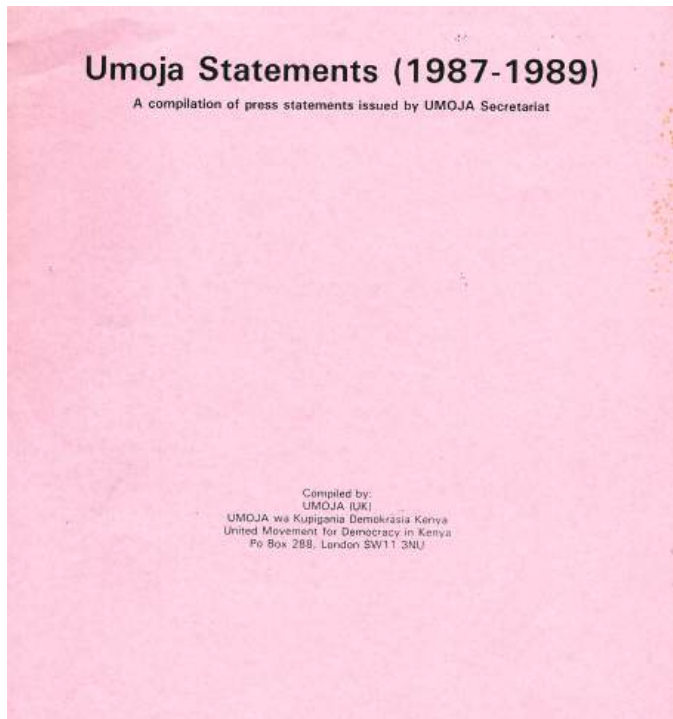
2. UMOJA: Guidelines for the Secretariat and Branches. 1987/UC/DP/VI.

3. Unpublished notes of the meeting of the Secretariat, February 1988.

4. UMOJA. Guidelines. 1987/UC/DP/VI.

In fulfilling this task, UMOJA issued a long list of Press Statements on the changing situation in Kenya. These were distributed widely in Kenya and overseas, particularly to diplomats and governments which had relations with Kenya, as well as international organisations and solidarity movements, like Amnesty International. Over time, these Press Statements began to influence international opinion on the repressive Moi-KANU government. These Statements — some included the following pages — narrate the events of the times of publication.

Public Statements, 1987-1989



UMOJA wasted no time after its formation to make its position clear in various documents, ranging from Press Statements to books. Its leaders also appeared in the public forums and conferences, on radio, TV and press interviews to support the struggle in Kenya. It was active on the cultural front and organised meetings and conferences. Similar activities took place in all the other centers of UMOJA, from USA to Sweden to Australis. For the first time, people around the world became aware of the real nature of the Moi government and also realised that it was the support from Britain, USA and their supporters that kept Moi in power, although he was totally rejected by working people of Kenya.

This points to an important lesson for resistance movements everywhere. When repression 'at home' becomes intolerable and it is difficult to organise against an unpopular government, it is a great help to have a powerful ally overseas with freedom to take up the cause of liberation. Globalisation works in mysterious ways.

The following is a list of some of the Press Statements issues by UMOJA. A brief background of the events of the time is included from the Statements which,

besides taking the side of those resisting the government, were also short histories of resistance to educate the public. These documents are available in the Kenya Resistance Archives at the Ukombozi Library in Kenya.

Mombasa People Champion Resistance Against The Kanu's Undemocratic Rule (987)

In October and November 1987, the Moi-KANU regime unleashed armed police and the para-military General Service Unit at mass gatherings of Kenyans at Mombasa and Nairobi. The two situations exhibited many similar features which show the mounting mass resistance against the regime and its desperation in the face of such resistance and isolation ...

Mombasa, Tononoka grounds

More than 4.000 people who had turned up for the rally at Tononoka grounds formed an orderly procession to seek an audience with the Provincial Commissioner. But instead of the PC holding a dialogue with the people, he unleashed armed police at them.

In self-defence the people faced the police. With strong involvement of Muslim women and the youth, they boldly attacked the provincial headquarters. They later on marched to the Central Police Station and attacked it too. The youth adopted guerrilla hit and run tactics in the narrow streets of the Old Town area. The subsequent hide and seek continued till about 2 o'clock in the morning.

The people's anger at what happened to them on 30 October erupted once again on 4 November during the massive procession to mark the birth of Prophet Muhammed. The youth used the religious procession to once again air their defiance and express their demands for the right to organise and assemble.

University of Nairobi Students' Defiance - Once Again!

The pattern of events at Mombasa repeated itself in Nairobi at the University [of Nairobi]. The students at Nairobi had elected new leaders for the Students Organisation of Nairobi University (SONU). The new leadership wanted to become more independent of the government.

The Moi-KANU regime arrested the entire leadership after it had gone to ask the government to explain why the students' organisation was not allowed to send a delegation to Cuba for an international students conference. The students held a peaceful rally where they wanted to know why their elected leaders had been arrested. The students invited dialogue with the authorities. But the authorities sent armed police, who attacked the students. In self-defence, the more than 3,000 students re-grouped and a running battle between them and the police in the streets of Nairobi started. On Monday 16 November, the regime closed the university, banned the Students' Union, and, of course, arrested more people.

The mass demonstrations of more than 4,000 people at Mombasa on 30 October and 4 November and those of more than 3,000 at Nairobi on 13, 14 and 15 November, were clearly in protest against the denial of democratic rights of the freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and freedom of movement. Both were against the arbitrary and tyrannical anti-people actions of the Moi-KANU regime ...

The mass action in Mombasa is particularly symbolic for the whole country. Mombasa has a history of more than 4 centuries heroic resistance against both

foreign domination (Portuguese, Arab and British] and internal oppression by feudal and colonial landlords. Mombasa in particular, and the Coast in general, has always defended its lands and its independence. The 1631 great Mombasa anti-Portuguese war led by **Yusuf bin Hassan**, the 1985 great anti-British resistance led by **Mbaruk bin Rashid**, the 1913-1915 armed struggle led by **Me Katili**, the 1947 Mombasa general strike led by **Chege Kibachia** and the 1955 dock-workers strike are but few instances that testify to that history of struggle.

The Truth Behind The Moi-Kanu Regime's Aggression On Uganda (1987)

From the time of Idi Amin and under successive Ugandan regimes, certain Kenyan business people exploited the conditions brought about by the collapse of the economic infrastructure to make enormous profits. An example is the way Uganda's economic life-line to the rest of the world was used by the Kenyan regime for the benefit of a few. Transportation of goods to and from Uganda was taken away from the parastatal Kenyan railway into private road haulage in which Moi and his associates had important assets.

By 1986 transporting one ton of Ugandan goods by rail cost \$20.00. It cost \$120 by road. When the NRM government sought to use the cheaper railway system at the beginning of 1987, Moi and his associates were so angry at this prospect of private loss that they tried to sabotage Uganda's economic recovery programme. Ugandan vital imports started to pile up at the Kenyan port of Mombasa and Ugandans resident in Kenya were harassed. The regime was on the verge of invading Uganda then, but not only was it unable to invent a credible excuse, it did not have enough time to psychologically prepare Kenyans with lies about the NRM's aggression. These events in the earlier part of this year were a dress rehearsal for what is happening today.

Subsequent events have since made the Moi-KANU regime desperate for a convenient scapegoat to deflect attention away from its problems. The regime's gross economic mismanagement; its massive corruption as exemplified by the above open theft from its own parastatal; its crushing of all democracy; its barbaric torture of patriotic Kenyans and its surrender of Kenyan sovereignty to the USA by the granting of military facilities have fuelled the fire of national resistance.

This resistance by working people, progressive students and intellectuals, religious and nationalist leaders and particularly the well-organised underground resistance led by MWAKEN YA has caused the isolation of the regime nationally. The regime hopes to break out of this national isolation by trying to unite Kenyans behind it against the bogey of an external enemy and in the process diffuse the unity of internal resistance.

The exposure of the regime's massive abuse of human and democratic rights of Kenyans has led to international condemnation and further isolation even in the West. By inventing stories about Libya's threat to Kenya's stability, the Moi-K AN U regime is hoping to gain sympathy from both the Reagan and Thatcher administrations.

The recent torture of the student leader Robert BUKE, so soon after the massive student demonstration which further exposed the regime's brutality and unpopularity, and his subsequent jail sentence of 5 years on charges of "spying for Libya", is a good example of the convenience of the Libyan bogey.

Thatcher's Endorsement Of The Repressive And Corrupt Moi-Kanu Regime (1988)

Statement Concerning Margaret Thatcher's Endorsement Of The Repressive And Corrupt Moi-Kanu Regime In Kenya. January 7, 1988.

The British Prime Minister's statement in Nairobi on 5th January 1988 that Moi's human rights record was one of the best in Africa has shocked many Kenyans and caused a lot of distress and agony to the families of the many victims of the regime's repressive practices.

The regime officially acknowledges only 11 political detainees - that is those who have been imprisoned without trial. But in 1986 alone the regime jailed more than 80 people to terms ranging from 1 to 25 years on political charges particularly of alleged membership of MWAKENYA, the underground opposition movement. All together there are more than 1,000 political prisoners rotting in Moi's jails, but the regime classifies them all as common criminals.

The official prison population in Kenya in 1985 was 160,344. In 1979 the first year of Moi's ascension to power 118 people died in prison. By 1985 the figure had tripled to 342. All together between 1979 and 1985 deaths in prison (excluding executions) were 1,409! [Source: Kenya Statistical Abstract, 1986, p.270].

It is in fact ironic that her visit and statement were preceded by the reported killings by Moi's security forces of 40 people in Marsabit, Eastern Province in November 1987; and a similar number in Wajir, North-Eastern Province in September. [see **Indian Ocean Newsletter**, November 28, 1987].

Her endorsement of the corrupt Moi-Kanu regime must have been motivated, not by ignorance of the facts, but by the same calculations which prevents her from accepting sanctions against the South African apartheid regime. In both Kenya and South Africa there are vast British economic and military interests. In the case of Kenya, a British battalion is permanently stationed there. The stock explanation is that they are there for training, but Kenyans know that they are there to prop up the regime.

Because of the misleading nature of Mrs. Thatcher's statement and the false image it drew of the Moi-Kanu regime, UMOJA — The United Movement for Democracy in Kenya, being an organisation of Kenyans exiled abroad, would like to present the following few examples of the many atrocities committed within just the last four years of Moi's ten year rule:

1. 1984 — Massacre of civilians:

- a) In February 1984 the army machine-gunned unarmed men, women and children. More than 1,000 people were killed in the Wajir massacre. Wajir is in North-Eastern Kenya where a State of Emergency is in force and 'normal' laws do not apply.
- b) In August 1984 the army was sent on a search-and-destroy mission against the Pokot people of Northwest Kenya. Over 800 citizens were massacred by Moi's security forces.

2. 1985 — 12 University students clubbed to death

On 10 February 1985 twelve students were clubbed to death by baton-wielding police who entered the University of Nairobi to break up an interdenominational prayer and protest meeting. The day is marked in Kenya as Bloody Sunday.

3. 1985 — Political Executions:

On 5th July 1985, 11 political exiles out of 19 forcibly and illegally returned from Tanzania where they were registered with the UNHCR as refugees were hanged at Kamiti prison near

Nairobi during the UN Women's Decade Conference in Nairobi.

4. 1986 — Mass Arrests and imprisonment of political suspects

The year saw a sharp increase in repression, mainly directed against the underground MWAKENYA.

5. 1987 — British Judge Resigns over torture case

By 1987 torture of political prisoners had become routine. In October 1987 a British Judge, Derek Scofield resigned in protest over the case involving the death of Stephen Mbaraka Karanja who was tortured to death by police. The government defied court orders to produce the body. Gibson Kamau Kuria, the Kenyan human rights lawyer who was detained without trial, was released in December and confirmed that he himself had been tortured.

6. 1987 — Abolition of Secret Ballot confirmed:

Despite protests from church leaders, lawyers and even politicians, the secret ballot was abolished. Voters would now have to queue behind the candidate of their choice.

7. 1987 - Police invade striking workers:

Strikes have been outlawed by a presidential decree. A mass strike by textile workers in August 1987 saw the police force set upon the workers .

Thus what Mrs. Thatcher described as 'decisive leadership' is just another Marcos-type dictatorship. Moi's philosophy is better explained by his words. On September 13, 1984 he ordered the nation to sing like parrots. He said:

I call on all Ministers, Assistant Ministers and every other person to sing like parrots. During Mzee Kenyatta's period I persistently sang the Kenyatta tune until the people said: 'This fellow has nothing to say except to sing Kenyatta.' I say, I didn't have ideas of my own. I was in Kenyatta's shoes and therefore, I had to sing whatever Kenyatta wanted. If I had sung another song, do you think Kenyatta would have left me alone? Therefore you ought to sing the song I sing. If I put a full stop, you should also put a full stop. This is how this country will move forward."

Britain is directly involved in the state of affairs prevailing in our country, not only because of its vast economic and strategic interests, but because Britain advises and trains the Kenyan security forces. Britain also exports torture instruments to the regime. The New Statesman of September 21, 1984 reported the export of torture equipment manufactured by the Birmingham firm of Hiatt. It also reported that the Crown Agents had exported leg irons to Kenya. Britain maintains its own military forces in the country.

Umoja Rejects The Fraudulent General Elections Of March 21, 1988

UMOJA joins MWAKENYA and all other patriotic, democratic and progressive forces in rejecting the recent General elections held in Kenya on March 21, 1988. We support MWAKENYA's call of March 29, 1988 for the immediate nullification of the results and for the immediate call for fresh elections in which all political parties and independent candidates can take part freely without fear of state terror and intimidation, and in which the electorate can freely vote for the leaders of their choice.

About half of the candidates were selected through Moi's queuing system in which voters

lined up in front of the pictures of the contenders. The other half were elected through Moi's version of the secret ballot.

Both elections were characterised by intimidation, harassment and killings. Some of the candidates deemed to be anti-Nyayo had to suffer the public humiliation of being carted from place to place in handcuffs with Moi's henchmen jeering at them for their alleged anti-Nyayo sentiments and practices.

The results have gone to prove to the world that what UMOJA and other patriotic, democratic and progressive forces have been saying about the regime is true: that it is a dictatorship of a minority clique. Thus the general elections have exposed the political illegitimacy of the Moi-KANU regime. This exposure is even more dramatic because it has emerged within the terms set by the regime itself. KANU, the only legal political party made so by the undemocratic June 1982 amendment of the constitution, failed to persuade the majority of Kenyans to even register for the elections let alone to vote. Many Kenyans refused to register despite pressure, harassment and intimidation from Moi's henchmen. In further acts of defiance, only about 13% of the 41/2 million KANU members actually voted in the queuing system. The population of

Kenya stands at 22 million at present. This is a clear indication that the majority of Kenyans boycotted the elections, both the controversial primaries and the sham secret ballot ones on March 21.

Oppose Repressive Constitutional Amendment in Kenya (1988)

UMOJA, the United Movement for Democracy in Kenya, opposes and strongly condemns the bill passed on August 2, 1988 in Kenya's cowed parliament, amending the constitution to allow Moi and his police force more powers of repression.

The bill allows the police to detain suspects for up to 14 days before bringing them before the courts of law. It also empowers Moi to dismiss senior judges and members of the Public Service Commission without consulting a tribunal. It was rushed through parliament and passed without any debate in order to pre-empt the opposition that was bound to greet it. This is yet another manifestation of the dictatorial and tyrannical nature of the Moi-KANU regime.

..

Prior to the passing of the new bill, police have been detaining suspects for more than 24 hours as was then allowed by law. Allowing police to detain suspects for up to 14 days is legitimising the torture that has already resulted in many deaths of innocent people in police custody. Since September 1986 about 10 people have died from torture, among them Stephen Wanjema, a carpenter who died in September 1986 and Peter Njenga Karanja, a rally driver and businessman who died after being held illegally for 23 days.

UMOJA supports the statements issued by the Law Society of Kenya, religious leaders and other individuals opposing the new amendment and calls on all Kenyans to support Mzalendo Mwakenya's call to intensify opposition to the despotic dictatorship of Moi.

Moi: Destroyer Of Kenya's Natural And Human Environment (1989)

The Kenyan president, Daniel arap Moi is scheduled to give the key-note address at the international conference on Saving the Ozone Layer in London on March 5, 1989. Moi's presence at this conference diminishes whatever significance this gathering would have had given

his appalling record in protecting Kenya's natural and human environment.

Under the Moi-KANU regime's open-door policy, foreign companies are allowed to operate freely in Kenya without any concern for the environment. The government's half-hearted attempts to enforce environmental protection laws has resulted in the dumping of industrial waste, pollution, deforestation and chemical poisoning. There has been an increase in chemically related diseases.

The greatest threat to Kenya's environment, however, is that posed by US nuclear-powered and nuclear-carrying ships which call regularly at Kenyan ports. In 1980 Moi secretly signed an agreement allowing the US military access to Kenyan facilities thus exposing millions of Kenyans to a nuclear threat in case of war or accident.

The Moi regime only pays lip-service to the conservation of wildlife. Conservationists strongly believe that some of Kenya's once abundant wildlife, like elephants, rhino and leopards face extinction from poaching by government officials and highly placed Kenyans. Under the pretext of combatting poaching the regime has been indiscriminately shooting innocent people in North-eastern province and around national parks.

Moi Fails In His Bid To Cover Up Nyayo Crimes (1989)

Dictator Moi has responded to the exposure of his gross human and democratic rights violations documented in UMOJA's publication, *Moi's Reign of Terror*, January 1989, with a series of public relations exercises meant to deflect national and international attention from the grim record. The document which has been circulated among members of the United Nations in New York and among selected journalists all over the world reveals that between 1978 and 1988, Dictator Moi killed over 6,000 Kenyans; arrested over 4,000 for political reasons; imprisoned 1,000 on trumped up charges or forced confessions; detained over 40 others without trial; and instituted torture as a norm in extracting information and confessions from political opponents. This rivals the murderous records earlier set by Idi Amin of Uganda; Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Republic; and it certainly makes Moi a companion of honour with South Africa's Botha. The demand for the document from the buying public has been so great

that we have had to do a reprint.

The exposure together with others by international human rights bodies such as Amnesty International; the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights (US); Human Rights Watch (US); the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya; and others have dented the regime's previously well nurtured image of stability and democracy. As a result, several international organisations began to talk of linking aid to Kenya with an improvement in the regime's human rights record.

The dictator's team of political surgeons started work to repair the image. Huge sums of money were spent on public relations firms such as the Washington based Neill & Company Inc and the London based Rait, Orr & Associates and on having supplements in the mainstream western press. They also advised him to don a sheep's clothing to cover up the wolf's bloodstained fur. Since the publication of Moi's Reign of Terror, the dictator has appeared in his new clothes at highly publicised but very carefully chosen settings under the watchful eyes of a team of managers from his Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mau Mau Freedom Fighter's Day October 20, 1989

Thirty seven years ago today, the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau) started a protracted armed struggle against the undemocratic, anti-Kenyan British colonial settler regime. The armed struggle eventually forced the British to concede Independence to Kenya. The actual outbreak of the war was preceded by acts of intensified repression and further erosion of human and democratic rights of Kenyans. These acts of colonial brutality were capped by the declaration of a state of Emergency on October 20, 1952.

People were jailed; detained without trial; or else forced into exile. Many more were murdered. The Colonial Government's reign of terror created a climate of fear over Kenya.

It was at the height of this repression that a primary school teacher by the name of Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi was appointed to the colonial settler legislative council to help in anti-African, anti-Kenyan legislations of the State of Emergency.

Today, Daniel Arap Moi is the head of a neo-colonial regime in Kenya that has already sold Kenya's sovereignty and granted military bases to the U.S.A. The IMF and the World Bank direct Kenya's economic and financial policies. The Moi-KANU regime has turned Kenya into a haven for the transnationals and the local rich, and a hell for the vast majority of Kenyans.

The last seven years have seen the Moi-KANU regime reproduce (almost like if it was taking everything from a colonial textbook!) the anti-Kenyan, anti-people measures that preceded the Mau Mau armed struggle of the Fifties.

But this time measures are directed at all democratic-minded Kenyans and particularly at Mwakenya, a movement that is simply calling for the restoration of Kenya's sovereignty; the establishment of genuine democracy; setting up an economy to serve the majority; in short, a truly free and genuinely independent Kenya.

UMOJA has called this meeting on the 37th Anniversary of the KFLA to celebrate the achievements of Mau Mau and the gains of the resistance forces who are calling for unity in the struggle for a new Kenya. Mau Mau's defiant call 37 years ago is just as relevant for our struggle today:

We are not afraid of detention
Or of being locked in prisons
Or of being deported to remote islands
Because we shall never cease
To struggle and fight for liberation
Until our country is free!

Moi Unleashes A State Of Terror On Kenyan Somalis (1989)

The Statement stated:


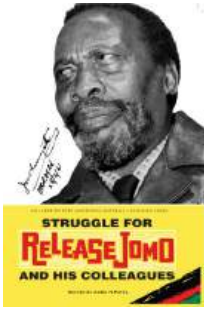
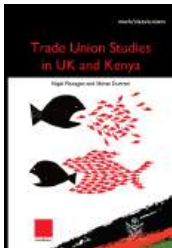
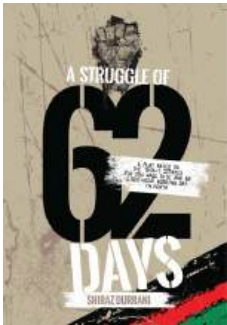

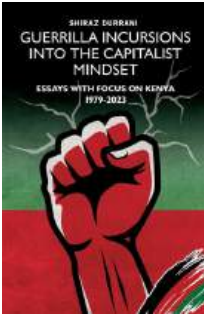
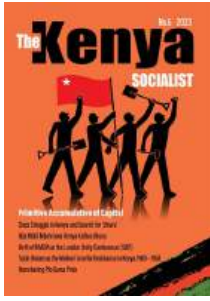

Once again the Moi-KANU regime has unleashed a new terror on the Kenya people. This time, it has started using the so-called screening process against the Somali people.

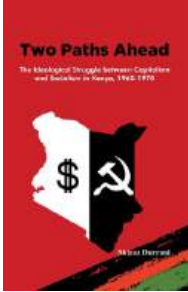
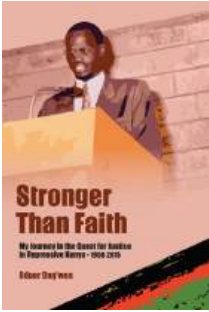

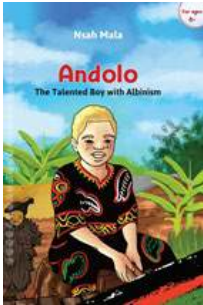
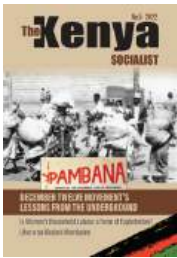
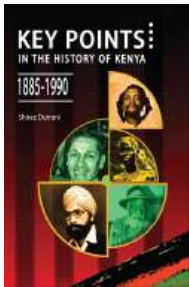
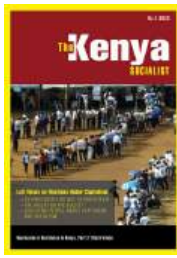
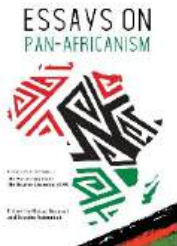
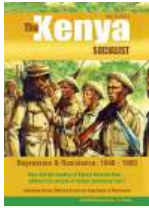
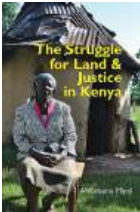
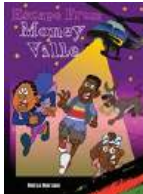
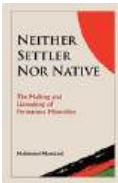
It then reproduces MWAKENYA's press statement, **Moi Unleashes a State of Terror on the Kenyan Somalis**. This indicates the close links between UMOJA and MWAKENYA pointing to the merger of the two organisations in 1996.

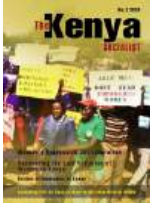
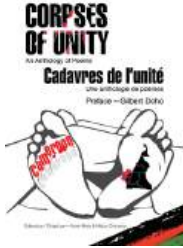
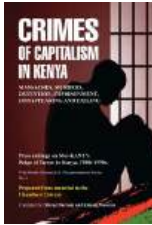
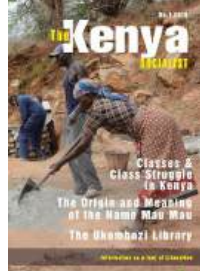
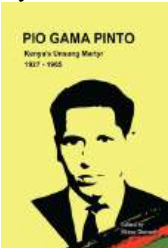


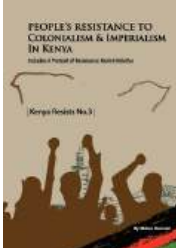

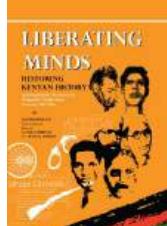
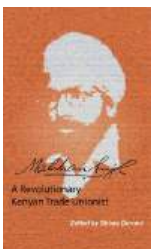

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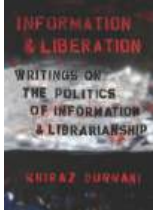
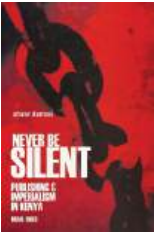



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“Struggle is daily action against ourselves and against the enemy.”

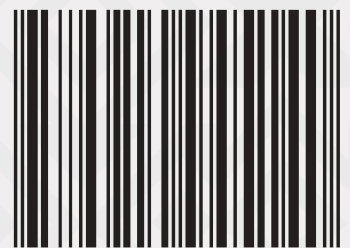
- Amílcar Cabral 1924–1973



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