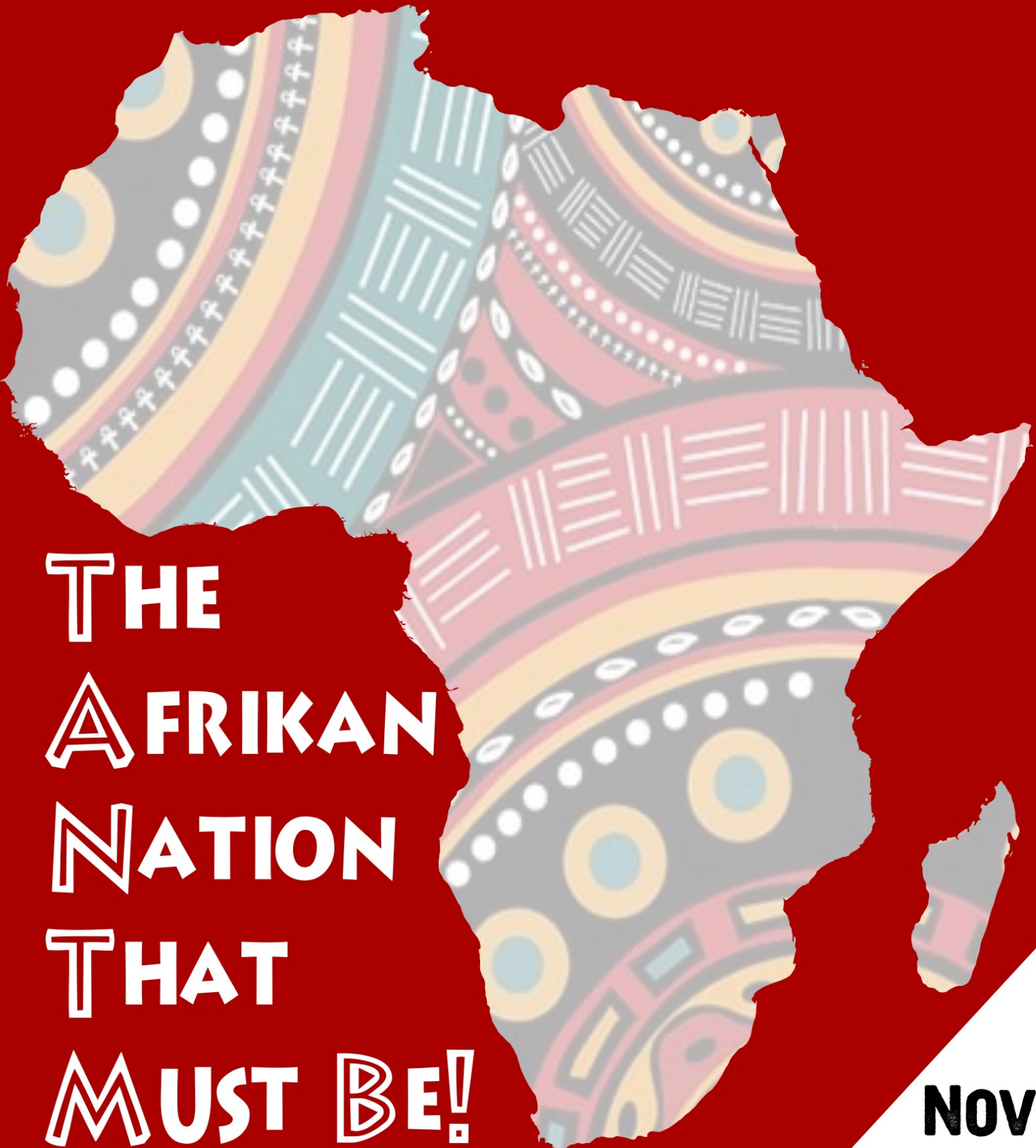


Mwamko

Issue. 3

"HISTORICIZE, PROBLEMATIZE, POLITICIZE.."



**THE
AFRIKAN
NATION
THAT
MUST BE!**

**NOV
2020**

The Afrikan Nation that must be!

Editorial

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Afrika finds itself at a crossroad - a familiar one, for we have been here for decades now. Despite having innumerable resources, a vast majority of the more than 1.2 billion people on this continent remain greatly impoverished - with its largely youthful generation constantly finding itself at the forefront of struggles against economic deprivation, political dictatorship, cultural hegemony, environmental degradation, among others.

While colonialism was extractive in nature and anchored on racist hierarchies and tendencies, independence was for many African states carefully crafted to ensure that the systems that had been used to dominate and subjugate the African person remained intact on several fronts. Colonial patterns of economics remain intact in several African countries; international trade remains imbalanced against Africa; dictatorships stifle the freedoms, dignity and dreams of our people; our environment is under attack; while state violence and killings, especially of young people, have been normalised on parts of this continent in scenes reminiscent of the colonial epoch. Globally, Africa ranks poorly in terms of human development.

These occurrences are largely enabled by the international system that continues to prop up extractive and dictatorial regimes across the periphery. In this era of unfettered capitalism, where some corporations have annual turnovers much larger than the GDP of many African countries, private capital maintains a stranglehold of many national economies - effectively rendering the most productive and promising African countries into satellite states of international capital.

The people, meanwhile, are constantly bombarded by narratives of 'economic growth', 'progress' and 'development'. Today, they scratch their heads and ask, who does this growth benefit? Whose progress are we talking about? The most fundamental questions for them then become, how do we get out of this rut? Which way for Afrika? They historicize, problematize, and politicize.

Like the first and second editions, this edition of *MWAMKO* is anchored on Pan-Africanism. It is a historicization of Africa, an analysis of our material conditions and lived realities, and an attempt at imagining the African nation that must be. **Forward Ever, Backward Never !**

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To contact Mwamko:



mwamkoafrika@gmail.com



@MwamkoM

The Editorial Collective; Alieu Bah, Bw Mdogo & Sungu Oyoo.

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Liberation in our lifetime: Towards an African Socialist

Anti-Manifesto

By Alieu Bah

The haunting specter of communism doesn't hold the world at ransom any longer. The unholy alliance has all but gone global. We now stand at the juncture between a failing core and a slowly awakening revolutionary periphery. This is the beast that haunts the earth – the beast of the Third World. The call that was made at the dawn of decolonization, renewed and re-centered towards a finalization of the unfinished, the leftover, the discarded project - accelerating the unification of the African continent under scientific socialism. What is to be done is known. How it is to be done remains the fundamental task for these beautiful children of Africa. Towards these ends, a presentation of the facts of historical science...

“We know from scientific analysis that the comprador class is both interlocutor and beneficiary in this scheme to control the productive base of Africa so as to pick crumbs on the masters table after the old lady sings the last note.”

First, a recognition of the productive forces as the makers of history and the usurpers of production as the destroyers of that historical trajectory in its transition to its logical conclusion of a fully developed productive base and force. A recognition that no history is possible without the material base of the people being conquered by the people for their own benefit. For this to be a possibility, for this onward advance of the people

to sovereign wealth, it must be known who stunts this growth, who benefits from this stunting and who sleeps in a king-size bed while the surplus is stored far from the masses of our people. A class analysis reveals layers upon layers of betrayal of our people by their own and by the others — the old masters of our misery.

We know from scientific analysis that the comprador class is both interlocutor and beneficiary in this scheme to control the productive base of Africa so as to pick crumbs on the masters table after the old lady sings the last note. The enemy established so we know who to take out of the way to continue the progress of our people into eternity. That it is a constant in the ever-changing dynamic of mechanics of our oppression that there is a fabricated class of politicians, managers, intellectuals, religious leaders who make it their duty to rob and steal from our people. The advantage we have over them today is that they're constantly warring amongst themselves. They have no loyalties towards each other but to only capital and big financial institutions. They must be exposed and destroyed.

That to destroy this parasitic class, we must become skilled at exposing the indoctrination with which they hold us captive. All over the continent today we are told our biggest failure is the

lack of democracy and human rights. We go along echoing these sentiments in an almost fatalistic style. We don't dare question this thought-hegemony lest we are called enablers of dictators and tyrannical systems. But we failed to notice or to understand that every society, scientifically, is a dictatorship. But who's dictatorship? Who's the one who controls the medium of ideas and ideologies? Who controls the national wealth? Which class in our society runs the show? An example: today in most of our villages we have a primitive feudal lordship over land. We are told and convinced by the feudal class that since their great grandfathers founded the village, they have been given the divine right to rule and administer the land and all that's in it. With this, many families have been dispossessed of their lands, but instead of raising up their voices and muscles in protest, they submit dutifully because this is the way it has been ordained. They fell victim to the dictatorship of ideas and hegemonies of the feudal lordship.

The control of ideas and the class rule of the elite and colonized intellectuals is a battlefield that must be won with a vigorous political education to expose their dictatorship and institute a new and vibrant dictatorship of the masses as a whole which is the only true democracy. The adventurism of this class of oppressors must also be exposed. How they use our people in protests and uprisings only so they can take over state power and continue to rob us. We have seen the hijacking of this sort all over Africa and the Third World, from Egypt to South Africa.

The struggle must go back to the material needs of our people. Land, bread and water must occupy the front seat of this struggle and abstract bourgeois ideas thrown to the bin of history. These new ideas must be derived and rooted in the material, social, cultural, intellectual conditions that we find ourselves in today. It must also be an active combat against superstitions, magic and all such ideas that have impeded our growth in the era of scientific and technological advancement of the world.

We know we can only win this war with organization. With mass organizing of our people under the banner of a revolutionary democracy that is disciplined and urgent. Our organizing must be built upon consistent truth-telling and fact collection. We cannot act like the comprador class that only mobilizes for temporary gains. We must organize, show and prove the correctness of our line by building in real-life what society we want to see through discipline and distribution of collective resources in a cooperative model. We must constantly educate ourselves and apply that education in mass work. We must build schools that counter the indoctrination coming from the bourgeoisie. Study circles must be everywhere. We must also always be on the frontlines in winning immediate material benefits with the people, in the form of asking the neocolonial state to offer services that are needed everyday. But we must be careful not to be adventurist or lead our people into bloodbaths in the forms of riots or protests without a clear analysis and social investigation. Create no heroes or cults, organize eternally.

We affirm before the world that our friends are those who show solidarity with our struggle without trying to superimpose their ideas and theories upon us. That we don't consider it

solidarity if you're more interested in telling us how to struggle and what ideas are more correct. That we consider that to be disrespect for our history and our final becoming. We declare the white working class today to be the foremost friends of capital, hence our enemy. We recognize in all of this the impotence of the Western Left in the great onslaught of imperialism in our lands. That they cannot orchestrate a revolution without the defeat of the neocolonial state and imperialism down in the global south. The White Western left, instead of asking what must be done with the comrades who are in the Third World, are more interested in little petty squabbles over the theories of dead philosophers, so they remain a sidekick of capitalism-imperialism — in their distraction and uselessness for the coming struggle. In sight of this, our solidarity doesn't lie with them but with the colonized masses caught in the core of western capital. The so-called 'minorities' who are the only portent revolutionary class there today.

We honor those who came before us. Those who took the correct line in the struggle for the liberation of our people. We promise to finish that project by doing a careful study of the works they left behind and to pick what fits our time on a materialist dialectical understanding of those works. We pledge allegiance to no-one but the

masses of our people and the righteous ancestors thereof. Our freedom will come in our unity and constant struggle for correct ideas and methods and our ever-righteous fight to defeat our enemies both home and abroad. To usher in the total unification of the African continent under scientific socialism giving birth to the African Nation that must be.

**Alieu Bah is a socialist activist from The Gambia. He is a writer and organizer working towards African unity under Scientific socialism.*

Class, Gender & Race in Kenya in the age of COVID-19

By Adhiambo Kasuku

It's been close to six months since Kenya recorded its first COVID-19 case and these months have been nothing short of dystopian. From brutally enforced lockdowns, suspension of social and commercial activities across the country, massive job losses and the onset of collapse of society as we know it - these past few months have exposed just how much an individual's social comfort and risk of infection is hinged on their class, gender and race.

Kenya is one the most unequal countries in the world measured in terms of income and wealth distribution. Inequality in Kenya is spatialized, gendered and even racialized. A capitalist wet dream.

The working class, who make up the majority of its population, have been the biggest casualties of the stark inequalities that this novel virus has brought to the fore and exacerbated in this neo colonial state.

We've witnessed the bludgeoning and murder of poor, working class people by police enforcing a state imposed dusk to dawn curfew. Money is king around here and if you have a little change in your pocket, you can easily [circumnavigate COVID-19 restrictions](#) with the help of these violent and irredemably corrupt state agents known as the police. An illicit luxury the poor cannot afford.

The ruling class, meanwhile, have been flouting social distancing rules at inconsiderate political rallies that put the health of curious, working-class onlookers in jeopardy.

Their wayward mannerisms do not end there. Recall a few months back when a senator who was part of the COVID-19 emergency response committee was let off with a slap on the wrist after he was found partying at a crowded elite night club amid a raging pandemic?

Around the same period, the health cabinet secretary was spotted at a wedding without a mask, and no one at that gathering seemed to understand the concept of social distancing. This is the same man who has been pontificating for months about social distancing and chastising poor Africans for being "hard headed and disobedient".

It's beyond his comprehension how people who live in tiny cramped up spaces, use public transportation and are dependent on daily wages "refuse" to observe these guidelines.

Sharp class differences have also been brought to the fore with the closure of schools during the COVID-19 pandemic. The haphazard switch to remote learning a few months ago laid bare the gaping inequities in educational opportunities that exist in this country. Many poor and working

class families with children enrolled in the public education system can barely afford the bare minimum. It was ludicrous for the state to ask, no demand that these disenfranchised children access learning materials online from government portals.

Gender

For women, the pandemic has been particularly brutal. A recent [study by UN Women](#) found that reports of violence against women, and particularly domestic violence, have increased in several African countries as concerns over security, health, and financial worries have created tensions and strains in homes exacerbated by the cramped and confined living conditions of lockdowns. (Kenya was part of this study).

The above, when looked at in combination with the shocking surge in teenage pregnancies in the country since the advent of COVID-19 restrictions points to a huge social problem. In Machakos County alone, 3,964 girls of school-going age became [pregnant](#) in the four month period since March 2020.

Women make the bulk of the poor on our continent and the impact of economic ramifications on their livelihoods brought about by severe restrictions cannot be overstated. In Kenya, the [mitumba](#) business which is a source of income for hundreds of thousands of working class women has been greatly affected since March when second-hand clothing imports were banned as part of Covid-19 prevention measures. Importantly, women are on the frontline of service

provision in the health care sector and in their homes. 70% of healthcare workers (nurses) in Kenya are women, and they constantly face a high risk of contracting the virus in a country that pays no mind to it's overworked, under-staffed health workforce. Our women additionally carry the burden of unpaid care work at home - including child care, and tending to the sick and the elderly.

“Restrictions brought about by the pandemic necessitate social distancing, and yet, this is not feasible for women and girls with disabilities who are dependent on social contact.”

Women and girls living with various disabilities are largely the poorest of the poor. COVID-19 brings additional expenses to them including purchase of PPE, masks and sanitizers. Restrictions brought about by the pandemic necessitate social distancing, and yet, this is not feasible for women and girls with disabilities who are dependent on social contact. COVID-19 has in many ways exacerbated the stigma and discrimination against many women and girls living with disabilities.

As we move on, recall that the failure of women legislators to protect poor, working class women from the negative impacts of COVID-19 does not come as a surprise. It's on brand for them.

Race

The intricacies of race supremacy in “post-independence” Kenya have also played out

during this pandemic. From our neocolonial president who values his proximity to white power overseeing the export of flowers grown in Kenya to **National Health Service** (NHS) workers in the United Kingdom in appreciation of their efforts in treating COVID-19 patients in their country (while health care workers here at home grapple with terrible working conditions). To the Ministry of Finance bailing out European owned **“CONservacies”** that are disenfranchising Africans.

We also witnessed a disgusting, shameless display of police abasing themselves during a virtue signaling Black Lives Matter march in Nairobi organized and attended by mostly white Americans. The police were offering security to the underwhelming “protest” when a week before they had tear-gassed and clobbered people in the economically violated neighborhood of Mathare who were demanding justice for victims of state sanctioned murder by the cops.

When the country opened up for international travel, the transport & health cabinet secretaries announced that tourists (code word for Europeans) won't be required to quarantine for 14 days once they arrive in the country. This was after months of forcefully isolating Africans returning home even if they had proof of negative tests.

Post-Covid:After the crisis

This pandemic has thrust up a mirror on how Kenya's economic, social and political system functions along the lines of class, gender and race. This violent, capitalist state has been

unmasked and things mustn't go back to “normal” once this crisis is contained.



This health crisis has demonstrated that there is nothing “normal” about this capitalist dystopia we live in. In any case, there's never been any normality for the majority of the population in this country. Our dire material conditions over the past few years were all pointers towards a looming socio economic collapse.

This virus is threatening even previously comfortable sections of society with what the poor and disenfranchised in Kenya have always lived through: class struggle to access food, education and healthcare.

The onset of the destruction of capitalism, catalyzed by the virus, is here with us. The house of cards is collapsing and it offers opportunities for us to seize upon and build a new house devoid of inequality amongst its inhabitants.

This crisis is not going to ease, it will only deepen. We must collectively change course and embrace a new philosophy of life as Kenyans. We must wage a righteous war against the bourgeoisie system that divides us along lines of class, gender and race.

Down with capitalism, patriarchy and imperialism.
Forward to the revolution.

**Adhiambo Kasuku, is a socialist feminist based in Nairobi and a member of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL).*

**How can we tell you
the size of our Dream?!**

During centuries
we waited
that a messiah might free
us...

Until we understood.

Today
our Revolution
is a great flower
to which each day
new petals are added.

The petals are the land
reconquered,
the people freed,
the fields cultivated,
schools and hospitals.

Our dream has the size
of Freedom



FRELIMO, 1969

*Image courtesy of Mozambique Freedom Songs, Youtube

Mwakenya: The Unfinished Revolution' - A Reflection

By Lewis Maghanga

Prologue.

This reflection of 'Mwakenya: The Unfinished Revolution' follows a thorough discussion on the same in our Ukombozi Library – Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) cell meeting. A book review on the same was the subject of our discussion when we met to specifically discuss this material, and it was thence generally agreed that further reflections be produced and subsequently discussed in two weeks as a continuation of our study session.

“Sadly for the masses, the home guards were granted ‘independence’ as soon as the British imperialists saw the impossibility of defeating the liberation movement, and that saw the continuation of the same oppressive system up to date.”

This reflection seeks to mention and analyze certain key aspects of organizing mentioned in the book, taking into consideration the conditions for organizing during the time of the formation of the Mwakenya – December Twelve Movement (MKDTM) and contrasting them to the present conditions.

Naturally, it is expected that this analysis of theory and tactics of organizing will offer a reinforcement to our own methods as revolutionary organizers, and will serve as motivation to

revolutionary groups and organizations working under the heel of bourgeois rule at this period, such as the RSL.

Introduction.

It cannot be denied that the people of the world in general and Kenya in particular are seriously suffering under the yoke of the present exploitative and oppressive system. Unemployment and inequality, the two grim monsters created by the present mode of production, are at the highest they've ever been. It would be accurate to say that, in the war against ignorance, poverty and disease, as declared at the dawn of Kenya's 'independence' in 1963, we are losing.

The principal reason for the formation of the Workers' Party of Kenya (WPK), the underground party behind the Mwakenya – December Twelve Movement (MKDTM), was precisely what the heading of the book under review mentions; 'the unfinished revolution'. Indeed; to carry on the struggle for the complete emancipation of the people, and to carry through the revolution as begun by the Land and Freedom Army (*Mau Mau*).

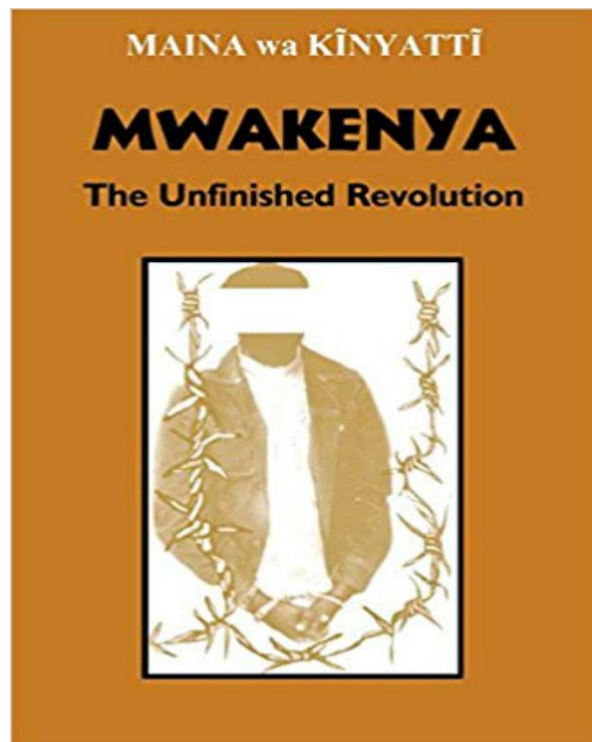
But why revolution?

It is only through revolution that the toiling masses of the country, and the world at large, can successfully rid themselves of all remnants of

the obsolete society, and in the process usher in a fresh society anew. Revolutionary force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one.

Looking at the Kenyan context, it had become clear right after 'independence' that the hopes and aspirations of the Kenyan people, expressed through our freedom struggle, were not to be fulfilled. The revolution had been betrayed! The home guards and collaborators, rather than the freedom fighters, had taken over the means of ruling the state. The petty bourgeois elements, emergent during the later stages of Kenya's colonial history, were never interested in genuine freedom and emancipation for the people. Rather, they aspired to carve out for themselves a share at the top of the exploitative pyramid. The Kenyan liberation movement (Mau Mau), on the other hand, representing the most revolutionary elements of the trade union movement and their intimate connection with layers of the peasantry, reflected the resolve of the toiling masses to effect genuine change in the system, and abolish exploitation once and for all. The guerrilla is the masses in arms.

Sadly for the masses, the home guards were granted 'independence' as soon as the British imperialists saw the impossibility of defeating the liberation movement, and that saw the continuation of the same oppressive system up to date. It was thus clear that only through the forceful overthrow of the system can the Kenyan people be genuinely free and independent.



Cover page of Maina wa Kinyatti's, "Mwakenya: the Unfinished Revolution."

Looking at the state of affairs now, the situation is hardly different. Our economy is a hub of international monopoly capital. Our state serves as a client state of global imperialism. Our government loyally serves the imperialist masters of the North. Poverty and inequality are on the increase on a daily basis. Unemployment is at an all-time high. Our people are oppressed, repressed, suppressed and depressed.

The revolution, clearly, is unfinished, and it is therefore our responsibility to carry it through to its logical conclusion.

Reflections. The formation of the Workers' Party of Kenya (WPK) was, as highlighted in the book, the most significant political event in Kenya since

the 1950s. It represented the establishment of a vanguard organization ready to carry through the National Democratic Revolution, as required at that time.

Mention is made of six ideological documents approved and adopted during the First Congress of Kenyan Marxist-Leninist delegates, held in Nairobi on December 22-23, 1974, alongside the Constitution of the Party. These provided the necessary ideological clarity needed to distinguish the party as a proletarian revolutionary one, and provide us as revolutionaries today a good blueprint upon which proletarian organizations can be organized.

The use of pseudonyms during the First Congress was extremely tactical and commendable, as it shielded the revolutionaries in the Central Committee from the dreaded Special Branch (secret police).

As part of the immediate tasks of the party, mention is made of the National Democratic Revolution, which was ideologically and practically correct as far as the general tasks of the Kenyan people were concerned. The country was under the heel of far right oppressive rule, and it was therefore imperative that the people free themselves from this yoke then carry through the tasks of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. The party correctly understood that the working class was the only class capable of carrying through the tasks of the National-Democratic Revolution, given the weakness of the national bourgeoisie.

At the moment, however, can our revolution be termed National-Democratic?

A vivid analysis of the state of affairs today reveals a perfect picture of a 'free bourgeoisie'. The state is not as repressive as it was in the 70s and 80s. The bourgeoisie has ample freedom to properly assert its dominance. 'Democracy', in the bourgeois sense of the word, exists in Kenya today, or at least has a bigger space today than before. For we the Communists today, therefore, the immediate task would be the completion of the Socialist Revolution, carried through by the proletariat through their vanguard, on course towards the attainment of a classless society throughout the world.

*“Higher education in particular has been used to brainwash and subjugate the people, bringing confusion to Kenyans seeking answers to;

How did we get to this?

How shall we get out of this?”*

The categorization of the four levels of membership into the party; supporters; friends; candidate members and full members, is commendable and worth emulating. It enabled the organization to maintain strict discipline given the levels of repression then. Part of the problems of organizing today, incidentally, stems from a deterioration of said discipline, partly due to cadres being less careful of the state and counter-revolutionary infiltrators.

The organization of the party was basically through study units, or cells, which served as the basic organ of the party. Akin to how we are organizing now, this enables the organization to have effective coordination strategies and solid tactical malleability, pretty much similar to how a military formation works.

The WPK made a concrete analysis of the classes in Kenya and their relationship to one another, in order to work out a general strategy as well as map out tactics for organizing. It was observed that the bourgeoisie was weakest and most vulnerable among the workers in their working areas, the majority of whom were in the coffee, tea, horticultural, sisal and other plantations. We must strike the enemy where they are weakest; similar organizing today must also take this to account.

Strategy is a matter of science, whereas tactics is an art. We must as revolutionaries be scientists and artists at the same time.

The general line adopted by the WPK, through its Constitution, was completely correct and scientific. The proclamation of proletarian internationalism, and the identification of global imperialism, led by the United States, as the principal enemy of all oppressed people of the world, was on point. The situation is hardly different at the present moment. Further, the identification of the then Soviet Union as a propagator of modern revisionism, with a renegade revisionist clique at its centre, shed light on the insight of the party

regarding the goings-on internationally. The Soviet Union had ceased being a bastion of workers democracy, and had instead become a degenerated bureaucratic state.

The general principles mentioned in forming a proletarian party clearly reflect what was, and is, to be done. The unity of theory and practice is, particularly, fundamental in the building of proletarian parties and something every revolutionary must bear in mind.

The party must always remain true to its theoretical basis and never compromise. The masses should always see the vanguard organization as one which takes a stand and never tweaks it whenever convenient. Members of the party must always subordinate their personal interests to those of the revolution. The party, fundamentally, must be ready to seize power when the chance arises. We must bear in mind that, principally, the aim of a party is to seize state power, and the aim of the proletarian party is therefore to carry this through on behalf of the working masses.

A key obstacle to revolutionary consciousness in Kenya, and by extension Africa, has been identified as colonial education. Higher education in particular has been used to brainwash and subjugate the people, bringing confusion to Kenyans seeking answers to;

How did we get to this?

How shall we get out of this?

Mention is made of reactionary intellectuals, such as Taban Lo Liyong, Charles Mangua, David Maillu, William Robert Ochieng', Atieno-Odhiambo and Godfrey Muriuki, whose role it is to cleverly promote imperialist agenda in Kenya and Africa. In our universities, the situation prevails, and the 'intellectuals' present are merely servants of capital.

There is no culture or education independent of the economic and political situation in a country. We must always bear in mind that there is never neutrality in any aspect of societal life. Everything that exists in the society does so in order to serve the economic base.

As a continuation of the concrete analysis of the Kenyan situation, the WPK brilliantly exposed the hypocrisy of the ruling party, KANU, and its betrayal of the promises it initially made to the people. Wanting to appear pro-people and revolutionary, KANU promised to be dynamic; to work for the good of the majority, not the few; to end undemocratic, unjust practices; to do away with the provincial administration and have people's self-government; and to ensure a welfare state. This was, of course, not to be. The petty bourgeoisie and the compradors prevailed in the party, doing away with the leftist elements, and worked for their own interests. The significance of exposing this situation is that it provides an outlook on the origin and nature of our puppet regime; a lying group of sell outs right from the

start. 'Hakuna cha bure', they said!

An equally important point to consider at the present would be military preparations to combat the forces of reaction. Having been a matter of conversation among members of Mwakenya (MK) during the 90s, it would be critical to have a glimpse of the scale of military preparation carried out, and its formidability thereof. Factually, at the present moment, it would be correct to state that the situation does not necessarily require an armed wing of the movement, but any eventuality, as mentioned in the book, must be prepared for.

Seize the moment, seize the time, comrades!
The future of our country is bright.

**Lewis Maghanga is a member of the Revolutionary Socialist League(RSL), Kenyan section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency(RCIT)*

Banishments, deportation and exile (vs Killings)

By Bw. Mdogo

Banishment and exile are words commonly used interchangeably but which have different meanings based on particular contexts. Banishment generally implies the expulsion of an individual from a particular territory without stating where they should go as long as they aren't upon the initial territory. Exile on the other hand is banishment but in this instance an individual's eventual location, once expelled, is specified. Penal exile has existed in society as a form of punishment for ages, especially as an alternative to execution for the 'unwanted'. However, when time for punishment came after being taken to new territories, it was mainly poor convicts who ended up being forced to work, while the wealthy got an easier way around.

"When time for punishment came after being taken to new territories, it was mainly poor convicts who ended up being forced to work, while the wealthy got an easier way around."

Arrested on the 14th of March 1922, Harry Thuku was deported from Kenya to Kismayu, in Somalia for 9 years. His deportation came after the massacre of hundreds of Kenyans shot by the colonial police in what is now Nairobi's 'Central Police Station.' They, led by Muthoni wa Nyanjiru, had been demanding for the unconditional release of Thuku, Waiganjo wa Ndotono and Geroge Mgekeyi. The police opened fire, leading

to the murder of what official records state are 21 individuals, a number believed to be even higher especially given the involvement of white settler who were revelers at Norfolk hotel, in the shooting spree.

Close to a decade earlier after mobilizing the *Agiriama* to resist forced relocation from their homeland and imposition of hut tax by the Imperial British East African Company, Mekatilili wa Menza and Wanje wa Mwadorikola were exiled from Kilifi to Kisii. Before this, the British officer who had a confrontation with Mekatilili had shot and killed an unknown number of the Giriama. In January 1914, they managed to escape and walk back to Kilifi, a journey of over 700 kilometers. In August of the same year, Mekatilili was recaptured and exiled to Kismayu where she again managed to escape. The British would again deport the Talai, a constituent of the Kalenjin, from their ancestral lands in 1934.

Kismayu, a coastal town located in Jubaland, became part of British East Africa in 1895 after the Sultanate of Zanzibar gave up all its coastal lands on continental East Africa to Britain. This later became Britain's favourite exile spot for African natives. The reason for this must be Britain's ability to control and maintain Kismayu and Seychelles as restricted zones.

Apart from Thuku and Mekatilili, others deported to Kismayu included Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro in the 1890's.

At around this same time in West Africa, Baden Powell was active in the subordination and eventual exiling of *Asantehene Prempeh I* of the Ashanti from Ghana to the Seychelles in 1895. Prempeh I was allowed to return back to Ghana in 1924, 29 years after his exile, and weirdly named chief scout. Kabaka Mwanga and Omukama Kabalega were also moved from Kismayu to the Seychelles.

In 1900, after the exiling of Prempeh I, Ashanti Queen-mother, Yaa Asantewaa, fought the British in the Battle of the Golden Stool - the British Governor had demanded for the King's stool, a symbol of Ashanti sovereignty, a demand which the Ashanti refused to comply with - she was captured and exiled to join Prempeh in Seychelles in 1902 till her death there in 1921.

The last monarch of Madagascar, Queen Ranavalona III was exiled in 1897 by the French Governor of Madascar (who also abolished their centuries old monarchy) to the Reunion Islands for 2yrs and later in 1899 to the French Colony of Algeria where she lived until her death in 1917. All her requests to be allowed to visit her homeland were turned down by the French authorities. They however gave her an annual allowance and allowed her to go shopping in Paris.

While in the Seychelles, Prempeh I was housed at the largest villa there. It was located on a former plantation. Other villas were also constructed for Asante nobles exiled with the Asantehene. In a similar fashion, once the French exiled Queen Ranavalona III in St. Denis, they housed her at 'two-story house, which had a large walled garden and featured a peaked roof and wrap-around veranda reminiscent of the traditional highland homes of Madagascar.' She was allowed a secretary, cooks, maids and additional servants for her relatives. In both accounts, numerous warriors lost their lives at the hands of the British troops.



Miguna Miguna at the swearing in of Raila Odinga as the 'Peoples President,' afterwards, Miguna was deported.

Image courtesy of the BBC

Given the gory details that emerge from accounts of Kenyans prisoners who were held in what was the colonial governments "pipeline system" in comparison to the better/higher/political class treatment of the Kapenguria Six, one cannot ignore the preferential treatment offered to exiles who are deemed to occupy higher classes in society. According to the colonial attorney general - Eric Griffith Jones, mistreatment of prisoners in the pipeline system, was

"distressingly reminiscent of conditions in Nazi Germany or Communist Russia." Were Thuku and Mekatilili treated similarly to Kabaka Mwanga and Omukama Kabalega?

In South Afrika, after a musical tour in England and the United States, Mariam Makeba returned to South Africa for her mother's funeral in 1960 only to be turned away at the airport since her passport had expired and been terminated by the apartheid regime, forcing her into exile for 31yrs. This was just after the Sharpsville massacre where the apartheid regime had opened fire killing 69 black South Afrikans. Kinder Tanzania, Ghana, Guinea and Cuba offered her passports and over time, she was an honorary citizen of about 10 more countries. The exile period for her and her to be/former husband, Hugh Masekela, opened their eyes to the subjugation and suffering of black people not only on the Afrikan continent, but in Western countries too. Returning to South Africa on a French passport given to her by Danielle Mitterrand, the president's wife, in June 1990, she lamented that Mandela's, upon whose request she'd returned, release from prison did not bring an end to the existence of the apartheid regime.

"Unlike Mekatili who was able to break out and go back to her people twice, all attempts by Miguna at returning home have been curtailed by the current Uhuruto administration."

Post independence Kenya has had it's share of banishments and exiles - forced, and or self-imposed. These range from a senior colonial

police officer, to the American wife of a cabinet minister to a radical Muslim preacher whom authorities insisted was Yemeni by birth.

In 2018, a son of the soil was arrested, disappeared, drugged and deported. Slightly over 30yrs ago, the same son, Miguna Miguna, had to flee the country. The stark difference between the two is the heirachichal status of Miguna. In the 80's he was a student activist, fleeing to save his life whereas in 2018, he was part of the political elite, having been a close confidant of the opposition leader, Raila Odinga, and having even played part in swearing him in as the people's president just before his banishment took place.

In the period between August 2017 and February 2018 when Miguna's woes begun, multitudes of people had been killed, a great majority of them felled by police bullets in the pre and post election chaos that rocked the country's contested elections in 2017. Unlike Mekatili who was able to break out and go back to her people twice, all attempts by Miguna at returning home have been curtailed by the current Uhuruto administration. Strangest of all, was the presence of a legislator — a representative of the people, in the flight that was forcefully taking Miguna out of the country. A presence whereby the legislator, took photos that he later posted on his social media pages to ridicule Miguna.

**this article was adopted from an earlier shorter Face-book post examining the legacy of Baden Powell. *Mdogo is a designer, cartoonist and book illustrator based in Nairobi.*

40 years later: Every African ought to understand the system and work towards its abolishment.

By Bryan Mathenge



“By what standard of morality can the violence used by a slave to break his chains be considered the same as the violence of a slave master? By what standards can we equate the violence of blacks who have been oppressed, suppressed, depressed, and repressed for four centuries with the violence of white fascist? Violence aimed at the recovery of human dignity and at equality cannot be judged by the same yardstick as violence aimed at maintenance of discrimination and oppression.”

I would like to start my tribute marking 40 years since the assassination of the renowned revolutionary scholar, comrade Walter Rodney with the phrase above from his intellectual work, ***The Groundings with My Brothers***. As a young intellectual, Comrade Wally, as they called him in the Jamaican situation, reflects a lot about academic concerns and service to the society.

More importantly, his contributions to the Caribbean Radical Tradition aimed at liberating societies across the Caribbean. Walter's classical background; coming from an informed working-class setup and his early interactions with the literature from the marxist multiracial mass-based People's Progressive Party, which his father, a wage worker (a tailor) was part of, prepared him for workers mobilising and the science of socialism. As a young man he was distributing the

party's literature to the Guyanese labouring class. His bluntly expressed anger at white supremacy, race and class oppression is one of his most admirable struggles. His position on imperialism and the continued exploitation of minerals and Africa's contribution to the capitalist development of Europe, and the domination of politico-military development in Africa, informs today's progressive movements on tactical approaches in the war against imperialism.

His professors in the West Indies, Jamaica would insist that, 'There is no such thing as a revolutionary intellectual, one can be an intellectual or one can be a revolutionary, you can't combine the two,' they said.

Walter in practice has shown the possibility of a

revolutionary intellectual and sets an example to the young intellectuals in the liberation struggle. Every intellectual at their own level of knowledge has a role and responsibility to the liberation movement. In the early 90's, for instance, during the multi-party struggle in Kenya, students in the universities actively organized towards a common political point, through sustained mass work and action, they collectively yielded the achievement of repealing of section 2A of the previous constitution, which gave life back to multiparty freedom. However, there is a huge gap that needs to be covered by intellectuals and student circles, these institutions should be used for active involvement in contributing to the political advancements, owned and engraved as a primary responsibility of the scholar. Through the idea and practice of Marxism in organizing, Comrade Wally demonstrated that it is not inevitable for intellectuals to join the systems of oppression but use their knowledge to challenge oppression.

He adds that it wasn't necessary to get the idea of freedom from an European book but rather the community formulation of the concept of political freedom, the universal tendency to seek freedom manifested itself among Africans even when the most careful steps were taken to silence the organized resistance: as in the case of Mau Mau, where the British and the post independence Kenyan government, then went further in labelling the Land And Freedom Army a terrorist group operating in Kenya.

When Rodney speaks about colonialism in ***How Europe Underdeveloped Africa***, he expresses



“Political instability is manifesting itself in Africa as a chronic symptom of the underdevelopment of political life within the imperialist context.”

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa

his ideas with an intention of awakening the African intellectual's consciousness, especially to the fact that sovereignty is but one stage in the process of regaining African independence. He argued that the nationalist revolution had given rise to certain minority ideological trends which had spread a new wave of development in the socialist states. The army and police were educational and socializing institutions to perpetuate colonialist and capitalist powers and values.

“the systematic police brutality, as expounded by Brother Wally has for all the years been an instrument of the state oppression against community voices.”

The common daily struggles from the informal settlements, where the suppressed voices are concentrated: representing the barbaric development of society and perpetuation of the colonial relationship to the present – multitudes of people are concentrated in small portions of land (ghettos) with poor drainage systems and loosely attached house supports whereas others spend their nights enjoying the privileges of adjusting air fresheners at the expense of the majority homeless.

To date, the systematic police brutality, as expounded by Brother Wally has for all the years been an instrument of the state oppression against community voices. The global crisis is well captured by the [recent] awakening and organized global protests condemning police brutality after a cop in Minneapolis suffocated

George Floyd to death, giving rise to the popular slogan #ICan'tBreathe.

In conclusion, Walter insisted that the challenge of neo-colonialism has to be seriously looked into and that the intellectual should commit 'class suicide' and forge class unity. Walter provided a great learning experience and example. He continues to inspire and motivate the young people, the Social Justice Movements and grassroots movements organizing against capitalism globally. To this end, I wish to express my esteemed thanks and appreciation to the Walter Rodney Foundation for the preservation and development of Walter's work.

**Bryan Mathenge is Coordinator of Ecological justice campaign with Githurai Social justice center and a member of Social Justice Center Working Group.*



We are everywhere

If you go to Nairobi,

We are there.

If you go to Mombasa,

We are there.

If you go to Kisumu,

We are there

We are so many,

That we are everywhere.

*The ***KLFA (Kenya Land and Freedom Army)***, popularly known as ***Mau Mau***, was the militant wing of the independence movement that actively engaged in The struggle against British colonialism and imperialism starting from the early 1950's.

Image courtesy of the Daily Nation

Mageuzi Yazae Mapinduzi

By Willy Mutunga

Let us stand in prayer and remember all the strengths of socialism and rescuing its compatriots we have lost to COVID-19 and those weaknesses. Public and organic intellectuals and that are still healing. COVID-19 has taught us movements are engaged in the quest for a that we must reject normality of the past and paradigm or paradigms that will liberate the present. We must imagine how our future is planet. going to be the new normal we want.

I am honoured to have been asked to deliver this keynote address on the occasion of the launch of KLM-VUMA, a transformative and progressive movement of civil society organizations, social movements, and individuals who are committed to the transformation of economic, social, cultural, spiritual, ideological, and political status quo of the Motherland.

Let me locate this launch within the global, regional, and national contexts so that the movement will not have any doubts about the challenges that lie ahead that it will have to surmount.

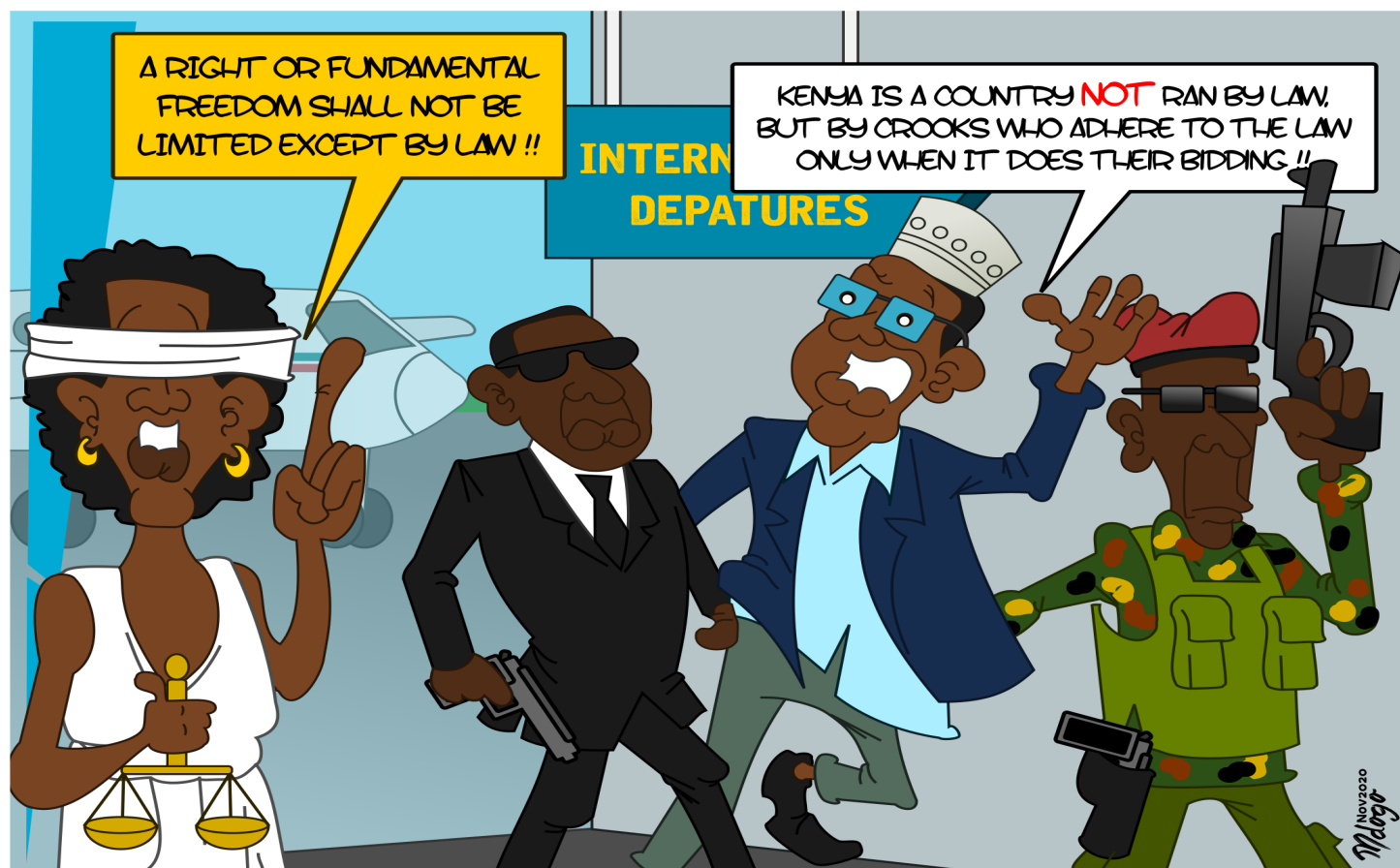
The launch comes at a time when the planet, the African continent and our country present a great opportunity to imagine new societies that are just, free, peaceful, non-militaristic, ecologically safe, egalitarian and equitable, prosperous, and socialist. Of course, socialism is being critiqued, historicized, and problematized in various creative ways out of lessons learnt over the last 100 years. The focus seems to be one of consolidat-

The great African Marxist revolutionary Samir Amin has written extensively on the exploitation, oppression, and domination of the Global South by the imperialism of the West (neoliberalism), or what he calls the imperialism of the Triad (America, Europe, and Japan) with their satellite countries comprising Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In Europe, Germany seems to dominate former states in the Soviet Empire, while Russia has not managed to delink from the clutches of imperialism of the West. Neoliberalism as a paradigm for socio-economic life and politics has failed. That is why today we are gathered to imagine a better Kenya and a new planet.

Social democratic societies seem to be consistently moving to the right, particularly in Europe and Canada (where there has been a muted social democracy). The Nordic countries and Holland that experimented on social democracy that prioritized public goods, and radically mitigated capitalism seem to have moved to the right and are comfortable in the orbit of imperialism of the West.

China has become the focus of attention for many liberation movements. Afro-Chinese relations have been debated and a consensus is yet to be reached on whether China is an imperialist country within neoliberalism. In my view it is. We hear global drums of war being beaten as we witness cyber wars and geopolitical positioning in the middle of the CORONA-19 pandemic. Kenya, and indeed, the Global South, have a great opportunity to regain their sovereignty amidst the growing tensions and hostilities between the West and China. We must take this opportunity to re-dress historical injustices of colonialism. We should not, in the case of Kenya, be trooping to the US and the UK to sign un-balanced free trade agreements. It is this imagining of Kenya and Africa, and its place in the world, that KLM-VUMA seeks to achieve.

On the African continent the burning question is the resurrection of radical people-to-people Pan Africanism as envisioned by the people of Africa themselves, and not the leaderships of the African Union. Debates on this issue are going as far back as the political positions of Nyerere, Nkrumah, Cheikh Anta Diop, Amilcar Cabral, Gaddafi (particularly his extension of African Unity to include free African currency) and others in the African world/diaspora. Closer to home the pandemic has exposed the wicked rule of the Kenyan elite and its foreign backers. Our elite, like their foreign backers, believe money is all it takes to organize and mobilize politics although the Constitution decrees otherwise. Commons and public goods have been commodified. The mitigating vision of the 2010 Constitution has been subverted.



Poverty has become a way of life for the majority of our compatriots. The middle class is shrinking and joining the ranks of the working class. J M Kariuki in his time feared for a Kenya of ten millionaires and ten million beggars. Now we have (according to a Oxfam Report) a Kenya of 8,300 Kenyans who are billionaires and millionaires whose assets equal the assets of the rest of us, the 47 million. There is an unacceptable and unsustainable status quo in land, resources, the ownership of commons and public goods. There is a sovereign debt that makes it difficult for Kenyans to call our country free and independent. We have an elite that is daily engaged in corruption and all ills of the illicit economy.

Our elites, without a doubt, are leaders unto darkness and death. The data to prove this fact is incontrovertible. Yet, our elite are geniuses in the politics of division as they are geniuses in the politics of inhumanity. They have managed to keep Kenyans divided for the last 57 years. Now their intra-elite succession struggles are meant to sniff out other political narratives and alternative political leaderships. It would not surprise me that the factions at play may come together in the near future in the name of national unity. One only needs to analyze the alliances among our elite since independence.

The Kenyan elite have subverted the vision of the Constitution in all its transformative ingredients. The opposition has joined the government and a faction of government claims to be the opposition. We have a continuation of the dicta-

torships of the past.

The Kenyan middle class, particularly the middle-middle, is being knocked down to join the ranks of the working class. The upper middle class in its quest to join the ranks of the elite keeps on subsidizing that elite. The Kenyan entire middle class actually subsidizes the state. The monies they pay to the extended families to access public goods (education, housing, health, employment, water, while they are heavily taxed) should make them join the ranks of this movement. Will they?

Yes, we know Kenyans have resisted these dictatorships (including the colonial one) since the 19th century. This resistance has been underground and above ground. The Mau Mau War of Liberation fits in this trajectory of resistance for land, our national resources, and our freedom and human dignity. History records at no point did Kenyans ever stop to struggle for justice, freedom, emancipation, and democracy. Kenyans have always consolidated gains achieved and struggles for more social reforms. There have been great leaps forward from independence, second liberation, constitution-making culminating in the promulgation of Constitution in 2020.

The struggle for the implementation of the Constitution continues with the Kenyan elite subverting its vision and engaged in monumental clawbacks to restore the status quo we rejected in 2010. The resistance continues unabated. Today's launch is part of this struggle. That is

why the transformative and revolutionary clarion call of this movement continues to be *Aluta Continua, a Vitoria e Certa* (the struggle continues! Victory is certain).

Challenges in form of Questions:

I pose the challenges in terms of various questions? I will not venture to give my answers (although the background to these questions must have given you a glimpse of my own intellectual, ideological and political positions.) to these questions because they are posed to make you aware of some of the critical challenges you face as you march to liberate Kenya? Answering these questions would give KLM-VUMA its manifesto, clarify its United Front ideological and political position, state its messages to working classes, the middle classes and the popular nationalist and democratic forces; and the foreign interests of the West and East.

The essential questions you have to ask yourself is whether KLM/VUMA is going to follow similar ancestral Movements : Me Kitilili, Waiyaki wa Hinga, Muthoni Nanjiru, the Mau Mau Liberation Movement and its female and men leaders, the various religious and education movements such as Dini ya Msambwa and Dini ya Kaggia, Markhan Singh, Pio Gama Pinto, KPU, Kenya Socialist Alliance (KASA) Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, The December Twelfth Movement, The Mwakenya Movement, the various movements of exiled Kenyans after 1982, the second liberation movement, Wangari Maathai, the NCA-NCEC, and the constitution-making movements that

gave us the progressive 2010 Constitution. Have you learnt the lessons of all these movements, their strengths and their weaknesses? Have you dealt with the principle of non-partisanship that the movements that received foreign funding politically incapacitated them? Have you interrogated the importance of alliances with political parties that reflect your ideology and politics? Are you ready to contest for political power so that you can implement the 2010 Constitution and rescue its weaknesses? Have you reflected on whether the movement will incubate alternative political leadership? Which movements come under the umbrella of KLM-VUMA? I hope DeCOALONIZE is on board. I love their position in which they have said NO to nuclear power, coal plants, and fossil fuels. Our political leadership wants to put up nuclear and coal plants (which will be second hand because we are buying them from countries that are discarding them and because of corruption we will buy them as new). I hope, too, that the social justice movements are on board, and indeed, the artist movement should also be.

Have you analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of the elite (economic, social, cultural, spiritual, ideological, and political) and challenges posed? How do you deal with the politics of division? How do you deal with the challenge you face of comrades and activists who were mobilizing and organizing to catch the eyes of the barons? Are you ready to raise your funds from Wanjiku because you do not have finances? How will you guarantee free, fair, and peaceful, credible, and acceptable elections? Are

you ready to accept the fact that all you are organic intellectuals? What is your position on about is to capture the imagination of Kenyans the CJ Maraga's Advisory? This is a great issue that there is a path that is better than the ones that requires your leadership.

they have been on since 1963? Will you build on the gains you make in 2022? Will you become I believe that as you leave Ufungamano you will the people's opposition even if you do not win in have answered some of the burning questions 2022? Will your movement reflect the face of for Kenyans to start to imagine a new political Kenya? Will this movement be led by the youths awakening, a fourth and fifth liberations (after (women and men) of this country who reflect the independence; second liberation, and the vision for change we need? What is the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution. The fourth movement's position on the resurrection of liberation is about the implementation of the radical PanAfricanism? Do you have positions on Constitution as the basis of the fifth).

Palestine? Are you anti-imperialist and And the last question for me: Are you ready to anti-Kenya elite? What is your position on the die for KLM-VUMA? Are you ready to die for the rights of LGBTIQ+? What do you consider as the Motherland? Do you believe your movement has all the expertise that can serve as government in waiting? Are I wish you great liberations: MAGEUZI YAZAE you going to dust off all reports on historical MAPINDUZI. injustices in this country and implement them? If you came to power will you pursue, as some of **Dr. Willy Mutunga is a public intellectual and the former Chief Justice of Kenya.* you may be discussing, revenge politics against the elite? And if you do have you deeply analyzed the political consequences? What reforms will you undertake? What political messages will you have for Kenyan capitalists oppressed by the elites? What political messages will you have for the foreign interests (euphemism for imperialism of the West and East)? Have you thought through which anti-baronial political parties you will work with and why? Have you clarified the ideological and political ingredients of the United Front that is anti-imperialist and anti-baronial? Have you identified the public and organic intellectuals you will work with? No movement will survive without

New Pan-Afrikanism

By Rim Menia & Sungu Oyoo

“We have a beautiful history, but we will create one that will astonish the world.”

- **Marcus Garvey**

Origins: Pan-Africanism, a framework of continent-wide liberation rooted in the struggles of African people against enslavement and colonization, first appeared as a political theory at the turn of the 20th Century with the establishment of the African Association — known later as the Pan-African Association. The spirit of Pan-Africanism guided the [Pan-African Congresses](#) in the first half of the 20th Century, led to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 (known today as the African Union), and guided 1960s and 70s-era resistance and liberation movements against colonial and post-colonial oppression. New Pan-Afrikanism refers to the articulation of pan-African ideas, taking into account the post-colonial context of 21st century capitalism and the modern weapons Africans wield against it.

Pan-Africanism is the belief that Africans on the continent and in the diaspora share not only a common history, but also a common destiny. Developed at a time of crisis and tragedy, Pan-Africanism is anchored on the principle that unity among Africans is vital for their economic, social, cultural, and political progress.

The ideals of Pan-Africanism guided African struggles against colonial and post-colonial oppression for much of the 20th Century. New Pan-Afrikanism is both a continuation of that tradition of struggle, as well as a renewed push toward freedom, justice, and dignity that responds to the particular challenges posed by capitalism in today's Africa.

New Pan-Afrikanism is an aspiration for the masses of Africa — especially its youth which comprise the majority of its population — to mobilize, exchange ideas, and organise themselves into decolonial, feminist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist formations that promote cultural re-discovery and belonging; inclusion and equality; collective consciousness and decision-making; and solutions to some of the crucial [problems](#) citizens and descendants of Africa face today. It proposes alternatives to prevailing systems through the following guiding principles:

1- Unity and solidarity. African countries like Tanzania [hosted](#) liberation movements from across the continent at the twilight of colonialism and committed resources to further those struggles. Africa's political unity remains a precondition to confronting economic exploitation and unfair treatment by global forces, as Kwame Nkrumah emphasized over 50 years ago. In



Attendees of the 5th 1945 Pan-African Congress , held in Manchester, England
 Image Source: Pan-African Congress 1945 and 1995 Archive, GB3228.34

today's context, community-based organisations and movements like Africans Rising have been enacting this principle by organizing solidarity efforts to support popular mobilizations against repression such as in [Togo](#), and more recently, in [Sudan](#). Achieving this precondition remains key in warding off imperialisms — both old and new — and re-igniting Africa's political and economic agency.

2- Political freedom. The continent's collective destiny is premised on an African conceptualization of respect for human dignity, social justice, and participatory governance that incorporates practices such as [tajmaat](#) among Berbers in northern Africa, [baraza](#) among various ethnicities in Eastern Africa, or [imbizo](#) among the Zulu in Southern Africa. Recent revolts in Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Algeria, and Sudan provide key

examples of how grassroots voices and aspirations remain key to struggles against “flag and anthem” independence, dictatorships, and [democracy promotion](#).

3- Economic freedom. Some traditional societies in Africa were founded on [egalitarian values](#). Today, the masses find themselves excluded from meaningful participation in economic processes by gerontocratic regimes (see: [THEORY: Gerontocracy](#)), global capital and its local agents, both of whom exploit Africa and its people through lopsided trade agreements, land and mineral concessions, and illicit financial flows (see: [THEORY: Capitalism](#)). New Pan-Africanism views the liquidation of imperialist currencies such as the [CFA](#) as a necessary step towards the unification of fragmented national economies and the establishment of a common African

currency. New Pan-Afrikanism advocates for pro- equality, land, water, and even the correction of people economies that enable cooperatives and narratives. There is no New Pan-Afrikanism [solidarity economies](#) among other people-centred without feminism! modes of production and trade.

4- Identity and culture correction. Colonialism and globalization came with waves of [cultural hegemony](#). Changing how Africans perceive and practice their culture involves correcting old narratives and worldviews and setting new ones which highlight the virtues of African identity. [Ubuntu](#) is a traditional way of life centering communal living. New Pan-Afrikanists harness and employ Africa's diverse cultural values, traditions, and rites across the continent and in the diaspora under a multicultural umbrella via storytelling, performing arts, the Ubuntu (see: [PRINCIPLE: Reclaim the pre-colonial](#)) philosophy, and other African practices.

5- Global South Feminism(s). Men and women must coexist on the basis of dignity, equity, and mutual respect. Radical feminisms from the Global South offer a critical examination of structural, religious, cultural, and legal limitations imposed on African women — and expectations of conformity that come with these diktats. Confronting prejudice against women (see: [TACTIC: Cultural disobedience](#)) has been a core component of modern political campaigns, from South Africa's [#feesmustfall](#) student movement to Ugandan mobilizations against land grabbing (see: [STORY: Stripping Power in Uganda](#)). The [intersectional lenses](#) of feminism remain key not only in the analysis of women's struggles, but also wider African struggles for justice, dignity,

“New Pan-Afrikanism views the liquidation of imperialist currencies such as the CFA as a necessary step towards the unification of fragmented national economies and the establishment of a common African currency.”

6- Ecological sovereignty. The callous hand of capitalism ravages Africa today by grabbing land, extracting precious resources, and despoiling Africa's soil, waters, and skies. From agribusiness to mining, private sector exploitation of land and resources is a form of indirect colonization. New Pan-Afrikanism resists such ecological devastation by giving new political meaning to [the commons](#), seed and food sovereignty, and traditional agricultural practices capable of restoring damaged lands and protecting what is left. It seeks to reinforce indigenous ways of life that have always been attuned to environmental needs and alert to looming disasters. Through wise ecological stewardship we must preserve Africa for many generations to come.

7- Unlearning, dismantling, and rebuilding. (see: [THEORY: Decolonization](#)). Our journey towards achieving these New Pan-Afrikan aspirations involves unlearning and dismantling systems, while simultaneously inventing and applying people-centred replacements. New Pan-Afrikanists envisage collaboration and co-creation in the design and promotion of solutions that address Africa's major challenges, promote alternative practices, and disrupt the status

quo when conditions require.

New Pan-Afrikanism is an avenue towards Africa's brighter future. Today, many social movements are emphasizing the centrality of New Pan-Afrikanism in continent-wide advancement and liberation, and are applying these principles in their shared struggle(s) towards justice.

*This article first appeared on **Beautiful Trouble**.*

****Rim Menia** studies architecture at the École Polytechnique d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme in Algiers, and also serves on the leadership team of the Afrika Youth Movement. **Sungu Oyoo** is a Kenyan writer and activist.*

Kongamano La Mageuzi (KLM) Launch Statement

By Kongamano La Mageuzi

A Communique to all Kenyans of Goodwill

WE are gathered here today as Kongamano la Mageuzi (KLM), a voluntary coalition of diverse Kenyans: individuals, organizations, initiatives and movements, united as a progressive alliance of ongoing national struggles for civil, political, social, cultural, economic and ecological justice and freedoms.

KLM is a platform for all progressive Kenyans: women, men and youth, in their full diversity that identifying with the need and urgency of a radical transformation of Kenya's political leadership and governance.

Anyone and everyone seeking to weaken, destroy, remove and replace the anti-people elite networks in control of government and state power are welcome to join KLM and play a part in its national action program. All those who seek to transform Kenya into a society that is just, egalitarian, equitable, peaceful, ecologically safe, prosperous, and free from foreign domination, exploitation, and oppression are natural members of KLM are we welcome you to join our mission.

Today KLM makes its first collective declaration of action towards liberating the Government of Kenya and the Kenyan state from capture by networks of political charlatans and merchants. We declare our intent and resolve to end Kenya's

curse of entertaining in power anti-people forces that have arrested and stunted our imagination, hopes and dreams as a people and nation. KLM believes that we can overcome the pain and frustrations imposed on us by these anti-people forces since our independence in 1963 and establish a brand national ethos and way of life that works for all Kenyans; not the few wealthy and connected that have captured our national institutions for private gain.

We make this declaration at a time when Kenyans are pained and totally frustrated. More than ever before, the writing is on the wall for all to see that the networks of politicians and traders in power don't care about the lives and wellbeing of less powerful Kenyans. It is no longer in doubt that Kenyans are on their own. The Government of Kenya and the state is no longer about the public interest. Our public institutions have been systematically converted into feeding troughs for the men and women in power. KLM wants to stop this, and we shall spare no effort, to banish from power all those that abuse public office.

Our collective imagination of Kenya as our only home and nation has been rubbished by the perfected art of official lies, incompetence and demagoguery. The shenanigans of those in power and their aides must be defeated first for Kenya to heal and overcome 58 years of domination of our public affairs by networks of

individuals that hate us and rob us of our nation's hopes and dreams at every turn.

KLM therefore declares a national mission of freedom and salvation from all and every ruling cartel and their accomplices. Through our mission, we declare the beginning of the end of Kenya being governed by its most accomplished thieves, cheats and bullies. We call on all Kenyans to join KLM to reject and defeat the politics of division, death and theft must that continue to dash our hopes and confidence as a people. KLM seeks to destroy these politics and through our mass common effort, burn and bury these destructive politics under our feet.

KLM calls on Kenyans, in all our courage and numbers; in full exercise of our sovereignty, to completely and eternally reject the NYAYOS of the destructive networks of politicians and traders running the government and the state. No shred of evidence is unproven that the political leadership of these anti-people networks shall never inspire the Kenyan nation to defeat its most persistent challenges since independence. The networks that have captured our public institutions have serially and systematically captured and manipulated public office and resources for private gain. Unashamedly, they have distinguished themselves as public thieves.

KLM rejects the politics of these antipeople forces and take on the sovereign duty of leading ourselves out of the pits of stunted dreams and hopes of a free, thriving and just Kenya for everybody, not just the few in power.

KLM affirms that Kenya has a supportive legal, policy and constitutional framework to solve our nation's historical and ongoing challenges, including but not limited to poor public service delivery, state-sponsored corruption and theft of public wealth, ethnic bigotry, structural discrimination and marginalization, electoral fraud and



Nduko Omatigere, addressing journalists during the launch of Kongamano la Mageuzi.

manipulation, mass poverty and want, disrespect for rule of law and constitutionalism, gender inequality and other injustices, youth unemployment and environmental destruction. However, those at the helm of government and state power have outrightly failed to harness these opportunities to improve the quality of life for citizens.

The political leaders and traders in power have instead consistently subverted the constitution for personal gain and have more recently made attempts to impose constitutional changes to ensure their self-perpetuation in power. KLM rejects these selfish moves and pledge to our compatriots that we shall do everything to stop the so-called BBI change the constitution project of the ruling mafia.

Kongamano la Mageuzi shall work for a new Kenya that is: devoid of official lies and sabotage of our dreams, hopes and rights as equal, free citizens; cured from ethnic mobilization and polarization, patriarchy and polarization as schemes for political power; free of state capture and abuse of office; and free from all forms of structural violence, including police brutality and manufactured poverty. KLM shall work to attain a new Kenya where prosperity is a reward for hard work and not patronage, favoritism and corruption.

“Anyone and everyone seeking to weaken, destroy, remove and replace the anti-people elite networks in control of government and state power are welcome to join KLM and play a part in its national action program.”

We are clear in our mind and spirit that the Kenya we deserve and want as a people is not possible with the current caliber of leaders in power. We reject the politics of the entire ruling elite, in all their factions and manifestations. KLM classifies the entire assembly of barons in power in the same basket that must be banished from power. For avoidance of doubt, we therefore reject the politics of the baronial networks fronted or controlled by the likes of Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, William Samoei Ruto, Raila Amollo Odinga, Wycliffe Moses Mudavadi, Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, Gideon Moi and all their organizations,

promoters and sycophants. It is these cabals, and others beholden to them that KLM seeks to bundle out of power through a mass ballot revolution.

Entertaining these cliques in power is dangerous for the wellbeing and lives of Kenyans. Today we invite all Kenyans to join KLM to help realize a new transformative political leadership to free our country from the stranglehold of the baron cartels running and ruining our country.

Today we, public declare the start of our national programme of consultation, dialogue, organizing and mobilization, connection, identification and planning towards unveiling a national progressive united front that will field progressive, pro-people and publicly vetted candidates for the next general elections. From these deliberations, KLM shall field candidates for all contestable seats in the next general elections be they held in 2022 as planned or earlier.

Our national plan of action is about restoring to ourselves as citizens across the country the sovereign power of constituting a national to local level leadership collective that cares about us and our shared dreams as a people. Our leadership collective shall be unveiled at a National Convention of delegates from all the 47 counties of the Republic of Kenya at a date to be announced soon. This leadership collectives shall include our candidates for the 2022 elections or earlier as well as well as a government-in-waiting collective of progressive Kenyans rooted in genuine struggles for a just, thriving and equitable Kenya for all citizens. Our leadership collective

shall be identified democratically, through popular participation and transparent KLM vetting and confirmation processes.

Today KLM declares a national mission of dealing a deathblow to patronage political leadership and governance in Kenya. Never Again shall we be governed by the worst and in our midst. To this end, today we commence a national outreach program towards fielding pro-people, progressive and transformative leaders whom we shall rally for and support are carriers of a political and governance agenda in line with the Charter of KLM and our political programme which is centered on:

- Faithful implementation of the Constitution of Kenya;
- Full support and promotion of the national #TekelezaKatiba movement
- An end to state capture in all its forms and manifestations
- Equitable access to public goods and services, including land, education, health, housing, water and sanitation, energy, transportation and mobility, food and nutrition, recreation and leisure, safety and security, justice and
- Ecological justice and environmental integrity
- The right to decent work for all , just compensation & unemployment benefits for those who can't find jobs
- Gender justice and women's human rights
- Tax justice and an end to foolish national borrowing and debt
- Non-negotiable integrity and intolerance to corruption

- Electoral justice and restoration of the sovereignty of the vote
- Decolonization of the Government of Kenya, the State and all public affairs

We have formed KLM to work together as a national collective to re-imagine a Kenya that works for all its citizens, residents and visitors, not a Kenya run as a plantation of the wealthy, inter-ethnic ruling elite networks that have dominated and destroyed public affairs since independence.

We appeal to all progressive movements, networks, associations, organizations and individuals across Kenya to join KLM in the mission we have declared today. We invite you to share and enrich our vision of a Kenya that is free from the slavery of backward political leadership and governance cultures.

We vow not to relent on this quest. We declare ourselves as KONGAMANO LA MAGEUZI and publicly embark on our mission.

**Kongamano la Mageuzi (KLM) is a coalition of diverse Kenyan individuals, organizations, initiatives and movements, generally identifiable as progressive within struggles for civil, political, social, cultural, economic and ecological justice and freedoms. The Coalition welcomes and accommodates the diverse political and ideological positions with a progressive spectrum, i.e. all those identifying with the need and urgency for a radical transformation of Kenya's political leadership and governance.*



mwamkoafrika@gmail.com