



FOUNDING MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT OF KENYA (SOWOMO): Radical Movement Towards Economic Freedom

We still have a knife against our throat, the metal is the same as in the times of the protectorate, only the handler's skin color has changed.





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Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
(I) PREAMBLE	3
(II) STATE OF THE NATION TODAY	4
POLITICAL CONDITIONS	6
(III) CHARACTER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT OF KENYA (SOWOMO)	8
(IV) Historical Background	9
(V) Capitalism and imperialism in Kenya	10
(VI) Socialism in the World today	11
(VII) Our Mission	13
OUR 7 FUNDAMENTAL PILLARS	13
PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM	15
ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE	15
ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA	15
ON UNILATERAL SANCTIONS AND SOVEREIGNTY	16
GENDER AND SEXUALITY QUESTION	16
PAN-AFRICANISM	16
ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE	17
(VIII) WHO STANDS TO BENEFIT?	18
(IX) CONCLUSION	19



(I) PREAMBLE

We, The Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya, have made the decision to fight for the Kenyan, African and Global peoples' economic liberation. The long-standing Kenyan masses' opposition to racist colonial and imperialist political, economic, and social dominance is where the Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya (SOWOMO) locates the fight for economic liberation. The Giriama people of Kenya's coastal hinterland and the Nandi of Kenya's rift valley rose up against colonial dominance in the 1800s and 1900s, coinciding with the entrance of European colonists on the Kenyan coast and the time when the early European explorers started advancing into the interior of Kenya, sparking this magnificent struggle. In essence, this symbolizes the Kenyan people's resistance to economic and colonial dominance and exploitation for close to 200 years.

The SOWOMO acknowledges that Africans were subjugated, degraded, and sold into slavery by colonial settlers, notwithstanding brief wins in one or more battles. This represents colonial triumph over the native population on African land. The brave struggle that our predecessors, generation after generation, waged against the colonists' superior weaponry serves as an inspiration to the SOWOMO. In order to demonstrate the legitimacy of the cause of liberation wars and to honor all those who lost their lives defending the freedom of the Kenyan people and all other oppressed people in our country, the SOWOMO seeks to raise this resistance to a resounding triumph.

The brave people who fought the resistance battles did so to avoid being forcibly ejected from the land, riches, animals, and legacy that they had loved and inherited from their ancestors. Close to 200 years have passed since the start of the resistance movement in Kenya, and the battles fought nearly amount to nothing because, even 60 years after formal political freedom was achieved, the black people of Kenya continue to live in extreme poverty, without access to land, with no prospects for economic growth for their children, mistreated, and despised in a society dominated by wealth.

Kenya, like many other colonies, is reasonably developed, but is nevertheless caught in the colonial division of labor as a provider of basic goods to the colonizer countries. The persistent economic domination of private enterprises, especially in the natural and mineral resources sector, cannot and will never overcome this colonial trait. To promote state-led and assisted industrial growth, ownership of Kenya's leading economic echelons by multinational and private entities has to end.

Our outrage over the Kenyan people's ongoing economic humiliation and the severe exploitation of the black working class explains our origins, current location, mission, character, and recommended course of action for freeing Kenya's black population, and the working class in particular, from economic servitude. Our recommendations follow a cogent intellectual lineage and are based on global advancements in the fields of development and improvement of human welfare following the defeat of colonialism and resistance to imperialism.



Kenya's capitalism has been characterized by racism, segregation, and misogyny, which has disproportionately affected the African majority and women. It was founded in the partnership of a British settler and homeguard capital. In Kenyan capitalism, the black working class continues to be systematically exploited even after colonial dominance was legally removed 60 years ago. The black majority was excluded and exploited by the economic system, which still exists today. A few people profit from this system because they have been co-opted to provide a favorable picture of the nation.

The SOWOMO values and honors the MAUMAU in particular for their unique contributions to political liberation movements. The MAUMAU devoted their lives, were imprisoned, exiled, banished, and separated from their families throughout the fight for freedom. The truth remains, nonetheless, that economic freedom—which is required to help Kenya's exploited and oppressed inhabitants become free from social and economic servitude—has not been converted into the symbolic political freedom won in 1963 with the appointment of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as Prime Minister by the colonial authorities. This characteristic of Kenya supports our fight for economic independence, which is also aimed at the liberation of the African continent.

(II) STATE OF THE NATION TODAY

The people of Kenya have not benefited much from the country's 60 years of political independence as the political authority granted to the black majority has not been converted into economic freedom. Since the end of colonialism, the majority of Africans have been marginalized by society due to discrimination, unemployment, or underemployment, while those in positions of social, political, and economic power have continued to enjoy benefits. By removing revolutionary substance from its holdings, the post-1963 administration has left the mass of people helpless. It was granted an overwhelming mandate to convert political power into complete economic liberation which it has failed to do

The colonial and white supremacist state has been upheld by governments since 1963, leaving the majority voting but helpless. People's living circumstances are often appalling and do not indicate that they are a free people. While some turn to criminal activity, the majority of Kenyans choose mass action or service-delivery demonstrations as a means of drawing the attention of the government. The governments that came into power after 1963 have been unable to comprehend the goals of the people, which has led to increased abuse and violence against them.

Under the post-1963 regimes, corruption has been institutionalized and sanctioned; prosecutions are selective and motivated by political objectives and vendettas. To amass riches and advantages for themselves, politicians utilize ministerial handbooks and other laws that were left over from the colonial era. Even when there is proof that a politician or private company has broken the law, they are virtually never prosecuted and are granted immunity from prosecution.



Since political power in the post-1963 administration has not been applied to win conflicts that started during the wars of dispossession, it is useless. The post-1963 regimes' adoption of neoliberal policy measures has exacerbated poverty and solidified systemic unemployment and inequality that were created by Kenyan colonial authority. Without economic independence, political freedom is pointless.

Kenya's economy has remained neo-colonial in its ownership, management, and orientation, having formerly been a colony or settlers' domain. Because empowerment has taken precedence over fundamental reform, the democratic state that emerged after 1991 has not seen significant economic revolution. The bulk of the people, namely the workers, youth and women, have not been empowered by empowerment legislation, notably in the case of Constituency Development Fund (CDF), Kazi kwa Vijana programs and sector reform charters. Kenya's high rates of unemployment, poverty, and inequality would persist even if these empowerment programs goals were accomplished.

The economic-empowerment and upliftment model adopted by the post-1963 government has predominantly been passing non-binding empowerment programs in various sectors of the economy. However, none of these programs have reached their targets and are unlikely to do so. Instead, the Kenyan government has shifted the goalposts by continuing to promote the policies that have made Kenya fail in the last 60 years.

Historically marginalized people who have reaped significant and long-lasting benefits over the past 60 years have either worked in senior positions in the public or private sectors (through employment), contracted with the government (tendering), been co-opted as shareholder capitalists in established corporations, or embezzled money intended for other uses (corruption). Very few historically underprivileged people have really pursued industrial and manufacturing entrepreneurship and economic growth, which would have given them the due authority and produced employment prospects for the vast majority of Kenyans..

The regimes in power after 1963 have often failed to specify what progress actually entails. Kenya has misunderstood progress since 1963 to mean just GDP growth and GDP per capita growth. The essence of the economic progress attained by industrialized and developed countries like Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Brazil, India, and China is not reflected in this alone.

In the event that these significant service-delivery goals were the main indicators of development, nations such as Cuba would rank among the most developed globally. However, in order to generate long-term employment, Kenya should pursue extensive industrial development as a form of economic development in addition to the delivery of basic services.

Due to the naivety of the post-1963 government and the desire to appear right in the eyes of neoliberal powers, Kenya adopted neoliberal policies that reduced trade exchanges, removed or disregarded protections for emerging industries and agriculture, and lowered tariffs—all of which could have



employed a significant portion of the labor force in the nation. The reality that almost all developing economies that adopt and normalize the neoliberal policy recommendations of the international financial institutions (the World Bank and International Monetary Fund) have not experienced real economic development, as is the case in all developed economies, has been eloquently illustrated by heterodox economists.

Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965, which laid out the fundamentals of these policies, marked the beginning of the Kenyan government's neoliberal initiatives. Between 1966 and 1970, the first National Development Plan was developed as a follow up to the sessional paper. From 2003 to 2007, the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) was implemented. As a result, Kenya Vision 2030 was established in 2008. Nevertheless, The above development plans have proven ineffective and won't deal with Kenya's problems, increasing its susceptibility to unfair global competition and stunting its economy. Kenya's economy, which is mostly dependent on the export of primary commodities, will continue to deteriorate due to the global economic crisis.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

As things stand, the following realities define Kenya and will remain for a considerable amount of time:

- a) Due to their ideological bankruptcy and the overt dominance of right-wing and neoliberal politics, Kenya's developmental issues can never be resolved by the sons and daughters of homeguards and collaborators in power. This has given rise to political groups whose objective and political program is to continue with white supremacy and the imperialist dominance of Kenya if it is not opposed by a radical left political organization.
- b) The current Black colonialists in power have not addressed, and will not address, the enormous developmental difficulties facing society under the existing status quo, thus their integrity and credibility have steadily diminished in the eyes of the Kenyan masses. Inequalities, unemployment, and poverty are getting worse under the regimes that came after 1963. This is a result of the ruling class's obsession with defending the interests of white monopoly capital as well as their own naive and self-serving goals, which makes them hostile to drastic changes in policy.
- c) Since all of the major political forms in parliament support the same neoliberal, capitalist, and free-market policies as the current administration, political groups who oppose it do so on the basis of petty grievances. The direct and indirect endorsement of the Bottom- up Economic transformation agenda by all political parties serves as recent evidence that there is no genuine intellectual or political opposition to the neoliberal policy framework of the current administration.
- d) Political parties that support left-wing formations have lost their integrity and will never be able to undertake genuine working-class battles again because they have been absorbed into reform politics of patronage. The state has ingested the organized left, which is now leading the charge to



defend the greedy and heartless embezzlement of public monies by the republic's president and his allies.

- e) The trade union movement, which is supposed to defend the interests of workers, was the biggest casualty of being sucked into the same politics of reforms. Anyone who supports a radical agenda has faced rejection, banishment, and accusations of being against the government. In certain circumstances, they have even been driven from positions of authority. Reactionary leaders of the trade union movement, like Francis Atwoli, have been trusted with leadership positions since they had close ties to all ruling administrations. The trade union umbrella organization, the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), is most severely impacted. The progressive trade union movement in Kenya was founded by Fred Kubai and Makhan Singh, whose legacy has been violated by the trade union leadership's close relationship with the ruling class. The labor movement will once more exhort employees to back the current government despite glaring ideological divisions and its lack of focus. Sentimentality and historical nostalgia will lead to worker disinformation and blind loyalty to their masters once more.
- f) Independent trade unions like the University Academic Staff Union (UASU), KNUT (Kenya National Union of Teachers), Kenya Aviation Workers Union (KAWU), Kenya Medical Practitioners, Pharmacists and Dentists Union (KMPDU), Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union (KPAWU), and Kenya Electrical Trades and Allied Workers Union (KETAWU) will keep growing because the once-dominant unions will eventually be unable to adequately represent workers. These independent trade unions are however not a realistic political alternative, as they will only serve to promote the interests of their members and convince them that their issues are confined to the workplace.
- g) The majority of Kenyans living in cities, villages, informal settlements, and other underdeveloped regions have stopped taking part in traditional politics and have chosen not to cast ballots in elections. If we do not offer a workable political and intellectual alternative to the status quo as a revolutionary movement for economic emancipation, this is precisely what will surely continue to happen.
- h) The youth movement is now being used as a lapdog, echoing the statements made by the ruling class. To maintain their puppet status, puppet young leaders have been rewarded with Cabinet positions, political appointments and other benefits.
- i) There will be more threats of arrest, assassination, and potential judicial system manipulation directed at people who are seen to be involved with political alternatives to the current regime. Fearful of losing their jobs and money, a large number of revolutionary socialists, especially those on the ground and regrettably at all levels of the regime's leadership, refuse to openly identify with genuine political alternatives.
- j) The middle class will strengthen the socialist alternative and continue to diverge from the existing political elite. These are contested regions that require attention because they stand to gain from the triumph of economic liberty and the demise of white monopoly capital



- k) Service-delivery protests will intensify and workplace stoppages in the mines and on farms will also continue in higher volumes than before, thus worsening the economic crisis Kenya is experiencing. Mine workers will become more militant and will fight struggles for their economic survival. As the Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya, we should be on their side.
- l) Other Social movements and issue-based organisations have remained on the margins of mainstream politics and only mobilise on sector-based issues, which do not relate to mainstream electoral and power politics.
- m) Any form of generalised uprising will be harshly suppressed by the state machinery, in an attempt to prevent it from escalating to a level where a sitting government can be toppled.
- n) Under the UDA's leadership, the youth will grow increasingly dissatisfied and, as in past elections, will be inundated with hollow promises of employment and education that will never materialize since there is no bold, compelling strategy on how this can be accomplished.
- o) Kenya has devolved into a kleptocracy, with officials publicly embezzling public funds, seeking personal profit, and suppressing investigations and procedures meant to reveal such ruthless behavior. Political leaders' close associates will get wealthier and more dishonest as a result of knowing that, like them, they are exempt from legal action.

(III) CHARACTER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT OF KENYA (SOWOMO)

The Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya (SOWOMO) is a radical and militant economic emancipation movement that brings together activists, workers' movements, non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations, and lobby groups to pursue the struggle for economic emancipation. Drawing inspiration from the Marxist-Leninist tradition and intellectual contributions of African descendants as well as social movements from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries especially the Abolitionists, cultural nationalists, Pan-Africanism, Negritude, Black consciousness, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism, SOWOMO aims to provide clear and cogent alternatives to the current neo-colonial economic system, which in many countries keeps the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation.

The SOWOMO represents a new phase in the fight for social and national emancipation in Kenya, aiming to end capitalism in Kenya and across the continent. It seeks to bring together all working-class masses and peasants, regardless of their age, gender, or ethnicity. The SOWOMO understands that the unquenchable need for profit that drives capitalism is the reason for the system's inevitable byproducts, such as increasing rates of unemployment, poverty, failing housing, healthcare, educational outcomes, violence, and environmental degradation.

For the majority of people, especially the tens of millions of workers in Kenya, living and working circumstances are getting worse. It seems doubtful that the existing setup will fix this problem, and reformist hopes for a "kinder, gentler" capitalism or remedies based on economic decentralization or



small-group autonomy are unrealistic. To meet the needs of the over 50 million people in Kenya, significant industrial, agricultural, and economic planning will be needed.

The SOWOMO honors Kenya's long history of resistance to imperialism and foreign dominance, focusing on the national and social liberation struggles of Kenyan patriots that resulted in the establishment of black majority government in 1963. The movement honors the veterans who gave their blood and lives in defense of the independence of their country and aims to imitate their bravery, love, and tenacity in the face of injustice and exploitation.

As a peasant and worker's organization, the SOWOMO seeks to build a more inclusive and just society by putting the needs of the Kenyan masses first. We vehemently oppose the use of armed and espionage drones, the persecution of whistleblowers, and the sanctions imposed by the United States on Iran, Venezuela, North Korea, Cuba, Russia, and China. We back the rights of the colonized masses of Sahrawi to self-determination, and Palestinian rights.

(IV) Historical Background

Our scientific socialist movement (SOWOMO) is committed to supporting political and social reforms in Kenya, believing that these measures are necessary to improve the plight of those who are exploited and oppressed. SOWOMO's cooperative demands include advancing socialist democracy, human rights, peace, workers' rights, sustainable development, gender equality, women's rights, youth rights, children's rights, and other democratic and popular demands alongside other political parties, trade unions, peasant organizations, non-governmental organizations, and civil society organizations. The SOWOMO notes that most of the reforms that have been instituted have entrenched the capitalist system in Kenya and made the lives of the Kenyan masses more miserable and will therefore push for more socialist oriented programs.

Since Kenya gained its independence, the ruling class has used a one-party system to stifle political and civil liberties, leading to calls for a multi-party democratic system. The Kenyan Constitution formally recognizes Kenya as a multiparty democratic state. However Kenya is only a multiparty democracy in form and not content as a majority of the political parties are rotten defenders of capitalism and imperialism. Kenyans struggle for independence, democracy, and human rights was a struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and for social and national liberation.

During the struggle for multipartism, Kenyans made tangible contributions to democracy in various areas, including the creation and strengthening of civil society, political and civil rights, and freedoms of expression, association, and the press. However, it took 10 more years for opposing parties to topple the notorious KANU government. The start of the nation's liberation from one of the deadliest dictatorships in African history in 1992 was akin to a political revolution.



The fight to draft a new national constitution was necessitated by Kenya's multipartism necessitating the writing of a new national constitution that reflected democratic governance and public aspirations for social justice, equity, and equality. Constitutional reforms were opposed by the Moi-KANU dictatorship, resulting in arrests, torture, incarceration, and persecution of Kenyans. In response, the Kenya Constitutional Review Commission (KCRC) was established, and the resulting Bomas Constitution is well-known.

The 2010 referendum resulted in the adoption of the Kenyan Constitution, which is the product of social and political changes as well as the joint triumph of the efforts of the Kenyan people. However, the governing elite continues to carry forward the rotten KANU style politics with a lot of hypocrisy, saying they have handed the nation a new constitution. SOWOMO believes that the current leadership, both government and opposition lacks the will and capacity to execute the constitution for progressive change and the rights of the abused and oppressed population because they are committed to upholding capitalism and neocolonialism.

The fight for freedom and national sovereignty is still ongoing. Kenyans have not yet attained independence and national sovereignty despite the country's multiparty system and constitution. Successive rulers have compromised the values of the Kenyan people, especially after Kenya gained independence. Colonialism, which included the denial of fundamental liberties and democratic rights, legislation, forced labor, and mobility restrictions, has led to backwardness, poverty, illiteracy, illness, subpar living conditions, and insufficient medical treatment.

Aside from a few meager adjustments, the administrations that succeeded colonialism have preserved the system that perpetuates the issues that the people battled. The majority of Kenyans hardly possess enough land to support themselves, and squatting is a way of life for most indigenous Kenyans, especially those living along the coast and in many sections of the Rift Valley.

Slave-like working conditions are a problem for the Kenyan labor system in both locally and foreign-owned businesses, commercial companies, and plantations. Colonial labor regulations were implemented to repress and demobilize workers, exposing them to exploitative circumstances and terrible salaries. Due to expensive legal expenses, the impoverished are unable to obtain justice even with the new Constitution's judicial changes. The SOWOMO understands that the true liberation of the Kenyan people can only come about when the struggle for real democracy is combined with a revolutionary struggle against the degenerate ruling elite and their imperialist masters, for a socialist alternative.

(V) Capitalism and imperialism in Kenya

Kenya is a class society with a small number of affluent people and the majority living in poverty. Progress is hindered by concentrated wealth in the hands of a select few, leading to class differences in living conditions, places of residence, and ways of life. The education system widens the wealth divide,



and the wealthy are better positioned to exercise their rights due to the economy being structured towards capitalism and imperialism.

Regional and class disparities obstruct social fairness, national harmony, and peace. Social services are mostly located in metropolitan areas, but the majority of Kenyans reside in rural regions. A growing number of people are participating in class struggles, such as teacher strikes, health worker strikes, civil servant strikes, lecturer strikes, industrial and plantation worker strikes, disputes over resources and land, student protests, riots, and large-scale public demands demonstrations. Progressive social change requires these fights, and SOWOMO is aware of its responsibility to steer these masses in the direction of revolution.

Negative ethnicity and class disparities are major barriers to social and national independence in Kenya. Bourgeois elites have used tribalism to hold onto power, planning acts of violence against other ethnic groups and inciting unfavorable sentiments before, during, and after national elections. This barbaric and primitive mindset has been sustained by unresolved land and resource concerns, which stand for past injustices.

SOWOMO, a progressive civil society movement, is dedicated to enlisting Kenyans in the struggle for socialist globalization through progressive internationalism. Kenya will transition from neoliberal globalization to socialist globalization, leveraging its natural and human resources to further social progress and foster mutual benefit, peace, and solidarity with oppressed nations in the world.

Capitalism has failed in Kenya, widening the divide between the wealthy and the impoverished, perpetuating injustice and inequality. Under capitalism, Kenya is still dominated economically, politically, culturally, and militarily, compromising the security, freedom, human rights, and national sovereignty of the Kenyan people. Socialism, rather than capitalism, can actually realize the national values outlined in the constitution, such as human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusivity, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalized, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy, and public participation.

(VI) Socialism in the World today

The twentieth century saw significant global shifts, including the emergence of communist nations in Eastern Europe, revolutionary upheavals, and the fight against imperialism. The October Socialist Revolution in 1917 marked a major victory over fascism, with troops from China, Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba participating. National liberation movements that resulted in colonial political independence also occurred during this century. Scientific socialism signaled the start of a new chapter in world history.

The Soviet Union adopted the socialist system, enabling working people to live in a society free from class exploitation. This led to fast industrialization, the abolition of feudal remnants, and advancements in



science, culture, and the economy. In places where capitalism had not advanced much, socialism was more crucial as it had to be constructed to fend off challenges from imperialism, subversion, and invasion. The accomplishments of the Soviet Union also had an influence on capitalist nations, compelling the ruling classes to establish and expand social protection for the populace.

However, due to serious mistakes committed during the communist construction process, the Soviet Union and other socialist Eastern European nations were unable to advance bureaucracy, bring about appropriate economic reforms, or strengthen socialist democracy. Despite these errors, imperialism could not undermine socialism. At the end of the 20th century, socialism faced a fresh assault from resurgent imperialism due to the deconstruction of these nations and defeats in Eastern Europe.

The shift from capitalism to socialism is not a quick one, but rather the result of a protracted and fierce class struggle that continues long after the state seizes control. Global capitalism is unable to address basic human problems, as productive forces have grown rapidly, leading to sluggish growth in advanced capitalist nations without creating jobs and exacerbating income and wealth inequities. The financial system's instability, low growth rates, and irrational resource utilization are indicators of the capitalist crisis.

The current era of capitalism has seen an unparalleled concentration and internationalization of finance capital, with speculative financial capital attacking national sovereignty by attempting to get unrestricted access to economies for enormous profits. The World Trade Organization, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund maintain this unfair post-colonial global system, with developed capitalist nations experiencing slow development and underdeveloped nations facing increased debt and exploitation.

Despite the global endorsement of imperialism at the end of the twentieth century, capitalism remains an unstable system rife with injustice, exploitation, and tyranny. To combat imperialism and its exploitative order, the working class and its parties must arm themselves politically, philosophically, and organizationally. The Left, democratic, and progressive forces must unite globally to oppose imperialist hegemony and support all worldwide forces striving for socialism, democracy, and peace, as well as against the imperialist-driven economic system of globalization.

The counterrevolution against the USSR began on December 26, 1991, when the Moscow Kremlin lowered the red flag. This happened 33 years ago, leading to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's prohibition and the disintegration of the USSR by the presidents of the three biggest Soviet republics. Revisionist-opportunist choices made at the CPSU's 20th Congress in 1956 laid the groundwork for the counterrevolution, which peaked in 1989 with the fall of Socialism and began with Perestroika in 1985. Russia's bourgeoisie and oligarchs from Perestroika plundered the country of the heroic Bolsheviks, including Lenin and Stalin, General Zhukov, Yuri Gagarin, and Dmitri Shostakovich. In the March 1991 referendum, 76% of the Soviet people expressed their views; nevertheless, those who carried out the counterrevolution disregarded it.



During the 1990s, false promises of liberal democracy, social liberties, and a free-market economy supplanted the social accomplishments of the USSR. Nevertheless, the "shock therapy" policies—which included economic liberalization—caused social inequality to rise quickly, the socialist welfare state to collapse, working-class people to live in extreme poverty, life expectancy to decline, nationalist claims between the former Soviet republics to resurface, and the new capitalist Russian state to be ruled by wealthy oligarchs.

Even now, thirty-three years after the counterrevolution, most Russians, particularly those in older generations, still think that life was better under socialism. Unprecedented brutality returned to public life with the restoration of capitalism, which benefited a select few and enraged the masses. More than half of Russians, according to a poll by the All-Russia Public Opinion Center (VTsIOM), would support keeping the Soviet Union in place were a referendum held today.

Similar sentiments of nostalgia may be seen in other former Soviet states like Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia, where monopoly capitalist practices have erased social benefits gained during socialism. After the notion of the "end of history" in the 1990s was disproved, it became evident that socialism was both appropriate and required. The dead ends produced by rotten capitalism—crises, unemployment, poverty, suffering, and wars—prove that nothing is permanent.

The global working class has to coordinate its counteroffensive in order to fortify opposition to imperialist brutality and capitalist exploitation and provide the framework for socialism's eventual triumph.

(VII) Our Mission

Our goal is to achieve economic freedom during our lifetime. In order to achieve financial independence during our lifetime, we have determined seven (7) non-negotiable fundamental pillars.

OUR 7 FUNDAMENTAL PILLARS

These are:

- a. Expropriation of Kenya's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
- b. Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without Compensation.
- c. Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders.
- d. Free quality education, healthcare, housing, and sanitation.
- e. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; and massive state led industrialisation
- f. Gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country through a more equitable distribution of the populace over the country by proper centralised planning.



g. Respect, advancement and protection of the cultural and historical heritage of the Kenyan and African people

Attainment of Economic Freedom entails that multinational and private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy will be discontinued, and all economic wealth directed to the ownership and benefit of all people. This will happen through various and combined forms of common and collective ownership, ranging from State ownership and control, co-operatives and workers' ownership and control of the key sectors of the economy. State ownership is within this context, an elementary component which will lead to more progressive forms of collective ownership, control and benefit, and therefore not narrow State-capitalism.

SOWOMO is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and all oppressed and exploited people of Kenya. In all its activities, the Movement is guided by the philosophy and principles of scientific socialism which shows to the toiling masses the correct way of ending exploitation of person by person, and their complete emancipation. The ideology of scientific socialism that has been developed and enriched by communists and communist parties of different countries of the World will be applied by SOWOMO creatively to solve definite problems in definite historical, cultural and other material conditions of Kenya. The Movement shall keep high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Socialist Workers Movement will contest political power, because we are guided by the firm belief that we need political power in order to capture the state and then transform the economy for the emancipation of black Kenyans, especially Africans. The forms in which the SOWOMO contests political power will, from time to time, be reviewed in the light of prevailing circumstances, but the primary role of mass organisation and activism, as a means to raise the political consciousness of the people, will remain the bedrock of our political practice.

Therefore, the SOWOMO will be involved in mass movements and community protests that seek the betterment of people's lives. The SOWOMO will also associate with movements that demand land through land occupation, aimed at making the message clear that our people do need land. The SOWOMO will support all trade unions and workers that stand up in demand of better working conditions and salaries wherever and whenever they do so. The SOWOMO will not be bound by narrow alliance loyalties that compromise the interests of workers just because they are in a different trade union. Our pursuit of the basic demands of scientific socialism is above forms of organisation that the working class, and indeed black people, may fashion in the course of struggles. In other words, alliances and other forms of organisation are relevant to the extent that they maximise our march towards realising the vision outlined in this manifesto.

The SOWOMO is guided by revolutionary internationalism and solidarity that defined the politics of the July 26 Movement, which led the Cuban Revolutionary struggles. We will partake in international



struggles that seek to emancipate the economically unliberated people of Africa and the world. We will form part of the progressive movements in the world that stand against continued imperialist domination.

PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM

The SOWOMO's internationalism is based on fostering links of solidarity and collaboration with all global groups that share an ideological opposition to capitalism and imperialism. In this sense, movements aiming at the economic decolonization of Africa will get political and intellectual backing from the SOWOMO.

The SOWOMO will also push for the eventual eradication of needless boundaries and the ultimate integration of the African continent; in Kenya's instance, this process will begin with the member nations of the East African Community. There will be encouragement for this throughout the African continent.

The SOWOMO will also promote shared water, power, and transportation infrastructure (roads, trains, harbors, etc.). Africa needs to employ its resources in a way that would help all Africans and result in their collective upliftment.

ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

We denounce the criminalization, dehumanization, and violation of the Palestinian people's right to resistance. We deplore the criminalization of solidarity with Palestine by Zionist-supporting nation states, reject the disinformation campaign waged by Israel and its supporters, and demand an end to the Israeli campaign of terror against the Palestinian people, which includes the killing of defenseless civilians in the Gaza Strip. We denounce the US imperialism's financial and military support for the massacre of Palestinians, as well as the nations' and institutions' silence and involvement in it. The majority of governments globally and the UN acknowledge the Palestinian people's right to freedom, independence, and return, which is also acknowledged by the SOWOMO.

ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

We wholeheartedly endorse the SAHRAWI people's right to self-determination and their demand that all imperialist forces leave the Western Sahara. As one front in its fight for a socialist revolution, the global working class has a revolutionary duty to fight alongside this appeal. The SOWOMO agrees with the International Court of Justice's Advisory Opinion, which holds that neither the Mauritanian state nor the Kingdom of Morocco have any territorial jurisdiction over the area.

We agree with the UN and the OAU (now the AU) that Morocco's annexation of parts of the Western Sahara is illegal. Before its illegal occupation and invasion in 1975, Morocco had likewise recognized the right to independence and self-determination of the people living in the Western Sahara. In addition to reiterating its support for decolonization and the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination, the



OAU Council of Ministers called for a free and democratic environment that would enable the Saharan people to enjoy their right to freedom and self-determination.

ON UNILATERAL SANCTIONS AND SOVEREIGNTY

The SOWOMO is adamantly opposed to US sanctions on Iran, Venezuela, North Korea, Cuba, Russia, China and pro-socialist states that oppose the global imperialist world order. We also oppose the use of armed drones to infringe on the territorial integrity of states, and the persecution of whistleblowers. We demand the dismantling of foreign military installations on African and Kenyan territory as well as the creation of a single African military command. In addition, we call for an end to global financial organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, and Paris Club using financial coercion to promote the global neo-liberal order.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY QUESTION

The SOWOMO is against the oppression of anyone based on their gender, gender expression, or sexual orientation, meaning that we are against patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia in all of its manifestations. We are also against tribalism and religious and cultural intolerance. We oppose any cultural or religious practices that promote the oppression of anyone, especially groups that have been historically oppressed by such practices.

The SOWOMO would strive to realise women's liberation, through a variety of interventions, from education against patriarchy and sexism, to legislation and the close monitoring of the implementation of the same in order to realise women's empowerment in society, the family and the workplace. The SOWOMO believes that gender-based violence and related antisocial activities are reinforced and even sustained by the deplorable conditions of our people, therefore a key to female emancipation is the emancipation of all. The SOWOMO will emphasise transforming the lives of our people in the ghettos from one of generalised structural violence as a mechanism to end all violence, including violence against women.

PAN-AFRICANISM

The SOWOMO believes in the unity of a single African state that stretches from Madagascar to Morocco and from the Cape to Cairo. They promise to put forth endless effort to establish an Africanist Socialist democracy as the cornerstone of the continent and to stand as a bulwark against colonialism, imperialism, herrenvolkism, and tribalism. The progress of humanity in a free Africa, the maintenance of material and spiritual interests, and sovereignty all depend on this country's prosperity. The presence of several national groupings inside one country will not be tolerated by the SOWOMO. All people must be devoted to the African state rather than to their ethnic or national groupings if the continent is to thrive and develop in a healthy manner.



The SOWOMO emphasizes the importance of material conditions in a nation's development, surpassing ethnic origin. It advocates for all individuals to identify with the African nation, promoting material, intellectual, and spiritual interests. In Kenya, scientific socialism supports the oppressed, while Capitalism supports the oppressor. These opposing forces will eventually reconcile in socialist pan-Africanism, which combines contradictory aspects and unifying factors. Socialist pan-Africanism upholds the material, intellectual, and spiritual interests of Africans, providing a logical and practical solution to the social question in Kenya and Africa.

ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE

Ecological justice is a crucial pillar in the framework of our movement, which advocates for a harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature. The movement emphasizes the importance of sustainable development, collective stewardship, economic socialist democracy with environmental accountability, environmental justice for all, and transition to green jobs. These principles reflect a commitment to a holistic and inclusive vision of societal progress that addresses the immediate needs of the working class while also recognizing the intrinsic link between social justice and environmental sustainability.

The poor state of Kenya's environment, exemplified by issues such as pollution in the Nairobi River and deforestation in the Mau Forest, underscores the urgent need for ecological justice within the framework of our movement. The Nairobi River has long suffered from severe pollution, primarily due to industrial discharge, agricultural runoff, and inadequate waste management practices. The unchecked release of pollutants has led to the degradation of water quality, negatively impacting both aquatic life and the communities relying on the river for various purposes.

The Mau Forest, a critical water catchment area, has experienced extensive deforestation driven by illegal logging, encroachment for agriculture, and settlement. This deforestation has resulted in a loss of biodiversity, affecting the delicate balance of ecosystems and diminishing the forest's ability to regulate water flow and maintain soil fertility. The degradation of the Mau Forest contributes to climate change, affecting weather patterns and exacerbating the frequency and intensity of natural disasters. This has direct consequences for agricultural productivity, water availability, and the livelihoods of communities dependent on the forest's ecosystem services.

Within the socialist Workers Movement of Kenya framework, addressing these environmental challenges becomes paramount. We will emphasize the inclusion of affected communities in decision-making processes, advocating for regulations that hold industries accountable for their environmental impact. In the case of the Nairobi River, SOWOMO will push for stringent regulations on industrial practices and waste management to prevent further pollution.



The socialist Workers Movement of Kenya will effectively address various environmental issues by prioritizing collective well-being, sustainable development, and equitable resource management. Key environmental issues that a socialist approach can tackle include climate change mitigation, green jobs, deforestation and biodiversity loss, land reform, water pollution and access, waste management, environmental justice, sustainable agriculture, fair food distribution, and community empowerment.

The Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya will advocate for a swift transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources, promote sustainable and clean energy production, and promote green jobs. It will also advocate for public ownership and responsible management of water resources, industrial regulation, circular economy practices, worker involvement in waste management, and environmental justice by promoting a circular economy model and worker involvement in waste management decisions.

The Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya (SOWOMO), with its emphasis on collective ownership, worker rights, and community well-being, will provide a platform for addressing environmental challenges in a comprehensive and equitable manner. By integrating environmental considerations into economic and social policies, the movement will thus contribute to a more sustainable and just future.

(VIII) WHO STANDS TO BENEFIT?

The working class Kenyans who do not own the means of production, the dejected masses, the homeless, hopeless youth, the rural and urban poor, the informal settlement dwellers, the unemployed and underemployed population, the discriminated and undermined professionals of all races, constitute the core component of those that the Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya seeks to emancipate from economic and social subjugation and oppression.

The SOWOMO analyses Kenya as a capitalist country where the black majority—and Africans in particular—are positioned at the bottom of the social scale both historically and presently. A capitalist economy such as Kenya's is inherently predicated on the exploitation of impoverished laborers, whose subsistence depends on selling their labor to capitalists, as fundamental common sense reveals in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the State and capitalist class divisions. A capitalist society is inevitably going to have divisions and disparities because of labor exploitation. The State will serve as nothing more than a vehicle for the interests of the prevailing ruling class while pretending to be impartial (Lenin, 1917).

Racial laws were passed in order to facilitate and intensify capitalist exploitation of the non-white population during colonial rule. While post-1963 governments repealed these laws, they did not eliminate the enormous disparities that these laws and previous discriminatory practices had caused. It is accurate to argue that Kenya's inequality, poverty, and unemployment are not just products of colonialism but are being replicated by administrations that came after 1963 due to a lack of a strong political will to abandon the neo-liberal economic route.



In general, the rest of Kenya, Africa and the world stand to benefit because the success of the struggle for economic freedom will result in an industrially developed Kenya with massive technological and science capabilities to resolve many world problems.

The struggle for economic freedom will culminate in a Kenya that is playing a progressive role in the development and upliftment of economically oppressed territories in the African continent and the world.

THE AFRICAN WORKING CLASS.

The African working class is the heart of the masses that the Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya (SOWOMO) is trying to free from economic tyranny and subjugation. This class includes mineworkers, farm workers, underpaid domestic laborers, gas station attendants, and private security guards. They are the most affected by extreme tyranny and exploitation, and among these communities, unemployment is the highest. The SOWOMO aims to organize both the unemployed and employed working class into mainstream political and class organizations, as they stand to benefit the most from the struggle for economic freedom.

A socialist transformation in Kenya would benefit both the working class and the broader population, as it addresses economic inequalities, promotes social justice, and ensures collective well-being. A socialist system would often have the means of production owned or controlled by the community, leading to a more equitable distribution of resources. In Kenya, where income disparities and poverty persist, a socialist transformation will result in improved living standards for the majority, including increased rights, better working conditions, and a fairer share of the wealth generated by labor. Basic needs such as healthcare, education, and housing could become more accessible to all members of society.

Maligned and vulnerable groups, who often bear the brunt of economic inequalities, would also benefit from policies geared towards social justice and inclusion. A well-designed socialist system seeks the overall welfare and empowerment of the entire society.

(IX) CONCLUSION

Today, mankind has just two options: socialism or a more destructive form of capitalism. The SOWOMO believes that socialism is the only way to overcome the negative aspects of capitalism. When workers and oppressed people band together and seize power, the above-described agenda is just the start of what may be accomplished. Kenyans are in dire need of and deserve a new form of governance overseen by the working class for their benefit. The most urgent problem facing humanity now is the fight to overthrow capitalism and start constructing a socialist society.



Based in Kenya's history and battles, the Socialist Workers Movement of Kenya (SOWOMO) seeks to establish a society in which every worker actively participates in determining their own future. The movement advocates for complete radical changes and aims to empower people to participate in decision-making processes. It highlights the interconnection of the social, economic, and political realms. It places a high priority on worker welfare with the goals of eradicating poverty, uplifting neglected populations, and establishing a more equal resource allocation.

In order to realize its goal of an open, responsible, and people-centered government, the SOWOMO is dedicated to destroying the current power structures that uphold corruption and benefit the privileged. To guarantee that prosperity benefits the whole country and not just a few, we demand the nationalization of important enterprises.

The emphasis is also placed on international solidarity because the fight for workers' rights is an international struggle. The goal of the SOWOMO is to create a unified front against imperialist and colonial exploitation by forming alliances with movements throughout the world that share similar goals.

The SOWOMO manifesto outlines the goals and objectives of a socialist society that strives for equality and shared wealth. The movement urges all Kenyan peasants and workers to band together, get organized, and work for a society in which everyone, not just a chosen few, benefits from the results of labor.

Most people's living conditions will rise as a result of the effective transformation of Kenya's economy through the application of the seven basic pillars. In order to help other African countries reclaim their economies and resources from colonial and neo-colonial masters, the SOWOMO aims to be the vanguard of the struggle.