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I.FOREWORD

The People Salvation Party of Kenya exists to pursue five objectives namely, to promote national unity, to uphold, guard and respect the dignity of all individuals and communities, to return country to the path of constitutional and social development; end the culture of impunity; and to restore sanity in the management of the economy and public affairs of our Nation. These objectives are enunciated in the PSP-K constitution. The PSP-K is governed by progressive values and principles of social democracy, constitutionalism and the rule of law; equality and equity, including affirmative action; human rights, dignity and freedom; inclusive governance, equitable, sustainable development and social justice; transparent, accountable and accessible leadership; empowered citizens who actively participate in governance and policy processes; free, vigorous media and vibrant civil society, freedom of information; zero tolerance to corruption; and free, fair and credible elections.

PSP-K will always endeavour to create and realize;

- national reconciliation and healing;
- resolving all historical injustices;
- refining our constitution to strengthen devolution including sharing and transfer of more functions and resources to the County Governments; achieve a more inclusive electoral system and better
- realizing the equality principles and goals entrenched in Article 27 of the Constitution through programmes to achieve equal treatment of women, youth and persons with disability, marginalized communities and groups in the political, economic, cultural and social spheres;
- realizing social and economic rights as enshrined in article 43 of the constitution

We are committed to work with all Kenyans to develop a National Identity that;

- will include the collective aspirations and values of our people considering our diversity.
- is rooted in the philosophy of Pan-Africanism and the integration of our region and continent
- is based on Kenya becoming a good citizen of the world, exercising its sovereignty responsibly, while seeking to establish international relations based on national interest, respect and justice.

We believe that our National Identity is the foundation of our social cohesion.



PSP-K PARTY LEADER

GUIDING PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

Recognizing that on such hard-won fight lies the foundation of a just and democratic government, deriving its powers from the consent and general consensus of the people;

Aware of the tremendous burden borne daily by the ordinary Kenyan, in supporting national and devolved governance of this nation, in order for us all to attain the status of a developed country;

Committed to support devolution to foster democratic and accountable exercise of power for national unity by recognizing diversity through provision of alternative leadership opportunities;

Ensuring the achievement of equality of all Kenyans and recognizing the need for equitable opportunities for all citizens;

Appreciating the indisputable fact that the prosperity of our nation and its people lies in their increased economic empowerment, equity and social justice, and that Kenya is a country blessed with an abundance of resources sufficient for all its citizens to enjoy a high standard of living;

Convinced of the importance of agriculture, intellectual property rights, manufacturing and sustainable development in creating employment and wealth for the people of Kenya.

Committed to the cause of gender equality, which is critical for social inclusion and women empowerment;

Dedicated to the promotion of the youth agenda on education, talent development, employment, enterprise and leadership;

Party values

- a. Supremacy of Party members;
- b. Social and economic justice;
- c. Respect for constitutionalism and the rule of law;
- d. Respect for individual and people's rights and freedoms;
- e. Freedom with responsibility;
- f. Empowerment of the marginalized groups or sections of society;
- g. Sustainable use of the environment;
- h. Positive and mutually beneficial international relations; and
- i. Avail equal opportunity irrespective of gender, race, tribe, religion, physical abilities, etc.

Relationship between guiding principle and values

A nation without values is one without identity. The preamble to the Constitution of Kenya 2010 recognises the aspirations of all Kenyans for a government based on the essential values of human rights, equality, freedom, democracy, social justice and the rule of law.

The Constitution gives prominence to national values and principles of governance. Article 10 (2) of the Constitution provides the national values and principles of governance as follows:

- a) Patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people.
- (b) Human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized.
- (c) Good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability.
- (d) Sustainable development. Article 232 of the Constitution further provides for the principles that inform public service which include;
 - a) High standards of professional ethics
 - b) Efficient, effective and economic use of resources
 - c) Responsive, prompt, effective, impartial and equitable provision of services
 - d) Accountability for administrative acts;
 - e) Transparency and provision to the public of timely, accurate information;
 - f) Fair competition and merit-based appointments and promotions;
 - g) Public participation in policy making processes;
 - h) Representation of diverse communities; and
 - i). Affording adequate and equal opportunities for appointment, training and advancement at all levels of public service of men and women; the members of all ethnic groups; and persons with disabilities. These principles are binding on all State organs, State officers, public officers and all persons whenever any of

them applies, or interprets, the Constitution; enacts, applies or interprets any law; or makes or implements public policy decisions.

PART II. POLICY PREFERENCE

LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Agriculture

Increasing agricultural productivity will be a key focus of our strategy going forward to ensure that Kenya becomes food secure. We will reduce reliance on rain fed agriculture through irrigation, increase mechanisation, provide input support to farmers, add value to our produce and expand markets locally, regionally and internationally. Psp-k will address fundamental land ownership issues given that 67% of the land in the country is community owned and only 20% is privately owned, with the rest 13% owned by government.

And Psp-k will continue to protect and nurture our environment for future generations. The natural beauty of our country is one of our most valuable resources.

Agriculture being the backbone of our economy, contributing half of Kenya's GDP, a quarter directly and another quarter indirectly. Two-thirds of Kenyans derive either all or part of their incomes from agriculture.

Agriculture well developed translates to food security which is a serious concern for our Nation and highly undermined by high population growth, rampant poverty, the constant climate changes, Poor Markets for farm produce and the threat of competition from Regional Markets.

As the foundation of the economy, many of the challenges that we are experiencing can be traced to agriculture, either directly or indirectly. The role of agriculture to the cost of living is related since Food accounts for 54 per cent of household expenditures, but the poor spend 60 per cent or more. Agricultural productivity has not kept up with population growth, resulting in higher dependence on food imports.

For instance, at the dairy sector, the biggest challenge that farmers face is the cost of animal feeds. As Psp-k we know that nutrition impacts on milk production. With a dairy herd estimated at 3 million lactating cows in Kenya, an increase in average productivity by 0.5kg per cow translates to 401 million kilograms of milk with a value of kshs 16 billion at kshs 40 a kilogram.

PSP-K purpose to propose an estimated total cost of 10 billion as working capital for our dairy farmers, which would boost production and impact positively on the cost of living in Kenya. The cost of living that Psp-k we are experiencing can only be resolved by raising agricultural productivity. The battle is between farmers targeting high income returns and consumers who want low.

Psp-k shall strive to transform this sector and build long-term stocks of quality food reserves on regional basis to deal with threats of famine. Our food and cash crop production strategy will also address food scarcity in the region. Psp-k will put in place more informed, well balanced policies that

ensure the sustainability of farm enterprises and emergence of transparent and more practicable markets that are competitive enough for all the players in the sector. We will advocate for diversification of agricultural production and seek more development funds in other agricultural sectors that have not been receiving attention in that field. We shall transform systems of quality and quantity production in agriculture, Livestock and fisheries through:

Implementation strategy

Short term

- Encourage use of certified quality seeds and other farm inputs
- Widespread use of professional extension services
- Fair market systems
- Dispersed and serviceable storage facilities for cash and subsistence produce
- Improved transport and communication networks
- Electrification of rural areas to attract investment
- Survey of export markets for Specialized means based on scientific classification of soils to determine crop suitability.
- sectoral produce to earn foreign exchange
- The transformation of the Agricultural, Livestock and Fisheries policies into a major poverty alleviation strategy in the country.
- Provide adequate affordable working capital to farmers through well-structured farmers organizations;

Medium term

- Transformation of all agro-based firms into support /conveying systems for agriculture, livestock, and fisheries industries.
- Boost tea value chain (blending & branding).
- Deploy modern agricultural risk management instruments that ensure farming is profitable and income is predictable, such as was provided for scheduled crops by the Guaranteed Minimum Returns (GMR) Scheme in the 1970s. These instruments include crop and livestock insurance schemes, commodity market instruments such as forward contracts, futures contracts and price stabilization schemes.
- Transform over three million poor farmers from food deficit to surplus producers through input finance and intensive agricultural extension support, with a target to generate a minimum productivity target of Sh60,000 revenue an acre
- Raise productivity of key value food chains and other value chains (maize 8-15 bags an acre, dairy 2.5kg- 7.5kg a cow a day, beef carcass weight from 110kg - 150kg);
- Reduce dependence on basic food imports by 30 per cent (domestic oil crops production from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, rice from 18 per cent to 40 per cent.

Long term

- Revamp underperforming and collapsed export crops while expanding emerging ones (coffee, cashew nuts, pyrethrum, avocado, macadamia nuts)

Energy

Kenya's energy sector is characterised by a captive generation capacity of 1,200MW. Hydro-electric power generation caters for more than 75 per cent of total generation capacity. There is a growing policy shift towards diversification of energy sources, including from geothermal, wind, solar and nuclear. The country has the potential for 7000MW of geothermal power, located mainly within the Rift Valley.

Electricity is a vital economic and social service, critical to production, essential services such as health and security and quality of life of citizens. While generation capacity has increased considerably in recent years, our electricity is expensive and unreliable. This ought not to be the case, given that we are blessed with considerable geothermal, solar, wind and water resources that can provide cheap environmentally friendly power. One of the key contributors to both the cost and quality of power is the aging transmission and distribution network. The investment required to upgrade the network is considerable, more so in the difficult financial situation the country is in, but it is imperative.

The Last Mile Connectivity programme the ambitious programme of previous government changed this to connecting people first and recovering the connection charges from the customer's monthly bills. The connectivity drive has come with some challenges. Consumption has not risen as expected, while the operational costs have increased, and this has affected Kenya Power's financial performance. Partly as a result of these challenges, Kenya Power's responsiveness to consumers has deteriorated.

Kenya struck oil recently in the north-western part of the country, in Turkana. More oil-exploration activities must be done to ascertain the commercial viability and coverage of the oil deposits.

Exploration for hydrocarbon gases is also other prolific exploration that must be done along the Indian Ocean coastline. Petroleum, which is Kenya's single largest import, will remain an important fuel for several decades. Price volatility is a challenge for consumers and economic stability. It has been observed rightly that tax is a major factor in the high cost of petroleum products.

Recent fuel price escalation is a combination of two factors, global price shock and failure of the price stabilization mechanism, the latter on account of fiscal distress. Global prices are out of our control. As noted, Kenya is well-endowed with cheap renewable power resources. Accelerating transition to electric vehicles is a win-win proposition in terms of contributing to Kenyans emission reduction commitment, cheaper transport, and leveraging on the large local and regional motorcycle market (~500,000 units a year) to build an electric vehicle industry.

Turn around Kenya Power. Psp-k will delink Government development initiatives, leaving Kenya Power to operate on commercial principles. A policy, regulatory and financing framework for off-grid community-owned development projects (mini and micro-grids) will be instituted. Improve reliability; bring down the cost of electricity. Psp-k will institute a three-point plan to bring down the cost of power namely;

Implementation strategy

Short term

- Source more resources needed to revamp and upgrade the transmission and distribution network countrywide.
- Fast-track geothermal resources development.
- Maximize the Development of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) storage facility in Mombasa, with a view to phasing out Heavy Fuel Oil (HFO) from the power generation portfolio.
This will also contribute to meeting Kenya's emission reduction commitments.
- Enforce transparency and public accountability of the electricity sector. Require the Energy Regulatory Commission (ERC) to publish quarterly system, financial and operational performance reports.
- Put measure to make Kenya power a zero tolerance zone to corruption.
- Streamline procurement processes in Kenya power and make them competitive

Medium term

- The ERC has the mandate to deal with consumer protection issues
- Enforce consumer protection a cross-cutting issue
- establishment of a single Consumer Protection Oversight Agency for all utilities and regulated industries.
- Continue expanding electric vehicle (EV) charging infrastructure in all urban areas and along the highways
- Provide financial and tax incentives for public service vehicles and commercial transporters to convert to electric vehicle.

Long term

- Leverage the financial support that will be provided to the *boda boda* sector, through the special set aside funds in that sector, to develop the nascent electrical vehicle (EV) and motorcycle assembly industry.
- Create incentives for adoption of electric mass transit systems in all cities and towns.

FOREIGN POLICY

As Africa struggles to shake off the negative effects of historic wars and conflicts, for a time, policies on the Indian Ocean and the red sea has been fueling hostilities and complicating international relations. Political upheavals in the Arab League and incessant civil strife in some neighbouring countries has always disrupted our existing Domestic and Foreign policies.

The dumping of nuclear waste in our regions by developed countries who double as our development Partners, the effects of the post-election violence of 2008, the internal push and strife countrywide by

Gen Z outrage of Mid 2024, the genetically modified foods in our system are still controversies to be critically relooked and a big domestic headache for Kenya to amicably address going forward.

Our significance in world affairs is demonstrated by the fact that we are considered an anchor state in the Eastern African region. It hosts the only United Nations headquarters in the Global South (United Nation Environmental Program and Habitat), serves as a hub for international organizations, and is a key player in peace and security initiatives in the region.

PSP-K will ensure that the country is respected and valued abroad. It will promote friendly relations with our Neighbours, play a leading role in regional and pan-African affairs, collaborate with our international partners, and uphold our commitment to the international community. Psp-k will become a key player in peace keeping and conflict resolution and will support such operations in Somalia under the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), facilitate the signing of peace agreements in South Sudan and Central Africa Republic.

No country stands alone. To fully achieve our desired social, economic transformation and political stability Psp-k must work firstly with our neighbours within the EAC, with the rest of Africa and with the rest of the world. Psp-k will remain an active member of regional and multilateral organisations and support regional and continental integration, with an emphasis on intra-African trade as a cornerstone of our socio-economic strategy.

PSP-K is alive to the fact that there are about 3million Kenyans living in various parts of the world and constitute Kenya's diaspora community. This population continues to form an integral part of the Kenyan economy and social fabric. PSP-K therefore, intends to engage the Kenyan Diaspora in a more constructive and productive manner to unlock and unleash their full potential.

Implementation strategy

Short term

- Improve delivery of government services through decentralizing services and functions of Kenyan missions abroad.
- Establish a diaspora forum which will review progress of national government services to the diaspora and make the necessary recommendations.
- Establish new and enhance trade and investment channels in order to promote further local investment by Kenyans living in the diaspora.
- Facilitate accreditation and endorsement of Kenya's qualifications and skills with those of foreign countries for easy access into higher education and foreign jobs by Kenyans living in the diaspora.
- Create a Ministry for Diaspora Affairs

Medium term

- Establish a social welfare system for Kenyans living in the diaspora, by exploring and implementing the portability of social protection.
- Enhancing democratic principles and practices to respect rule of law and the will of Citizens in electoral and Governance systems

- Engage our sportsmen and women and other eminent Kenyans to promote patriotism and social cohesion in Kenya and globally.
- Promote the Kenyan brand and appoint brand ambassadors who will market Kenyan services and products and equally increase the global market share of these services and products.

Long term

- Signing clean economic agreements with partners.
- Consolidating fundamental principles of Freedom, equity, peace, justice, and sovereignty in Global Governance systems.
- Making Kenya a safe, stable and attractive tourist destination.
- Promoting national, Continental, and International peace and Unity.
- Participating in Humanitarian interventions in Conflict and Disaster ravaged regions.

DECENTRALIZATION AND DEVOLUTION

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 ushered in a devolved system of government. PSP-K will spearhead the process towards devolution and will continue to provide stewardship towards its realisation. Each county will be expected and supported to embrace the policies and legislation as a point of reference for developing home-grown policies and legislation to guide county operations. PSP-K will collaborate with the constitutional commissions and offices and the county governments to provide the necessary required capacity for formulating county-level enabling policies and legislation.

The establishment of the counties moves Kenya away from centralised government where citizens have limited say or input in decision-making. Devolution empowers citizens and puts them at the centre of development. PSP-K is dedicated to Article 1 of the Constitution, which gives sovereign power to the people of Kenya. Chapter 11 of the Constitution provides pillars for realising devolved government, of which “giving powers of self-governance to the people and enhancing the participation of the people in exercise of powers of the State and in making decisions affecting them” is a provision that PSP-K intends closely to observe.

Doing this will require appropriately structured platforms for citizen engagement, to ensure they play a role in the conceptualisation of local development, in the planning for use and management of resources, right from ward to County level.

Implementation strategy

Short term

- Complete transfer of all functions constitutionally earmarked to counties within six months

Medium term

- Develop a framework for ensuring that State-owned firms carrying out devolved or shared functions adhere to the principles of governance and ensure that the principle of funding-follows-functions is adhered to with respect to all devolved functions.

- Improve county governments' capacity to generate their own income and reduce their over-reliance on transfers from the national government

Long term

- Ensure that shareable revenue is transferred to counties in a timely and predictable manner and in accordance with the law.
 - Transfer funds owed to the beneficiary counties and communities under the Mining Act 2016 and the Petroleum Act 2019 within six months, and work with county governments to increase the capacity of the communities to benefit from extractive resources

TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Kenya is a celebrated pioneer in ICT innovation in Africa. Kenyans are enthusiastic innovators who daily are developing creative solutions to everyday problems. A strong ICT market is a critical component of competitiveness in a global market and often enables other industrial sectors. Not only are technologies such as business ICT services or mobile communication important for reducing costs but they also provide efficiency of operations that allows Kenyan industry including SMEs to leapfrog and keep up with the rest of the world

Kenya has a highly talented youth on a diverse spectrum of creative work, including music, theatre, graphic design, digital animation, fashion and craft, among others. The digital revolution, buttressed by Kenya's good connectivity has opened up opportunities for this sector to be a significant economic actor in its own right.

Additionally, the creative industry can add value to Kenya's exports such as fashion, leather products and craft industries. A visit to the now ubiquitous "Maasai markets" will demonstrate potential that requires only very little support to grow into a significant craft export industry. Our Mobile telephone penetration and innovation has enabled Kenya to increase from a quarter to over 80 per cent of the population in less than two decades, making Kenya one of the world's leading users of mobile payments.

Konza Technopolis which has been in the works for two decades and seems no closer to becoming a reality than it was a decade ago when completed will play an important role as digital superhighway critically enabling us to make tremendous achievement in the other four pillars of Health, Agriculture, SMEs and Financing as well in enhancing revenue collection via automation of VAT systems. It will ameliorate challenges related to information asymmetry in market access and risk management. It also comes in handy in minimizing barriers to entry for new financial providers that are critical in downscaling access to the Funding schemes via Government risk mitigation mechanism through provision of Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) system for all participants. Areas such as public procurement where digital transformation could have delivered huge gains are yet to be realized.

Established a strong ICT hub and provide fibre backbone network to all 47 counties. This will accelerate ICT development in rural areas and bring digital services to the doorsteps of all Kenyans. Increase digital literacy through the Digital Literacy Programmes which will prepare our children for the 21st century workforce and make Kenya a knowledge-based economy.

Implementation strategy

Short term

- Universal broadband availability throughout the country in the shortest time possible. We shall continue increasing and fast-tracking broadband connectivity across the country by completing the construction of national fibre optic connectivity network to cover the entire country.
- Enhance government service delivery through digitization and automation of all government critical processes and make available 80 per cent of government services
- Establish Africa Regional Hub and promote development of software for export;
- The implementation of the Digital Master Plan will adhere to environmental agreements in which Kenya is a signatory;
- Reduce the cost of calls and data to allow affordability especially to the youth for entertainment, information and business;
- Work with stakeholders to expand the space for creativity, including freedom of expression and protection of intellectual property rights;
- Mainstream arts and culture infrastructure (theatres, music halls, art galleries) into the infrastructure development programme, and identified dedicated streams of resources for their development.

Medium term

- The Psp-k administration will strengthen Konza Technopolis to bring together industry, academic institutions and other innovators to co-invest in emerging technologies to create high-quality jobs that leverage on artificial intelligence, robotics and other technologies and thus enhance our regional and global competitiveness
 - Promoting arts and crafts galleries leveraging on existing public entities and institutions, including our embassies abroad

Long term

- Establish a Presidential Advisory Council on Science and Technology Policy that will ensure a whole of government approach to technological development and use and build necessary capacities across government.

PART III. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Criteria of measuring progress

Monitoring and Evaluation plays an important role for effective and meaningful implementation of plans, policies, programmes and projects. PSP-K will strive in Monitoring and Evaluation Policy that provides an overall guidance on the establishment and implementation of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) function in the public sector. PSP-K Policy on M&E in the country will articulate the party's commitment to accountability for development results.

To assess how effectively the psp-k activities, policies, and strategies are contributing to:

- National unity, stability, and development (Nation Building),
- Cultural, institutional, and behavioural change (Society Transformation),
- Tangible improvements in citizens' well-being (Transforming Lives).

■ 1. M&E Logical Framework Summary

Strategic Pillar
Nation Building

Society Transformation

Transforming Lives Outcomes (What to Achieve)

- Enhanced national unity & inclusive governance
- Policy influence on national development
- Improved civic engagement and accountability culture
- Shift in social values (e.g., anti-corruption, equality)
- Improved access to basic services (education, health, jobs)
- Empowerment of youth, women, and Indicators (What to

Measure)

- % increase in national cohesion perception - Representation of marginalized groups
- # of party proposals adopted - Participation in national forums
- Voter turnout rates - # of civic education programs held
- Public perception indices - Reports on corruption cases
- % of constituents reporting

better access to services

- # of programs targeted at these groups - Increase in Means of Verification
- National surveys - Government data -

Media monitoring

- Policy reports - Parliamentary records

- Electoral commission data - Attendance sheets
- Opinion polls - Anticorruption agency reports
- Household surveys - Gov't service delivery reports
- Program reports - Beneficiary interviews

Outcomes (What to Indicators (What to
 Strategic Pillar Means of Verification Achieve) Measure)
 vulnerable populations income/jobs

2. Key M&E Components

Inputs

- Party resources (human, financial, technical)
- Partnerships with NGOs, government, civil society

Activities

- Policy research & advocacy
- Community outreach & civic education
- Youth/women empowerment programs
- National dialogue forums
- Capacity-building for local leaders

Outputs

- Number of programs conducted
- Number of people trained or reached
- Policies developed and proposed
- Advocacy campaigns run

Outcomes

- Change in public attitudes and behavior • Strengthened institutions
- Better service delivery at the grassroots

Impact

- Increased national unity and political stability
- Empowered, engaged citizenry
- Improved quality of life

3. Data Collection Tools and Methods

Tool Purpose

Surveys (baseline and endline) Track changes in perception, access, behavior

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) Understand qualitative shifts in communities

Key Informant Interviews (KIs) Gain insight from policymakers, leaders

Administrative Data Use existing gov't/NGO data for validation

Social Media Analytics Measure reach, engagement, sentiment

Community Scorecards Measure public satisfaction with services

4. M&E Cycle

Phase Key Actions

Planning Define indicators, assign responsibilities, set timelines

Baseline Assessment Establish starting point for comparison

Data Collection	Use tools like surveys, interviews, and reports
Data Analysis	Compare against targets, identify trends
Reporting	Share with leadership, partners, and constituents
Learning & Adaptation	Adjust strategies and programs based on findings

5. Sample Indicators by Theme

 **Nation Building**

- % of population expressing trust in national institutions
- Number of cross-regional peace initiatives supported by the party
- Representation of all ethnic/religious groups in party leadership

 **Society Transformation**

- Number of anti-corruption or civic awareness campaigns held
- % change in public knowledge of civic duties
 - of legal/policy reforms initiated by the party

 **Transforming Lives**

- % increase in youth/women beneficiaries in programs
- Number of people accessing party-supported services (health, education)
- % of party-supported projects with positive livelihood impact

 **6. Reporting Format Example (Quarterly/Annually)**

Section Details

Executive Summary Key achievements, challenges, and next steps

Strategic Pillar Updates Progress on Nation Building, Society Transformation, and Transforming Lives

Data Analysis Trends, gaps, and success stories

Lessons Learned What worked, what didn't, and why

Recommendations For leadership, programs, and policies

PART IV. REVIEW OF STATEMENT OF IDEOLOGY

Process for initiating reviews

These statements of ideology may be amended and/or reviewed by the National Executive Council at least six (6) months before the date set for the general elections and the amended and/or reviewed ideology shall be filed with the Registrar of Political Parties, automatically replacing the pre-existing ideology, upon which they shall be applicable in all legal and other processes connected herewith.

The main ideology party is identified with

People Salvation Party of Kenya is a social liberal that is identified with the below policy preference;

1. Land and natural resources management
2. Foreign
3. Decentralization and devolution
4. Technology and innovation

Psp-k will stride in Nation building, Society transformation and transforming lives

PART V. NATIONAL BUILDING

Pillars of Nationhood

National Identity

We are committed to work with all Kenyans to develop a National Identity that;

- will include the collective aspirations and values of our people considering our diversity.
- is rooted in the philosophy of Pan-Africanism and the integration of our region and continent
- is based on Kenya becoming a good citizen of the world, exercising its sovereignty responsibly, while seeking to establish international relations based on national interest, respect and justice.

We believe that our National Identity is the foundation of our social cohesion.

National Values

We believe all Kenyan Communities should be recognized and be given official status. During the constitution review process many Kenyan communities that had suffered exclusion and marginalization demanded to be recognized.

Some of these Communities included, amongst others, the Nubian, Elwana, Munoyaya, Ilchamus, Waswahili, Waata, Boni, Dushnak, Sakuye, Segeju, and Makonde.

We are Committed to a National leadership structure that is inclusive and reflect the face of Kenya. principles of governance we have proclaimed therein are patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution We will share power and pursue rotational national leadership that allow and promote even Kenyans of power, the rule of law, democracy and the participation of the people; human dignity, equity, social from small or marginalized communities aspire and hold the highest offices based on competence justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized; and the “content of one’s character” only. We are opposed to any form of tyranny including the good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and sustainable development. type imposed by numbers or ethnic chauvinism.

Inclusion of All Communities:

We will include all Kenyan Communities in building a new Kenyan Nation. The colonial forces created a myth that Kenya was made up of forty-one Communities (41) and another 42nd category of smaller groups called other.

and without proper government support have made giant steps in developing and emerging vibrant cultural and creative industry that is employing thousands of Kenyans. In fact, those in power have been a negative factor in the development of these industries including by proposing backward and retrogressive laws and policies.

- We will support the promotion and development of culture in all its positive manifestation including by demonstrating the status of Kiswahili as the National and official language as well as the protection and promotion of Kenyan sign language and all other Kenyan indigenous languages.
- We will give impetus, fund and develop our emerging cultural, creative and performing industries by making Kenya an African hub for theatre, cuisine, music, fashion, radio and television, film, video games and other forms of publishing and entertainment. This will be an important corner stone of employing the youth and growing our economy.

PEOPLE SALVATION PARTY OF KENYA(PSP-K)

- We will transform the institutional base that support cultural, creative and performing arts Coming to Terms with our Past; industries including the Kenya Film Commission, Kenya Cultural Centre, permanent Presidential.

Music Commission and the Bomas of Kenya. PSP-K believes that we should endeavor to do right the wrongs of the past and allow Kenyans, individuals.

- Working closely with county governments and stakeholders to establish a conducive atmosphere and communities, to have a chance to forgive, heal and reconcile. A nation that is not at peace with its and legal infrastructure to support cultural, creative and performing arts including exploring past will not be at peace with its present or even future. opportunities to establish talent development Centres in all 47 counties.

To work with Kenyans to transform the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) into a premier public We are committed to developing and promoting the use of restorative processes and justice in handling funded institution playing a key role in developing local talent and content. our complicated past and historical injustices. These approaches focus on restoring dignity to victims and survivors and finding closure, forgiveness, healing and reconciliation at individual, communal and national level. This approach is different from the existing system of justice in Kenya today that uses the.

Language Policy retributive justice approach which focuses on punishing offenders and/or allocating blame. To this end we are cognizant of the need to build a justice system to include the capacity to administer restorative the PSP-K Government is dedicated to use the new language dispensation established by the Constitution justice. of Kenya. Article seven (7) of our constitution establishes the role and place of the national language,

PART VI. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

- (1) PSP-K is the continuation of the struggle for social and national liberation in Kenya
- (2) The position of PSP-K on political and social reforms
- (3) The struggle for political and social reforms
- (4) The struggle for the new national constitution
- (5) The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty continue

(1) PSP-K is the continuation of the struggle for social and national liberation in Kenya

The People Salvation Party of Kenya (PSP-K) is a political party registered in accordance with the Political Party's Act of 2011. PSP-K is committed to uniting all Kenyans irrespective of their ethnic groups, class, gender and age to work for an alternative society away from the present unjust system towards a society that realises the freedoms, human rights and development of each and all. This society is the vision and mission of the majority of Kenyans and its values are defined in article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya. In this regard, PSP-K is conscious of Kenya's noble history of struggle against foreign domination and imperialism. Our Party is the continuation of the social and national liberation struggle of the Kenyan

patriots that ultimately brought about independence from British colonialism in 1963. We remember those elders who died or survived with great suffering in the struggles for national freedom. They sacrificed their lives and blood to give us self-respect in the period and aftermath of colonial domination. To them we owe and return, and shall forever return our respect and give them also our admiration and affection, and seek to emulate their love for our country, courage and persistence against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Just as our patriotic ancestors did, PSP-K too believes that the establishment of a democratic and sovereign Government and State whose authority comes from all people of Kenya without excluding anyone, must always remain the demand of the Kenyan People. As is evident in the Constitution of Kenya that was inaugurated in 2010, the people do not want to have the present political and economic system based on capitalist social relations. They want a system that embodies the values of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people. However, these noble wishes and aspirations will only be realised when Kenya replaces the capitalist system with the socialist system.

It is upon this background that the PSP-K will rise to the historic challenge of spearheading the struggle to shift away from the present capitalist political, economic, social, cultural and moral arrangements that are the basis of exclusion, discrimination, oppression and reaction in order to move towards a socialist system that will bring about a new Kenya necessary for the liberation and progress of our country.

(2) The position of PSP-K on political and social reforms

PSP-K will always be part and parcel of the struggle for political and social reforms in the country. This is because as a social party, PSP-K believes that reforms for bettering the lives of the exploited and oppressed people even under the capitalist system are progressive and necessary. In this we agree and collaborate with other political parties, trade unions, peasant organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations and other formations that work for democracy; human rights; peace, workers' rights; civil and political liberties; sustainable development; gender equality; women rights, youth rights, children rights, the rights of persons with special needs; and other democratic and popular demands.

However, the PSP-K does not view political and social reforms as an end in themselves. Neither does it believe that bourgeoisie democracy is the alpha and omega of democracy. PSP-K is conscious of the fact proved by history throughout the World that real freedom and liberation of the working class and the majority in society cannot happen under the capitalist system - a system based on exploitation and oppression of person by person. Instead, we insist that the road towards true freedom, development and liberation is the road that eliminates the capitalist and imperialist systems while leading the way towards the establishment of the socialist system.

(3) The struggle for political and social reforms

In the history of post independent Kenya, the one-party political system has been used by representatives of the ruling class to entrench the capitalist system and suppress civil and political liberties of the majority of the citizens. That is why the struggle for national and social liberation has also been the demand for multiparty system of democracy. Today the Constitution of Kenya declares that Kenya is a multi - party democratic state. Multipartism came about after long, hard and concerted struggles of the Kenyan people. Many patriots and democracy advocates were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, forced into exile, expelled from educational institutions, denied employment, persecuted in all ways and murdered in the struggle against the successive Kenya African

National Union's (KANU) regimes that had oppressed Kenyans and impeded democracy since independence from British colonialism in 1963.

In fact, the struggle for freedom, democracy and human rights has also been the struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and for national and social liberation. Dictatorship, corruption and mismanagement of the economy of the country also embodied the politics and culture of negative ethnicity. KANU was a stumbling block to national cohesion, development and social progress. The values and ideals that Kenya brought to its nationhood in 1963 were the rejection of colonialism that among other things meant the abuse of power and the suppression of democracy and human rights. The national liberation struggle was about the affirmation of freedom, both national and individual, safety from arbitrary harm and the right to access and ownership of land. Uhuru was for national unity, tolerance, hospitality and inclusiveness; for the sharing of both power and resources equitably; for freedom to think, for the concept of individual and academic independence and the flowering of creativity, among other aims. These noble ideals of the Kenyan people were persistently violated by the successive KANU governments that instead, hitherto, embrace dictatorship, corruption, violation of human rights, capitalism and neo -colonialism.

For these reasons, the coming of in 1992 was akin to political revolution as it started the liberation of the society from the regime that was one of the most brutal dictatorships in Africa. Freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of press, civil and political liberties, recognition of the right of political parties to exist and operate and the growth and strengthening of the civil society are some of the concrete democratic gains that Kenyans achieved. However, it took another ten years before opposition parties were able to remove the notorious KANU regime from power. Remembering the suffering they underwent under the KANU reactionary regimes, Kenyans likened the defeat of KANU in the 2002 elections to the second liberation of the country.

(4) The struggle for the new national constitution

As soon as multipartism started becoming a reality in the country, Kenyans realised that it was also necessary to change the national constitution inherited from British colonialism. The constitution had only been changed by the previous regimes to entrench dictatorship, corruption, violation of human rights and primitive accumulation, especially of land property. Kenyans required a new national constitution to reflect and conserve the new system of democratic governance with popular demands for social justice, equity, equality, devolution of governance and people's participation in accruing benefits from natural resources around their communities. But just like it did to multipartism, the then Moi - KANU regime resisted constitutional reforms vehemently. Once again, many Kenyans were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, detained without trial, killed and persecuted in all ways before the government acceded to people's popular demand for a new constitution by forming Kenya Constitutional Review Commission (KCRC). This led to the famous Bomas Constitution that was frustrated by the reactionary forces in the government of the then National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) that managed to deny Kenyans a new national constitution in 2005.

However, the struggle of the masses of Kenya continued leading to the achievement of the present Constitution of Kenya. The constitution that was adopted in the August 4th 2010 referendum is the culmination of several processes and struggles for social and political reforms. Like multiparty democracy, the new Kenyan constitution is the collective achievement of popular Kenyan people's struggles from below. However, this fact has not stopped members of the ruling class who were only recently forced by mass struggles to give in to progressive change to organise parties and celebrations to claim that they are the ones that have given the country the new constitution. But their true colours are being revealed in the

actual interpretation and implementation of the constitution that is a matter of the continuation of the past and existing class struggles in the nation. In this regard, PSP-K position is "Katiba mpya mfumo mpya wa kisiasa na kiuchumi na viongozi wapya" - New constitution new political and economic system and new leadership. PSP-K does not believe that the existing leadership of the country that is determined to conserve the present status quo of capitalism and neo-colonialism has the will and ability to implement the constitution in the interest of progressive change and that of the exploited and oppressed citizens who form the majority. The path towards implementing the progressive reforms embodied by the constitution is a matter of class struggle that ultimately and inevitably will lead to socialism.

5.The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty continues

In spite of the realization of a multiparty system of government and the Constitution of Kenya, Kenyans have not yet won freedom and national sovereignty. The ideals the Kenyan people had been fighting for, particularly since the 15-Century, continue to be blatantly betrayed by the successive regimes that have governed the country hitherto. Colonialism was appropriation by settlers of our best land, natural and human resources of our country for the benefit of the white settlers and the British colonial power. It was about forced labour, pass laws, colour bar, restricted movement, denial of basic freedoms and democratic rights, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and detention, torture and humiliation. It also meant being driven into backwardness, poverty, ignorance, disease, poor and inhuman living and working conditions and lack of adequate medical care, housing and other social services to the majority of the population.

During colonialism, there was low-level and limited schooling for the children of the indigenous African people. There was also mass illiteracy and ignorance, foreign domination and imposition of a foreign language and culture and total impoverishment of our people. Colonialism was war against the cultures and languages of the Kenyan people. It was subordination of African people in their own country by foreigners.

Few and limited reforms aside, the governments that took over from colonialism have maintained the system that recycles the problems our people fought against. Those whose lands were forcibly taken away by the settlers are still landless. In fact, the problem of land has exacerbated with the majority of Kenyans hardly owning enough land to subsist on. More and more are becoming landless and squatters while few families, local and foreign individuals and companies claim ownership of thousands of acres of land, a lot of it under-utilised or unused. Squatting is a way of life for the majority of indigenous Kenyans especially at the Coast and many parts of the Rift Valley. The majority of the people in urban areas live in slums.

Slave - like labour conditions still exists in foreign and locally owned plantations that pay starvation wages to poorly organized labour. Similarly, in industries and commercial enterprises, the conditions of Kenyan workers have worsened. Foreign and locally owned companies continue to exploit and expose workers to inhuman working conditions with meagre slave-like wages. Colonial labour laws have been retained and enacted to ensure that the national workers organizations are nothing but pacifiers and demobilizes of the workers, while independent workers movements are suppressed and refused recognition. Contrary to the Constitution, many workers are denied by their employers the right to enter or form trade unions. The economy of our country is highly influenced by the plans and management of foreigners through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, with the adoption of neo-liberal social and economic policies that include privatization of state enterprises. Privatization has added wealth to the rich while escalating unemployment and poverty among the majority of the people.

Despite the judicial reforms being implemented under new Constitution, the poor can hardly access justice as they cannot afford to pay lawyers' fees. The police still perpetuate the same colonial brutality

against the Kenyan people; they arbitrarily arrest, detain, intimidate, harass, torture, and murder with impunity. The Kenyan prisons continue to be overcrowded and maintain their colonial character despite some minimal reforms. Our soldiers have no democratic military ideology and culture. They thus consciously or unconsciously regard the Kenyan people as their enemies.

The sovereignty of our nation has been mortgaged by those in power. Foreign nations have been granted military bases and facilities, without the consent of the people, to protect their interests in Kenya, while foreign security forces are allowed to arrest, interrogate and torture Kenyan citizens in the name of fighting terrorism. The struggle for freedom and national sovereignty therefore inevitably and of necessity continues.



PART VII CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN KENYA

- (1) Kenya is a class society
- (2) Negative ethnicity and class struggles
- (3) Neoliberal globalization
- (4) The capitalist system has failed in Kenya

(1) Kenya is a class society

Today Kenya is sharply divided into classes, of various categories of the rich few and the majority poor; the capitalists and the workers; the exploiters and the exploited; the oppressors and the oppressed. Few families own land the size of districts while the majority of Kenyans are either landless or out a living in small pieces of land. Most of the Kenyan people live in abject poverty but few are billionaires who are among the richest people in the World. While the country continues to receive foreign aid, there is enough wealth concentrated in the hands of the privileged few which is capable of bringing about development to

the country. Class divisions are obvious in residential locations, living standards and lifestyles, particularly in urban areas. The education system does not offer equal opportunities to children and youth but instead it is structured to increase the gap between the rich and the poor, the rural and urban areas. The rich access the best social services, clean and safer environments, political and economic power while all this is hardly accessible to the poor who form the majority of the citizens. The economy is geared towards maintaining the status quo of capitalism and imperialism. The rich are far better placed to exercise all citizens and human rights denied to the poor.

The class and regional inequalities not only impede peace and social justice but also national unity. Under circumstances of such glaring inequalities, it is not easy to remove the bitterness, hatred, violence, lack of patriotism and feelings and expressions of negative ethnicity that engulf the country. Under the class system, the gap between the rich and the poor increases. There is also a sharp division between urban and rural areas. Most Kenyans live in rural areas yet social services are concentrated in urban areas. But wherever there are classes there will inevitably and of necessity are class struggles and Kenya is not an exception. Class struggles that include workers struggles; strikes by teachers, health workers, civil servants, lecturers, plantation and industrial workers; conflicts over land and land resources; student's protests and riots; and mass demonstrations with popular demands in urban and rural areas are on the increase. Class struggles are necessary as they are the prime movers of progressive social change. However, PSP-K is conscious of its role of intervening to ensure that the class struggles in Kenya are not be left to happen spontaneously, instead they should be directed towards the revolutionary path.

(2) Negative ethnicity and class struggles

Negative ethnicity - so called tribalism is one of the greatest impediments to social and national liberation. It has always been used by the bourgeoisie elites of Kenya since the time of colonialism to perpetuate them in power. Just before, during and after national elections, the political and economic elites of various ethnic groups deliberately provoke negative ethnic feelings and even organise and sponsor violence against other ethnic groups in order to propel themselves to elective positions. They do this by pretending to be champions of the political, economic, cultural, land and land resources interests of their ethnic groups, Counties and regions that are purportedly violated by the members of other ethnic groups. And since it is the ideas of those in power that dominate in a given society at a given time and place, ordinary citizens also imbue and even embrace the ideology of negative ethnicity that embodies hatred, jealousy and discrimination against other ethnic groups. The unresolved issues of land and land resources, that embody historical injustices, have always been used to perpetuate the reactionary ideology that works against the unity of those who desire progressive change through class struggles.

On their part, the class of rich Kenyans from all ethnic groups who are part and parcel of the problem, including that of land, are always conscious of their class interests and are not prepared to help bring about a just and progressive natural resource, political, economic and social reforms in the country aimed at empowering the poor, eradicating poverty and inequality. For do so will mean compromising their own class interests, something they are not prepared to do. Instead, they keep on preaching falsehoods about seeking political power in order to bring about development, remove poverty and create a just and equitable society. Yet year after year these promises prove to be elusive living the country to continue simmering and erupting into cycles of conflicts that many a times develop into violence.

(3) Neoliberal globalization

The dynamic process of globalisation, particularly neo-liberal globalisation, which is in fact global capitalism spearheaded by imperialist countries has defied nation - state boundaries to penetrate the

remotest parts of the world and nations, including Kenya, where both its positive and negative effects are being felt on a daily basis. However, the process of globalization of capitalism, its positive achievements and dynamism aside, does not imply the expansion of the benefits of the rapid scientific, technological and economic development to all countries and all continents, but rather an attempt to create a unified world system, with a handful of imperialist countries dictating their will to the rest of the World. The most important aspect of neoliberal globalization is the political unity of the imperialist states of imposing this process as a rule of an international legal system legalizing the inclusion of the non-capitalist countries, as periphery, into the capitalist world system. Bilateral and multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements coordinated and implemented through World Trade Organisation and the twin Britton Woods Institutions - the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund - are bedrocks of the neo-colonial economic and trade policies imposed upon Kenya, Africa and developing nations.

Capitalist globalization is affecting and determining negatively the economic, political, social and legal policies of developing countries such as Kenya. Bilateral and Multilateral policies and agreements signed in capital cities far away from Kenya and Kenyan villages nevertheless have direct and indirect impacts on lives and livelihoods not only in the cities and towns but also in the villages in rural areas, whether the people concerned are aware of them or not. Yet the policies and agreements are about the conduct of the economy, politics, trade, agriculture, food safety and security, environment, labour relations, property relations and most important the relation between Kenya and other countries and nations, particularly imperialist countries. The policies have far reaching effects on the lives, livelihoods, culture, health and security of the people and nation.

However, as important as they are to the present and future of the country, these imperialists' policies together with their organisations remain obscure and remote to the majority of the population despite their effects upon their lives. Little is known about the multilateral and bilateral organisations and institutions by the majority of Kenyans who have to live with their decisions and practises approved and signed by the government without their participation.

Again, numerous and complex as they are, the multilateral economic and trade policies and agreements are still deliberately opaque, covered with secrets, intrigues and signed by the government, many times through positions of ignorance, and without their participation and that of the people of Kenya. Thus, the process of reaching agreements of the multilateral economic and trade organisations Kenya is committed to, is more often than not undemocratic, to say the least. But, the government, that is committed by the constitution to practise democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency and accountability and to champion national interests at home and abroad does not make concerted efforts to involve the citizens in understanding, discussing, making decisions and taking positions about the complex multilateral and bilateral policies before committing the country to them.

PSP-K is conscious of the fact that neoliberal globalisation has been and continues to be challenged, in theory and practise, throughout the world by progressive civil society organisations and particular by communist leaders, parties, states and countries. Our party is committed to the work of mobilising Kenyans to struggle for an alternative form of globalisation - socialist globalisation. Socialist globalisation will move our country away from neoliberal globalisation and instead to take the path of development by utilising our human and natural resources to realise development and social progress while at the same time building relations of peace, solidarity and mutual benefit with other countries in the region and the World.

(4) The capitalist system has failed in Kenya

In short, capitalism has failed in Kenya. Capitalism in all its political forms - colonial, neo-colonial, or global - has failed to serve the majority of Kenyans and has benefited only a tiny fraction of the population. Colonial capitalism benefited primarily the colonial settlers and foreign business persons; neo-colonial capitalism has admitted the rich Kenyan African while global capitalism has further admitted/allowed some professionals, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants, lecturers and chief executives of local and foreign companies into the exclusive club of the rich. The majority of Kenyans standards of living have improved little despite the seemingly major political and economic changes that have happened in the country.

The adoption, creation and development of economic policies geared towards neo-colonialism and neoliberalism have prevented the development of agriculture, manufacturing and industry in Kenya. Today Kenyan markets, whether in the rural or urban areas, are full of all sorts of imported substandard and second hand (mitumba) consumer goods. Trade in imported mitumba commodities has grown to be one of the largest formal and informal economies in the country. In the 1960s, there were hardly any mitumba in the Kenyan markets. This is because during the 1960s up to early 1970s, the economy of the country was performing relatively well and causing positive development. Kenyans were enjoying the standard of living that nowadays they remember only with nostalgia. The majority of Kenyans are so poor that they cannot afford to buy new essential goods. As poverty escalates and implementation of the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund cut more and more jobs through retrenchments in the civil service, privatisation of state enterprises and the closure of local manufacturing and business enterprises unable to compete with cheap imports, Kenyans in rural and urban areas have been turned into hawkers and consumers of second-hand goods. The problem is that while mitumba may alleviate the immediate problem it is certainly not the long-term solution to poverty and underdevelopment. On the contrary, mtumbaism contributes to undermining local textile industry, agriculture and the development the local economy.

Capitalism is inherently unequal, exploitative and oppressive and is responsible for the growing gap between the few rich and the majority poor. Kenya is one of the most unequal societies not only in Africa, but also in the World. Poverty and inequality is an impediment of development. Capitalism inherently breeds extreme inequalities not only between classes but between regions and communities. It is the root cause of the ethnic animosities virulent in our politics today. Gender inequality and violations of the rights of the vulnerable and marginalised people in society also continue to exist in Kenya. Capitalism reveals the great possibilities for improving the material and social wellbeing of our people, but immediately closes them to the majority on account of its high inequalities in the distribution of income. Capitalism is inherently and expensively wasteful. It wastes the energies of millions of Kenyans, especially the youth, by not creating jobs and pushing them into poverty. Under capitalism, Kenya's rich human and natural resources have failed to end poverty and underdevelopment. Capitalism requires and demands large pools of unemployed to keep wages and salaries down so that high profits may be obtained by the capitalists.

Capitalism has failed to solve the problem of the mushrooming of slums in Kenyan urban areas. The majority of the population of urban areas are forced to live in unplanned, dirty, ugly, crowded, and unsafe settlements that lack basic services and which are unfit for human habitation. Some of the largest slums in the World are found in Kenya.

Under capitalism crimes of all sorts including robbery, corruption, looting of public property, contraband trade, money laundering, drags trafficking, human trafficking; violence, piracy, etc. have become part and parcel of Kenyan society. Known criminals associated with mafia type activities are elected leaders and law makers in the country. Kenyans are dominated by moral values that put money and profits before the

duty to serve humanity and the nation. That is why doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, elected leaders, teachers, lecturers, civil servants and even religious leaders, do not adhere to professional ethics in the provision of services. Kenya is person eat person society. Under capitalism, Kenya is still dominated by imperialism economically, politically, culturally and militarily. The country is still dependent on foreign aid. The security, freedom, human rights and national sovereignty of the Kenyan people have been compromised to imperialism. Foreign security agents enter Kenya and arrest, torture and abduct citizens to foreign prisons and detention camps with impunity and connivance with the Kenyan police and government authorities

Capitalism is a big lie. It lies to Kenyans that they can realise the progressive aspects of the Constitution of Kenya, particularly chapter four on human rights while still under the capitalist system based on exploitation and oppression of person by person. The truth is that the national values described by the constitution of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalised, patriotism, national unity, sharing, devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people cannot be realised under capitalism but socialism.

PART VIII. TRANSFORMING GOVERNANCE

Heshima si utumwa : Ending the culture of “madharau.”

Industrial relations

Strikes and industrial unrest have bedeviled critical sectors of the public service. The shambolic manner in which genuine industrial disputes have been handled lately must end. Within 100 days, the PSP-K Government will resolve the perennial industrial disputes particularly in the education and health sectors. A roadmap for harmonious resolution of such disputes in the future will be through honest engagement. Our governance structure and systems are built on the foundation of a repressive and exploitative Combating Corruption master-servant relationship between the governors and the governed that we inherited from the colonial administration. In our constitutional dispensation, we have endeavored as a sovereign people Corruption in Kenya is a product of impunity. We have the laws and the institutions required to combat to establish a government that is a servant of the people. But the legacy of the colonial administration corruption, but they cannot work when the Presidency is the refuge of the most corrupt. We cannot end persists. The culture of leadership in Kenya today continues to perpetuate a life of opulence for a select corruption when there is no line between the public interest and the private business interests of the few, paternalism, manipulation and misuse of public resources for self-enrichment at the expense of the powerful. This has to end. public good PSP-K recognizes that corruption is the most destructive interlocutor to good governance; and a monumental national security threat; it kills, stifles and cripples social, political and economic;

- We shall not do business with the government either directly and indirectly development and destroys citizens' morale, aspirations and patriotism. Yet this is where the Jubilee
 - We shall not tolerate conflict of interest between public and private affairs administration has thrived, setting the record for the highest number of unpunished corruption cases
 - Every one of us will disclose their financial interests on appointment so that we ensure that there is of any government, and consequently pushing the country to the edge of the cliff of economic collapse. no potential for personal benefit from the policy decisions that they may make.
- PSP-K will facilitate to the reconstruction of the national psyche to bring about a shift to servant
- We shall demand of our members and appointees take moral and political responsibility for leadership at all levels of governance, for the well-being and benefit of all citizens as enshrined in the misconduct, failing which they shall stand dismissed Constitution.

The Public Service.

The public service is the heart of governance. There can be no law enforcement without judges, the power of cartels can be seen in the furor generated by our pledge to regulate house rents, yet this magistrates and police officers or no public education or healthcare without teachers and health is nothing more than enforcing existing law. On the Ministry of Lands website, we read: workers. There is a strange myth in this country that a large public wage bill, and spending a large proportion of our budget on recurrent expenditures generally is bad, but spending more money on “The Rent Restriction Act is meant to protect tenants from exploitation by landlords while guaranteeing “development” meaning brick and mortar is good. So, we build health facilities that we cannot resource the landlord reasonable profits from his investment in housing.” The ultimate aim of the RRT Department and buy equipment we cannot maintain. This is procurement led mentality. therefore, is to facilitate stability of rents especially for low-income earners and ensure that capital invested in housing yields reasonable returns.”

The Kenya Kwanza administration has been fanning hysteria against the public wage bill while borrowing. PSP-K governance transformation promise hinges on a motivated adequately compensated public service. PSP-K is committed to restoring responsible prudent fiscal policy and public financial management as detailed under the Economic Management theme, so as to be able to afford adequate compensation for the public service. The public service has a role to play in this as well, by being a worthy custodian of public resources, by shunning corruption, wasteful spending and ensuring the public gets value for money in everything we do. The culture of privilege and extravagance must end. Spending public money on fleets of expensive cars, opulent offices and other extravagancies, in a country where many people can barely make ends meet, where public facilities are dilapidated, where people with disabilities needs are unmet is unconscionable. We cannot have rule of law for the rich and law of the jungle for the poor. Here, we propose to enact Landlord and Tenant Act (merger of RRT & Business Tribunal). To realize our consumer rights, we have to dismantle cartels. PSP-K is not afraid of cartels, no matter how powerful. CARTELS MUST GO

PART IX. REALIZING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS

A caring society

PSP-K is committed to upholding the dignity of every Kenyan, and that of the nation. A hunger free society is our pledge to the Nation. PSP-K will deliver on this pledge by;

- progressively expanding income transfer programmes (presently limited to the elderly and households with orphans and vulnerable children (OVC)) to the critically food poor.
- uplifting the critically food households out of poverty through agricultural productivity interventions, that is, empowering the households to feed themselves.
- establishing a National Food Security Council. The Council will continuously advice government and keep the public apprised of the state of food security. This will ensure that in future, no government will get away with passing the buck when it has caused a national food crisis.
- the PSP-K Government will, in the spirit of cooperative Governance, share the strategic food reserve function between the National and County Governments. Because County Governments are on the ground, they better placed to respond quickly to food shortages than the National Government, but the National Government is better placed to coordinate importation and movement of food from surplus to deficit areas

Education

“A bright future for every child”

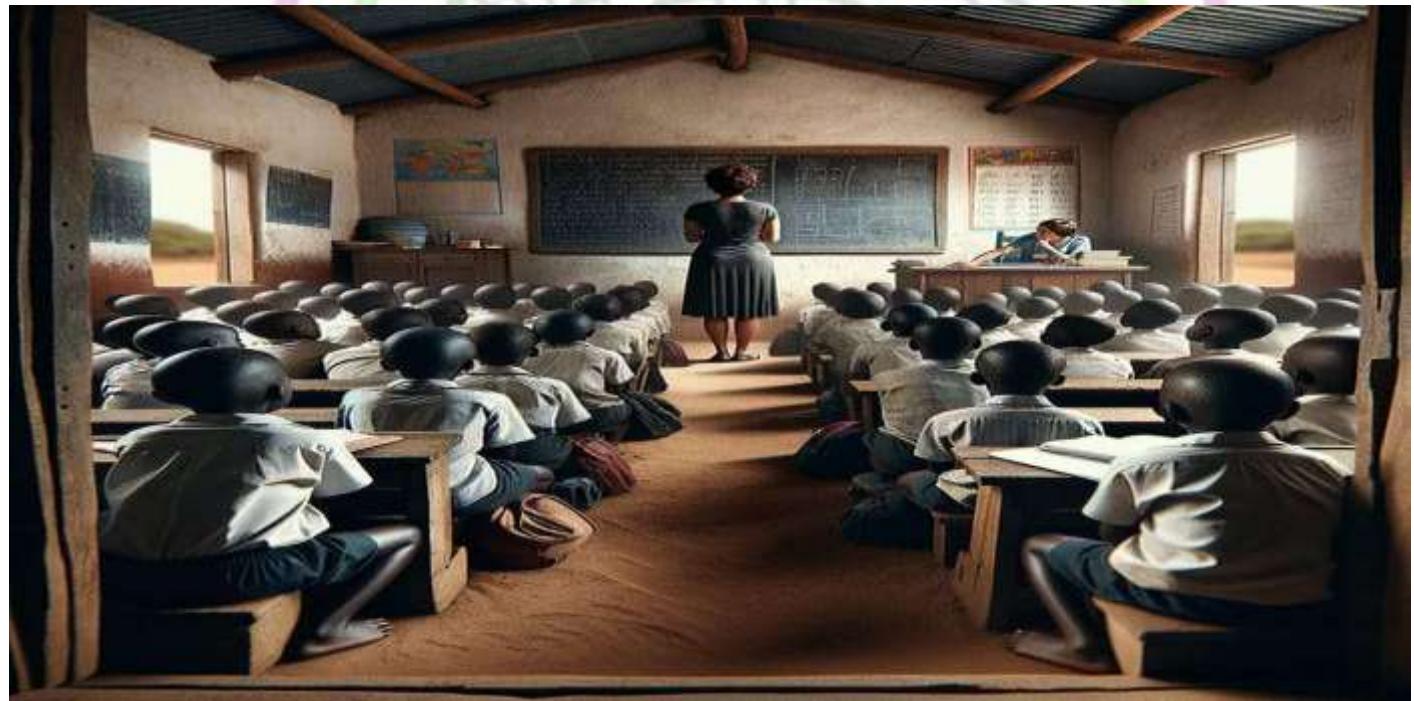
Education is the primary engine of both economic growth and social mobility. A society which makes quality education available to all is guaranteed equitable development. A society where quality education is the preserve of the rich undermines economic growth and guarantees itself inequality.

We as a Nation have enshrined the right to education in Article 43 of Constitution. The right to education is recognized as essential to achieving all the other rights, particularly political and civil rights. The right to education has three pillars namely;

- free and compulsory primary education,
- progressive achievement of universal secondary education.

Every person has a right

- a. To highest standards of health, which includes services, reproductive healthcare
- b. To accessible and adequate housing and to reasonable standards of sanitation
- c. To be free from hunger and to have adequate food of acceptable quality
- d. To clean and safe water in adequate quantities
- e. To social security
- f. To education



Food security

Kenya is a hungry nation. Half of our population is undernourished, that is, they eat less than what is less than the minimum required for a person to be healthy and productive. Simply put, half of Kenya deemed adequate calories that a person needs per day. Specifically, half the population eats 25 percent cannot afford to eat three square meals a day every day without sacrificing another basic need. Worse still, twenty percent of Kenyans, that is, one out of every five families is “critically food poor” which We are, fifty years after independence, a middle income agricultural nation that cannot feed itself.

A Hunger Free Nation : Putting food first

Ng'aragu ndihoyaguo uhoro (You do not enquire about a visitor's business when they are still hungry). This Gikuyu proverb speaks not just to the African spirit of hospitality and generosity of spirit, but also.

HEALTH

A cure for hospital bills

provision of universal health coverage. The defining feature of universal health coverage is The right to healthcare is enshrined in our Constitution. Realization of the right to health is tied to the absence of "out-of-pocket" payments that is payment for health care services at the point of delivery. Universal of the right to health remains our biggest challenge and PSP-K government will ensure it is achieved. Although we have an expansive public health care system as well as a public insurance scheme (NHIF/now SHA/SHIF), our health care system falls very far short of universal health coverage. Out of pocket expenditure contributes to 32 percent of total health spending, more than the Government which contributes 24 percent. All Kenyans can relate to this, as we all contribute to medical harambees all the time.

PSP-K is determined to realize universal health coverage. Our promise is a Nation where no one worries about affording medical care if they or their loved ones fall ill. NASA is persuaded that this pledge is achievable within the current health care resource envelope by way of restructuring the way the resources are deployed. Only half the health care is achieved through various means, with a public health system paid out of taxes at one end, children who complete primary school are proceeding to secondary school, and close to a quarter of universal health insurance coverage on the other, and a variety of hybrids in between. Essentially, it those are not completing secondary school. In effect, only a third of the cohort that completes primary boils down to citizens never having to worry about health care bills.

PART X. CREATING JOBS, ERADICATING POVERTY

Economy

Any equal opportunity nation

There is a big mystery in Kenya today. While the economy continues to register respectable headline growth rate year after year, the average Kenyan is not experiencing improvement in their standard of living. On the contrary, making ends meet is becoming harder every day. Many people now doubt whether this growth is real.

The reason behind this anomaly is because economic growth under Jubilee is not expansion of the productive economy—it has been fuelled by profligate procurement led Government spending. The budget deficit, that is the difference between revenue and expenditure, which is financed by borrowing is now in the order of a record eight percent of GDP, which translates to the Government spending 40 percent more than it earns year after year.

PSP-K will implement transformational economic policies and programmes that will uplift all Kenyans. The idea of trickle down suggests that one should have a bowl to catch whatever it is that trickles down. PSP-K believes that every Kenya deserves a ladder. PSP-K goal is to provide every Kenyan with that ladder.

Restoring Sanity in Economic Management

After twelve years of financial recklessness, our public finances are precarious. The Kenya Kwanza Government has doubled our public debt. Moreover, the Jubilee administration has eschewed the long-

term soft loans from development finance institutions we have relied on in the past, in favour of expensive short-term commercial bank loans, resulting in the cost of servicing the debt rising faster than the debt itself. While the foreign debt has increased tremendously. syndicated bank loans are structured to be paid off in one model that has failed the people since independence. This is the mistaken belief that the trickle-down payment at the end of the term, typically two years. It is not possible to finance these “bullet” payments, ideology is the legacy of the colonial division of the country into “high potential” and “low potential” so the only way to pay them off when they mature, is to refinance with a similar loan. We are now living regions of the country for white settlement which we carried over into independent Kenya and adopted in permanent debt refinancing mode. The Jubilee Government has put the country on a debt treadmill which has been further escalated by Kenya Kwanza government. There is no such thing as absolute economic potential. We now know for instance, that Marsabit has the highest potential for wind power Jubilee Government's stated objective of sovereign bond was to reduce domestic borrowing so and in Kenya, and neighbouring Turkana has enough underground water to make its deserts bloom. More bring down domestic interest rates, and to stop crowding out the private sector from domestic market. fundamentally, we are compelled by our Constitution to acknowledge the characterization of some but far from reducing the appetite, the jubilee administration and now Kenya kwanza has doubled both foreign and domestic debt. This citizens as more development oriented than others, put bluntly, high and low potential communities, is has made the capping of interest rates counterproductive by making lending to Government even more a historical injustice for which apology and redress is owed. attractive than lending to the private sector. This is the road to economic ruin.

PSP-K rejects trickle down economics. We believe in and stand for prosperity from below.



Transformational agenda for agriculture

Agriculture is the largest sector of our economy, and is the primary source of income for half the population. But agriculture is also where poverty resides. This is a manifestation of low productivity; the agricultural potential of our dry lands can be illustrated by looking at Israel. Rainfall in Israel ranges particularly in smallholder agriculture. But within smallholder agriculture, there are large disparities in from 45 - 900 mm per year, as compared to Kitui's 500 - 1070 mm per year. Other than cereals which

productivity even within the same localities. Smallholder milk production varies by a factor of 10 between require far too much land, Israel is self-sufficient in food for her 8 million people, and earns as much as low productivity and high productivity smallholder farmers. Our average maize yield has stagnated at we do from agricultural exports on land that is a third smaller than Kitui. This means that Kitui has the 8.5 bags per acre, against a potential of 30 bags per acre, and this reflects the very low yields among potential of feeding at least 10 million people. Yet Kitui is unable to feed the county's one million people. smallholders who produce 80 percent of our maize. Increasing maize yields by only four bags per acre on current acreage would increase our production by 16 million bags per year, enough to keep up with the main constraint facing our dry land agriculture is water for irrigation. Yet, as this example shows, consumption growth for another decade. some of the less arid dry lands like Kitui get sufficient rainfall which, if harvested and used efficiently.

We will transform smallholder agriculture through farmer-centred support services. There are already considerable resources for smallholder agriculture, but just as we have middlemen for produce, we have far too many intermediaries for support services— most of the resources are absorbed by big Expand and commercialize small stock rearing with a focus on resource poor farmers. salaries, four-wheel drive cars and seminars. This reflects Government abdication of its role of providing leadership and coordination, leaving the field to donors, NGOs and market players. Raising small stock, that is, poultry, sheep and goats, pigs) are one of the easiest ways to lift subsistence farmers out of poverty, particularly those with limited amounts of arable land. Many households are We have no doubt that our smallholder farmers have the potential to produce a surplus. If some farmers trapped in poverty

simply because they lack the very little capital required to start a small poultry in Busia can get 20 bags of maize per acre, there is no reason why every farmer in Busia cannot do the enterprise. On the other hand, the demand for the products particularly chicken meat is extremely same. If smallholder dairy farmers in Githunguri can produce 20 kilos of milk per cow per day there is no high. Western Kenya for instance has the highest concentration of indigenous chicken but is unable to reason why their counterparts in Embu cannot do likewise. If a commercial rancher rear steers weighing meet local demand. Moreover, research shows that chicken is the most preferred meat in Kenya, but 500 kilos, there is no reason why our pastoralist cannot do likewise. If the Rift Valley highlands can be also the most expensive, with an average consumption of 0.7 kg per person per year, compared to the granary of Kenya, there is no reason why Ukambani cannot be orchard of Kenya. global average of 14 kg per person. This shows tremendous potential to expand poultry production and consumption, a win-win for farmers and consumers.

Our plan for agriculture is to reach every farmer, and provide the support that they need to get the maximum yields from their crops and livestock, and the get the best price for that produce in the market. Because needs vary in different parts of the country, this support will be tailored to the needs Lower the cost and improve access to agricultural inputs of a particular place. Farmers in Busia have good soil and rainfall, but they cannot afford the inputs required to get bountiful maize harvests. Agricultural inputs in Kenya are expensive by any standards. The high costs make farming unrewarding, and are passed on to consumers.

There have been many schemes to bring down the cost of fertilizers Increase maize yields from 8.5 to 12.5 bags per acre over the next five years through subsidies, including by the current government but they have all proved unsatisfactory and unsustainable. Under Kenya kwanza administration, government statistics show that fertilizer use has even that the potential maize yield is 30 bags per acre, our average yield is less than a third of their increased by close to 150 percent, but there is no crop that shows a commensurate production increase. potential yield, the scope for increasing maize yield is extremely high. To meet our requirements, we are Production has stagnated for most crops, while that of maize has fallen every year but one. Clearly, the now growing maize on 4.5 million acres of land, which is far too much. On

this acreage, increasing maize scheme is not working. by 4 bags per acre translates to an increase of 18 million bags, enough to meet the consumption of our growing population for another decade.

Input purchasing and distribution is one of the functions that farmers' organizations do well, and government does badly. This was the case before political interference ruined the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA). Today, the Kenya Tea Development Agency (KTDA) still does a good job of providing communities and the country as a whole. Secondly, it reduces poverty. Third, it keeps maize affordable, fertilizer to smallholder tea farmers.

PSP-K will thereby be benefitting all consumers.; The highest Farmers in western Kenya in particular can adopt to the use of improved seeds and fertilizer.

- strengthen farmer organizations and transfer to them the input procurement and distribution to achieve the desired yields functions presently being undertaken by Government
- facilitate imports of grain for the manufacture of animal feeds.
- scale up the multiplication of certified seeds, and fast track the certification of new seed varieties.

Develop agricultural finance and risk markets

Farmers are exposed to more risks than any other type of business, notably weather, pests, diseases and volatile market prices. These risks predispose agriculture to market failure, that is, the free market does not work as well as it should, and hence the need for Government to create institutions and support mechanisms that mitigate the market failures. Blind faith in markets led to liberalization of agriculture with the rest of the economy in the 80s and 90s dismantling the old support mechanisms without alternatives, leaving farmers to the vagaries of poorly functioning markets.

PSP-K will;

- develop a comprehensive national crop and livestock insurance system
- establish a policy and legislative framework for warehouse receipting to enable farmers to use their crops as collateral for credit.
- promote the development of commodity markets and risk management instruments including forward markets, futures and options.

When a member of the household gets a wage job e.g. a child who has finished school, they are able to help the household to improve agriculture. The Coast region has very low levels of education attainment, hence low access to wage jobs, hence lack of resources to improve agriculture. The PSP-K Government will break this cycle of poverty by helping the Coast to access the resources they need to lift themselves out of poverty. PSP-K will attack both poverty, through agricultural investment and the cause of poverty, through education, training and jobs creation.

Restructure and revitalize the Agricultural Finance Corporation and the Agricultural Development cartels shoot themselves in the foot because farmers cannot toil for middle men forever. Our coffee Corporation (ADC) to become more responsive to farmers needs. farmers have the potential to regain their position as one of the country's top foreign exchange earners. Moreover, Batian, a new disease resistant and fast maturing variety offers the exciting prospect of expanding coffee production into western Kenya and lower Eastern regions.

Specific Regional Initiatives

Western

Despite having dependable rainfall, and potential for very diverse agriculture, Western Kenya and the Lake region have the highest concentration of farmers trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty. NASA's transformation initiative for western Kenya and the Lake region will promote mixed farming i.e. remain the most economically insecure members of our society. This should not be case. If this livestock combining dairy, small stock (chicken, dairy goats, fish) horticulture and cereals. wealth was in property and financial assets, it would be worth a trillion shillings, generating an income stream of at least Ksh. 100b a year. Somalia, with a third of our livestock earns an estimated US\$ 360m

PSP-K will;

- develop a comprehensive national crop and livestock insurance system
- establish a policy and legislative framework for warehouse receipting to enable farmers to use their crops as collateral for credit.
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Central

No sector captures the chaos of botched liberalization like coffee. Our coffee production peaked at 130,000 tons in the late eighties, just before liberalization. Today, it is down to 40,000 tons, yet we produce some of the best coffee in the world, and the market for the coffee we produce has been booming. The KPCU, once the wealthiest cooperative is no more. Task force after task force has made recommendations but all have come to naught, frustrated by local and international cartels. But the Yield of our livestock in terms of meat, milk and hides and skins is well below potential. In meat, the average carcass yield of cows is 110 kg, against a potential of 180 kg. This translates to a loss of Ksh 20,000 per cow at current prices that could be gained by fattening cattle before they are slaughtered. We also need to invest in improvement of genetic stock of the livestock. One of the manifestations of economic marginalization of the pastoralist community is that we have allowed our genetic resources of our indigenous cattle to deteriorate while investing our resources in exotic dairy cattle.

This region, which includes parts of Meru, Embu and Ukambani, has excellent soils and warm weather, and people have ample land. The most critical constraint is water. Public resources are put in big dams, and not enough resources are invested in reticulation of that water to households, yet the region has sufficient rainfall which, if properly harvested could meet households domestic, livestock and small-scale irrigation requirements. NASA will aim to ensure that every household in the region has adequate water harvesting and storage capacity either at the household and shared capacity within the community. NASA will banish famine relief from Eastern Kenya.



PART XI. SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD

The twentieth century was marked by momentous changes in the world. It has been a century of struggle against imperialism. The century was witness to great revolutionary events, beginning with the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The victory over fascism in the Second World War in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, was a major event. The historic Chinese revolution, the success of the revolutionary forces in Vietnam, Korea and Cuba and the formation of the socialist states in Eastern Europe were a product of the titanic clash between imperialism and socialism. This was also a century of national liberation movements leading to the political independence of the colonies. These victories marked a new epoch in world history as was projected by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary events of the century and the major developments in science and technology opened up grand prospects for the advance of humanity on a scale never envisioned before.

The countries which adopted the socialist system blazed a new path. With the creation of the Soviet Union, for the first time in human history, the working people could live in a society free from class exploitation. Rapid industrialisation, elimination of feudal vestiges and all-round progress in the fields of economy, culture and science led to a new life for the vast mass of the people and the empowerment of the working people. The eradication of poverty and illiteracy, the elimination of unemployment, the vast network of social security in the fields of health, education, housing and big strides in science and technology - these were the path-breaking achievements of the socialist countries. Such remarkable progress was registered in societies where capitalism had not yet developed significantly and were relatively backward.

Socialism had to be built in the difficult circumstances of overcoming socio-economic backwardness and countering the aggression, subversion and threats of imperialism. The achievements registered in the Soviet Union had their effect on the capitalist countries as well. The ruling classes were forced to introduce and extend social security for their own citizens under the concept of a welfare State. However, in the course of building socialism on an uncharted path, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe committed serious mistakes. Such mistakes flowed from the improper understanding of the protracted nature of building socialism; the wrong notion of the role of the party and the State; the failure to effect timely changes in the economy and its management; the failure to deepen socialist democracy in the party, State and society; the growth of bureaucratism; and the erosion of ideological consciousness. These facilitated the sustained efforts of imperialism at subverting socialism. These distortions do not negate the validity of Marxism-Leninism, rather they represent the deviations from revolutionary theory and practice. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the setbacks suffered in Eastern Europe resulted in a new situation. At the end of the 20th century the forces of socialism had to once again face the challenge posed by an emboldened imperialism. The PSP-K is confident that notwithstanding the setbacks, the communist movement and the revolutionary forces will learn from the mistakes, regroup and meet the challenge of countering the offensive of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

Despite the twists and turns, successes and reverses, the developments of the twentieth century, particularly since 1917 reflect the profound impact of socialism and the people's struggles in the evolution of human progress. The revolutionary transformations have brought about qualitative leaps in history and left an indelible imprint on modern civilisation. The process of social emancipation and socialist transformation will be a protracted and complex one. History has shown that the transformation from capitalism to socialism is not a one-stroke transformation but a prolonged period of intense struggle of classes even after acquiring State power.

World capitalism is incapable of solving the basic problems affecting humanity. The tremendous growth of productive forces utilising the scientific and technological advances has resulted in growth taking place in the advanced capitalist countries without increasing employment and sharply accentuating income and wealth disparities. It has led to intensified exploitation of the workers by expropriating increased rate of surplus value. The advances in science and technology are utilised to perpetuate concentration of wealth and assets in the hands of a few individuals and multinational corporations. Imperialism has proved to be a predatory and destructive system. In the twentieth century it plunged humanity into two barbaric world wars claiming millions of lives. The armaments industry has become an integral part of the advanced capitalist economies, which serves to keep the aggregate demand afloat. The neo-liberal prescriptions advocating the withdrawal of the State have led to savage cuts in social security and welfare benefits for the working class and the ordinary citizens. Jobless growth, casualisation of labour, and growing disparities in incomes and wealth are a marked feature.

The volatility of the financial system, the stagnant and low rates of growth in the advanced capitalist countries and the growing irrationality and wastage in the use of resources are all symptoms of the in-built crisis in the capitalist system. The rapacious drive for profits by the multinational corporations and the extravagant consumption of the rich countries have devastated the environment and is seriously threatening the world's ecology in general and that of the third world in particular. The fundamental contradiction inherent in capitalism between the ever-growing socialisation of production and the increasingly private appropriation of the surplus has become more acute.

The concentration and internationalisation of finance capital has reached unprecedented heights in the current phase of capitalism. Globally mobile finance capital is assaulting the sovereignty of nations, seeking unimpeded access to their economies in pursuit of super profits. The imperialist order in the

service of this speculative finance capital breaks down all barriers for its free flow and imposes the terms favourable to such capital in every part of the globe. The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation are the instruments to perpetuate this unjust post-colonial global order. The new hegemony of speculative finance capital results in sluggish growth in the advanced capitalist countries. For the developing countries it spells a vicious cycle of intensified exploitation and growing debt. The terms of trade, industrial and agricultural production, technology flows, and the services sector in the lesser-developed capitalist countries are all forced to dovetail the interests of imperialist capital. The imperialist system has divided the world into two: the rich advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries where live the vast mass of humanity. The gap between the rich and poor countries began to sharply widen in the last two decades of the twentieth century. With the onset of the imperialist driven globalisation it has grown further.

With the dismantling of the Soviet Union, imperialism which was pursuing a neo-colonial strategy since the end of the old style colonialism, has stepped up its efforts for global domination. US imperialism is using its economic, political and military power aggressively to establish its hegemony. The imperialist driven globalisation is sought to be buttressed by the expansion of NATO and military intervention around the world to impose the imperialist order. The socialist countries China, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea and Laos, faced with adverse conditions created by the change in the correlation of forces are steadfastly committed to the cause of socialism. Imperialism actively seeks to subvert the existing socialist countries and wages a relentless war in the ideological, economic and political spheres against them. Utilising the global communications revolution, imperialism with its control over the international media, aggressively seeks to discredit and suppress anti-capitalist ideas and socialism.

Despite the fact that the international correlation of forces favoured imperialism at the end of the twentieth century and capitalism continues to develop productive forces with the application of new scientific and technological advances, it remains a crisis-ridden system apart from being a system of oppression, exploitation and injustice. The only system, which is an alternative to capitalism, is socialism. The people of Latin America, for example, who are repeatedly electing leftist governments, parties and leaders in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil are realising this fact: that the path towards social and national liberation is that of socialism. The financial and economic crises in Europe and the United States of America is escalating with bankrupts, unemployment, poverty and anti-capitalist demonstrations becoming the order of the day. The central social contradiction therefore remains that between imperialism and socialism for the epoch. The contradiction between the imperialist countries and the third world countries rapidly intensifies under the neo-liberal global offensive and it is coming to the forefront. Given the uneven development under capitalism, the contradictions within and between imperialist countries continue to exist. The contradiction between labour and capital aggravates with the current features of capitalism as noted above. All these contradictions continue to intensify and exert their influence on world events.

The working class and its parties have to equip themselves ideologically, politically and organizationally to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism and its exploitative order. The unity of the Left, democratic and progressive forces around the world must be forged to fight against imperialism and defeat the ruling classes who seek to sustain and perpetuate the present unjust global order. As a Party based on proletarian internationalism, PSP-K is committed to fight against imperialist hegemony and expresses solidarity with all the forces in the world who are fighting against the imperialist driven economic order of globalization and for peace, democracy and socialism.

PART XII.THE MINIMUM PROGRAM OF THE PSP-K

(1) Towards an independent, developing, integrated and self - sustaining economy

The majority of Kenyans live a life of poverty. Poverty, which is a manifestation of underdevelopment, is painful, degrading, shameful and dehumanizing. PSP-K is conscious of the fact that underdevelopment and poverty will only be eliminated through pro-people sound economic and social policies. Development should be measured in concrete improvement of the conditions of people's lives and not on abstract statistics of accounting figures that are presented as annual budgets but which have nothing to do with reality. To achieve sustainable development and social progress, the people must remain the subject and objects of economic, political and social policies. Poverty will be alleviated and ultimately eradicated by policies that aim, first and foremost, at providing all people with the basic necessities: food, housing, clothes and employment. This requires investment in primary economy centered projects in agriculture and industry. Investment in the secondary economy including people-oriented tourism, trade and the service sector will also help. For the country to move away from the path of near stagnation as far as the social development or economy of the majority is concerned PSP-K proposes socialist oriented economic policies and plans that arise from concrete researched information about the geography of our country that spells out the potential for development in terms of human, natural and strategic resources. The policies and plans will not remain on paper but will be implemented and measured against the actual improvement of the lives of the people by such indicators as nutrition, housing, clothes, water, employment, peace, security and access to essential services such as health and education - and generally in the progressive improvement of the quantity and quality of life of the majority of the people.

To realize its plans for improving the lives of the people, PSP-K will mobilize human and natural resources of Kenya to build an independent, nationally integrated and self - sustaining economy. The following dialectical relationships in the country will be analyzed and utilized to inform PSP-K economic policies and plans that shall establish the key links based on production, circulation, exchange and consumption: "between town and country; between agriculture and industry; between heavy and light industry; between producer goods and consumer goods; between food crops and industrial raw materials; between mass goods and luxury goods; and between internal and international markets; and between tourism and local agriculture and industry". The key links are economic objectives that will be addressed first to trigger sustainable development.

PSP-K will also work to shift the country from neo-liberal economic policies and instead focus on home grown creative economic policies that are based not only on the harnessing of our natural and human resources but also on our own priorities as a nation. Neo-liberal economic policies embody anti-statism policies that are geared towards privatization of state enterprises (parastatals) and removing the state from owning property and participating in business. To PSP-K this is not good to Kenya whose economy is so underdeveloped that the state hardly collects enough taxes to finance social services, cause meaningful development and create jobs. PSP-K government will participate in the economy on behalf of the people while allowing the private and co-operative sectors to operate simultaneously but both regulated by the state. The present global financial and economic crisis has in fact driven capitalist countries to this conclusion. Private financial institutions, companies and industries are now being nationalised or controlled by states as chaotic capitalist market forces have failed to save them from bankruptcy and collapse.

Neo-liberalism also advocates for economic liberalisation policies that chaotically open internal markets to face unfair competition from all types of foreign goods and thus killing local agriculture, trade and industry. PSP-K believes that the state has the obligation to protect and nurture local agriculture, trade and industry and therefore jobs. Kenya needs direct foreign investments but not in the sectors that Kenyans are

capable of investing and developing on their own or that are to do with protecting our national sovereignty. PSP-K will also implement policies that aim at phasing out the economy based on second hand commodities (mtumbaism) and importation of sub - standard goods. Mtumbaism prevents the growth of local industry, agriculture and trade. The question of Kenya's external debts will be addressed and negotiated with lenders in favour of debt relief to the country to allow economic recovery and growth

(2) Summary of PSP-K minimum program

The minimum program of PSP-K will be implemented in the stage in the transformation of Kenyan society through which the highly productive/innovative aspects of capitalism will be put to the benefit of the development of the whole society by ameliorating, in a democratic manner, the socio-economic consequences and inhuman conditions created by capitalism. Our program is the partial antidote of the unacceptable social conditions of the poverty, exploitation, oppression and underdevelopment existing in Kenya today:

1. PSP-K will retain all the progressive aspects of capitalism and put them into the service of the people and instead the current search of super profits for the few.
2. PSP-K will create conditions for providing social security for all Kenyans by building a three-tire democratic and complimentary economic systems composed of the state, cooperative and private sectors.
3. PSP-K will struggle against the illegitimate debt burden imposed on the country through unequal power, trade and other relations.
4. PSP-K will work to defend and consolidate the progressive political reforms and democratic gains won by the struggle of the people and that are embodied in the Constitution of Kenya. In this regard, PSP-K will collaborate with other progressive Kenyans, parties and movements to struggle for the realization of the basic tenets of the constitution on the sovereignty of the people, human rights, national values, separation of powers, checks and balances and devolution of governments with popular participation of the people at all levels of government.
5. PSP-K will collaborate with the private sector and international partners to finance the large socioeconomic development agenda necessary for triggering a national self-sustaining economy.
6. PSP-K will provide and guarantee, progressively, basic needs and services to the individual and the family such as, security to a person, shelter, food, water, health, education and employment that are also entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya. PSP-K will reinstate freedom and sovereignty over our country, people and resources rather than surrendering out our nation to imperialism as is the case today.
7. PSP-K will foster partnership with the Kenyan people in the ownership and provision of services by the commanding heights of the economy, such as money/banks/financial institutions, transport and communications and infrastructure, major natural water towers and water works, power generation, etc.
8. PSP-K will engage the most suitable technologies available in the provision of services and implementation of development and maintenance of projects. We need not invent the wheel; we need only adopt it and make it work for our purposes.
9. PSP-K will mobilise and facilitate Kenyans to conserve, protect, develop and utilise our natural resources and environment sustainably for the present and future generations of Kenyans. The Party will make and implement policies that will ensure investment in natural resources brings direct and indirect benefits to the local communities.
10. PSP-K will strive to provide for public-funded universal and compulsory primary and secondary education as a first stage. It will also provide high quality, affordable and subsidised college and university education, with the ultimate objective of making education free at all levels. At the same time our Party will

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mobilise Kenyans to formulate a socialist education and cultural policy that aims at eradicating illiteracy and producing conscious, creative and independent human beings capable of releasing their individual talents, knowledge and skills in the service of the nation, society and humanity.

11. PSP-K will implement policies of fighting negative ethnicity and of building national cohesion. It will mobilise Kenyans to celebrate their rich cultural diversity in the interest of national unity. Our party will develop the national and official languages of Kenya as well as those of the various Kenyan nationalities.

12. PSP-K will adopt a class and gender approach to development in all spheres of life.

13. PSP-K will implement chapter eleven of the Constitution of Kenya to reduce the gap between urban and rural areas and to lead to equality between the various regions and Counties of our country.

14. PSP-K will implement a foreign policy based on peace and friendship with all nations of the World based on relations of reciprocity and the right of all nations to self-determination. The Party will also forge special and close ties with socialist countries and people struggling for freedom from capitalism and imperialism.

15. PSP-K will disseminate socialist ideas and will strive to deepen the debate on the alternatives to neo-liberalism and capitalism.

16. PSP-K will participate in the struggle for African Unity and socialism in the African continent in the spirit of Africa Left Network Forum (ALNEF).

PART XIII.THE MAXIMUM PROGRAM OF THE PSP-K – SOCIAL LIBERALISM

PSP-K is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and all oppressed and exploited people of Kenya. Its maximum program is the establishment of socialism and ultimately liberate Kenya, East African Community, Africa and the World. In all its activities, the Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism which shows to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of person by person, their complete emancipation. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism that has been developed and enriched by communists and communist parties of different countries of the World will be applied by PSP-K creatively to solve definite problems in definite historical, cultural and other material conditions of Kenya. The Party shall keep high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

