

Which Way Kenya?

The following are my reflections on what is happening in the Kenyan political landscape. It is important to note that these views have been crystallized by the recent political events in our country, as follows:

The Referendum campaigns and the outcome

The referendum served to bring the enemies of yesterday together to fight a common enemy without necessarily sharing common goals and objectives for the post referendum period. That is why there were different statements from different ODM leaders. To Raila for example the outcome of the referendum could be a springboard to state house. If he won, the government had lost legitimacy to rule, as the No vote to him could easily be sold to Kenyans as a no confidence vote. If the banana team had won, he could turn around and say the government stole the result hence stage protests that to him could end up with the storming of state house. To Moi and others, the constitution was vindictive and targeted certain people, in particular he saw the governance and human rights components as targeting those who have been accused of committing human rights abuses during his rule, including himself. He called the draft constitution “Katiba ya fitina”.

To garner support from Moi and others known to have appropriated public resources, Raila and his team embarked on a scare campaign, the rich were told they would lose all their wealth and possibly end up in jail if the draft constitution went through. They were told to invest some of their wealth in the No campaign, that way they can enjoy the balance in peace.

Civil Society

It is ironical that a government that came to power with massive support from civil society could squander all that good will in such a short time. Through un-strategic posturing and arrogance, the few politicians in the Narc government who had good friends and connections in the civil society managed to isolate friendly civil society within the first two years of Narcs' rule. Civil society actors, some of whom played a prominent role in the formation of Narc like the Kenya Human Rights Commission through its then director Dr Willy Mutunga, who initiated the Serena breakfast meetings became strangers or even a threat to those they had mentored.

The LDP part of Narc on the other hand embarked on an NGO, recruitment and domestication program that saw them even finance the takeover of prominent NGOs, including the NGO council. That way, Clarion, Education Centre for Governance, 4Cs, FIDA, NCEC, Youth Agenda, etc were taken over by Orange friendly forces. In two years, the NGOs had turned LDP (Orange). Those that did not want to identify with LDP but did not feel they had anything to gain by working with the Banana team, decided to fake neutrality. These include the Kenya Human Rights Commission, RPP, etc. It should be noted that the above NGOs were the backbone of the struggle for change in this country and broke many rules in their endeavor to bring Narc to power. One can also add that they were politically very close to the Democratic Party, but now they feel betrayed and isolated by a government they rightly feel they brought to power. The majority of these NGOs are patronized by officials from the so called Mount Kenya region but they simply do not identify with the Narc government.

The Post referendum political alignments

The Kalonzo factor- One interesting result of the referendum is the obvious staking that has basically left Kalonzo dry, isolated, and exposed for what he is trying to become, a reincarnation of Mulu

Mutisya. Through arousing Akamba nationalism rather than song and clowning, Kalonzo has managed to stake for himself an impressive lead in popularity in Ukambani.

Kalonzo managed to accumulate this popularity through the Narc nomination, when everybody was simply interested in their particular constituency nomination, Kalonzo was out planting cronies in all Ukambani constituencies, he even attempted to do the same in Gachoka, a Mbeere constituency with a sizeable Akamba population. In two instances, Kitui South and East, he successfully supported his cronies against the Narc candidates, to go to parliament on non Narc parties. The other prominent Kamba politicians were then busy fighting for their survival, completely oblivious of Kalonzos long term strategy. When they got any free time, they accompanied Kalonzo campaigning for him and his cronies who have now turned an army for Kalonzo.

Raila and his political genius – Raila learned a big lesson in the 1997 elections, he realized that he could never win state power without the support of other Kenyan tribes. This led to his crossing the floor with his Luo Nyanza parliamentary army to join Moi in the mistaken belief that Moi would allow him to compete and win the Kanu presidential nomination. However both Raila and Moi had one goal, to neutralize the Kikuyu vote by isolating the Kikuyu opposition politicians from getting any foot hold in Nyanza, Western and the North Rift Valley. This gave birth to the Western Alliance of Moi, Mudavadi and Raila. Unknown to Raila was Moi's scheme to anoint a Kikuyu as the Kanu presidential candidate so as to further neutralize the non Kanu Kikuyus from power. Moi never thought Raila could leave Kanu, since he had already betrayed his comrades in arms and especially, since in Mo's view the opposition political heavy weights could never trust or support Raila for President. Moi was wrong, Raila left Kanu, with more than the Luo parliamentary army he had come with, he took Kalonzo and others with him. And to Mo's surprise,

Raila accepted to play second fiddle to Kibaki and Wamalwa. The result was Narc, the strongest political block ever seen in post multi-party era politics, possibly never to be seen in Kenya. Like Kalonzo, Raila made sure to help his cronies in various parts of the country get the Narc nomination as everybody was dancing to the eminent Narc political victory.

Raila and Kalonzo had one thing in common, when every body was all trusting and surrendering their political infrastructure to Narc, Raila and Kalonzo kept theirs intact, that way, Railas' think tank was maintained and strengthened under the late Mbai and professor Wanyande. Kalonzo had Fidel Mumina of NSIS and Wambua who was a commissioner of CKRC to steer his think tank. Mumina was, however, invaluable to Kalonzo because in 1997, he had started a pro Kalonzo monthly paper called the "Kenyan" which was supposed to propel Kalonzo into the national political arena. Mumina started this paper while working at USAID. He was fired for being associated with this paper. I know him well, because I replaced him in USAID. Kalonzo and the late Mulu Mutisya could not let one of their own suffer in poverty, they got him appointed as a deputy director of NSIS, in charge of personnel and administration. Why administration, because he has the honorable responsibility of hiring, firing and posting all NSIS staff. Is it a coincidence that Mumina is a top contender for Boinets' position at NSIS? I leave that to your good judgment. If he is appointed to this powerful position, it will be another big mistake that the Narc government has made, probably the biggest after the referendum. And of course it is not Kalonzo who is fronting for Mumina, those of us from Ukambani in government are. They are fighting for a "Mkamba" you see. And can you blame them if you did not blame them when Kalonzo lined up his cronies to be nominated as Narc parliamentary candidates in 2002? Fake fallouts between Mumina and Kalonzo have even been peddled to cleanse Mumina for the job, who knows.

Demonizing of the Kikuyu, Embu and Merus by LDP

Raila coined the term Mt Kenya Mafia and it stuck like glue, however, the powerful individuals from this region gave it political content and expression not Raila. Raila only gave a name to a trend that started developing after Narc came to power. He was not the architect of the activities that have come to be associated with the term. But Raila is not clean either, he only happens to have a strategic approach to name calling.

As one of the conditions for political cooperation between Railas' Kanu and Narc, an MOU was developed, negotiated, and agreed to. ***In retrospect, this MOU could and cannot be operationalized by any head of state worthy his or her salt. And that is why LDP put it forward as a condition for cooperation, not to be respected but to fail so as to give the LDP a political platform to pitch their campaign for 2007.*** Anybody would agree, the Raila spinners were far ahead of us, they got to 2007 elections in 2002 when we were shouting with excited about our eminent victory over Kanu.

To ALL Kenyans including many from the so called Mt Kenya region, the Mt Kenya Mafia has something to do with nepotism and corruption, two vices that Narc promised to fight to the kilt, and for that Kenyans gave Narc the mandate to do exactly that. By 2002, Kenyans had gotten fed up with the Moi regime, because every important government and parastatal position went to a Kalenjin. One may want to remember Hon' John Michukis' question in parliament about the tribes of the DCs, Permanent Secretaries, and parastatal heads etc in the Moi government, history is about to repeat itself, I have no doubt somebody is going to ask Hon' Michuki that question in 2006.

What is the problem? The problem is the government has jobs, and the jobs are given on the recommendation of powerful politicians, powerful politicians have important followers, relatives

and supporters in their constituencies, and a politician scores big in their constituencies when he or she can parade an army of officials they have secured jobs for. That is what happened; powerful politicians have secured powerful jobs for their relatives and constituents, including Raila himself. However the powerful politicians from Mt Kenya control more ministries (according to Maina Kiai 38%) and naturally they have secured more prime slots for their people. Does it make it right? NO. It can not be right when there is no transparent competition process to justify the appointments, in any case a transparent competitive process cannot have this regional bias. During the referendum the Kambas were told that the Mafia has taken away all the jobs and were already surveying the Ukai institute of agriculture for subdivision to settle their landless there. Since the issue of the jobs was true, it was difficult to convince the rural Kamba peasant that this was not on the drawing board especially when Kalonzo's cronies claimed to have seen surveyors subdividing Ukai land for Kikuyu squatters.

The threat to the Narc Government in 2007

The biggest threat to the Narc government in 2007 is not LDP, Kalonzo or Raila, it is the government itself. Time is running out, we will be electing a new government in less than two years. What is to be done:

- Kenyans, including many from the so called Mt Kenya region would like to see a radical surgery in the public service, a surgery that would not recognize and/or spare any holy cows. This we would suggest, should be done as equitably as is humanly possible, but taking cognizance of loyalty and commitment to the ideas and aspirations of His Excellency the President, his government and the Kenyan people.

- This process should be biased towards **REFORMERS**, people with a clean history, not sycophants who with indecent haste abandoned the Moi camp and acquired progressive language after Narc came to power. With their new identity and holier than thou attitude, they sneaked into positions of power and influence. As it were, Kenyans and the international community doubt the governments' commitment to the Kenyan people, and its ability to adhere to reforms and stipulated performance standards in the public service because of these people.
- The absence of an operational Narc or DP political party structures at the grassroots, make it impossible for the governments' good deeds to be propagated outside of the government spokesman's' office. As a matter of fact, the LDP MPs are very good in claiming all the good things that the government gives its people. One of the most important factors that made it difficult for the opposition to dislodge Kanu was the intricate and complimentary relationship between the provincial administration and the Kanu grass root structures. The village headman for example reported to the sub-chief. In Ukambani, the headman was/is responsible for assessing the individual family food needs, and distribution of the same. Quite often he was/is also part of the Kanu structure at the sub- locational level. He also acts as the chief Kanu agent during the general elections, and is always on the look out for whoever was voting against his party. The same relationship was/is replicated from the location Chief, the DO and onwards to the District Commissioner levels. This structure has not been dismantled, and if unchecked, it will do grievous harm to our aspirations of a second term come 2007. The just concluded referendum exercise should attest to this.

“Narcnising” the instruments of good governance

The legendary Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere once lamented his failure to build a socialist society in Tanzania and attributed his failure to the fact that he was using a capitalist government machinery to build socialism. The Narc government is in a similar situation. It has good and plausible REFORM policies but it is using the conservatives, looters and the oppressors of yesterday to operationalise these reforms. It simply cannot work. The accused can not sit in judgment of their case. As a matter of fact, genuine reformers are running scared because those they criticized and threatened during the struggle for Narcs’ accession to power are not only comfortable in their positions, some have actually moved up the ladder to much more powerful positions and influence. What is the solution to this problem?

- A careful analyses of the composition of the powerful people in most ministries, would find that the Minister who took over in January 2003 tried their best to reward their home boys and girls in the public co operations falling under their docket. Their political allegiance to Narc was not a prerequisite, belonging to their constituency, family, old school mate etc were. If you doubt me, go to ministries of economic planning and roads. These are just examples the majority of ministries follow the same pattern, with different degrees of tribal concentration in relation to who the Minister was January 2003.
- In some cases, people were called from retirement to position of influence. This is a bitter pill to the middle class from all regions, not just the so called Mt Kenya region. Whatever the retirees’ qualifications and experience, this recalling is difficult to justify, especially in cases where people reached the stipulated government retirement age.

- There are sensitive sectors of government that can not be trusted to people who do not ascribe to the philosophy and policy of the said government. You can not teach an old dog new tricks period; why were people loyal to Moi recalled unless we were not committed to change? Changes have to be made to align the Narc rhetoric with the people who serve it. ***A hyena can not be trusted to preside over a fair and equitable distribution of meat, however honest. That is what we have done and we have started paying heavily through corruption. Home boy/girl cannot be the criterion for strategic appointments to public service otherwise we will lead ourselves to the slaughter house of whatever mad man flukes their way to state house come 2007.*** Trust me some of these former Moi era government officials currently serving the Narc government may be the guillotine operators, after all they know all our secrets and hiding places. AS you may know, one dropped powerful Narc Permanent Secretary has joined Kanu as an advisor (read expert on Narc affairs and secrets).
- Narc has to wake up to the fact that it is in power and exercise its legitimate authority over the Kenyan people in a just and fair manner. Politics is about perceptions; the LDP and Kanu continue to exercise a lot of power and influence in the rural areas. In some places, they are even influencing the appointments of Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs under our noses. This is not surprising because the chiefs, sub chiefs, DOs, DCs etc were and continue to be employed through their influence. ***The result is that the government is not even known outside Nairobi, it is these pretenders to power who are acknowledged for whatever the government gives its people including drought relief food.*** In the drought stricken areas for example, these politicians even arrange with the provincial administration to officiate in the distribution of government food. Could a DP or Ford Kenya

MP hijack a government function, even at the sub location level before 2003? This could not happen, why is it happening now? because Narc has not read the riot act to the deviant bureaucracy, nor taken over the reigns of power in most middle level administrative level cadre positions. The results, is the continued control of the majority of public service sectors by the Kanu bureaucracy.

The National political landscape towards 2007

The main players in the 2007 elections are President Kibaki and Daniel Moi. Moi has managed to maneuver himself to the centre stage, so much so that, unchecked, he could easily determine who

the next president will be. It is important that we take preemptive measures now to avoid a major heart break come 2007. Time is of essence. The following will be the players to watch come 2007.

Raila Omolo Odinga

Raila is probably the most astute politician Kenya has seen since independence. Unlike his father, Raila has learned the modern methods of doing politics. The following are some of his strategic activities:

- Raila made his political base in the most densely populated slum in Africa, if not the world, Kibera. Kibera is estimated to house over one million people in an area of less than twenty square kilometer. It makes communication easy as everybody is within reach, even by word of mouth. Kibera also boasts the highest concentration of the Luo community per square kilometer outside Luo Nyanza.
- Raila commands a fanatical following among the Luos. It does not matter what he tells them, they will follow including jumping into the crocodile infested Lake Victoria without life jackets. Raila has converted this blind following into a powerful campaign financial and human resource base. Through a fairly well coordinated political cell network a prominent Luo lawyer collects campaign money from all working Luos in the major towns of Kenya and the Diaspora. The idea is they must get the presidency come 2007, and they are ready to invest their money in the government takeover project
- To direct the campaign, Raila has assembled a team of some of the best academic and political brains in Kenya. This think tank is predominantly Luo, fanatical, ruthless, dedicated and committed to taking political power with Raila. In scope, it has lawyers, academics, civil servants

(who can provide government inside information), and a myriad of civil society activists. On his part, Raila is loyal to this group and will not make any significant political decision without consulting them. They even develop themes of what Raila should do to remain in the news. Some people say the think tank even advises him on what suit to wear for what occasion. His alleged assassination plot should be seen in this light. They will spin anything just to make sure their messiah remains on the mainstream media. **However, more often than not, due to “our” carelessness, Railas’ spinners do not have to develop any themes our politicians provide them through their careless and inflammatory talk.** A free and unsolicited service, provided without acknowledgement or incentives on the part of our politicians.

- Strategically, Raila can not allow the passing and adoption of a new constitution without an executive prime minister, because it would deny him a vehicle to unite the opposition against the government, as well as deny him the justification for opposing President Kibaki come 2007. The guy has to promise to deliver something to the Kenyan people and that is a new a constitution.
- In three years, Raila has managed to finance the capture and domestication of most of the respected human rights and legal based NGOs. Ironically even NGOs like Clarion which were founded by people associated with the Kibaki government like Professor Kibwana have not been spared. The NGOs finance Railas’ presidential bid, and more often than not with donor funds.
- Among the current Orange presidential aspirants, none would trust Raila including Kalonzo. They, however, easily fall prey to his mobilization and organizational skills. **Like**

a python that hypnotizes its prey with its beauty and captivating stare, other presidential hopefuls will go to Raila if there is an issue that requires collective brevity.

- One positive reality is Moi will not trust Raila so there is very remote chance of Raila forming a coalition with Kanu as long as Moi is alive, and continues to wield power over Kanu.

Kalonzo Musyoka

Kalonzo is a paper tiger, incapable of leading any national campaign on his own. That is why he will hang on Railas' coat, like he did with Mulu Mutisya before him, in the mistaken belief that Raila will support him to run for the Presidency. ***In the comfort of Railas' patronage and security, Kalonzo can even exhibit quite bold tendencies, like the time he dared the President to fire them from the cabinet. This was not the real Kalonzo, it was Kalonzo talking from the warm comfort of Railas lap.***

Kalonzos' traits:

- Like all cowards, Kalonzo is a sadist, and given the chance he would be as ruthless as Hitler. He is deceitful and many a Kenyan, have been taken in by his innocent look. I am sure His Excellency the President can attest to this tyranny from a practical experience of having been stoned on Kalonzos instigation and orders at Katse Market in Mwingi district during the 1997 presidential and parliamentary elections.
- Christian pretences have earned Kalonzo the admiration of the American right wing fundamentalists some of them associated with President Bush. His long service in the foreign ministry in both Moi and later Kibakis' government gave him the advantage of cementing these relations. His inauguration of the Kalonzo foundation should be seen as a strategic move to have a conduit through which campaign

funds can be channeled from these right wing American groups and transmitted to Kenya in the guise of social development and conflict resolution funding. For some years now, the Cypriot government and the Cypriot Coptic church have made significant funding to Kalonzos' political ambitions. Please note that Kalonzo is a strong believer and practitioner of witchcraft. His personal witchdoctor passed away at the Nairobi hospital last month, where Kalonzo incurred heavy hospital bills. He is orphaned and depressed but I am sure he will replace the witchdoctor soon.

- In 2004, while serving in the foreign ministry in Kibakis' government, Kalonzo made a fundraising trip to Qatar where he met representatives of a number of Arab states. I am not in a position to determine what money was raised, but I know the money was meant for the LDP 2007 presidential and parliamentary campaign. I got this information from a trusted source and I gave it to a Kibaki government cabinet minister in August or September 2004. It will be interesting to see how the joint Raila/Kalonzo election investments will be shared out if as is most likely to happen, they end up in different political camps come 2007.

The Kalonzo Political Influence in Ukambani

Kalonzo is a very good student, under the pupilage of 'Professor' Mulu Mutisya, he learned hard political tackling and sycophancy as important political tools. During his short stint in Railas' Political monastery he has learned violence and the creation of fear as a political strategy. Those who oppose Kalonzo in Mwingi are harassed, bad mouthed and demonized. A few have lost their lives to serve as examples to those who may want to oppose Kalonzo. During the Moi era, he used the police and the provincial administration. After Kibaki took over, he recruited an army of goons to replace the police and

provincial administration. This is a complete army with a commander. The constituency development funds are used to feed and maintain this army through shoddy contracting and corruption.

The reality of Kalonzo hegemony in Ukambani:

- In Mwingi, Kalonzo has to be demystified, through the dismantling of his cronies in the provincial administration, mainly a few Doss, Chiefs and Sub-chiefs. If this is not done Kalonzo will forever be a problem in Mwingi. The dismantling of this political infrastructure can only be done by the empowering of local people, by at least looking for a nomination seat for a person capable of replacing Kalonzo as the MP for Mwingi for the next two years. The person has to be fearless and organized. There is precedence for this. Moi did it when he wanted to have a foot hold in Maasai land by imposing Saitoti on Kajiado, and later when he wanted to prepare Uhuru for the presidential race he made Arap Too resign his seat to facilitate for Uhuru's nomination to Parliament and appointment to a cabinet ministry.
- Because of selfishness and the absence of a clear designated Mwingi spokesman, Mwingi lost in the distribution of the new districts. There was no justification for Machakos to get two districts and Mwingi none. This is a big issue, an issue Kalonzo is using to invoke relative deprivation among the people of Mwingi. It has to be dealt with alongside the creation of new constituencies. If it is not done, Mwingi will become to Kalonzo what Luo Nyanza is to Raila, a no go area for anybody who does not sing the Kalonzo song, including the government. This blind Kalonzo mania is already being replicated in the other Ukambani districts. The

Kibaki government should borrow a leaf from the American government policy on war. America has never allowed a situation where any of the worlds' great wars was ever fought on American soil. America fights abroad, this leaves its economy and social fabric intact. As those it fights go into post war economic reconstruction after the war, America is always ready to export its goods to the economically ravaged country. ***Kibaki has to take the war to his enemies, including Kalonzo that way they will retreat to defend their home base and discard any imperialist (read presidential) ambitions.***

- In the larger Ukambani, Kalonzo is well equipped with a clear majority of MPs, though qualitatively mediocre. Kalonzo has, however, used these mediocre MPs to extent his tentacles to all the Ukamba districts. In the major towns, Kalonzo has held regular Akamba dinner dances to cement this unity. The professionals have been told they are losers in the Kibaki government, because they have not been given jobs. And to some extent this is true. What Kalonzo has not told them is why he did not give them jobs when he was a powerful minister during Mois' rule. Worked up and deprived, many Kamba professionals see Kalonzo as the Kamba messiah leading them to the promised land. Ukambani is not Luoland, the government can change this situation by embracing and dialoguing with the Kamba people.
- In every constituency where a non Kalonzo MP is the incumbent, Kalonzo has a mob of parliamentary hopefuls. They are kept hoping, and largely contribute huge amounts of money to Kalonzos' political activities in the hope of attracting the "kingmakers'" eye. This happened during the just concluded referendum voting exercise,

Kamba professional and businessmen funded the Kalonzo Orange campaign.

- To any hungry person the only answer to all questions is food. The Kamba middle class have to be given jobs, to release them from the Kalonzos grip. The government is already doing a lot in the rural Ukambani by providing relief food and water, however, this will come to nothing as it is the educated who will swing the vote come 2007 elections. If they will not be with us they will hurt us big, whether Kalonzo is a presidential candidate or not. ***The most commonly used example by the Kalonzo Kamba intellectuals is the fact that one Mt Kenya constituency has more presidential appointments than those from the seventeen Ukambani constituencies put together.*** If this is true who can blame them? Given the above situation, were the national elections to be held today, the Kalonzo mad crowd would sweep all the Ukambani parliamentary seats except one or two. That is the reality as of now, and we should not bury our heads in sand like the ostrich. Lets us roll our sleeves and deal with what has given birth to the Kalonzo monster.

William Ruto

William is a very interested stakeholder in the 2007 presidential elections. Mainly because his CV reads like what is what corruption scandal during the Moi era. He wants to enjoy his stolen loot in peace whoever rules this country. His declaration of interest in the 2007 presidential elections should be seen in this light. ***Like a slave trader and feudal lord broker of voters in the north rift, he is announcing his wares for would be customers.*** He has no interest or capacity to get one vote outside of the Kalenjin tribe. His presidential candidature is therefore laughable. Why is he shouting then?

- Ruto does not want Moi to take back the delegated north rift political hawking authority that he gave him after Moi went into ‘retirement’. ***Ruto wants to be retained and to be actively involved in negotiating the Kalenjin mortgage value come the 2007 elections, complete with his personal brokers’ cut. He simply does not want Moi to personally take the kalenjin cow to the market because he will lose his commission.*** As a political player, he is of no significance outside of Daniel Moisi political kingdom.

Musalia Mudavadi

Musalia is not a serious contender for power. He has a weak personal character, and is completely incapable of making serious political decisions and strategies. His vote is equally unimpressive, because his influence is restricted to the Maragori vote which is under 500,000. He will be lucky to be named a running mate of any of the presidential race front runners. Narc should not close its door on him he might come knocking when he is eventually buddle out of the presidential elections centre stage by Raila.

Uhuru Kenyatta

This is the man to watch. Narc has tremendously helped him through the many political mistakes we continue to make. Uhuru has also learned a lot from Railas’ mode of operation. He has managed to get a sizeable number of good political analysts from central province who, have helped to develop mechanisms for making the government unpopular among the young and middle class in central province, including mugiki. The majority of these experts were strong Narc supporters in the last general elections but dejected and disillusioned have found solace with Uhuru. Uhuru has the following advantages over Narc:

- Since the departure of Njenga Karume from Kanu, Uhuru has cut an impression of being the leader of the non Narc

Kikuyu whose number is growing by the day. This has helped him win the hearts of the unemployed and radical middle class who see Kibaki as keeping the old guard in government at their expense.

- Uhuru has also managed to win the hearts of many human rights NGOs, the few not taken over by the Raila brigade, which ravaged through the civil society sector after the 2002 elections. Uhuru has appropriated some NGOs that would have naturally been with Narc. Since Narc did not seem to care about them anyway, they found sanctuary in Uhuru.
- In the 2007 elections, Uhuru is likely to reap a good harvest from the dissatisfied and disillusioned Mount Kenya region MPs to pose a real threat to the Narc vote in the Mount Kenya region. In addition to this, the middle class in central province have not been able to identify with the Kibaki government. The few who do are basically wheeler dealers who are at the call of a few ministers and normally will have been rewarded with a plump position in the government. Their loyalty therefore is to the positions they hold in government/their appointing authority (the minister) etc. Most of the professional groups that supported the government during the referendum should be seen in this light. If they see Narc losing in the 2007 elections, they will be the first to jump ship. If there is no change in the way Narc does business, I would give Uhuru not less than 40% of the total Mt Kenya vote come 2007, the bulk of the vote coming from central province, Nairobi and central rift valley.
- Uhuru needs Kalonzo, or/and Mudavadi to make his shot at the presidency in 2007 formidable. Ruto is complaining because he would like to be close to Uhuru to get the Vice Presidents' position, which Uhuru is not bound to give Ruto

since he is dealing with the principal Kalenjin vote master, Daniel Moi. Ruto is behaving like a prostitute when the pimp joins the competition for clients.

- Uhuru like Raila continues to operate a professionally manned secretariat for his campaign. When he needs expert advice, he has outsourced from the Mt Kenya spinners who worked for Narc in 2007 but were abandoned after the victory for old, loyal, and tired “experienced” Moi era bureaucrats.
- If Uhuru is elected president in 2007, and up to now he poses the biggest threat to Kibaki, the dream of Kenya without Kenyatta and Moi families will have been dashed. A Kenyan ruling class will have eventually have been solidified with no hope of liberating the Kenyan people from the political tyranny of the last forty three years excluding the short Kibaki interlude. Why the threat? ***Moi commands the 1.7 million Kalentin vote, Kanu has a national political structure, Kanu has continued to be influential in the Narc government (possibly deliberately infiltrated), at all levels, and Narc has helped Kanu by demonizing and isolating its friends of yesterday, the civil society, failing to clean its house, and being shy of developing a national political structure that can spearhead the campaign race to the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections.***

The Moi factor in the 2007 elections

The Kanu propaganda machine has done its work, using the media, to the literate, lies, gossip and propaganda to the peasantry, Kanu and Raila have managed to paint a very bad image of the government. Inaction on the part of Narc has been and continues to be costly to the Narc government. Moi is sitting pretty waiting for 2007 to deliver power to the president of his choice. This is a

delayed result, but one that he sees as definitely coming. What has changed?

- The referendum and the misplaced ambitions of Kalonzo, Mudavadi, Biwott etc has helped Moi regroup his troops ready for war. There is no real threat to his choice of President because the conflict in Narc has helped in dismantling the machine that beat him in 2002.
- Moi is now over eighty years old. He would like to eventually retire in peace, knowing that the government of the day would not expose the human rights abuses, looting of public funds, and misrule that characterized his 24 years in office. Uhuru is the obvious choice in this line of thought. His late father is as guilty as Moi so Uhuru can be trusted not to open the closet to expose the skeletons. Kalonzo comes a distant second, because he is a peasant and does not belong, he has no money to finance his presidential campaign and his integrity is doubtful, having walked out on Moi in Kasarani to join Narc in 2002. ***Kalonzo could, however, be accepted back to Moisi's fold and offered a running mate position if he ate humble pie for his betrayal of the grand master in 2002. But he has to pass a loyalty test and Musalia Mudavadi will be the man to beat.***
- Moisi's massive financial resources, is another factor that Narc has to deal with. Combined with the Kenyatta family economic empire, the campaign in 2007 could easily make the government look like a pauper competing with the king. This was partly demonstrated in the run up to the just concluded referendum.
- The dividends of ridding the government of the Moi and Raila loyalists far outweigh the costs. This must be done clinically without discrimination and exclusion of sacred cows whoever they may be. This process can also be used to bring equity in the appointments to important government

positions, which continues to be a bone of contention as far as the Narc stakeholders are concerned.

The way forward for Narc

Having hammered my party and government in the last twelve pages, I would like to make the following suggestions:

- As soon as is practically possible, the government should constitute a think tank composed of loyal and patriotic Kenyans drawn from as many Kenya regions as possible. Its size, however, it should not be more than ten that way we do not compromise on focus and coherence. The think tank should be independent and should report directly to the President or a person delegated by the president with the capacity to absorb, critically analyze and interpret reports, follow up on action items of the think tanks' reports, ultimately reporting to the President. The think tank should purely be a conveyer belt that churns out the reports and recommendations. The implementation should be left to the president. The president is not bound to accept any recommendation
- The debate on DP versus Narc parties should be stopped immediately by finalizing on the ownership of Narc the party, and embarking on a membership recruitment exercise that will see Narc develop structures from the village to the national levels. Time is of essence and Kanu the competition already has party structures throughout Kenya. Let the people start identifying with Narc before the elections.
- Narc should start a damage control process with civil society that has not already committed itself to LDP or Kanu. The government should make efforts to support this friendly civil society to gain prominence in the sector.

- A functioning Narc secretariat should be set up as soon as possible. Changes should be made to the face of this secretariat to weed out people who irritate the Narc supporters whenever they open their mouths. Younger and articulate faces should be the target. Geographical distribution should be a criterion otherwise the secretariat becomes demonized even before it is established.
- Narc promised to act on looters and abusers of human rights, whereas we have seen a bit of this in the last one week, more needs to be done. Stolen money should not be allowed to buy the elections come 2007. The corrupt Narc prominent politicians and civil servants must be axed with speed and precision.

Strictly confidential

Some Critical thoughts on Kenya's' Political future.

By John Munuve

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