

# **DYNAMICS OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEM IN KENYA**

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**DECLARATION**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "DYNAMICS OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEM IN KENYA" submitted by JEMIMA PARAMEL is in fulfillment of six credits out of the twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of philosophy of this University. This dissertation, to the best of my knowledge, is a bonafide work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University.

I recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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## PREFACE

The present study deals with the origin, growth and functioning of one-party system in Kenya. The subject matter consists of two parts - firstly ideological postulations of one-party system with the theoretical framework of its basic features of the communist and non-communist one-party system and secondly a praxiological enquiry into the rise, growth success or failure in establishing democracy in Kenya under one-party system.

The first chapter is an introduction to African one-party systems wherein we will make a general review of the phenomenon. The second chapter includes African politics during colonial period of Kenya, with a historical background of pre-colonial era and the African reaction to colonial rule and the emergence of political consciousness among Africans which subsequently gave rise to the emergence of political parties in Kenya. The third chapter discusses the turn of events in Kenyan politics at the time of independence and the triumph of Kenya African National Union (KANU) as the dominant political party in Kenya under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta. Fourth chapter deals with the post-independence era i.e. transition phase from Kenyatta to Daniel arap Moi wherein the actual functioning of the one-party system will be

examined. The chapter concludes by attempting to solve the hypothesis that we have raised in the beginning i.e. whether KANU represents the whole mass or just a selected few, and with a prognostic solution for the continuing crisis in Kenya.

An attempt has been made throughout the study to present a candid assessment. Since I have not yet gone to Kenya, my thesis is based on secondary sources including books and periodicals. Here I must mention, I have more than relied on the works of Prof. Vijay Gupta.

A dissertation of this nature could not have been completed without a great deal of help and advice from various sources. I owe immense debt to my affable guide Professor Vijay Gupta, without whose inspiring guidance and painstaking supervision at every step, I could not have succeeded in submitting this dissertation. His assistance to me was timely and prolific. I am indebted to my indulgent friend Bibhu, who shelved all his work in order to mop-up my dissertation. I also thank my several other friends whose advice, criticism and encouragement I can never be oblivious of. I am thankful to my parents for their moral support. Thanks also goes to the librarians of Jawaharlal Nehru University, the Indian Council of World Affairs, Nehru Memorial Library,

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New Delhi

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**CHAPTER - 1**

**INTRODUCTION:- THE GROWTH OF ONE-PARTY  
SYSTEMS IN AFRICA.**

INTRODUCTION:- THE GROWTH OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

In contemporary Africa, about eight percent of the African states operates on the basis of the on - party system. Any attempt to classify the party regimes in Africa, under pragmatic pluralists,<sup>1</sup> or radical revolutionising,<sup>2</sup> do not seem to have facilitated the understanding of African politics any better than the formalist approach of studying political systems in terms of democracy vs dictatorship.

This dissertation will try to critically examine the working of the one party system in Kenya, as well as its peculiar characteristics and also try to understand as to how the one party system of Kenya is different from that of the communist countries. To put it in another way, we have to find out as to whether the approach developed by one party system is eclectic.<sup>3</sup> Then we will look into the compulsions which have given way to the rise of one - party systems. This means that we have to study the causes for the emergence of one party system whether they are mainly due to structural(political)changes or due to socio-economic changes. But before going into the functioning

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1. Sartori. A, "party & party systems- A framework of Analysis" London, Cambridge Press 1976 p 188
  2. Lenin V.I 'Collected Works' Vol 2 Moscow. 1977 p.316
  3. Eclectic in the sense that it gleams both socialist or capitalist type of structures or either of the two.



to prove our hypothesis raised on the above.

Before analysing the working of one - party system in Kenya, let us discuss the causes for the emergence of one party systems and its mode of functioning in Africa in general.

We find that the prevalent trend in African political systems is the dominance of one - party system in the continent, be it Marxist - Leninist, African - socialist or parties which follow the path of mixed economy and capitalist development. The need for one party system in former two categories seems logical to the ideology they follow. That is the party of the ruling class being the instrument of change or in the context of dictatorship of the proletariat or party being the vanguard of the nation. But the institutionalisation of one - party system in the capitalist state is a contradiction in theory, as a capitalist path of development allows free and competitive growth in economic as well as political field. The difference in the economic field are permitted to freely operate in the political field. This means differences on economic issues can be expressed politically.

Analysis made earlier on, emphasised the influence of colonial legacy of bureaucratic authoritarianism,

one one - party system in Kenya, we have to discuss the different ideological postulations of one - party systems in Africa with theoretical parameters of communist, non-communist or African socialist and capitalist one - party systems.

Furthermore, we will study the socio-economic and political causes for the emergence of one-party system in Kenya i.e. the emergence of political parties right from the precolonial era through the colonial rule and finally in the post independence stage wherein the multi - party system eventually gave way to the establishment of one - party system.

The chapter will also try to analyse the participatory nature of the Kenyan political system i.e. we have to trace out as to whether the one - party system in Kenya permits grass root level of participation or not, which means to find out whether the common people have any kind of voice in the political structure or not. In this context, we have to find out as to whether the benefits of the system are enjoyed by a few under the guise of one - party system or by the whole mass. If it is the former then which class is benefited ? Above all, we have to study the class character of the Kenyan state in relation to the functioning of one - party system. Our methodology will be historical and analytical which will lead us

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the political attitudes and beliefs of the elite, popular participation, and the role of ideology upon the movement of the newly independent states to one partyism<sup>4</sup> writers stressed the differences between elite and mass organisations, revolutionary and evolutionary parties and ideological and pragmatic strategies, and were generally sympathetic towards the one - party system as an agency of national integration and national development in Africa.

In 1966, however, the underlying assumptions of the existence of a broad national unity were called into question with a seminal study of West African party states, from which the single party system emerged as a response to the dangers of fragmentation and loss of control.<sup>5</sup> We have to examine whether the party was shown to have a limited capacity for mobilisation or whether the grass root level of participation existed. Moreover the shift of African politics in the early seventies to the local level and to rural change, provided further evidence of the difficulties of national control.<sup>6</sup>

4. Coleman, J and Rosberg (Carl) (eds); 'Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa' (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press 1964) pp 8-9

5. Zolberg, A.; "Creating Political Order - The Party States of W. Africa." Chicago. MC Nally 1966 P.21

6. See for e.g. Hyden G. "Political Development in Rural Tanzania" (Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1967) Geoff Lamb, "Peasant Politics, London Palian Friedman, 1974.

We find that two particular developments emerged i.e. on the one hand, the notion of the political machine was explored, its emphasis on party concern for material rewards rather than principles. It was suggested that :- " African ruling single parties share many characteristics of decentralised political machine in that the organisation is held together in good part - by the prerequisites of and desire for office, and internal cleavages within the parties are often not policy issues -----" <sup>7</sup>. It was revealed that the single dominant party was a coalition of interests rather than a monolithic, hierarchical body. On the other hand, the relevance of factionalism to African political conflict emerged more clearly. Factions or conflict groups within the political party, arise in the struggle for power in the incompletely centralised state. They are typically informal, impermanent and illegitimate. They are inherently unstable, so that a factional system carries with it the potential for fragmentation and secession if the factions evolve sufficiently to break away from the permanent group and adopt an independent existence <sup>8</sup> political leaders build up networks of supporters.

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7. Bienen, H.; 'One Party System in Africa, in Huntington, S., and Moore, C. (eds), Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society (New Yorks Bask Books, 1970) p.66

8. On factions see Schmitt(Steffenw). Scott, (James, G Lande, Care; and Gasti, Luara, (eds) "Friends followers and Factions" (Berkeley, University of California Press 1977)

bound to them as individuals by mutual self-interest and perhaps by moral ties such as friendship, kinship or ideological commitment. To increase his prestige and political resources, the political leader at the centre seeks to advance his own followers. Patronage and personal following thus provide a critical element in local / central relations, ensuring those linkages that institutional arrangements have not yet been able to sustain. They carry with them, however, especially in a situation of scarcity, the potential for conflict between leaders at the centre and the exacerbation of cleavages in society.

Therefore, we are forced, to look more closely at the nature of social cleavage, at a time when increasing economic inequality in African society has also focussed greater attention upon the material basis of politics in the independent state. The evolution of the one-party state was seen from this perspective as part of the process, whereby an acquisitive elite entrenched itself in power.<sup>9</sup> In due course, however, the debate focused upon class and class formation as a basis of politics, rather than ethnicity, and primordial ties. The dependency

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9. Sklar, Richard.; "Political Science and National Intergeration - A radical Approach;" Journal of Modern African Studies VS, I(1967) p.8.

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debate of the early seventies had a considerable impact on this shift of focus, while Marxist and non-Marxist scholars alike have had to identify more sharply the relationship between factionalism, ethnicity and class. On the one hand it has been argued that both ethnicity and factionalism have vitiated class consciousness because they link individuals across social strata.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the empirical evidence of increasing stratification has grown, and radical analysis has sharpened the focus on those common social forces at work in the independent African states which follow a broadly capitalist set of economic and social policies - and indeed in populist - socialist regimes as well. <sup>11</sup> It is no longer possible, therefore, to ignore the potential influence of class formation upon the pattern of party - politics where the party has survived. In those states where one - party civilian regimes remain in power, any analysis of the role of the party must take into account the broader social process.<sup>12</sup> While Western scholars have been generally critical of the existing

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10. See Sandbrook (Richards); "Patrons, Clients and Faction New Dimensions of Conflict Analysis in Africa," Canadian Journal of Pol. Sci., 5 Mar, 1972). also Crawford Young (Patterns of Social Conflict: State class & Ethnicity, Dordrecht Proceedings of American Academic Spring, 1982

11. Leys (Colia); "Politics in Kenya: The development of Peasant Society", British Journal of Pol. Science (1, July, 1971); Sklar, R.; "The nature of class domination in Africa" - Journal of Modern African Studies, V 17, 4 (1979) p. 531

12. First; RUTH - Barrel of a Gun (London Penguin, 1971) p. 118

one - party systems, the Tanzanian experiment led to some interesting analysis of the one - party state as an institutional arrangement to achieve a balance between control and participation. <sup>13</sup> Although the concern was primarily with the Tanzanian electoral process and the process of socialist transformation, the model nonetheless had a wider application to the broader issues of integration and disintegration, and to the problems of inadequate centralisation that the independent states generally encountered in the immediate post - colonial phase. In this context, the one - party state was interpreted as a conscious attempt to strike a balance between popular participation and central control, both essential ingredients of development.

Coming of the Capitalist states, for e.g. Kenya and Ivory coast which have mixed economy with dominant form being free - enterprise, the corresponding competition and multiplicity of political parties is completely lacking in a conspicuous way. In Ivory coast, for instance, Parti Democratique du Cote d' Ivoire (P.D.C.I) has monopoly since independence i.e. from the early 1950's, under the leadership of

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13. Saul(John), 'Background to the Tanzanian election 1970.' in Lionel Cliffe and John Saul(eds)Socialism in Tanzania, Vol I(Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1972) p.102.

Felix Houphliet Boigny, P.D.C. It has been the only legal party since then. The formation of other parties was not permitted. Though there has been sporadic eruption of discontent which was either severely crushed or political opponents were absorbed in government and party as a means to diffuse further tension.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, in Kenya, the opposition has been either absorbed in the party or government structure or it has been legally or forcefully crushed. The common feature in both these countries is handing over of power to the petty - bourgeoisie class which gained power in Kenya. In Kenya, the British helped in the emergence of the African petty bourgeoisies. In Ivory coast the French helped in the formation of African land owning class with interest in cash - crop (export oriented) farming. The land owning class retained its monopoly after independence.

This occurred because the new economic structure that emerged after independence required corresponding political structure. In order to pursue a policy of development of free enterprise it also had to permit certain freedom to its supporters. These

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14. Europa year Book - Africa South of Sahara, 1986



conditions required introduction of political institutions which appeared to be democratic in form and gave legitimacy to the government and eliminated such opposition which questioned the policy of free enterprise; thus paving the way for the emergence of one - party system in these states.

#### THE BACK GROUND

##### POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AFRICA

Colonisation of Africa had led to some serious upheavals in its economy. The Europeans had initially exploited the African continent through the institution of slavery, and later on imperialism replaced slave trade by a system based on free trade. This was mainly due to the fact that the new forces of production in the European economy demanded new colonial outlets for the capitalist production relations that were becoming hegemonic. Africa found herself truly colonized in the modern sense, as a base of production of raw materials and food products for export to the metropolitan countries and as a market for its products based on the incomes that were earned by its exports. This development introduced entirely new relations of production in the region and led increasingly to the intensified exploitation of the peasantry and other working people. Thus colonialism incorporated Africa into the world economy and international capitalism.

The year's 1945 to 1960, was a period of political awakening among the Africans, the consequences of the second world war gave a stimulus to the Africans to fight for political independence. In the 1940's and 1950's national leaders in Africa, like Dr Kwame Nkrumah of Gold coast (now Ghana), Chief Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Roodesia(now Zambia), Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika(now Tanzania) were all influenced by the anti - colonial movements in Asia especially India, and drew inspiration from Indian national movement. They even adopted his policy of non-violence in their nationalist movements.

The second world war had left more harmful than beneficial economic effects on Africa such as urban-employment, war - time inflation, system of 'voluntary' subscriptions to the war effort (especially existed in French Africa ruled by de Gaulle's Free French), and a very low standard of living. For most of the Africans, the war period, intensified their existing problems. War time economic condition led to mounting discontent by African farmers, traders and wage earners. The Nigerian general strike of 1945 was a natural reaction

to wartime hardships.

Moreover the returning ex-servicemen were embittered by the slow political advance of colonial territories in the late 1940's, by the stark fact of unemployment after demobilization by the lower standard of living they embraced when leaving the army for civilian life, and by a feeling that their service had not been rewarded. For example, in Kenya, the late 1940's saw the emergence of a politically militant organisation made up of ex-soldiers, the Forty group, out of which the Land Freedom Army (or Mau Mau Movement).

We find in Ivory Coast in 1950's that though there was expansion of the economy yet it depended mainly on the metropole. This was a classic case in the words of Egyptian economist Samir Amin, (of growth without development) -growth generated and maintained from outside, without the establishment of a social structure capable of bringing about an automatic transition to the further stage, than of internally centered and self - regulating growth <sup>15</sup>.

Furthermore, in 1946, Nkrumah in his, pamphlet-  
'Towards Colonial Freedom has stated that -'

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15. Amin, (Samir) : 'Neo - Colonialism in West Africa', Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973 p. 66.

The national liberation movement in the African colonies had arisen because of the continuous economic and political exploitation by foreign oppressors. The aim of the movement is to win freedom and independence. This can only be achieved by the political education and organisation of the colonial masses<sup>16</sup>.

RESISTANCE MOVEMENT FOR ARMED STRUGGLE : THE 1940'S AND 1950's

The struggle in Africa against colonial rule began not with modern political parties and western - trained intellectuals but originated in the early armed resistance by African against alien intrusion. The true heroes of these resistance movements were not the Nkrumah's or Nyerere's of modern Africa but the liberation fighters against colonial rule in Madagascar, Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Ghana and Tanzania.

After the Berlin conference, German penetration in Africa began with a striking character. In Tanganyika, between 1903 - 5 there occurred a remarkable and tragic event called the Maji Maji rebellion. In this rebellion, mainly the Angoni tribe in Southern

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16. Nkrumah, (Kwame): 'Towards Colonial Freedom'. Heinemann, London, 1960 p.41.

Tanganyika, an offshoot of the Zulus rose fiercely against the Germans. It was a desperate struggle against white encroachment on black land in which political grievances were inextricably merged with pagan mysticism. The Germans put down Maji Maji with unexampled brutality efficiency and ferocity<sup>17</sup>.

Similiarly in Gold Coast(Ghana)there occurred eight different Ashanti wars between Ashanti and Fanti tribes. The British interceded to help the Fanti tribes along the coast in these Ashanti wars. These wars brought about a kind of political counsi-ousness among the Africans.

Likewise in Kenya, also we find Mazruirebellion, Nandi resistance, Masai resistance and the Mau Mau movement which emerged as a resistance movement against economic exploitation by the British but which ultim-ately brought about a kind of political awareness for the formation of political parties inside the Kenyan political structure.

Frantz Fanon has referred to the role of armed resistance in driving away the dependency complex from the minds of those who take part in the resistance -

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17. John, (Gunther;) -' Inside Africa', London, Hamish, Hamilton. 1955 p.404

' The fight carried on by a people for its liberation lead it, according to circumstances either to refuse or else to explode the so called truths which have been established in its consciousness by the colonial civil administration by the military occupation, and by economic exploitation. Armed conflict alone can really drive out these falsehoods created in man which force into inferiority the most lively minds among us and which, literally, militate us <sup>18</sup>.

Thus, we can deduce that Fanon felt that the rationale of armed struggle is that it reconditions the consciousness of the colonized African. (A good example of this deduction is the case of the Mau Mau Movement in Kenya). Although militarily the Mau Mau movement was defeated, but politically it was triumphant to the extent that it broke Britani's ruling capacity. In Kenya for the interests of the white minority and laid the foundations of African self-rule.

We find, that armed struggles broke out in many countries of the continent against colonial rule in order to gain independence. The Algerian war of independence broke out in November, 1954, headed by the F.L.N., against French rule ; armed struggle

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18. Fanon, (Frantz);-'The Wretched of the Earth'. Mac Gibbon and Kee, London, 1965, p.238.

against Portuguese colonial rule in Guinea-Bissau was led by the PAIGC in 1954 under Amilcar Cabral, FRELIMO lead the struggle in Mozambique headed by Edvarado Mondalane etc.

In the 1960's we find that due to the above mentioned factors the Africans woke up from their long slumber to overcome economic exploitation and political suppression of the continent and staged armed resistance to gain political independence of their countries.

#### EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA:-

In the previous discussions we have outlined the factors which lead to nationalist movements in Africa. The colonial powers realising the new turn of events in Africa, became more accomodating and acknowledged the foremost national leader as an interlocuteur valable. Furthermore institutions are modified, either by means of a new constituion or less formally by a more liberal interpretation of existing rules, to broader popular participation and to give modern elites a greater role in the structure of decision-making. This period according to Zolberg is the period of dyarchy or terminal colonialism during which nationalist movements become political parties<sup>19</sup>.

19. Zolberg, (A.R.); - 'One Party Govt. The Ivory Coast' - Princeton University Press 1964. p.20.

Although ultimate responsibility is still in the hands of the colonialists, the party is responsible for social welfare and economic development.

Even though the party became politically powerful and secure, there is concern with the achievement of political monopoly. The Primordial goal of the party is to achieve national unity because it is supposed to be synonymous with political unity. After gaining political independence, the main guest of the leaders is to achieve a 'Unified party' and no a unitary party. Furthermore opposition is to be amalgamated and not eliminated.

The leaders of the newly independent states set out to modify governmental framework to suit local needs. But in this process, provisions were made to insure the dominance of the executive over the legislature, parliamentary bodies were reduced to the status of deliberative or consultative assemblies, election became plebiscitary rather than competitive and institutional devices were be introduced to butteress the political monopoly of the ruling party.

Ultimately, it is found that even, where the constitution proclaimed seperation of powers in keeping with liberal prescriptions, one - man rule became official. The man who led the movement for national emancipation became the paramount executive,



legislator and judge. In order to reinforce legitimacy of his role, tradition is invoked either through public bestowal of formal ties or by more subtle means. Finally the rules become all powerful through the directives passed by an ideological blueprint which prescribes total control, as the essential strategy for rapid modernisation.

Before going into an indepth study of one - party dynamics in Africa, let us examine the various forms of political parties which emerged in Africa. The new party systems have taken various forms including single parties with a narrow ruling elite, as in Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania etc or with mass support as in Guinea, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique etc.

Recently some parties have emerged such as in Ethiopia i.e. a single party which was established to legitimise the political change i.e. to legitimize military rule, and Zaire's single party which had no mass base but made mass appeals.

#### TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

Thomas Hodgkin<sup>20</sup>. has classified political parties in Africa in this manner ' Firstly the spread of parties' i.e. the types of geographical

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20. Hodgkin, (Thomas); - 'African Political Parties' - Cambridge University - London, 1961 p. 53.

area within which they operate and the width of narrowness of their appeal ; secondly the structure of parties i.e. the contrasts between ' mass parties' and 'elite parties' and thirdly the legality or illegality of parties. Furtherstill he distinguished between:-

- a) interterritorial parties such as the RDA, which transcend the frontiers of a single state,
- b) territorial parties such as Neo-Destour in Tunisia, the CPP in Ghana or TANU in Tanganyika,
- c) regional or ethnic sometimes called 'tribal' parties such as the Northern People's Congress in Nigeria or the former NLM in Ghana or Kabaka Yeka or in Uganda and
- d) dwarf parties restricted to the inhabitants of a particular locality such as Baniagara.

The essential characteristics of mass parties according to Hodgkin was that, 'they seek to enrol the mass of the population as members, or at least supporters of the party: ' Elite parties' on the other hand, consist essentially of a nucleus of persons enjoying status and authority within the existing social order - an elite of chiefs, religious leaders, or wealthy bourgeois - and depend largely upon established - ties of obligation and loyalty between the 'elite' and 'the people'. In other words elite parties are content to reflect the structure of society as it,

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is, or as it used to be, while mass parties attempt to impose their own new type of structure. ' Mass parties' existed in Ghana (CPP) Guinea (PDG) and Kenya (KANU); while ' elite parties' can be found in Ghana (N.L.M) and in the case of Saruana of Sokoto of Nigeria.

Having studied the various forms of political parties that exist in Africa, for our purpose of analysis let us distinguish between three major streams of ideologies that exist in Africa ' From left to right' there are Marxist Leninist <sup>21</sup>. African socialist and African capitalist. The first set of regimes is distinguished by an official explicit declaration for Marxist - Leninism as state ideology. The second group consists of states that expose a socialist structure but that either do not stress or expressly reject Marxism. The third cluster consists of regimes that pursue a market - economy, or capitalist policy, though they generally deny any ideological attachments at all, 'pragmatism' it is said, is their only creed <sup>22</sup>.

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21. Young, (Crawford); - Ideology and Development in Africa, Yale University, 1982. p.3.

22. Ibid : p.183.

C. Young classified Nigeria, Kenya and Ivory coast under capitalist states, Ghana and Tanzania practised some kind of socialism, while Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola are cited as the only serious venture in scientific socialism in Africa.

A leading Soviet Africanist recently listed Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Congo - Brazzaville and Benin as belonging on the honor roll of aspirant scientific socialist states <sup>23</sup>.

EMERGENCE OF SINGLE - PARTY SYSTEM IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF AFRICA.

African political structure and processes seem to be in a state of transition. There is a shift from multi - party systems to one - party systems and in a few cases, political parties have been abandoned in favour of a military junta or 'guided democracy'.

It was during the mass independence movements that is prior to independence that the emergence of one - party systems took place. Most governments felt that one - party system was the best pattern to be adopted in order to achieve unity during the period of consolidation of power.

We find that the transition from multi-party

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23. Gromyko,, (A): 'The present stage of Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Africa' - Social Sciences (No.4,1979), Moscow.



systems to one - party systems took various forms:- such as through the fusion or integration of the parties opposed to the government party, the dissolution or outlawing of some, or all opposition parties, the arrest and trial of leading politicians on various charges, among them anti-national plot or individual politicians can spontaneously join the ruling party.

Dahomey which was a tri - party state went over, in Nov 1960 to a single - party system, with the fusion of various existing parties into the Dahomey. Party of Unity (P.D.U.) In 1962, M.F. Tombalbaye, President of Chad Republic, created a single party called Union for the Progress of Chad (U.P.T.), and nine months later outlawed all other parties other than the ruling Chad Progressive Party (P.P.T), but six months later a minister (Gakia) was arrested for plotting against the head of state. The e.g. of Chad is not the only one - this was prevalent in Western and Central Africa. In Sept, 1962, the President of Tanganyika - J. Nyerere passed a law to arrest politicians who were accused of plotting against the Govt and security of the state. In Kenya also we find this trend is prevalent e.g. when J. Kenyatta changed laws in such a way that the opposition was not allowed to raise its head against KANU.

In Ghana a single party was set up in the country via a vote in Parliament in Sept 1962.

M. Micael Tamboux, President of Central African National Assembly, pleading for a single party system, stated in Oct, 1962 that, the multi - party system as it exists in established democratic societies is a costly luxury which we cannot afford --- The political parties which want to remain in existence are picturesque survivals of a revolutionary past true democracy for us is social democracy, which is expressed not in quarrels of parties but in concord of peoples <sup>24</sup>.

Thus multi - party system in Africa was either a short term phenomenon, or an exception as it was in the case

African countries with single - party systems describe themselves as one - party democracies. Democracy is defined as a people's government whose basis characteristics are freedom, equality and discussion. African leaders such as Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Junno Kenyatta and Sekou Toure emphasize that these three factors of democracy are

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24. Decreans, (Phillipe); - "Table des Parties, Politiques de l' Afrique," Centre d' Etude des Relations Exterievres, Paris, 1963 Translated by Dr Keith " In 20th century Africa" - Mciwan(eds) Oxford University Press, 1968. p.61.

the essence of pre - European political system of Africa.

Supporters of one - party democracy maintain that the one - party structure is a continuance of the former traditional system. Since all members of the legislature are members of the one party and given equal opportunity for participation and debate, the party leadership has to enforce the consensus that is achieved in abiding by the decisions of the party. It is argued that people are following their own will or the general will as in traditional practice. Opposition parties were considered unnecessary because all members of the society were in agreement with the basic goals of the mass party.

An analysis of the structures and procedures of a few of the African parties may assist in illustrating their interpretation of the one - party systems. Therefore let us examine the various models which work under different types of systems:-

- 1) Two types of systems -communist and non-communist systems;
- 2) Working of parties under African socialism;
- 3) The working of political parties which has chosen the path of mixed economy or capitalist path of development.
- 4) Parties created by military rulers for their legitimisation.

COMMUNIST AND NON - COMMUNIST SYSTEMS:-

One of the main characteristics of the present political situation in Africa seems to us to be a definite growth in the influence of Marxism - Leninism over large sections of the population of the continent.

One of its most striking manifestation has been the existence and growth of states which in the aftermath of their victory over colonialism have taken the road of radical socio-political transformation under the banner of socialist orientation. Countries like Angola, Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea - Bissau, and Mazambique have all become involved in this process.

However, the purpose of working of Marxist - Leninist parties are quite different from other one - party systems. To begin with they do not believe in African socialism or any specific socialism, except scientific socialism. " The parties of the Afro - Marxist state are Leninist in conception, they are an organisational weapon theoretically manned by a revolutionary vanguard of the ideologically select, incarnating the will of the workers and peasants. The party is accorded supremacy over the state, which it dominates both through defining its political choices and penetrating its key organs through party cells <sup>25</sup>.

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25. Young, (Crawford); - ' Op. Cit ' p.27.



Moreover, these parties are based on the worker - peasant alliance and have created Peoples Assemblies which means the consolidation of class power i.e. Peoples Power. The modus operandi of these African - Marxist parties is based on democratic centralism. This means state organs at district, provincial and national levels are responsible to the People Assemblies of the respective levels and on the other hand to the state organs at higher levels. (This can be seen clearly while studying the working of the locality govt. in Mozambique).

The unity of power, democratic centralism and double subordination are the three pillars on which the functioning and organisation of the People's Assemblies and the apparatus created by rests.

In Africa the steps taken towards socialism were seen in these forms, taking the example of Angola - MPLA abolished remnants of feudalism and established collective farms, it fought petty bourgeoisie and tried to raise working class consciousness, and finally MPLA built its people's power which brought the class under way by 1982 in Angola.

In the case of Ethiopia, the Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was established in 1979, which has resulted in the formation of Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) -

a Marxist Leninist party in 1984, whose main goal was to achieve communism through socialism.

## II) WORKING OF PARTIES UNDER AFRICAN SOCIALISM:-

African socialism adheres to reformist socialism in the international working class movement today. We can term the end as 'Social - democracy'. Characteristics of 'social democracy' are recognition of exceptionally peaceful and gradualist reformist methods of social action, a striving to replace class struggle by class collaboration, the notion of the 'supra-class', nature of state and democracy and the conception of socialism as moral ethical category <sup>26</sup>. So here we call these kinds of leaders as social democrats. Their ideological and political principles are opposed to revolutionary, proletarian and opposed to the theory of Marxism - Leninism <sup>27</sup>. They reckon the growing national liberation movement intensified struggle of nations for economic independence against imperialist interferences neo-colonialism, racism and fascism, to declare its solidarity with this struggle and to support the just demands of the peoples of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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26. ' A dictionary of scientific communism', Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984, p. 220.

27. Ibid - p 220

All the states adhering to African Socialism operate one - party system based on ideological consideration. These African socialist believe that only a party of correctly motivated people can possibly guide an African society in its struggle to develop towards its emancipation. They regard Marxist - Leninist states as dictatorial and hold that the dictatorial regimes restrict power to a single organisation than a number of organisations, all competing to gain control of the government. But in the African socialist states such as Tanzania, every attempt is made to ensure maximum political participation of the masses and to provides for collective leadership.

Here we shall study one of the African socialist regimes, taking the example of Tanzania which has adopted liberal democratic approach under the leadership of Julius Nyerere. Nyerere defended the existence of one - party system by stressing on the nature of the social formation, in the African society <sup>28</sup>.

Nyerere explained his philosophy which was inclined towards a socialist strategy of development in 'Ujamaa - The basis of African Socialism' <sup>29</sup>. wherein he presented a uniquely African conception of socialism

28. Nyerere, (J); Freedom and Unity (Uhuru Ua Umoja) Dar-es-Salaam, Oxford University Press 1968 p.103.

29. Yeager, (R);- Tanzania ' An African Experiment West View Press, 1982, England p.59.

that was intended to provide a moral justification for economic equality and democratic political participation. This abstraction has come to form the core of Tanganyika's development ideology.

The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) emerged as a single party in Tanzania. In 1961, Nyerere had declared his readiness to defend the rights of a responsible opposition party, but by Jan, 1963, announced his intention of his party to inaugurate a system of government in which an opposition party would no longer be permitted. Nyerere defended the - decision partly on the grounds that without a one - party system Tanganyika would not enjoy real political contests in its election. Only a one - party system in which candidates belonging to the same party could compete for election would restore the principle of choice to the Tanganyikan electorate - so he argued. In Sept, 1965, a genuinely competitive general election under a one - party umbrella was held, In 1977, TANU was merged with the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar to form a new party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM or party of the Revolution).

We find that the Nyerere had freely acknowledged that, a long - term dedication to material sacrifice and self help could not be sustained without fresh

injection of creative and persuasive political leadership. " He rejected the notion that this catalyst should be supplied by an elite vanguard party whose ideological evangelists were rigourously schooled in the organisational and motivational free sex of 'scientific socialism'<sup>30</sup>.

He held to belief that TANU should perservere in guiding and overseeing the government and society besides being a mass party. The only change would be that instead of being open to all Tanzanians, TANU membershin could be limited to those who are willing to accent the hardships of social and economic leveling and the delays of achieving modernity through democratic discussion and rural self-reliance. These requirements applied especially to the party and government professionals, who would no longer be permitted to advance themselves, while the majority of people suffered in abject poverty.

In the post independence era TANU was led by the lower middle class and so emerged as a political power rather than a mass party making Nyerere's visualisation about the est. blishment of participatory

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30. Cliffe (Lionel); saul, J(eds); Socialism in Tanzania; An Interdisciplinary Reader, Vol 2, Policies, (Nairobi East African Publishing House 1973) p. 52-61 and 66-70.

democracy within the framework of one - party syndrome a dream.

III) WORKING OF PARTIES UNDER MIXED ECONOMY OR/IN A CAPITALIST STATE:-

Kenya in the early years of independence provided a fascinating example of a movement to and from one - partyism with the same regime in power. In 1964, the Kenya African Democratic Union, (KADU), the original opposition party, liquidated itself and merged with the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

After achieving independence in 1964, Jomo Kenyatta (President of KANU and Prime Minister of Kenya) launched attacks on the main opposition party, the KADU and called, KADU a 'dying horse' and threatened that 'very soon the country would see Kenya as a one - party state'<sup>31</sup>. Kenyatta also said that 'In the one - party state Kenya's opposition will function from behind the house instead of across the floor', moreover he said that "-----self criticism can be more scaring than mere opposition for the sake of opposition.

The country moved with one momentous decision

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31. Gupta, (V) Kenya - politics of (In)Dependence People's publishing House, New Delhi 1971 p.178.

32. Ibid. p.178.

from a two - party to a one - party system. Within the major party new tensions began to arise, and a faction to the left of the top leadership gradually began to be discernible as a source of challenge. By 1966, the leftist faction broke loose and formed the Kenya People's Union (KPU). Whereas the original opposition had been from the right, the new opposition was from the left. But in Oct 1969, the disastrous events in Kisumu led the regime to ban the K.P.U. and detain its top man. Kenya was back to a state of one - partyism.

Kenya's two party system in both the first phase KANU versus KADU which lasted until 1966, and the second phase (1966-69) belonged to the multi-party mode of ethnic exclusiveness, and as such did not greatly contribute to national unity. Ethnic groups en bloc tended to choose one - party or the other.

The unit of party affiliation was originally the ethnic group rather than the individual Kenya's multi - party system - tended to be ethnically exclusive, it was basically a less healthy system than the ethnically inclusive, one party system that replaced it. Moreover, the elections which took place in Dec 1969, appeared to indicate that Kenya afforded greater freedom under a one - party system

than it did under a two - party system of ethnic exclusiveness. KANU has since been victorious under the leadership of J.Kenyatta and later Daniel Arap Moi who did not allow room for any opposition to hamper the working of single - party in Kenya.

IV) POLITICAL PARTIES CREATED BY MILITARY RULES FOR THEIR LEGITIMIZATION.

In the case of Zaire when the army seized power in 1965 it neutralised both the head of state and head of government. But, contrary to the course of events in the 1960 with the college des commissaires generaux, the institutional framework was kept intact and posts were filled by new officials. Mobutu became the head of state.

After the army take over all political activity had ceased and the sole effective authority was with the army staff. As soon as Mobutu became head of the state, he proclaimed that no party politics were to be practised in the country for 5 years. Yet some people who were excluded from politics under the first Republic lost no time in creating a corps des volontaires de la Republique (CUR), a civilian organisation, which adhered fully to Mobutu's programme and which formally asked Mobutu to join its ranks. Mobutu accepted the offer but also formed his own political organisation in April 1966-Movement



populaire de la Revolution(M.P.R) and declared himself President. After the formation of MPR, members of CUR dissolved their organization and joined MPR. During 1966, power was progressively concentrated at the top of this political hierarchy in the hands of the president. All opposition was curbed, in 1966 opposition was physically eliminated by the army. In 1970, at the first extraordinary congress the MPR became the supreme political institution and sole organised political force in the country. 'Authenticity' was the initial doctrine followed by the Mobutu regime in 1971. Between 1970-77 it became a monolithic state with systematic and total suppression of the opposition and the centring of all political structures on the president making it to resemble an absolute monarchy.

The other example of setting up of a legitimizing party in Ethiopia. After the overthrow of monarchy the military ruled Ethiopia with the help of peasantry working class and intelligencia.

The provincial military government (PMAC)introduced a number of qualitative reforms and attempted to set up a party of the working people. P.M.A.C. took almost five years to set up (COPWE) a commission to establish a party on Marxist Leninist principles. It took COPWE

another five years to set up workers party of Ethiopia in 1984. The W.P.E. declared commitment to Marxism and Leninism and has been preparing Ethiopia on the principles of a Peoples Democratic Republic.

#### CAUSES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

Having studied the different typologies of one - party system in Africa, we should be able to analyze the causes for its emergence. The main point of discussion on the issue of the causes that lead to emergence of one - party system in Africa raises a kind of debate among the different theoreticians of social science. Some of the western scholars advance their theories in favour of one - party system with particular reference to Africa.

Some conditions are hereby put forth by Western scholars to explain the emergence of one - party system in Africa. Firstly, they felt that African traditions do not allow political competition since public affairs are settled on the basis of consensus. Secondly, in view of the African struggle to achieve economic, social and political amelioration, it is unthinkable to fritter away national resources in a fruitless competition for power. Moreover, the western style of politics does not suit the African genius. Fourthly since the party in power also happens to be a mass party, it is unnecessary for any section or group to

seek separate identity through different party organisation. Fifthly, the western scholars felt that the African societies have no classes, hence there is no need for organising parties on the basis of class interest on the line of western capitalist countries.

From the above analyses, the scholars formulated justifications for one - party systems which are :

- 1) Firstly they opined that one - party system ensured political stability ; secondly, under such a system, local and parochial elements are from obstructing the process of building a nation; thirdly they felt that, having a clear ideology such a system can mobilise popular efforts in the direction of socio-economic change and finally they justified by stating that presence of charismatic leadership generated dynamism in the political life of new states.

In the view of marxist scholars, party system is a reflection of economic reality serving the interest of a particular class and it represents the dominant sections of the classes. In case of Africa, the dominant section consists of bureaucratic bourgeoisie or compradore bourgeois attempting to free itself from neo - colonial bondages and thus playing

the role of national bourgeoisie. The working class is very small in number since subsistence economy dominates in most of the African countries. In the absence of any sizable industrial sector comprador or bureaucratic bourgeoisie lives on the exploitation of the large mass of the people, expanding capitalist institutions only to benefit small section of the society; therefore it has traits of national bourgeoisie but since it is of non-ideogeneous origin it plays the role of sub-colonialism.

Fanon repeatedly asserted that the national bourgeoisie in Africa is a kind of phantom bourgeoisie, a weak hanger-on of foreign capitalism, with no strength or intention of building its own capitalist economy, since, infact," under the colonial system a middle class which accumulates capital is an impossible phenomenon<sup>33</sup>.

Fanon<sup>34</sup> says that, "content with its role is" the western bourgeoisie's business agent", the national middle class is eminently suited to its function as imperialism's internal ally in the post-independence game of neo-colonialism and in the fulfillment of this

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33. Woddis(J):- New Theories of Revolution, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1972. p.50.

34. Fanon (Frantz);, 'The Wretched OF THE EARTH' penguin, suffolk, 1963, p.133.

role it creates the single - national party". Thus says Fanon, the single party is established, " the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical". And at the head of this party stands the national leader, the man who had formerly embodied the aspiration of the people for independence but who now reveals his inner purposes; " to become the general president of that company of profiteers impatient for their return which constitutes the national bourgeoisie." " The parties objectively sometimes, subjectively, the accomplice of the merchant", " but here no true bourgeoisie exists, there is only a sort of little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the timid mind of - huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial power hands out to it <sup>35</sup>.

Having taken an overall view of the working of political parties in Africa, we have realised the diversity that exists amongst the political parties according to the typology they have embraced.

We have chosen Kenya as our case - study and having made a brief study of the political parties

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35. Ibid - p. 135.

in Africa, let us now concentrate on our attention towards the dynamics, of one-party system in the mixed economy cum capitalist state i.e. Kenya.

In the following chapters we shall study as to how the emergence of one - party system took place, its role in Kenyan politics and its working in the capitalist state. Finally we shall discuss whether the Kenyan African National Union was able to establish democracy in Kenya or not ?

CHAPTER -II

AFRICAN POLITICS DURING COLONIAL  
PERIOD

The pre-colonial Kenyan society was marked by the fact that no social classes existed in that period. The society then composed of different ethnic groups whose political and economic organizations varied according to their occupational tasks. Daryl Forde, the British anthropologist, lists four main types of economies - collecting, hunting, cultivations and stock raising.<sup>1</sup> These were essentially four different modes of production that the various ethnic groups were engaged in. Apparently these different modes of production, rather than bringing the groups together in one economic relationship, only sought to isolate the groups. This was primarily because each group was self-sufficient and very little communication existed amongst the groups. The complex tribal social structures were not characterised by an economic differentiation.<sup>2</sup>

The social structure was formed through the subsistence mode of production which was based on a communal system of labour utilisation. Under this system the recruitment of labour could either be voluntary or obligatory. The labour consisted of such public works as building of roads, bridges,

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1. Gupta (V) - 'Kenya politics of (In)Dependence', New Delhi 1981, p.3

2. Ibid, p.5.



clearing forest land, protecting the area from animals and the cultivation of farms. The requirements of an individual or the whole community were met by co-operative labour activity. Labour service was free of any financial charges.<sup>3</sup>

Land: The Land Tenure system in Kenya was very complex. Since land generally could not be bought or sold, the shifting cultivation system was followed. This meant a kind of land rotation where the communities would use a piece of land for agriculture until its fertility was reduced. They would then shift cultivation to the next piece of land and return to the earlier piece of land only after its fertility was restored. Even then, certain tribes were aware of individual rights to land as well as purchase and sale of land. However, no registered titles of ownership existed.<sup>4</sup>

Subsistence Economy:

The subsistence economy was characterised by lack of regular production of surplus; lack of specialisation on a significant scale and the stationary technology.<sup>5</sup>

Such an economy existed, both in settlement areas and African reserves. This subsistence economy sector existed without the concept of private property. It was

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3. Herskovits M.J. 'Economic Anthropology' New Delhi 1974, p.68-69.  
4. Gupta (V) Op Cit p.6  
5. Wolf(R.D.);- 'The Economics of Colonialism' Yale University press, London, 1974, p.99.

only later that the modern economic sector introduced the concepts of private property, employer, employees, industrial and commercial groups and the all-encompassing super structure.

As far as the state administration went, the coercive apparatus of the state was significantly small. In the process of problem solving and decision-making consensus was the key word.

All possible efforts were made to accommodate the different points of view in arriving at the final solution or decision. Thus the tribal democracy was a search for unanimity of the highest common factor of agreement, and not a clash of two conflicting views of two parties. It is often assumed that the Africans are accustomed in their traditional tribal way of life to the authoritarian rule of chiefs, and that, consequently, authoritarianism is likely to result in their modern national governments.<sup>6</sup> A similar situation exists even in Kenya.

#### Colonialism;

When the 'colonial giant' swallowed the African countries, there emerged the capitalist mode of production. While European capitalist mode of production introduced the institution of equality before law, in Kenya it laid

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6. Zolberg A.R.' Creating the political order; "The party, states of West Africa, Chicago, 1966, p.16.

foundations of inequality. It introduced legal relations of discrimination, subjugation and domination. It also did not bring any qualitative change in the means of production in the subsistence sector of the economy.<sup>7</sup> Even in the political field, the new systems introduced central authority side by side local administration. Thus the traditional agricultural economic structure of the African society had been super imposed by monetised and mechanical modern economy leading to the rise of plural economy which has created a kind of economic malaise in the old pattern of economic structure and introduced a colonial economy where dependence on the metropole was a basic requisite.<sup>8</sup> Thus colonialism in Kenya like other African countries had two purposes such as (1) to exploit the raw materials and labour forces at cheap rate and (2) to bind Kenya within the parameters of world capitalism.

For many years Africans have become used to the authority of rulers whom they did not elect; the contact of the average African with his government today is sometimes not very different in kind from his contact with the old colonial governments. Kenya was colonized when industrial capital in Europe turned into monopoly capital. The capitalist mode of production was introduced

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7. Bret, (E.A.); 'Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa' London, p.34.

8. Ibid p.34.

in the colonies. They established the plantation economy in Kenya in 1902. The colonial state collaborated with the local rising middle class and provided them with infra-structure roads-rails, irrigation, electricity etc. They emerged as the dominant class in different colonies controlling the most dominant means of production i.e. land through which control of the state laboring power was facilitated.<sup>9</sup> Introduction of capitalist mode of production led to the formation of new social classes and factions. The contradiction between the social classes arose due to the exploitation of the African masses by the settlers.

The slogan "one man one vote" in Africa has a two fold significance. It has been the practice of colonialism especially British colonialism having separate rolls under this system of separate voting rolls, there were various divisions on the basis of education and property or income. Social humiliation of Africans through colour discrimination, condemnation of polygamous marriage, political suppression, expropriation of land from the Africans etc.

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9. Gupta (V); 'op, cit' -p. 5.

promoted class contradictions.

ORIGIN OF THE AFRICAN WORKING CLASS IN KENYA:

Through artificial measures African working class has been brought into existence in Kenya. The Kenyans became the workers' not to earn money to satisfy their needs but to pay taxes imposed to make their work for the capitalist production.<sup>10</sup> The uprooted Kenyan farmer desired the return of his land and removal of taxes. The grabbers of his land and collectors of taxes were his enemies. He nurtured hatred for them. His initial protests were personal, limited to deserting the employes. It was only during and after the 1920s when his landlessness became an irreversible reality that he claimed the label of working class - the proletariat.<sup>11</sup> The African worker was forced to work for wages in the first two decades. As soon as he earned enough to pay for the taxes he returned to the rural areas to live as a subsistence farmer. The result was obvious. The Kenyan wage worker continued to move to and fro from reserve to work area and to reserve. The social character of African working class naturally took long

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10. Singh, Makhan "History of Kenya's Trade Union Movement" Nairobi 1969 p.1.

11. Steele, D. "Theory of Dual Economy and African Entrepreneurship in Kenya" Journal of Developmental studies, Oct. 1975, p.12-18.

time to change itself to the needs of the new environment. The delay was further accentuated by the very slow growth of industrial sector. This explains the psychology of the Kenyan worker who remained at least a peasant, who took wage employment only to buy consumer goods, or pay a bride-price. In the absence of much industrialisation and mining activities the Kenyan industrial proletariat is small in size. The bulk of Kenyan labour is engaged on plantation, which was the second capitalist industry to be started in Kenya, under purely European entrepreneurship.<sup>12</sup> The first industry was the railway which employed a large Indian labour. With the establishment of plantation industry and introduction of modern means of transport and communications, the processing and service industry began to grow slowly.

After the introduction of the settler-plantation economy by the British government, there arose the problem of non-availability of African labour for plantations. African traditional society was characterized by subsistence production, and had no employer-employee relationship. In order to create an African labour market, the African's disinclination to alter his traditional pattern of living had to be overcome.

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12. Gupta, V. 'op.cit' p.51.

This could be done either by imposition of political coercion or creating new desire for commodities which could be obtained only through the medium of money.

As the latter method was slow the government from time to time adopted a series of coercive measures. The African had to pay tax in cash. He was debarred from growing cash crops. His land was reduced in size. To ensure that he did not avoid paying taxes he was made to carry on identity card with full employment record. It was a humiliating procedure.

The Africans were restricted to actually occupied areas called reserves. These restrictions created a situation where surplus African population had no alternative but to find work outside their reserves. With population growth the overcrowded reserves forced the Africans to the labour markets. So the African labourers were initially pushed out and not pulled in work areas.<sup>13</sup>

Another measure applied by the government was the instrument of taxation. As early as 1901, a Hut Tax of £.2 was imposed partially to collect revenue and establish authority but mainly for procuring labour. When the Hut tax did not fully meet the requirements, the government under the pressure of the European farmers imposed Poll Tax. Under the Native Hut Tax and poll Tax ordinance issued in 1909 every adult male,

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13. Ibid. p.52.

who did not own a hut was made liable to pay a tax of 3.3 in cash or in kind (labour). The Africans could offer one month's labour in lieu of the tax.<sup>14</sup>

To bind the African to his work and avoid desertions, a Masters and Servants Ordinance was issued in 1906. The ordinance empowered the administration to punish a labourer for absence from work, insubordination and negligence in work. The punishment could either be imprisonment or cash fine. The imprisonment could be imposed in the form of labour to be performed on government project or on Europeans' farms.

To restrict the area of cash earning the Kenyan administration, with the aim of procuring labour for Europeans, banned the production of main cash crops (tea, coffee, sisal) by Africans. This discriminatory regulation excluded the Africans from earning cash through any other method except wage labour.

In order to struggle against foreign occupation of the country, against seizure of African lands and against forced labour, the African people, wherever possible, resorted to armed harassing of the British authorities, attacks upon labourers building the railway, the boycott of work for settlers and other

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14. Ibid. p.52.



employers. All this resistance was sporadic and generally secretly organised. At times it used the tribal organisation with sanction or tacit consent of a patriotic chiefs. At other times it was organised by secret tribal groups in spite of the opposition from stooge chiefs. The imperialist rulers systematically passed and enforced all sorts of oppressive measures, such as direct statutory compulsion, imposition of hut and poll tax, curtailment of African lands, assistance by officials for recruitment, use of chiefs to recruit their people as labourers, forcibly preventing a labourer from leaving a job he did not like, making ordinary disputes between employer and employee criminal offences, and making use of the 'kipande' registration system for controlling movements of African labourers and for locating and identifying them. The labour legislation promulgated during the initial period of the British rule was Anti-slavery, Edict of 1891 ; Varancy ordinance 1896; African Passes Ordinance 1900; Hut Tax Ordinance 1901; Native porters and Labourers Ordinance, 1902, Master and servants Ordinance 1901; Labour Rules, 1907, Registration of Domestic Servants Ordinance 1910; and Native Registration Ordinance 1915, which was based on the recommendations of the Kenya Labour Commission for the introduction of the 'kipande' system

of compulsory registration for all adult male Africans. The main result of all this labour legislation was that the employment of every African employee, whether forced or otherwise, was a "contract of service" enforceable by penal sanctions, any infringement of which was a criminal offence punishable by fine and/or imprisonment. In order to help the enforcement of the 'contract' and to tighten the control over all adult male Africans the Native Registration Ordinance of 1915 was brought into force from 1st November, 1919.

**KIPANDE: RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT:**

In May 1915 the government introduced compulsory registration for all Africans. This notorious legislation checked the movement of the African worker from and to reserves. Every male African was obliged to register himself to obtain an identification certificate - Kipande and carry the same all the time on his person. While registering he had to give the impressions of all ten fingers of his hands, which were forwarded to the Central Finger Bureau for record to trace him in case he deserted his employer. If the African was caught, away from his work without his Kipande or without its proper endorsement, he could be arrested. He had to get endorsement on Kipande which was to be made in English against certain payment. The power to demand the production of the Kipande was abused

by the police, who a number of times took bribes from the labourers who were generally illiterate. For offences against the Native Registration Ordinance the African was liable to a fine of \$20 or three months imprisonment or labour. The date of entering and leaving the employment of a European had to be shown on the kipande, and it was illegal to enter new employment if the kipande had not been signed by the previous employer. The basic purpose of this measure was to check desertions by Africans. Indeed there was a marked drop in the number of deserters after the institution of the pass system.

#### HIRED LABOURERS:

For almost first two decades Africans were not hired in the industry on regular basis. Energetic Africans who knew a few words of English used to gather around themselves a group of Africans generally of the same clan. The gang of labourers used to move with the gang leader from one employer to another. Every gang had a core of workers who could be regarded as semi-permanent, but still paid by the day. The gang leader called "serangs" was entirely responsible for the performance of the gang and for paying them after the work was completed. Many of the "serangs" became rich by taking a cut from each of the workers. The employers including the harbour and railway

authorities were only concerned with the completion of the work. They were not "expected to provide any facilities to the workers and the workers had no rights". The system continued till the end of first world war when system of recruitment slightly changed but not out of all recognition. It is only after the second world war that major African labour force came to be employed on regular monthly basis.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF KENYAN WORKING CLASS:

The Kenyan working class was mainly poor and illiterate. Due to very low degree of industrialization, the persistence of attachment to land and family and low wages, remained undifferentiated as a class. Except for Mombasa and Nairobi where the workers acquired some degree of stability, the Kenyan worker remained a peasant. The unstable or mobile nature of the working force affected very adversely the strength of the trade unions.

Another characteristics of the Kenyan working class is the social heterogeneity. Different ethnic groups with differing languages acted as a hindrance to unity. In the initial period, i.e. upto the 1940s the skilled and unskilled workers were separated on the basis of ethnic and racial differences, the skilled jobs being in the hands of Asians. This phenomena

reduced the collective bargaining capacity almost till joint unions were formed from 1935 onwards.

The third characteristics of the Kenyan workers was their colonial condition based on racial discrimination. The African looked at the European employer and administrator as one from the same group i.e. the rulers. He linked all his labour problems with colonialism. To him the solution of labour problems was found in the political struggle against colonialism including its local agents.

The exploitation of African labour during its germinating period and for a long time there after for reasons of its being under the racial and colonial conditions, was most terrifying. The Africans were compelled to work for European or Indian employers. They were engaged to work through dubious methods. During these contracted days he had to work for fifteen to sixteen hours. Even the minor girls were made to work in the same way. Beating of children as well as adults, male and female, for minor mistakes was very common. Living conditions were really bad and wages were too low. Punishment to those who tried to escape these brutalities was heavy. Often most deserters were recaptured unless they crossed the border or went into the forest which served for years as sanctiory for increasing number of lawless natives.<sup>15</sup>

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15. Ibid. p.54.

In the pre-colonial Kenya there was an absence of classes. Colonialism disturbed the Kenyan classless societal fabric and introduced capitalist institutions. The resultant feature of this society was the identification of alien settlers of exploitative class and the aboriginals of the exploited class. We found a large number of Asian and European settlers in Kenya during this time.

When the work on the construction of Uganda Railway began in 1895, the immigration of the Asian settlers to Kenya started on a big scale. Here Indians migrated from India for better economic prospects and became farmers and cultivated cotton, linseed, rice, sugar cane etc. So among the non-indigenous population of Kenya, we found the Indian community securing first position. But at the lower level, we found the Indians as the artisans, barbers, pedlars, boot makers etc. and at the higher level, ministers, solicitors, school teachers etc.

The European settlers with the collaboration of the colonial master grabbed the land and acquired a dominant economic position in the Kenyan economic structure. Thus the top managerial and entrepreneur work was made exclusive domain of the Europeans. The skilled and semi-skilled jobs were meant exclusively for the Asians. So this strategy helped the colonial

rulers in restricting the Africans to the lowest economic and political status. Thus it resulted in a kind of racial segregation occupying distinctive positions. Kenya's class-caste stratification coincided with the racial or ethnic divisions. Thus we find that in the Kenyan colonial setting the colonial rulers were on the top, then the Europeans, then the Indians and Asians and ~~in~~ the Africans held the lowest rung of the ladder.

The political scene in Kenya completely changed after the advent of the British. There was no Kenya with present borders. There was no central government with one law, one defence, one external policy etc. Each tribe had its own political entity and its rule extended as far as its members grazed their cattle and engaged in agriculture. Colonisers brought the different tribes to live together. And staying together led to later joining hands to fight for better conditions. Within this petty-bourgeois group, the landed aristocrats and educated elite were included. With imposition of the capitalist system there emerged a new economic system and resultant qualitative changes. So due to the improvement in the agricultural sector, these landed aristocrats benefitted more from the economic system. Due to the impact of missionaries,

a lot of Africans got a chance to be educated. So this period had been wrapped by the rise of a kind of political consciousness among this rising petty-bourgeoisie. During the days of 1st World War, the most active protest was being organized by Kikuyu, Lubyas, the Luo, the Taita, the Kamba, the Giriama, the Nandi, and the Kipsigis tribes.

Having both a moral and urban base, the educated petty-bourgeoisie took the lead and formed political parties. Harry Thuku, the founding father of (Young Kikuyu Association) YKA demanded in 1921 for more education and knowledge of legislations affecting them and withdrawal of the move to reduce African wages and settle European ex-soldiers in Kenya. Thuku contacted other tribes and got the full support from Luo and Kamba people. And he was planning to form an all-tribal political organisation - the East African Association. But the government banned the YKA.<sup>19</sup> In December 1921, the Luos and Lubyas being inspired by the Kikuyus formed Kavirondo Welfare Association (KWA). They expressed their grievances regarding the high poll tax and the administration forcing people to work on European farms or perform compulsory free

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19. Bennett, (George). "Kenya" : A political History, London, 1963. p.3.



labour on roads etc. ' The most important demands of the YKA were for better education and freedom to form political organisations with their own leaders. In fact, both these parties laid the foundation for the movement for independence. But the government outlawed the Young Kikuyu Association, and converted the Kavirondo Welfare Association into Kavirondo Tax-payers's Welfare Association(KTWA). A European, Archdeacon Owen, head of the Church Mission Society became KTWA president. The British administrators were unhappy even with church controlled KTWA.

But the growing political consciousness among the Africans perturbed the Britishers. Around this time the Asian settlers were also raising their voice against the colonial exploitation and racial discrimination and were demanding for the equal rights with Europeans settlers who had demanded 'self-government' and had threatened to stage the 'coup' in case the right was denied. The controversy between Asians and Europeans further politicized the atmosphere in Kenya. Africans continued to organise themselves.

And the reemergence of Young Kavirondo Association (Y.K.A.) as Kikuyu Central Association(KCA) in 1924 posed another threat to the colonial rulers. The establishment of K.C.A. was permitted because a parliamentary commission led by Ormsby-Gore was on a visit

to Kenya during that time. The KCA under the leadership of Joseph Kangetha and Jesse Kariuki invited all Kenyans to join hands. The response from almost all tribes and all organisations was very good. The young mass of Africans were very much active in the anti-colonial and anti-European struggle and imbibed with the ideas of militancy.<sup>20</sup> But the main support to the KCA was from the landless Kikuyus who were hanging around for a morsel of food and selling their labour at a cheap rate. During this time their demands were centered round on the subjects like land, labour, Kipande, African customs and demanded the ban being lifted on the production of cash crops by the Africans, release of Harry Thuku who had been arrested earlier, democratisation of the local Native Councils, establishment of central Native Council and inclusion of the African representatives inside the legislature.<sup>21</sup> But inspite of their unity the leadership, had no ideology and definite programme of action. The KCA brought out a news sheet called Muisithania to propogate its national commitment.<sup>22</sup> The rising strength and popularity of KCA worried the European settlers and administrators. The Europeans who felt threatened

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20. Historical survey of the origins and Growth of Mau Mau (annual paper No.1030) HMSO, London, 1960, p.90-92

21. Native Affairs Department Report, Nairobi 1928,p.2

22. Ibid., p.2

by the KCA's growth accused KCA of carrying on seditious activities and demanded an investigation into the African unrest.<sup>24</sup> The colonial power responded positively. It strengthened the hands of local native administrators by giving them judicial power to punish the political offenders in order to completely suppress the African political activities. By this time Thuku had been released from detention. But he returned as a mangled man and formed the Kikuyu Provincial Association (KPA). The KPA which became a moderate organisation. The KPA sought the cooperation of the government and refrained from attempting to spread its activities to other tribes. During the thirties Wakamba Members Association(WMA) and Teita Hills Association(THA) got associated itself with KCA. KCA also took an active interest in trade union activities. By 1939 KCA had assumed a national character covering the people from all spheres and tribes.

But on 27th May 1940 the government banned the KCA, the WMA and the THA. The KCA news sheet was closed down and KCA leaders were arrested. The ban on KCA and other organisations pushed African political activities underground. After the ban, KCA was run by a five man executive committee. They took the oath

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24. East African Standard, Nairobi 8 March 1930.

of secrecy on the Bible. The oath bound the Africans to campaign for the return of land, to fight for freedom from European rule and to assist the association with funds. The petty-bourgeois forces which took the lead to demand political changes corresponding to the changing economic conditions, by denial of even the minimum political expressions, was forced to adopt the militant approach which gave birth to an armed rebellion and caused the sacrifice of many Kenyans.

#### POLITICAL PARTIES DURING WORLD WAR II:

During forties, the Africans political consciousness and involvement in political activities was much higher than that of the previous decades. They started active participation in Local Native Councils and demanded representation in the Legislative Council.<sup>26</sup> In response to African demands the government announced in 1942 a Five African Members Standing Advisory Committee for Local Native Councils, but this was not regarded by Africans as sufficient to represent their cause or air their problems and legislate about them. African pressure was so heavy that in 1944, Eliud Marthu, a Kikuyu was appointed to the Legislative Council. He was the first African member of Legislative Council

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25. GUPTA, (Vijay), Kenya's struggle for Freedom Africa, quarterly Survey, March, 1964. p see far details on KCA.
26. So far Africans were represented by Native Commissionats or missionaries who were all Europeans.

of Kenya. Two years later he was followed by a Luo, M.B.A. Oanga. British government permitted Mathu to form a country wide party, a privilege so far denied to Africans. He formed a new party known as the Kenyan African Study Union (KASU) and declared that the KASU aimed at uniting the African people and to promote their social, economic and political interests.<sup>27</sup> After two years in 1946, KASU changed its name to Kenya African Union (KAU). During this time Jomo Kenyatta who became first prime-minister of Kenya, had returned to Kenya from London and he took over the leadership of the KAU. Many local associations which were tribal in character with social and nationalist content, came into existence during this time. Such associations emerged even amongst the pastoralists tribes such as Kipsigis, Nandi and Masai (Kipsigis - Nandi Union, The Masai Union), the coastal areas also had a number of unions. African political leaders organised strikes, non-cooperation movements, submitted petitions, held mass rallies and openly clashed with loyalist chiefs.

#### POST WAR PHASE AND RISE OF REBELLION:

But in the post-war period, the KAU fought against the severe economic crisis which had been

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27. GUPTA, (V),: 'Portrait, of an Agent Empire', Africa (quarterly Vol. XVII No.2 1977 p.7-8

caused by certain action of the colonial government. The British colonial office and Kenyan government wanted to settle some European ex-soldiers in Kenya by giving them land for farming or ranching. So the KAU launched the non-cooperation movement against the government projects and simultaneously it organised a boycott of European goods.

Soon its protests became more militant. The nationalist feeling got further nurtured by such bodies as the Forty Group, The Land Freedom Army, the Action Group within KAU, and the Trade Unions under Chege Kibachia and Makhan Singh these developments were seen as part of a general nation wide Afro-Asian movement against colonial domination. As the militants later known as Mau Mau mobilized people in the towns and among the squatters in the Rift valley to struggle for their Liberation, the moderates gave, though hesitant, support to the nationalist movement.<sup>28</sup> In August 1950, the government declared MAU MAU to be an illegal society, because to them probably, MAU MAU was the movement of those who took traditional oath to fight for their land and country.

During this time KAU demanded for the increase of African seats in the Legislative Council to twelve.

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28. Independent Kenya, sponsored by the Journal of African Marxists, Zed press, London, 1982, p.10

Nevertheless the KAU leaders did not ask for the immediate transfer of power. The demand for independence was first raised in 1950 at a May Day rally.

In 1952, a ban was placed on all political meetings and very rigorous conditions were put on the organisation of even non-political meetings. The government made it compulsory for the organisers to obtain prior permission from the District Commissioner. On 21st Oct. 1952, the government launched an attack on the African political movement by declaring the state of emergency to 'maintain law and order i.e. to crush the MAU MAU Movement. The Land and Freedom Army's armed activities and Kikuyu's rebellious activities. Most African leaders including Jomo Kenyatta were arrested. The Africans were left with no other alternative but to go to the jungle, underground and they swelled the ranks of MAU MAU movement. The African opposition gained intensity with every additional dose of coercion and terror, the rebellion began to spread over to ever widening areas. While the fight was going on in the interior, the African nominee of the Kenya Legislative Council,<sup>29</sup>, issued on 16th November, 1953 a statement demanding that (1) the emergency must be ended quickly; (2) Africans should be elected to representative bodies

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29. Kenya Legislative Council Debates, 25 May 1954, Cols. 5, 21-58.

and African membership of these bodies must be of such a strength that it will effectively influence public affairs for the benefit of the whole country; (3) the African must be assured adequate security of land.

On the other hand, at the initiative of Pio Gama Pinto (Indian), the leaders of the MAU MAU (Land Freedom Army) in 1954 made efforts to reach a settlement with the colonial office about the future of Kenya. The MAU MAU leaders demanded full independence under African government to be redistributed amongst the Kenyan citizens. The MAU MAU leaders demanded full independence under African leadership and return of all alienated land to Kenya African government to be redistributed among the Kenya citizens.

The British government sent a parliamentary delegation in 1954 to recommend legislative and other changes. The delegation recommended that the Africans develop their own political organisations. The Kenyan government in June 1955 permitted Africans to form political organisations at district level. But the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru who were more closely linked with MAU MAU movement were not given the freedom to form political organisation. The Kenya Federation of Labour, and its General Secretary Tom Mboya condemned the government decision and demanded that the freedom



to form political organisation be extended to all areas. During this time (M.G.Arwings - Kodhek, and African lawyer formed in April ,1956 a party known as Nairobi District African Congress (NDAC),. The NDAC attracted a large number of people but failed to forge a united front amongst political factions. soon there was a split in the NDAC. After the split, the leader of the break away faction, Tom Mboya formed a rival political party - the Nairobi Peoples Convention Party(NPCP). Meanwhile Kenyan constitution was changed to accomodate elected Africans. When the first African election in 1957 was held the Africans had a political party in each constituency. (1) Mombasa African Democratic Union (MADU) (2) The African District Association(Central Nyanza); (3) The Kisii Highlands Abagusii Association (North Nyanza District); (4) South Nyanza District African Political Association;(5)Teita African Democratic Union; (6) The Nakuru African Progressive party. These parties although rudiment in organisat on and membership, represented a new beginning in politics. Consequently after the election eight members of the Legislative Council formed in 1959 Kenya National Party(KNP). The KNP represented economically backward and rural based interests The party declared itself in favour of a common electoral roll, more seats for the Africans in the Legislative

Council, responsible government for Kenya from 1964 to 1968 and full self-government in 1968. But the other leaders also known as militant were totally dissatisfied with this kind of moderate approach of KNP. So they formed the Kenya Independence Movement (KIM) with a clear objective of an early independence. They forced the British to hold a constitutional conference in 1960, the KIM and KNP grouped together and formed the African Elected Members Organisation to present a united African front. But after the conference, due to either personal ambitions or ideological differences the African unity crumbled, KNP with a few other groups emerged as the Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU). On the other hand, KIM leaders organised themselves into Kenya African National Union (KANU). So negotiating (1960-1962) the terms of independence with the British government was left to those two parties.

But the programmes of the KANU and KADU were not very different. In their manifestoes both pledged themselves to fight for an independent Kenya. The KANU was a group of petty bourgeoisie liberal democrats and some leftists. It was strong in Urban areas and in crowded reserves of the Luo, Wakambos Kikuyu and the associated tribes. The KADU, on the other hand, was an alliance of conservative agrarian tribes drawn

together mainly through fear of being absorbed by the KANU's supporters. Ideologically KADU members and KANU conservatives had similar position. In KANU there was a group of leftists who supported socio-economic changes to usher in non-capitalist orientation.

But before giving the full independence, the colonial governor proposed for a caretaker government. So in the election of 1961, the results showed that KANU was supported by the major tribes such as Kikuyus, Luo, Embu, Meru, Kamba, and Kisii which formed 61.4% of the population, while KADU held the allegiance of the pastoralist Masai, Kalenjin, Griama etc. But in the final stage of election, KANU emerged as the biggest group in the legislative council.

The British government favoured the KADU and put its leader as incharge of interim caretaker government inspite of its being in minority in the legislative council. The KANU launched a massive movement for full independence under a strong centre and asked for a new constitutional conference. Finding the British delaying independence by making KADU demand for a federal system(regional) the KANU agreed for regionalism in order to avoid any further delay in the grant of independence. The white settlers played an important role in the KADU. Their greatest victory was in getting a lease of two years for trying the

KANU government before taking up citizenship. On 12th December 1963, Kenya became independent under a constitution providing for regional semi-autonomy with legislature elected on universal franchise. political power was handed over to the Africans but economic power remained in the hand of the settlers - white and Asians. Thus British colonialism left Kenya with a settler dominated civil service and army and an economic structure dominated by the settlers.

**CHAPTER- III**

**PERIOD OF DECOLONISATION**

### PERIOD OF DECOLONISATION

The Mau Mau, the Land Freedom Army and the unity of the nationalist movements culminated in forcing out the Britishers out of the Kenyan soil, leading to the handing over of political power to the African nationalists. Due to the nationalist movement launched in different African countries the colonisers and local settler realised that their interests and investments would be better safe-guarded if they joined hands with the African leaders instead of suppressing them;<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, they created an economically better off class of Africans. For this purpose, the British government incorporated schemes such as: land distribution schemes, Africanisation, and import substitution industries.

On the pretext of decolonisation, the British transferred power to the Africans with the tacit understanding that interests of the former colonial masters would be well sustained. Hence the new ruling class that emerged, continued the colonial form of production which was exploitative in the nature and the new ruling class enlisted themselves in majority party KANU.

No doubt, every state that has moved from colonialism to independence has sought to shape its

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1. Dr. Gupta (Vijay) op-cit, p-173

inherited institutions to the changing circumstances and ideas of that independence, and Kenya is no exception.<sup>2</sup> But in the post-independence era we have to see whether Kenya has got both economic and political freedom or only political freedom. But as we observe the different facts about the decolonisation process in Kenya in early sixties, we can say that the colonial legacies still continue to exist in Kenya. The ruling class i.e. the rising middle class or petty bourgeoisie, in the post independence era, used land and agriculture for accumulation through state power. Moreover, they also adopted corrupt practices by expanding the enterprises in number and size and moved from exchange into production by imposing restrictions on settler communities and foreign capital in some areas. These types of accumulative activities helped this class to become an indigenous bourgeoisie. The working class and landless peasantry could not revolt against this class because of some kind of restrictions imposed on them, such as control over the labour movement, banning of political parties and intimidating any opposition to the ruling class. Then there arose a kind of consciousness in the working class and peasantry due to the emergence

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2. Gertzel, Cherry; "The politics of independent Kenya 1963-80" East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1970 p.01

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of growing inequality in the societal structure. This kind of consciousness posed a serious challenge to the position of working class. But this kind of exploitative policies of this new ruling class was increasing day by day due to the continuing presence of foreign capital, proportionate increase in its investment and profits and adoption of the methods beneficial to the ruling class as against the broad masses.<sup>3</sup> Thus, inversely, the local petty-bourgeoisie co-operated with foreign capital as long as its own accumulations was increased.<sup>4</sup> But here we can find out easily, that this new ruling elite was just a cog in the machine which is totally controlled by the metropolitan bourgeoisie. No doubt, power was handed over to them but they did not have any economic power. Here we can quote Fanon, when he says, "powerless economically, unable to bring about the existence of coherent social relations and standing on the principle of its domination as a class, the bourgeoisie chose the solution that seems to it the easiest, that of a single party".<sup>5</sup> Thus one party system which

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3. Laughden, Steven; "The state and capitalism in Kenya" RAPE (Review of African Political Economy) No.3, Jan-April 1977; London p.94

4. Ibid ; p.95

5. Fanon, Frantz; "The wretched of the earth" penguin ; Harmondsworth, 1970, p.133



came into being. Secondly, the European farmers evicted a number of squatters thus further accentuating the problem of landless labourers. These evictions added to the already serious problems of unemployment in the country. Thirdly, Africanization of commercial and administrative jobs led to the formation of an African bureaucracy with interest in retaining the privileges previously monopolized by Europeans and Asians. Four, a number of industrial and commercial units, with multi-racial ownership of Africans, Asians and Europeans, were set up. This became possible by adopting the policy of encouraging private enterprise. It led to the emergence of African private entrepreneurs working in collaboration with settler bourgeoisie. Five, a number of multinational corporations were permitted to invest in the private sector in Kenya.<sup>6</sup>

The emergence of land owning class, a bureaucratic privileged elite group and an industrialist class led to new tensions and contradictions in the Kenyan society. The privileged strata appropriated the major portion of the surplus and thus increased the gap between them and the poor labourers, workers and civil

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6. Gupta, (Vijay); 'Kenya One Party System.' Paper presented at a seminar at Ahmedabad. 1981

is generally rejected by the whole mass, suited the new rulers, and they adopted the same.

The class-character of KANU always leads us to the conclusion that it had amongst its leaders petty-bourgeois liberal democrats, leaders of working class and landless labourers and some small peasants while the KADU was the body of petty-bourgeois, pro-British tribalist leaders. So the purpose of establishing single party system was not to set up a party with democratic centralism but to eliminate opposition to the economic system which encouraged unequal development and creation of indigenous bourgeoisie. So the ruling circle had its base in the landed and business interests of the bureaucracy. So they have grabbed all important positions in the commercial and administrative sector and has supplemented its income by drawing on a slash fund of terrific proportions. The broad masses were misled to have trust in the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta and his Party, KANU.

The transfer of power set in motion notable changes in the Kenyan economy ; the ownership of a number of large cash crop farms came in the hands of Africans and in a short time a number of African farmers with vested interests in the continuation of the system of cheap labour by landless labourers

servants, etc. The wage earners sector increased in size on the one hand, and unemployment due to heavy eviction from European lands on the other.

By surrendering <sup>7</sup> on land issue the African leaders instead of joining hands with the African masses developed class interests which were basically similar to those of the European farmers. Africans in power got bank and other loans and bought farms.

Africanization, rampant corruption, nepotism and appropriation of huge surpluses, helped in the diversification of the economy and creating a bourgeoisie which prospered by collaborating with the international capital and by exploiting the African masses. This bourgeoisie controlled political power and held the economic strings. The enemies of this class were not the expatriate. The ruling class was willing to make working alliance with foreign capital in tourism, large scale construction. The African leaders, from local councillor level to Minister's level, mainly invested in large scale farms and in small business. They acquired agencies and directorship to MNCs operating in Kenya. Asians were disturbed

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7. One of the conditions of transfer of power to the African was that land occupied by the European settlers shall be bought by the Africans. The British government provided a loan to Kenyan government to pay for the land purchased from the European.

no more than the whites.

Foreign capital was attracted on very favourable terms. A lower middle class was founded by absorbing approximately 600,000 people in the small peasant cultivation in the fertile areas - with free hold titles. This also led to expulsion of more Africans from land and enlarging the number of landless migrant labourers. The African petty bourgeoisie which at the time of transfer of power, acquired political control was constituted of the leading elements among the Africans. In a shortwhile, it became the dominant class. It represented a specific economic sector, political order and ideological super-structure.

The political apparatus of Kenya was being made in such a way that no one could stand even in multi-candidate constituency without the approval of party bosses. All opposition was meaningless and ineffective, except opposition to the ruling clique around Kenyatta who was the head of all those who used state machinery and party for private advancement. The creation of mythological charisma, hypnotic oratory, ambiguity and threats by the Kenyan leaders have helped them to rule over Kenya under one party system. They often warned their opponents: 'Blood would be shed if any one tried to interfere with the government' and the economic

system. The opposition that existed at the time of independence had been forced out of active political participation by banning, expulsion, imprisonments or even physical elimination, and thus, could be able to establish strong one - party system.

De-jure Kenya for long continued to be a multi-party state but de-facto it was a single party system. This state of affairs justified', in the western eyes, Kenya to retain the 'character of democracy' inspite of the authoritarianism practised and human rights denied.<sup>8</sup>

In bourgeois democracy, with more than one party there are often many contestants for one seat of representative bodies. In these societies people are given to believe that they can exercise their vote the way they like and can elect representatives of their own choice; while in fact their choice is restricted to those who themselves or their sponsors have means to incur heavy poll expenditure. A poor man has very limited chance of contesting. In socialist (people's) democracies, there is only one party and one candidate but the party follows the principle of democratic centralism, holds periodical conferences to

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8. Dr. Gupta, (Vijay); Kenya Politics of (in)dependence op. cit p. 177.

discuss programmes and to elect office bearers, enrolls new members and is based on political principles which are clearly laid down e.g. building socialist economy.<sup>9</sup>

In majority of the constituencies in Kenya more than one candidate is permitted to contest from one constituency. The intending candidate has to be a member of the KANU; has to apply for permission and clearance and obtain a clearance chit from the high command of the party. Under this system various competing interests within the ruling class can field their candidates but opponents of the system or the ruling class, or the ruler, are denied chits. So there is democracy for the members of the ruling class, while dictatorship for the masses and the opponents of the system. The common masses are given to believe that they cannot perceive the subtle complexities of multi-candidate single party system, which, according to the rulers genuinely gives them a democratic choice. In reality the system is most undemocratic and even within the system the dominant faction of the ruling class remains in advantageous position because it can get its own candidates elected as against that of other factions within the bourgeoisie by manipulation of election machinery and control of

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9. Gupta, (V); ' Kenya One Party System' op.cit.

mass media, etc.<sup>10</sup>

KANU is the only party which is permitted to function in Kenya. Other political parties i.e. the African people's party (APP) led by Kamba leader Paul Ngei and the KADU led by Daniel arap Moi were merged with the KANU. The Kenya people's Union led by Oginga Odinga which emerged as a splinter group of KANU formed by the radicals was banned. The merger of KADU and APP was part of the grand design of Kenyatta to eliminate all opposition after independence.

In order to understand the measures adopted to crush democracy in Kenya, one must understand the process of eliminating opposition parties. Three months after attaining independence, in March, 1964, Kenyatta launched attack on the main opposition party, KADU. He called KADU a dying horse and threatened that 'very soon the country would see Kenya as one party state.' questioning the need for an opposition party, he said that 'in one party state Kenya's opposition will function from behind in the house, instead of across the floor.' explaining this concept of opposition from behind he said 'ruling party

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10. Gupta. (V); 'politics of (in)dependence' op.cit. p.177

listens to the criticism by its own members ....instead of across the floor. self-criticism can be more searing than mere opposition for the sake of opposition.<sup>11</sup> It is possible within the system, it was argued, to effectively challenge the government because discussions and debates originate at the local levels and the views of the so-called man in the street are transmitted through the organs of the party, <sup>to</sup> the highest rungs of the leadership ladder. This makes one party system less contentious, less divisive and is, therefore, more stable for developing African states. It was suggested that 'it would be better to achieve a one-party state by allowing the opposition to die a peaceful death.'

After independence, in order to pursue a policy of development of free enterprise, KANU required curbing of opposition and control over trade union activities. For a fuller development of free enterprise it also had to permit certain freedom to its supporters. These conditions required introduction of political institutions which appeared to be democratic and gave legitimacy to the government and eliminated such opposition which questioned the policy of free enterprise. To this

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11. Republic of Kenya, Official Report, House of Representatives, First Parliament, Second Session, Vol. III, Part III, 10th Nov. 1964, cols.4414-4417



and an election system, permitting more than one KANU loyalist member to contest against each other in the same constituency, was evolved. The system gave the electorate a sense of participation and representation but restricted their choice - area to 'loyalists' only. This system ensured the continuation of rulers in power and elimination of real opposition from the parliament. According to Vijay Gupta <sup>12</sup>, the elected Parliament has since been used mainly as a forum for venting out minor grievances against the bureaucracy, corrupt ministers and local officials. The debates in the National Assembly were critical but not more than the licenced criticism. 'Individual back-benders, and even some assistant ministers, regularly criticised unpopular government policies, for instance, the local obligations of settlement schemes, farmers, the purchase of large farms by ministers and other big men, nepotism in the labour market and so on; occasionally they even spoke of the dangers of class war and revolution. So long as they drew their parliamentary salaries and voted for the government bills, and did not organize an opposition or criticise Kenyatta they were tolerated as a useful safety valve. A challenge to the system or to the top man was not

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12. Gupta.(V); 'Kenya One Party System', op.cit.

tolerated. To avoid any mass upsurge to be instigated by opposition the system banned political parties and detained leaders of opposition parties.<sup>13</sup>

By winning over the leaders through inducement of lucrative jobs associating front organizations such as trade unions, peasants associations, students women, farmers associations into government system; and disallowing functioning of opposition group through administrative and constitutional measures, such as banning other political parties, declaring the strikes illegal, disqualifying opposition candidates from elections, etc., and ousting the radicals from the ranks and leadership of the party, the new political order made the opposition ineffective.

In fact, Jomo Kenyatta opted for a one - party state in Kenya. According to him, in the post-independence era, they have a two-fold job to do, to secure the people wherever they are from aggression emanating from their enemies and subversion originating from some of their self-appointed friends both within and without. Their aim in Kenya is to cultivate a social and political order which is consistent with their needs and their conditions. So he said "we reject a blue print of

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13. Ibid.

the western model of a two - party model of govt. because we do not subscribe to the notion of the government and the governed in opposition to one another. So the fascinating innovation in our time is the mass party and the mass party is to be found in both one - party and two - party states. It is the nature of the organisation of mass political parties that is the real threat to the rule of law and democracy. Consequently there are two - party states which are tyrannical and dictatorial and one - party states which can be said to be democratic and liberal.<sup>14</sup> Thus he had a strong motive and desire for the creation of single-party states in Kenya. But being the leader of the petty-bourgeoisie group of Kenya, he wanted to serve the interest of the different classes by suppressing all kinds of opposition and implementing one - party state. But Kenyatta claimed that the necessity for one - party system in most parts of Africa stemmed from two predominant factors. Traditionally African society revolved around the family tree, the wider pattern of blood brotherhood and the wider network of clans and tribes all of which acted in concert in times of

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14. Kenyatta, Jomo "The de facto - one - party state" in Daily Nation 14th Aug. 1964

emergency. Second, to the Africans the supreme authority was the tribal council which was at once a government and an expression of personality of every citizen.<sup>15</sup>

Thus he was in favour of the implementation of one - party system. During this time he declared the economic policy of KANU in sessional paper No.10. In this paper the Kenyan government proposed an economic policy based on private capital, accumulation and the incentive to individual advancement - occupied with an acknowledgement of state responsibilities to reduce inequalities.<sup>16</sup> It applied centralised social and economic policies. It proposed progressive taxes to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth and income. It welcomed both government and private investments in Kenya.<sup>17</sup> But the paper on African socialism being drafted by an employee of the Ford Foundation had adopted a capitalist path in the name of socialism. The progressive leaders (Oginga Odianga, Bildad Kaggia, J.D.Kali and Paul Ngei) criticised Kenyatta on this kind of imperialist method for implementation of

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15. Ibid

16. Kenyatta, Jomo statement to KANU Conf. 11-13 March 1966, published as a pamphlet by KANU, p.8

17. Republic of Kenya, sessional paper No.10 of 1965 African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya (Nairobi) Govt. Printers, 1965.

single-party states and authoritarian rule in Kenyan social structure. The KADU leaders supported the sessional paper and KANU land policy and opposed the 'radicals'<sup>18</sup> stand. So after this, many members of KANU found greater unanimity of views with KADU leaders and vice-versa. In December 1965, KADU merged with KANU. KANU leaders lost no time in changing the Majimbo (Regional) constitution inherited with independence.<sup>19</sup> They declared Kenya a republic with presidential system and instead of federal, they declared it as a unitary state. The majority of KANU leaders and the leaders of the erstwhile KADU advocated the policy of freehold of unlimited acreage of land, of buying the land from the European farmers and distributing it to the Africans on payment, of not sub-dividing the European land on the pretext that "farming large areas of land as one unit will be more economical than breaking them up into units that are uneconomic."<sup>20</sup>

suppression of oppositionism:

During this period, the radicals were labelled as communists, and the rightists labelled themselves as 'African socialists'. But in reality, the so called

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18. Radicals; when Odinga was excluded from government, KANU was composed of two factions, radicals under Odinga's leadership and rightists under leadership of Kenyatta, Tom Mboya and J. Gichiru.
19. Gupta, (VIJAY); Emergence and Decline of the Concept of Multiracialism in Kenya, United Asia, Vol XX 1968 No.4 p.p. 242-243
20. Republic of Kenya, official Report, House of Representatives, First parliament, Second session, Vol.IV, 2nd April 1965, cols. 1156-57

'communists' were pretty-bourgeois liberal and the 'African socialists' held capitalist ideology and advocated capitalist path of development and maintained intimate relations with western firms, western experts and western embassies.<sup>21</sup> The radicals did not support the KANU ideology specifically economic programmes and single party system. So the KANU ideologists attacked the bases of the radicals i.e. the trade unions of workers and peasants. On 19th Nov.1965, Kenyatta directed the formation of one single trade union - the central organisation of trade unions (COTU). Under this new system, the appointment of the General Secy. of COTU had to be confirmed by the president of Kenya and that he could be dismissed by the president.<sup>22</sup> In 1966, KANU held a conference at Limuru. This conference ousted radical leader Oginga Odinga out of the KANU. Close associates of Odinga were also thrown out of the party. From the conference emerged a group of radicals of KANU dissidents.<sup>23</sup> Odinga resigned from KANU and accused the imperialist powers of indulging in subversive activities and choosing puppets as leaders in Kenya.<sup>24</sup> All the rightist leaders on the other hand,

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21. Gupta (V):- Kenya politics of (in)dependence op-cit, p.185

22. Standard(Nairobi) 8 Aug.1976 and East African standard, 2nd sept.1965.

23. East African standard, 14th March 1966

24. Africa Research Bulletin(London), 1-3 May 1965,p.296 C

condemned Odinga as a communist hawk.

To further curb the activities of radicals - a legislation was introduced in 1966 both in National and Local Assembly to prohibit the independent candidates from standing for elections. In a special session of the Assembly, Kenyatta also got a law passed debarring crossing of the floor or defections.<sup>25</sup>

The defector was law bound to resign from the legislative Assembly. During this time a new party the Kenya people's Union (KPU) was formed under the leadership of Oginga Odinga. The KPU demanded active and full workers participation in all economic, social and political activities of the state, radical land reform, nationalisation of the key economic units, rapid industrialisation and extirpation of backward rural life.<sup>26</sup> The KPU accused the KANU for its imperialist alliance and for getting this funds from outside. In 1969, the KPU was banned and all its important leaders, including Odinga were detained. The KPU was charged of instigating tribalism.

The KANU had become the party of the ruling class and a monopoly of a few who used it for their own betterment.

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25. East African standard, 27th Apr. 1966

26. The KPU Manifesto, Pan African Press Ltd. (Nairobi) 1966

Kenyatta had become the father and mother of the government. KANU had dwindled from a mass party to a party of few leaders. At the helm of affairs of the party there were a few rich individuals with groups of ruffians known as youth wingers. These ruffians organized election and other campaigns for their leaders' and beat up the opponents.<sup>27</sup> There had been no membership drive after 1965, no delegates conferences, no election of office bearers or leaders. Every important office bearers was appointed by the leader.

KANU leaders living like the old white rulers in big houses using big cars and many "house boys" were engaged in commercial activities and were owning factories and exploiting people just as the Asian and European settlers had done.

On release from jail (Odinga was released in 1972), the 'radicals' decided to take over the KANU organisation by joining in numbers. Within two years they had set themselves in responsible positions in the KANU. The KANU leadership, afraid of being overwhelmed by radicals in the party postponed party elections which had been suggested by a KANU Committee. In 1972, the first elections were scheduled to be held on March 1, and

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27. Gupta.(VIJAY); 'Kenya - One party system', op-cit.



later in May and both times, these were postponed on very flimsy grounds. Although no direct link can be established but the announcement of the postponement of elections was followed by a warning by the KANU rightwing leadership against 'radicals' in the name of tribalistic activities. It was stated that certain groups were attempting to establish groupings based on tribal affiliations within the party.<sup>28</sup>

KANU rightwingers got frightened of rebellion within KANU and decided to control KANU meetings addressed by 'radicals' or even moderates or liberals. To stop the radicals from holding public meetings to project their programme, the government permission from provincial Commissioners (P.C) was made mandatory to hold meetings even if they were organised by the KANU. Usually such meetings were attended by the P.Cs. While preparing to contest Nairobi Mayoral election, the KANU Nairobi Branch Chairman Charles Rubia complained, "We cannot hold meetings without a permit, showing all the agenda, the speakers and so on".<sup>29</sup>

In order to keep greater control and unity inside the party, it was decided to hold national elections within the party and drop provincial vice-presidents and revive the office of national Vice-president.<sup>30</sup>

28. Africa Research Bulletin 1-29 Feb., p.2375  
1-31 May, p.2471, 1-30 July 1972, p.2535

29. The Weekly Review, 30 Aug, 1976, p.7

30. This part of Vice-President had been abolished to remove Odinga. East African Standard, 30 Aug, 1971.

The 'radicals' had managed to organise a number of protests by the people. There was a protest in July 1972 by University students. There were strikes by bank employees in July and airlines workers in August on the question of pay rise and other grievances. The Times correspondent summarized the situation by stating that "Behind the labour unrest lie the problems of high unemployment, inflation and land hunger as well as allegations of corruption."<sup>31</sup>

During 1973-74, KANU again faced serious ideological problems. Its leadership was not prepared to hold elections within the party for fear of being ousted by the non-radical opponents. Kenyatta knew that while he could ban 'radicals' party, but it was not easy for him to ban another bourgeois party. His fear was displayed in his warning in April 1974. He said, "KANU is Kenya's ruling party and we will not allow the formation of another party." He called his opponents "the few rattling individuals who have belittling the KANU government's achievements" and asked them to give him "unswerving respect."<sup>32</sup>

Kenyatta decided to get to the polls (general elections) to throw out his opponents from the KANU. Choosing the

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31. The Times, London, 24 Aug. 1974.

32. Daily Nation, 16 May, 1974.

candidates was in his hands and he had planned to keep all opponents out of the Parliament. Prior to the elections he became life-president of the KANU. He put a blanket bar on all former KPU members from nomination as candidates for elections. It was stated that "any former member of the defunct KPU who has been detained for subversive activities against the Kenya Government shall not be eligible for nomination as a KANU candidate for the National Assembly or local authorities' elections."<sup>33</sup>

This ban affected the KPU leader Oginga Odinga and all his comrades. The only person to raise his voice against this ban order was Josiah Mwanigi Kariuki, a Kikuyu businessman and politician. He was vocal and courageous. He dared to say "the statement remains illegal until such time as the government decides to bring it to the parliament in the form of a bill ... there is no legal backing unless the government uses force to implement it. Fourteen former M.Ps. were refused tickets,<sup>34</sup> and J.M. Kariuki was no more trusted by Kenyatta Caucus. Although he was permitted to contest, he was refused licence to address meetings in his constituency.

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33. Gupta (Vijay); 'Kenya Politics of (in)dependence  
o.p. cit p.193

34. The Guardian (London) 22nd April 1974

Despite political and financial backing, 88 sitting members known for their pro-Kenyatta loyalty, lost their seats including four Cabinet Ministers and thirteen Assistant Ministers. Odinga, the only potential contender against Kenyatta was not permitted to contest even as an M.P. Thus Kenyatta won the Presidency unopposed. In many constituencies more than one KANU members contested. Attempts were made to fool the people by distributing beer and other gifts. People were "confronted with from two to five rich fat idiots from whom they must choose an M.P."<sup>35</sup> In spite of all this, several figures who had the reputation for standing up to the government and criticising it in the National Assembly were easily elected, among them were H.M.Kariuki and M.J.Seroney and M.Shikuku elected with sizeable majorities. This election result showed the dissatisfied attitudes of the people of Kenya. It also made Kenyatta very upset. Most interestingly, young MPs elected a government critic as the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament.

On November 6, 1974, Kenyatta prorogued the National Assembly without any explanation. Proroguing the parliament was criticised. J.M.Kariuki made reference to Kenyatta and his family becoming the richest in Kenya. He said,

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35. Legum, Colin, "Africa Contemporary Record", London 1974-75, p. B.200

" We have moved away from the state which we intended to create."<sup>36</sup>

Kariuki was found murdered in mid 1975. The first political murder of a Kikuyu, sharpened divisions in ruling cliques. A little later, Deputy Speaker, Seroney, and Martin Shikuku, were arrested in the Parliament building. These two M.Ps were members of the Parliament Select Committee (PSC) which had been set up to inquire the death of J.M. Kariuki and which had found President's body guard involved with the murder. The arrested leaders were neither charged nor brought to trial.<sup>37</sup>

similarly, Miss Philomena Chelegot Mutai, 23 year old woman member of Parliament and one of the government critics was jailed for two and half years on the charge of inciting the people. The charges could not be proved. These detentions of Mutai and of others had an immediate effect on parliamentary debates, because until Shikuku and Seroney were picked up from Parliament building the belief had been that a member of Parliament enjoyed unfettered immunity for anything they uttered in the Parliament.<sup>38</sup>

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36. Davidson, Basil, Africa in Modern History, Allen Lane, London 1978, p.314-15

37. Tribune (Chandigarh) 22nd March 1976.

38. Gupta (Vijay) Kenya politics of (in)dependence op.cit p.195.

political tension was further increased in Kenya after Kariuki's murder and this endangered Kenyatta's leadership. Therefore, he made a move to ban all party meetings, including KANU's. Due to the political turmoil that was taking place, he warned his parliamentary critics that "parliament may be supreme, but all parliamentarian is owe their seats to KANU; they are KANU M.Ps and when they adopt policies which are against the party, the party can dismiss them from the party membership and consequently from parliament itself."<sup>39</sup>

Masinde Muliro (former deputy leader of KADU) together with Assistant Ministers Peter Kibisu and John Keen were sacked from cabinet for criticizing his government's policies. They were jailed on charges of very minor offences after being sacked from their respective jobs. Another member of parliament Mark Mwithaga also ended in jail. Mwithaga had been Vice-Chairman of Kariuki Committee and had criticized the government on the whole affair.<sup>40</sup>

On one side, the Gen. Secy. Robert Matano tried to

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39. The Weekly Review, 31 May 1976, p.5

40. Ibid, p.p. 6-7

recapture KANU and on the other Kenyatta suppressed any type of dissent. Earlier the KANU Parliamentary Group with Kenyatta as Chairman had been set up. There was a general intolerance to any substantial opposition and an atmosphere of fear and distrust prevailed in the country. Banning criticism, Kenyatta told the MPs that parliament was not a house for debating but an institution expected to achieve concrete results in a number of legislative issues. Through this statement he intended to reduce the role of parliament to a ceremonial body, rubber-stamping decisions taken by Kenyatta caucus. Kenyatta had said that government and parliament are composed of representatives of one party, the KANU, and that parliament was not a theatre for dramatic performance by the MPs, or that the treasury benches were not enemy camp for the backbenchers. The group against Kenyatta faction criticized this overlordship of Kenyatta caucus. Their views could be read in a commentary by the Weekly Review which said this would "push parliament into a dangerous sycophantic vis-a-vis the government."<sup>41</sup> It would seriously impair the functioning of parliament where close scrutiny of government programmes is required." As Basil Davidson puts it

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41. Gupta, (VIJAY); Kenya's politics of (In)dependence.

the Kenyan one - party system at this stage decayed into no party system as the ruling elements became fully bureaucratized. politics came to an end, more administration took its place, reproducing colonial autocracy as the new 'beneficiaries' took the place of old governors. thus the state power was used by this petty-bourgeois group to further their accumulation, to expand in numbers and size the enterprises, to move from exchange into production which involved the restrictions on foreign capital in some spheres.<sup>42</sup> But contradictions arose in this process between the indigenous bourgeoisie itself and national and international capital, between the emerging capitalist class and the working class, between the bureaucracy and bourgeoisie.

Again more recently African leaders have been portrayed more as bosses than as charismatic figures.<sup>43</sup> Jomo Kenyatta had ruled above party, by manipulating factions, working through a relatively strong civil service, operating in a rather narrow sphere of concerns, utilizing his ethnic base but at the same time appealing to all Kenyans with the force of his historical position

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42. Patriot (New Delhi) 12 March 1978

43. Roth, Gruenther, "Personal Rulership, Patrimonialism and Empire-building in New States" World Politics, Vol. 20, No. 20, Jan. (1968) pp. 194-206



as "He who suffered for the Kenyan Nation", as the spokesman for Kenyan nationalism, as the Mzee and 'Elder' of the nation.<sup>44</sup>

### Conclusion;

No doubt, the Kenyan post-independence era had been marked by existence of the multi-party system. But power was mainly handed over to the petty bourgeois group in Kenya. Their party was known as KANU. Though KANU was the ruling party just after the independence, but there were other parties like KADU etc. But this petty-bourgeois group captured the more dominant position in economic system vis-a-vis the political structure. So this ruling party KANU in order to establish its own hegemony adopted various subtle methods through which multi-party Kenya passed through defacto to de jure one - party state. These subtle methods are oppression of the radical oppositionism, banning of KPU, imprisonment of Odinga Oginga and his supporters, murder of Karikul etc. Ultimately Kenyatta adopted the one - party system in the state apparatus constitutionally. Thus the passing phase from defacto to de jure had been marked by the growing authoritarianism in Kenyan political setting, which had the same repercussions on the economic setting.

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44. Bienen, Henry Kenya; "The Politics of Participation and Control" Princeton University USA, 1974, p.74

CHAPTER - IV

FUNCTIONING OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEM IN  
KENYA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE  
FROM KENYATTA TO MOI.

FUNCTIONING OF ONE - PARTY SYSTEM IN KENYA DURING  
THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE FROM KENYATTA TO MOI.

In this chapter, we shall critically examine the functioning of one - party system during the transitional phase from Kenyatta to Daniel arap Moi. Here we will lay emphasis on the nature of the working of the party system, party elections, national elections, coup and the causes for its success or failure e.t.c. As a whole, the gamut of this chapter will touch the changes in the Kenyan political structure from latter parts of seventies to early part of the eighties with a logical analysis of its class character.

Towards the end of Kenyatta's rule, the whole of Kenya was undergoing a kind of political stagnation, economic inflation and social fragility due to the existence of rampant corruption, nepotism, ruthless economic exploitation and tribal conflicts. Instead of converting the ruling party, KANU into a truly national democratic party (where grassroot level of participation should have been permitted), Kenyatta allowed it to decline into an exploitative authoritarian party of the dominant elite.' This authoritarian rule is quite apparent when we find the absence of elections for a continuous period of 12 years until his demise in Aug, 1978. This relative stagnation preceding the death

of Jomo Kenyatta and transformation of power from one group to another bourgeois group led by Moi, Kibaki and Njonjo had a tremendous impact on its socio - economic and political fronts. On the social front we find that there emerged a kind of competition and conflict between the Kikuyu tribe who held the controlling power over economic, political and bureaucratic fields during Kenyatta's regime and the Kalengin tribe which emerged as the new power group.

In the economic field the latter group led by Moi inherited a class - ridden economy. One can easily categorise them as an indigenous bourgeoisie owing the means of production accumulating the surplus capital and reinvesting it locally. The enrichment of this class by the virtue of this method and by the help from international capital led them to secure hegemonic positions in the political structure.

No doubt, at the political level they have followed the same path as before i.e. the existence of one - party system and banning of all oppositions, but what Moi wanted to do was very interesting. Since there had been no elections for a period of twelve years during Kenyatta's rule, Moi supported the plan which was prepared by Njonjo and favoured holding of early elections for the Kenyan parliament

When Moi came to power in 1978 he promised to allow

more freedom of action in the national assembly than was allowed at the end of Kenyatta's rule, and he made a promising start by releasing M.P's and other political leaders who had been detained by Kenyatta. But this spirit of liberalisation did not survive for long. Outspoken backbench M.P's soon found themselves either in detention or under severe harrasment. There were a number of ugly scenes in parliament which did little to enhance its reputation as an area for public debate among impressive body of dissident backbenchers.

Initially, Moi made a declaration to the effect that he wanted to run an 'open government',<sup>1</sup> and that he also wanted to bring about changes in the constitution itself. He expressed his determination to oppose any form of tribalism and stamp out widespread corruption and flagrant breaches of the law which had characterised the latter days of Kenyatta's rule. He also talked of changes in the electoral process by allowing more candidates to participate in one constituency. To fully control Kenyan politics Moi planned to change the dominance of one-tribal system to multi-tribal politics. But multi-tribal system was directed not to introduce democratic trends but to increase the strong hold of party system on Kenyan political structure. The nature

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1. Legum (C); - A.C.R. 1978-79.

'Kenya' p.B 266

of the party system remained the same as it was in Kenyatta's period. Thus Moi adopted a kind of diplomatic rule to acquire a dictatorial and hegemonic position in Kenya under the carpet of false democratic norms.

Moi adopted all sorts of methods to keep leftist elements out of the political fray. No doubt, before Moi came to power a kind of sedition, discontent, dis-interest and disillusionment were growing momentum among the people. Moi is a very shrewd and seasoned politician.<sup>2</sup> When he came to power he declared that he would give equal chances to his friends and enemies and he created a kind of illusion that he was going to create a kind of democratic government within the one - party system. But in capitalist system, rule under one party is a kind of hegemonic and authoritarian type and quite different from that of socialist countries. Here in Kenya it serves the interest of a particular class i.e; a class of dominant elite having its base amongst the bourgeoisie within the country (that means business magnates, merchant class, traders, factory owners, rich peasants) and in relationship with the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Though Odinga was allowed to join the KANU party in Moi era also but he was not

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2. Gupta (V); - Kenya; Politics of (in)dependence  
op.cit p.214

permitted to contest the elections and enter Parliament. Odinga remained a challenge to the whole system which Moi protected. Odinga was detained on a flimsy ground of criticizing Kenyatta, for the ills in the society.

Moi also did not hold party (KANU) congress and election for the KANU office leaders instead he held a convention of sixteen hundred KANU activists to elect the new office bearers. Forty one candidates contested elections involving top leaders and ministers. Kibaki won the vice-presidency, Matano became general secretary, Moi did not permit Odinga to contest for national chairmanship instead Okere (apro-Moi man) was allowed to take over as national chairman. Moi cleverly chose to keep everyone in the cabinet whom he had inherited from Kenyatta. In this party election, Moi also took charge of the presidency. It was a kind of clever strategy by Moi to acquire Kenyan presidency because the electoral law of Kenya stipulates that a candidate for presidency of the Republic must be a leader of the lawful political party. Following the party elections, the Kenyan general elections were held in Nov 1979. The campaign period itself was restricted to three weeks from the nomination day. During this period over seven hundred candidates entered the race for one hundred and fifty eight seats.<sup>3</sup> The nature of campaigning of this kind revolved

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3. Legum (C); - 'Kenya' in A.C.R., 1979-80, p B 229.

round the local and regional politics and on conflicts between personalities. As all the candidates belonged to one party KANU, the ideological campaign was totally absent. President Moi was elected unopposed, along with vice President Mwai Kibaki.

The general election took place with numerous new regulations aimed to prevent certain candidates. The Attorney General Charles Njonjo had drafted a comprehensive series of amendments to the electoral laws. At the same time Robert Matano, the general secretary of KANU assumed the responsibility of screening every prospective candidate to make sure that no 'potential trouble makers' would be allowed to contest a seat.

Another interesting fact was that the electoral laws were changed in such a way that only the rich who were the supporters of Moi were eligible to contest in the election. So it was quite natural that election results went in Moi's favour. The poor did not have any voice or any chance of contesting.

Any KANU member who wanted to be a candidate in election had to enrol himself as life member. Minimum fee for life member was shilling 1000.

Since the elections were confined to candidates who had been cleared by KANU, the first hurdle for each prospective candidate was to acquire a party clearance



certificate. The procedure of issuing clearance chit was never explained clearly. At the outset, conflicting instructions from different officials resulted in confusion. The object of this exercise seem to be to bar those who had caused the party trouble in the past.<sup>4</sup> Thus on this basis Odinga Oginga and other former K.P.U. members did not get any clearance.<sup>5</sup>

A notable feature of 1979 general election<sup>6</sup> was that a number of prominent business executives sought election to parliament. The meaning of this influx of business executive into the parliament had two connotative explanation i.e. 1) These business magnates wanted to modulate the decision making process of the political stratum of Kenya in their own favour and 2) they wanted to clear the path of their capital accumulation.

The election certified three things :-

- 1) only rich could contest election ;
- 2) only those who enjoyed, the confidence of Moi could contest the elections;
- 3) All those who were opposed to Moi's economic policies were denied a clearance chit for contesting election.

This policy created an imbalanced structural system, unevenness of economic structure and denial of political rights to opponents. No doubt KANU, during Moi's rule

4. Legum, Colin - 'Kenya' in A.C.R. 1978-79 p B 269

5. Odinga Oginga and his supporters formed the K.P.U. party in mid sixties. This party had a left orientation. They did not support some of KANU'S policies and economic programmes. It was banned in 1969 by Kenyatta. Later they joined KANU with a promise to strengthen the party.

6. Legum, Colin, Kenya, A.C.R., p.B-233

emerged as a combination of multi - tribal and multi - regional interests. Moi even included an Asian and a European in the parliament. In selecting the cabinet he took pains to make sure that each of Kenya's forty two districts was represented by a minister or an assistant minister. Bringing the total cabinet to 80 i.e. the majority of M.P's were included in the cabinet. In the parliament and also in KANU(except Odinga Oginga's followers)that all the members were the staunch supporters of Daniel arap Moi. The 1979 election, no doubt, established Moi's hegemony in both the party and the parliament, it assured the defeat of anti - Moi group. Moi called this election fair as all parts of the country were given representation in the parliament. But Moi's opponents both inside and outside KANU called the election very unfair as representation was denied to all sections of the society and specially, to the leftist elements led by Odinga Oginga group and other groups.

The election brought greater concentration of power in the hand of Moi, Kibaki and Njonjo.<sup>7</sup> The larger intake of business magnates, managerial executives and administrative brokers inside KANU and in the parliament helped the above group in the continuation of their domestic and international policies. In the post election period, Moi modelled his leadership largely on Kenyatta. The

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7. Gupta (V); Kenya : politics of(In)dependence  
op.cit p.216

defeat of old guards and opponents like Peter Koinage and Dr Kiano and the death of Peter Kenyatta led Moi to have centralised power within the president's office with his 'own men'. Like Kenyatta Moi also relied heavily on patronage to ensure the support of the influential business magnets. Like Kenyatta, Moi also made it legal for the politicians and civil servants to engage in private business. From this we can easily infer that Moi also carried on control over the party and administration in Kenyatta style i.e. based on corruption, nepotism and in alliance with western powers and metropolitan capital.<sup>8</sup> He also continued Kenyatta's practice of concentrating major decision-making in President's office, thereby depriving ministers and civil servants of independent decision making. In order to achieve this kind of hegemonic position inside the Kenyan political structure and social fabric Moi denied political rights to his opponents. Moi emerged as the sole decision-maker within the party structure and the political apparatus also. And under his hegemonic rule, KANU had emerged as the only single party being authoritarian by crushing all kinds of oppositionism from the political arena. KANU thus denied any kind of political rights to its opponents

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8. See Holman Michael :- Financial Times (London) Dec 1982.

within its political structure and social fabric. Thus he strengthened his position both inside the party hierarchy and the whole political structure. Even from 1966, the leftist elements in Kenya though unorganised and thus unidentified have been trying to induct Odinga into parliamentary politics but without success. But the ruling party KANU banned Odinga's party K.P.U., detained him and prohibited him from rejoining KANU.<sup>9</sup> As has been mentioned previously Odinga was allowed to join the party KANU, by Moi but he was not permitted to contest election.

In the post - election period, there were plenty of dissident groups both inside the government bureaucracy and army, and outside it. During the weekend preceeding 1st Aug 1982, a coup attempt involving some army and some air - force unit took place.

Before the coup attempt Kenya had been officially declared as a single - party state on June, 9th 1982. Moi also declared that there should not be any kind of rebels on the Kenyan social structure. The links between dissident politicians and university staff and students were effectively severed and further reports of large scale corruption and government scandals discouraged.

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9. Gupta (V); 'Kenya Coup' in Mainstream Aug 21, 1982

The political events of 1982 were accompanied by a steady curtailment of freedom of expression, (had enough to elicit unfavourable comment from the International Press Institute (IPI) <sup>10</sup>, whose end - of year report charged that Kenya is becoming one of the worst offenders against free speech. A survey on vote casting in Kenya by UNESCO and Nordic countries voted that political interference in the state run voice of Kenya (V.O.K) was affecting programme schedules and projection. The research team found, a tendency among educated Kenyan's to regard the local news on V.O.K. as less credible.<sup>11</sup> Their findings indicated that foreign radio stations including west Germany's 'Deutsche Welle' and Radio Tanzania, had captured a number of Kenyan listeners and commented, 'Unless V.O.K. addresses itself to some of these crucial issues as to why Kenyan listeners are drifting to foreign stations, its credibility will continue to be eroded.'<sup>12</sup> Journalist doing routine work found themselves increasingly harassed by officialdom, especially in the rural areas, but also in the capital.<sup>13</sup>

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- 10. Legum Colin, - 'Kenya' - In ACR- 1982-83 p.B 179
  - 11. Ibid p. B 179
  - 12. Ibid p. B 179
  - 13. Africa Economic Digest 1 April 1983

Thus by manipulating the media, KANU has established its hegemonic position inside Kenyan social fabric. The mode of its functioning laid down under Moi has revolved round, encrushing all sorts of opposition in a very systematic manner.

Moreover, the deteriorating state of the economy multiplied president Moi's struggles. Kenyatta had ruled during of a period when Kenya's economy was growing in leaps and bounds, providing ample opportunities for upward social mobility and for new employment, one of Moi's misfortunes was to come to power at a time of increasing unemployment which accentuated the inequities of the economic system.

Moi's strategic interest can be detected when we go through the incident of coup that took place in Aug. 1982. It was a plan on the part of Moi to eradicate the leftist elements from the country. Here he took the help of Njonjo. Njonjo was no doubt, a powerful leader of that time. He had a tremendous role in bringing about the coup situation in Kenya. In the coup Moi eradicated almost all the leftist elements from Kenya - some he arrested some left Kenya. But after all this happened, Moi got scared of Njonjo in the apprehension that he was becoming more powerful day by day so Moi brought false charges against Njonjo and accused him of bringing

about the coup, Njonjo was ultimately crushed by Moi in the post-coup era. Moi did this in order to make his position more stable and permanent. But this abortive-coup had pointed out three major weaknesses,<sup>14</sup> in the country's policies and political structure:-

Firstly, the instability caused by keeping the affective Luo leadership on the sidelines of the political system;

Secondly, the angry simmering frustrations among Kenyan's of all tribes about the state of the economy and the glaring discrepancies between the ostentatious wealth of the political establishment and the ravaging poverty in the urban areas;

Thirdly, the alienation of young Kenyan's from all tribes. Student leadership was not confined to any one community, the tribalism of the older generation found little echo among the youth. By simply dismissing the student leadership and other intellectuals as 'a bunch of Marxists'-(which is what the president himself thought) that unless these three major lessons were learnt the chances of restoring stability under the present leadership were extremely slim.<sup>15</sup>

During the period opposition policies in Kenya

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14. Legum, (C); op cit 1982-83 p. B 186

15. Ibid p. B 186.

took place in many forms. The three main groups of opposition to the present political system are - firstly, the supporters of Odinga Odinga, secondly the radical intelligentsia centered around the university and higher educated masses, and thirdly an assortment of parliamentary backbenchers coming from different parts of the country.

The ruling party KANU was encrusted by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and was manipulated by the dominant elite of the Kenyan economic structure thus leaving no place for grass - root supporters, and it functioned mainly as an instrument for controlling and manipulating the political process plus mediating the selection of candidates for the national assembly.<sup>16</sup> Moi wanted KANU to remain dormant because he feared the results of its being democratized.

Amidst this kind of turmoil Moi declared the general election to be held in Sept. 1983. Actually he wanted to hold general elections because he needed to strengthen his position further in the political field. He thought that the 82 coup and various dissensions might create a kind of lack of confidence among the people. Therefore he wanted to hold general elections to acquire political legitimacy. The original slow response by politicians

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16. The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 10 Dec, 1982



to the president's decision to call a snap election before parliament's term was due to expire, seems to be the result of the surprise with which the public greeted the announcement.<sup>17</sup> It may also have to do with the economic situation in the country. In 1979, in the wake of the coffee boom, many civil servants and employees of parastatal organisations felt confident that if they ventured into politics and lost, they had another alternative in self employment. Now this confidence was not there, and only the very committed were likely to secure jobs for the vagaries of politics.<sup>18</sup>

The electorate has made their choice in KANU leaders in all 158 constituencies. The selection process was very arbitrary. There was no nationwide election within the party for selecting the candidates. Rather Moi and his close colleagues selected the candidates from different parts, whom they considered them as the most reliable companions. Moi again was elected unopposed in his constituency. But again all his own men came to the parliament with flying colours. It appeared that KANU remained basically unchanged at the end of grassroots and national elections.

The biggest set back in the exercise which started

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17. Weekly Review (Nairobi) 26, Feb, 1983.

18. Weekly Review (Nairobi) 2, Sept, 1983

on June 24, was the defeat of Paul Ngei by Mulu Mutisya for the Machakos branch chairmanship, and that of R. Matano, by Burudi Nabuera for the Secretary generalship of the party. In Machakos, Ngei's defeat brought to an end a man whose political domination began before Kenya's independence. Matano's defeat at the national elections ended his sixteen years long role as KANU's chief spokesman.<sup>19</sup>

The year 1985, will no doubt be remembered as the year of party politics in Kenya. It is the year that KANU elections were held for the first time in eighteen and in which the party began to play a more prominent role in the politics of the country. Right from the beginning of the year, Kenyan politicians were astir in the anticipation of KANU elections which President Daniel arap Moi had announced would be held at the beginning of 1985. As the political wrangles continued in various parts of the country, Kenyans were given a rude shock when news came in May, that an M.P., Horace Orwitz had been murdered and his mutilated body dumped in a maize plantation in his Siaya home. In Sept, 1985, Mr Kilite Mwendwa another M.P. was killed in a road accident. This happened in the Kenyatta style of eliminating opponents.

Thus the nature of the party system that Moi inherited

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19. The weekly review, July 5, 1985.

is quite authoritarian and hegemonic. The petty-bourgeoisie, which was handed over political power by the international capital represented by the British, used state power for its own benefit and in the process of exploitation of the poor masses and with an alliance of the international capital, appropriated surplus and consequently acquired the status of indigenous bourgeoisie. The indigenous bourgeoisie established an authoritarian rule by strengthening the super structure of big business, larger firms, efficient communication and a modern capital city. Thus KANU being dominated by these indigenous bourgeoisie group is no longer a liberation movement working in the interests of workers, peasants and patriotic individuals. Instead of bringing economic independence, it lead Kenya towards being a neo-colonial domain. KANU never adopted the principles of democratic centralism, nor the method of one - party systems in socialist countries where everybody has a voice in the political apparatus. But here, banning of all kinds of parties other than KANU, murdering of the opposition leaders, imprisonment of the opposition elements e.t.c. have created a kind of discontent among the people. This discontent has gained more momentum because of the economic exploitation of the ruling circle who has a base in the bourgeoisie group within the country and a dialectical relationship with metropolitan capitalism. Thus this kind of role played

by KANU has turned Kenya into a distressed, destituted and destabilised area of political turmoil and economic malaise.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of any political organisation needs to be studied in the context of structural balance or imbalance with a historical background, economic development or under-development, political stability or instability in the institutional framework and class-interests.

The MAU MAU movement launched by the radical peasant elements (Land Freedom Army) had compelled the British and European settlers to associate Africans with the governance of the country. The metropolitan capital and the local bourgeoisie had realised that their interests, investments and their accumulation, would be better protected through sharing power with the African petty-bourgeoisie elements. To share power, the ruling circle made plans to create an economically better-off class of Africans i.e. the African petty-bourgeoisie. The proposed political changes required new economic relations. This meant lifting of restrictions from African participation in the appropriation of surplus leading to the formation of an African petty-bourgeoisie to whom eventually power was handed over. The new rulers established a political system which had the resemblance of democracy but was undemocratic or even dictatorial in nature. Through restrictions, the non-African bourgeoisie was made quite ineffective in the political

field. The transfer of power set in motion notable changes in the Kenyan economy:-

One, the ownership of a number of large cash crop farms came in the hands of Africans and in a short time a number of African farmers with vested interests in the continuation of the system of cheap labour by landless labourers appeared on the scene.

Two, the European farmers <sup>e</sup> evicted a number of squatters thus further accentuating the problem of landless labour. These evictions added to the already serious problems of unemployment in the country.

Three, Africanization of commercial and administrative jobs led to the formation of an African bureaucracy with interest in retaining the privileges previously monopolized by Europeans and Asians.

Four, A number of industrial and commercial units, with multi-racial ownership of Africans, Asians and Europeans, were set up. This became possible by adopting the policy of encouraging private enterprise. It led to the emergence of African private entrepreneurs working in collaboration with settler bourgeoisie.

Five, a number of multinational corporations were permitted to invest in the private sector of Kenya.

The working class (both peasantry and factory workers) was immobilized through various legal and illegal methods e.g. control over the labour movement, banning of political

parties and intimating any opposition to the ruling class. The emergence of the land owning class, a bureaucratic privileged elite group and an industrialist class led to new tensions and contradictions in the society. The privileged strata appropriated the major portion of the surplus and this increased the gap between them and poor labourers, workers and civil servants etc.

The institution of elections was so amended that it disallowed any opposition parliament was used to legitimize dictatorial measures. No scope was left for the expression of differing views in the party which held neither elections nor conference for discussing programme. Thus this privileged strata, the petty-bourgeoisie group established the one party system in order to strengthen their positions making it more stable and permanent within the Kenyan political structure.

After coming to power, the KANU leaders had kept the leftist leaders Odinga Oginga out of the interim government KANU then made its official policy that private property should be respected and the settlers should stay. Afrikanization of commercial and administrative jobs led to a number of industrial and commercial units, with multi-racial ownership of Africans, Asians and Europeans. It adopted the policy of private enterprise. A number of multinational corporations were permitted to invest



in private sector of Kenya. Thus by the help of this one party rule foreign capital continued its presence and accumulated the profit at a high rate. The political order where only KANU is allowed to function made the opposition ineffective in three ways(1) by winning over the leaders through the lucrative jobs(2) associating front organisations such as trade unions, peasants, students associations into government system(3) banning all kinds of opposition groups through administrative and constitutional measures such as banning of political parties, declaring strikes illegal, disqualifying opposition candidates from election etc. and ousting the radicals from the ranks and leadership of the party.

These KANU leaders have their economic base in the petty-bourgeois element. These elements i.e. the petty-bourgeoisie and embryonic national bourgeoisie was able to extend their accumulation with the help of the power of the state. Thus the state power was used (1) to further accumulation (2) to expand in numbers and size of the enterprises, (3) to move from exchange into production which involved the restrictions on foreign capital in some spheres.<sup>1</sup> This group has already established its monopoly over cash crop production, manufactures, national markets, administrative, agricultural and industrial

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1. Gupta ~~(WJAY)~~; Kenya : politics of (in)dependence op.cit, p.197

fields. In this process this group has emerged as a powerful economic class within the Kenyan societal structure. But in post-independence era there has emerged a new privileged section, the bureaucratic or managerial group employed in various sectors of economy and administration. The growth of this social group should be seen as a way in the formation of the local bourgeoisie. This group became very powerful because of its special knowledge, technique and education, especially when bourgeoisie is weak in its political organisational work. The chief objective of the ruling group has been to accumulate wealth and for this they depend on the civil service which manipulates for itself an unusual privilege of participating in profitable business.<sup>2</sup> So that is why the bureaucrats were allowed to run private firms. Even in Moi's period, they were allowed to contest the election. So now infusion of this group within the ruling circle may create a kind of contradiction between the petty-bourgeoisie ruling group and the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

We have also examined the transitional phase from Kenyatta to Daniel arap Moi and similarly the passing of power from one bourgeoisie to the other group. The

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2. Ibid p. 208

same class-ridden economy that existed during Kenyatta's period has been continuing. The petty-bourgeoisie group owning the means of production, accumulating capital and reinvesting the surplus locally are exploiting the whole of the working class in the same manner.

But in the process there have emerged the contradictions among various forces of Kenya i.e. the contradictions between the indigenous bourgeoisie itself and national and metropolitan capital, between the emerging capitalist class and the working class and between the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. These contradictions are deepening day by day. So there is every chance that these conflicting interests inside Kenya may lead to the political turmoil. But even now KANU's dominant position has been institutionalised so much that it is very difficult on the part of the progressive sections of Kenya to bring any kind of socio-economic and political change. Those in the dominant position of KANU have reached just a stage that their position cannot be shaken and that they will continue to rule with the same authoritarianism. There is very little likelihood of progressive section taking a dominant position in the country.

Even now the single party multi-candidate constituency system is used by the ruling clique to

hoodwink the masses into believing in their capacity to overthrow the rulers and KANU's adherence to chft system, under which clearance is never given to its critics, is used to deny even minimum possibility of democratic norms. Thus the post-independent political system of Kenya has been classified as the undemocratic and oppressive system that exists in Africa.

One - party system has reached an exemplary stage it is completely in the hands of petty-bourgeois, that all other sections of society are denied any role except a supportive role to the ruling party where the opposition is mellowed down, amalgamated or crushed ; In short it is reduced to nothing.

The so-called democratic tradition followed by KANU in Kenya can be categorised as the bourgeois democratic norms. Here the economic roots lie in such prerequisites for the capitalist mode of production as the possibility of buying and selling labour power and exchanging commodities in the market in accordance with the law of value. Here in Kenya the democratic institutions are limited, and in many respects even formal in nature. Thus equality proclaimed in the political sphere in an irreconcilable contradiction. With its economic system of capitalist tradition, its relations of exploitation and oppression. The benefits of individual freedom are mostly enjoyed by the prosperous strata of



of the population, while for those who have to spend their whole life toiling for their daily bread, freedom is often no more than an empty phrase. Freedom of the press and other similar freedom only serve the interests of the big capitalist monopolies, which control the newspapers, the periodicals, radio stations, cinemas, theatres and TV networks using them to befuddle the public as they see fit.

From a mass party dominated by petty-bourgeois section of the society, KANU has become a tool in the hand of the rulers, who pick and choose its leaders on the basis of loyalty to the top man. Present day KANU presents no programme of action, no manifesto and no services to the society. The rulers use it to serve their own interest. In the end we can say that KANU is not a political party but a platform for the rulers, the platform is used by the rulers as and when there is a political crisis. As we had seen during the transfer of power from Kenyatta to Moi, Moi made a number of changes and took a number of pledges but only to gain control over the big political actors who have some weight, due to tribal or economic strength in Kenya.

Thus in the Kenyan political setting, the denial of political rights to opponents, the continuing economic exploitation, growing hegemonic character of the party

KANU, banning of other parties etc. have brought a kind of discontent among the working class (both factory and peasantry). This working class is becoming conscious day by day about their exploitation. They have already started supporting, the progressive section of the society who always demand equality, liberty and freedom among all Kenyans. Students also have joined their voice in this kind of growing consciousness. Because what they all know is that Kenya under KANU, is heading towards the course which will never bring about faster economic growth, equality, self-reliance, centralised planned development and never delink the economy from the metropolitan capitalism. Thus this kind of dissatisfaction or discontent among the people will definitely bring about a kind of sedition against this kind of privatisation prevalent in Kenyan social fabric. This kind of seditious attitude of the people will breed what Marx calls 'alienation' and what Durkheim calls 'anomie'. Denial of political rights to the people may result in a revolt and bring about all kinds of progressive changes.

Then Kenya will try to adopt a democratic government based on equality, self-reliance, public ownership of the means of production, equal distribution of the surplus and equal participation in the state apparatus.

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