

Weighing options for electoral victory: A Situational analysis of political parties in Kenya four months to the Elections

Unlike many countries in sub-Saharan Africa where one dominating political party determines the structure and development of political competition Kenya presents a situation where more than one party of comparative strength present similar chances of garnering a majority in an election.

At the end of 2007 the country expects to elect a new president, parliament and local authority representatives. This election will be the fourth since the return of a multi-party system. Even with just a few months to go to the poll, the outcomes of the poll both for the presidency and the ruling party remain riddled with uncertainty.

At the beginning of the year, there existed approximately 60 parties in the country. The number has since risen to over 150. Despite this large number, only five warrant recognition as formal. These are:

- National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition (NARC) as the party which officially considered the ruling party and is the majority party in parliament. NARC is a coalition of 15 parties, the most noteworthy being Democratic Party (DP), National Party of Kenya (NPK), Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – Kenya (FORD-K). The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was till the end of 2005 a member of the ruling coalition but moved out to form the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM-K) with a section of KANU.
- KANU as the official opposition party
- National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition - NARC–Kenya as a new party, which is considered close to the government, but which is only represented in by three members in parliament by means of by-elections. The party draws support from over half of the 70 members of the cabinet. The current cabinet also comprises appointees from other smaller parties such as FORD-People and SAFINA
- Orange Democratic Movement - ODM-Kenya as one of the opposition parties to NARC-Kenya. It is represented in parliament by only one member, and draws membership from members of LPK. ODM-K in its original version bringing together Kanu, LDP and LPK failed to jump its greatest hurdle yet; agree on one flag bearer as its presidential candidate, leading to the walkout of Kanu and LDP.
- ODM Party of Kenya – ODM. This party was formed even before ODM-K and has become in August 2007 the refuge for a splinter group from ODM-K after internal wrangles over the selection of a presidential candidate leading to the walkout of a part of the member ship of ODM-K.

Of the five parties, critics allude to the poll being a race between NARC-K and ODM. This however, can only be seen as a tentative conclusion as political shifts in the country show no clear direction inasmuch as the elections are only four months away.

A brief background

Until 1991 Kenya was a *de jure* one-party state. Faced with internal protests from civil society, the church and the Law Society of Kenya as well as international pressure from donors, the then President Moi was forced to repeal Section 2A of the constitution to reopen the doors to multi-party democracy in the country. The third multi-party elections since the country's independence in 1963 were thus held in 1992. It was hoped that the opening of democratic space would also fuel freer and fairer elections. Moi won his first democratic victory, though with a paltry 36% of the votes.

Moi had created the requirements for these 'successes' through Acts of Parliament and in the electoral laws viz.

- **Simple majority:** the candidate with the majority votes in his or her constituency becomes its automatic Member of Parliament. For the ruling party at the time, KANU, this meant securing a good part of the constituencies. With 31% of the overall vote, it obtained 52% of the parliamentary seats in the first democratic elections.
- **Restriction on coalition building:** Despite having the majority votes, the opposition could not build a coalition considering none of the party presidential candidates had the simple majority, which had already gone to KANU. Moi's opponents Kenneth Matiba, Mwai Kibaki and Oginga Odinga had garnered between 19% and 22%. Their unwillingness to unite was of benefit to Moi.
- **No 50% hurdle for presidential candidates:** A simple majority was sufficient. There was – and is still to our days - no requirement for a run-off between the two best candidates in the first round of the poll.
- **Kenya retained its presidential constitution.** The appointment and running of government is still under the control of the president, with parliament playing a subordinate role.

The 1997 elections were also characterised by more compromises between the Kanu regime and the opposition in the form of minimum reforms. These included:

- Amendments to the laws restricting assembly which had been enacted during the colonial period and under which Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung meetings had also fallen victim
- Coverage of opposition in the public media. Prior to this, KANU had monopolised public radio and television for its campaigns
- Nomination of the 12 special interest seats in parliament had previously been done solely by the president and this was now to be based on party representation in the august house

Moi nevertheless went on to win the next elections in 1997 with 40% of the votes. His immediate follower, Mwai Kibaki had 30% of the vote, making him the clear leader of the official opposition.

In 2002, the opposition finally united under the name 'National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition' – **NARC** - as a party against KANU to win the elections garnering 57% of the seats in parliament with its presidential candidate Mwai Kibaki getting 62% of the votes

cast. Moi was restricted constitutionally from vying for another term and his decision to appoint a successor in Uhuru Kenyatta was not accepted by other contenders in the party and consequently the electorate.

Political Parties in Kenya: Formation, Cleavages and Demise

In spite of Moi's machinations of the electoral laws to secure victory, ethnic influences in political party formation can not entirely be ascribed to him. The path in ethnic orientation of parties had already been set prior to independence by the ban on national-based parties. The law also places the registration of political parties in the docket of the Registrar of Societies, who is an officer in the Attorney General's office. Consequently, the state has continually used this as a way of weakening the development of strong parties by allowing splinter groups to conveniently register new parties at the expense of promoting proper management of the existing parties.

Every large ethnic group therefore always wants to field its own candidates; and parties merge with this objective. An examination of the three opposition parties in 1992: Oginga Odinga formed the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) in 1988 which was the origin of the opposition movement and the democratisation process. Internal party wrangling between himself – a Luo - and Keneth Matiba – a Kikuyu – led to a split in the party in October 1992 to FORD-Kenya for the Odinga faction and FORD-Asili (the original) under Matiba. This split made it easier to reach out to the Kikuyu, but the opposition had been weakened. Votes from the Kikuyu were further split at the beginning of 1992 after the vice president Mwai Kibaki resigned from his job and formed the Democratic Party (DP). With all these splits, Kanu was seen to be a party dominated by the Kalenjin. This situation has replayed itself this year in the walkout from ODM-K described later in this report.

The tensions evident between founding personalities superseded rational discussion of issues and ethnicity was used as a vehicle to push their personal interests.

During the period between the elections of 1992 and the end of 1996, the three major opposition parties seemed to converge as they fought off attacks from the Moi administration. Moi used the police to quell demonstrations and silence the press. He also bought off MPs and challenged the legality of elections. Towards the middle of 1996, his opponents, albeit unwillingly, began to play into his hands. The large opposition parties began to dissolve themselves.

For FORD-K, which was a party with a national outlook, an election for its leadership was due. The election pitted Raila Odinga, the son of the party founder who had by then passed on, and the sitting vice Michael Wamalwa, a member of the neighbouring Luhya community. The latter won; but Raila would not accept the verdict of the party membership. He left FORD-K and took over a 'sleeping' party – the National Democratic Party which his father had also founded.

FORD-A also took a similar trend. The founder and chairperson Kenneth Matiba disagreed with his secretary general, Martin Shikuku and banned the party leadership from the party office, which was his property.

Both FORD-K and FORD-A continued to exist, but as shadows of their former selves. The departure of Raila Odinga from FORD-K signified the loss of a large portion of the party's voter base: the Luo. Other MPs of the party picked the cue and began to look for other parties, leaving behind the Luhya community as its main membership.

Many small parties emerged, some with pragmatic names such as the 'Labour Party of Kenya,' but most still fronting hidden personal interests and entrenching the trend of ethnicisation and regionalisation of parties. Only Mwai Kibaki succeeded in holding together DP, in spite of the party's internal conflicts and reprimands about his weak leadership. He also benefited from the MPs who changed parties.

The splits in the existing parties assured Moi of victory in 1997. Even though the number of parties represented in parliament increased, the strength of individual parties was weakened, with the exception of DP, making it easy for DP to take the lead in the formation of a coalition of opposition parties in 2002.

2002 – Changing Fortunes?

The elections held in 2002 may be considered a milestone in the political history of Kenya. They brought both an end to the Moi era and an end to the 40 years of Kanu rule. The victory of NARC, however, should also be seen in the context of the total votes garnered by the opposition parties in the 1992 and 1997 elections – as it was not any different.

The formation of NARC in October 2002 was almost dramatic. First, the National Alliance Party of Kenya – NAK was formed in February 2002 comprising the largest opposition parties DP, FORD-K and National Party of Kenya (NPK) under Charity Ngilu. They agreed that Kibaki would be their presidential candidate, Wamalwa would be the vice president and Ngilu would occupy the position of Prime Minister, a position which would be created.

Kanu, on the other hand, had been more strategic. Moi brought Raila Odinga and his party NDP to the government's side in August 2001 with the promise of making Raila vice president and his automatic successor since the law did not allow Moi to vie for a third term as president. Towards mid 2002, however, Moi, in a new twist, fronted the son of the founding president of the country Uhuru Kenyatta as his successor. Raila weighed his options and a few weeks to the elections quit the government side, defecting with a large number of the so called 'Kanu rebels.' The rebellion was reduced to a rebellion against Moi's unwillingness to support political reforms. And among the rebels were former Kanu hawks, who had previously stifled the very political reforms.

The departure of Raila and the Kanu rebels into the opposition was a deciding factor in the election victory of NARC as the opposition parties finally went to the poll as a colourful rainbow bloc.

Cracks began to show immediately after the election. The most important point which constituted the core of the coalition was a memorandum of understanding (MoU) signed in October 2002 by the NARC constituent partners for the formation of the coalition. Raila and his allies had agreed among other issues on the long awaited review of the constitution of the country and the establishment of the position of a Prime Minister with executive powers.

Political Parties and the Constitution Question

The constitution question had grown in the final years of President Moi's rule to be the central political question in the country. Kenya's independence constitution, that was discussed and ratified at Lancaster House in Britain, had a typical European structure before it was grossly amended by presidents Kenyatta and Moi. As early as 1964, Kenyatta changed the constitution from being a parliamentary one to a presidential one. He then dissolved the Senate, opening the way to patronage of clients. He also dismantled the decentralised system, making the regions subject to the central government. His successor Moi strengthened the powers of the president through a policy of District Focus for Rural Development, which gave the administrative districts dominance over local government. He also made Kenya a *de jure* one party state in 1982 through a constitutional amendment to chapter 2A.

In his acceptance speech President Kibaki promised the country a new constitution in 100 days. He appointed a commission in early 2003 under Prof. Yash Pal Ghai to spearhead the process and the commission presented a draft, christened the 'Bomas-Draft' after the venue of the deliberations. The draft was presented to parliament, but was rejected on certain points; the powers it gave the President, the role of the Prime Minister with executive powers, the re-establishment of the Senate, issues on decentralisation and the chapter discussing land. Parliament passed the draft to the Attorney General, Amos Wako, for final review and presentation to the electorate in a referendum. It was therefore three years later that a draft was subjected to a referendum.

The Wako draft was neither in word nor in spirit similar to the Bomas draft. It drastically reduced the power and independence of the Prime Minister, proffering both to the President. The chapter on decentralisation was misrepresented. In the end the Wako draft retained a presidential structure.

Those who supported the draft – commonly referred to by the electorate as the 'banana' supporters – were under immense pressure when it was noted that they tended to come from the Central province. Their opponents – who identified themselves with the symbol of the 'orange' – boasted of support from all other parts of the country.

The collapse of NARC became imminent with the referendum on a new constitutional dispensation. The result of the plebiscite held on 21st November 2005 was a clear defeat for President Kibaki: 57% voted against the draft constitution. Of all the eight provinces, only the Central Province mainly inhabited by the Kikuyu voted for the draft by 99%. The other provinces' votes against the draft lay at over 50%, with Nyanza province making a particularly strong statement.

Even before the referendum, the ‘Orange’ supporters had begun to build a coalition – the Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya (ODM-K), significantly directed by the Liberal Democratic Party and joined by a section of KANU. This was in spite of LDP still being within the ruling party. Kibaki resolved to dissolve the cabinet after the referendum defeat and on appointing a new cabinet, left out all the members of LDP who had previously served in the government. ODM-K then decided to register their party in August 2006.

The party that helped Kibaki to victory in the 2002 elections –NARC (National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition) – was therefore de facto dead. The Members of Parliament who still supported Kibaki and his policies were faced with three options:

- To continue working under the name NARC. With this, the chairperson of the party, Health Minister Charity Ngilu was not in agreement. She favoured remaining open to ODM-K and has on many policy and political issues sided with them. The future of FORD-K is also not clear.
- To continue under the name of Democratic Party (DP) as Kibaki had been the leader of DP before it joined NARC. DP was however seen to be the party of the Kikuyu and their close neighbours the Embus and Merus (even though DP had elites in other parts of the country).
- To form a new party, in which all Kenyans would feel welcome.

The third option was selected, hence the establishment of NARC-K. Even then, not all MPs and members of DP had considered changing their membership. The old DP continues to exist led by the minister for livestock development, Joseph Munyao – a close ally of Kibaki and a former Member of Parliament in the East African Parliament, Rose Waruhiu. The party is currently keenly supporting Kibaki’s re-election on their party ticket. This confusion is further worsened by other smaller parties which are coming up in support of Kibaki as presidential candidate regardless of his party and for their own candidates for parliamentary and civic seats.

NARC still continues to exist as a shell without content since no politician openly identifies with it. All its influential members have allied themselves either to NARC-K, the original parties in NAK or its opponents ODM-K and ODM-P.

Party State from a Legal Perspective

There exists no law governing parties in Kenya. Their operations depend on other legislation touching on elections such as the Local Government Act, the Elections Offences Act, the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, and the Registration of Societies Act.

At the end of 2006, a draft bill was proposed by government, which if passed, would govern the management of political parties. The bill may not be passed by parliament due to the strong polarisation of parliament and apparent lack of support and unity from the government side, meaning that party operations will continue to be managed under

the Societies Act. The number of political parties that have been registered by the Registrar of Societies now stands at over 150 (August 2007). Most of these parties may be seen as outfits waiting either for funding under the new Act or as shells waiting for candidates from NARC-K, ODM-K and ODM-P who will be disgruntled by the party nomination processes due in November.

All new parties have the same problem: their key leaders are still Members of Parliament under NARC or Kanu. Consequently, they cannot change their party affiliation without losing their seats and being subjected to a by-election. They can campaign for their new party, but cannot be elected into positions within the party. Defection to another party is only legal when the Speaker of Parliament receives notification in writing.

A Preview of Elections 2007

Both NARC-K and ODM-K had planned to carry out their grassroots elections by February. Each of the parties for a long time took to postponing the process citing fears of infiltration by their opponents. NARC-K managed to do so in June in a process that was marred in a few areas by irregularities and situations where the incumbent MPs had an upper hand. Because of its grassroots network, the party has been able to move forward and has in the third week of August undertaken recruitment and training of campaign coordinators countrywide. ODM leadership on the other hand remains the same – having a ‘political leadership’ comprising MPs sympathetic to the party and alongside its legal leadership as appears in official documents at the Registrar of Societies’ office.

This situation with the legitimacy of the parties is further aggravated by the fact that the upcoming elections pit the incumbent MPs against upcoming politicians. Both parties have set their election rules to favour the incumbent MPs who do not want to open party space for new leadership, though the situation is somewhat better in NARC-K as opposed to ODM. Nomination of candidates at constituency and consequently at Local Authority levels may turn out to be violent battles that undermine the development of political parties in the country.

With regard to presidential candidates, NARC-K is banking on Kibaki declaring that he will defend his seat on their ticket, making him its flag bearer. Jostling in the party now exists for who will be the vice president, even though this still remains solely under his control. Those aspiring for this position are George Saitoti who brings a large voter bloc from the Southern Rift Valley, Mukhisa Kituyi from Western province, Kipruto Kirwa from Rift Valley and Raphael Tuju from Nyanza. Three issues, however, hold the party together: the possibility of election victory in their own constituencies, subsequent rewards for faithfulness to the party, and a common enemy –ODM – who should be denied victory.

The core of NARC-K is still DP, with party strongholds being Central and parts of Eastern Provinces, giving the impression that the party does not have a national outlook. Represented are mainly the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru, strengthened by some MPs from

North-Eastern and Coast provinces. The party has little hope for votes from Western and Rift Valley provinces, and almost none from Nyanza.

The ethnic role in the selection of a presidential candidate has played a larger role in ODM-K, leading to its split in August. The Secretary General of Kanu – William Ruto – decided very early to bring the whole party into ODM, putting the party chair Uhuru Kenyatta under intense pressure to concur with his decision. This shift weakened Kanu considerably and caused a rift and near ouster by Nicholas Biwott and a faction that wanted to continue running the party independently. Even though the Uhuru-faction won the contest, the situation raised the political portfolio of Ruto. Uhuru later was to get into discussions with the former party chairperson, retired President Moi and change his tact. He technically withdrew the party from ODM-K arguing that Kanu was only interested in corporate membership in ODM-K and effectively cutting loose his erstwhile Secretary General. He has since been working on mending fences with the splinter group led by Biwott.

With the departure of Uhuru, the fight for the presidential nomination ticket for ODM-K remained between seven candidates; each candidate representing an ethnic bloc. After much jostling and acrimony between Raila and Kalonzo, a fallout in the party ensued leaving Kalonzo in ODM-K and Raila moving with all the other candidates – namely Musalia Mudavadi, Najib Balala, Ruto and Joseph Nyaga - to ODM-Party of Kenya (ODM), where they still have to fight for the presidential nomination.

There may still be fallout and re-alignments as soon as victory has been secured as old conflicts re-emerge. The party nomination process will therefore be a big hurdle as the party has to sort out its presidential nominee as well as streamline the nomination rules in the constituencies and local authorities where each party intends to field candidates.

The fight for the presidency

With the events surrounding the development of ODM-K and ODM-P, the results of the presidential polls seem quite clear; Kibaki still has the best chances of winning. ODM-K leads in opinion polls by 30% with NARC-K lagging at 20% preference. It remains to be seen where a swing vote of about 15% will fall at the end of the year, as these still prefer the original NARC. It is uncertain what will happen to those who supported Raila and LDP especially after the defections from ODM-K.

Despite queries about Kibaki's leadership, he leads opinion polls as the most preferred presidential candidate by about 20%, though none of the candidates in the most recent opinion poll made it to the legal requirement that the winner of the presidential race should garner at least 25% of the votes in each province. By the end of 2006, the economy had experienced three consecutive years of growth in excess of 5%. The HIV infection rates have reduced from 14% to 7%. Public trust in government has generally increased.

These improvements could have been perceived higher had steps taken to curb corruption been stronger (Kibaki re-appointed two ministers to government despite strong

allegations of his involvement in corrupt dealings with public resources), had the economic growth been coupled by a smaller gap between the country's richest and poorest population, and had parliament been more accountable to the electorate. Even though the proportion of Kenyans living below the poverty line has declined from 52% in 1997 to 46% in 2005, the country remains unequal by income, by gender and by geographical location. The richest 10% of households control about 36% of national wealth while the poorest decile controls less than 2%. Employment creation envisaged in 2003 to be 500,000 per year lies at an actual rate of 50,000 who are engaged mainly in the informal sector.

The excesses of government are to be checked by parliament. The Kenyan parliament is the best paid in Africa, rated highly worldwide. This remuneration is however not reflected in their performance. How seriously they take participation and voting on the annual budget was seen when only 46 of the 222 MPs were present in the House. Those voting for the Bill were only 2!

In July 2006, a bill 'The Sexual Offences Bill' was presented in the house to check domestic violence against women and children. The male MPs quickly built a coalition against their female counterparts, presenting laughable arguments against the draft. It followed with a resounding vote against this bill at its first presentation (204 against 18 – considering the female MPs are only 8). Fortunately the bill was passed after certain amendments. The same situation befell a constitutional amendment bill proposing the creation of 40 seats for women. The dismal performance by MPs in policy making and in the political party arena was reflected in poll results showing that over 50% of the electorate intends to vote out their MPs.

The Political Parties bill earlier alluded to is due for enactment before the dissolution of parliament. If enacted, the bill will provide the much needed state support for political parties. But inasmuch as it will bring an end to the management of political parties in the same way as football clubs, women's groups, it also will restrict the support of political parties by international organisations.

Infringement of freedoms and general insecurity also continue to be issues of concern nationally. In February 2006, the police stormed the editorial department of the Standard Group, one of the leading independent media houses in the country without following the proper channels of command. The Minister of Internal Security, Michuki reiterated severally that such action by the police could be repeated. The security status of the country suffered another setback soon afterwards when two alleged 'Armenians' stormed the country's main airport and threatened customs officers with pistols. In November and December 2006, supporters of ODM-K were banned from staging demonstrations and dispersed with teargas when they refused to adhere to the ban. During by-elections held in 5 constituencies in 2006, the government openly used public resources to campaign for NARC-K candidates. Three of them won their contested seats. In 2007, a bill was tabled by the minister for Information whose passing into law would effectively compel editors to reveal sources of information. This fortunately was sent back to parliament by the President for further debate; prompting the minister to withdraw another bill for fear that it would be shot down on the floor. These actions remind the electorate of the Moi

regime in addition to the feeling that Moi himself is still felt to influence some of the decisions made by President Kibaki.

Conclusion

Political parties and parliament continue to play a minor role since the country has a presidential political system. For this reason, all attention, even in the media, is focussed on who has the best chances in the elections as opposed to focus on policy issues that will have a positive impact the development of the country. Should Kibaki win the elections, chances are that he may be compelled to form a Government of National Unity (GNU) as he may not win the majority seats in parliament. This may pose challenges when it comes to legislation.

The history of political parties in Kenya described here shows that they have actually developed from their original objectives to election instruments owned and used by individual politicians to secure their clients support for their perpetual stay in parliament and government. Parties have no membership. When membership cards are made available, they are bought by individual politicians for distribution to their supporters or to deny their opponents' supporters access to party machinery. It is therefore normal to find a voter with membership of two or more parties.

Internal democracy within parties is sacrificed for self-survival. For as long as there are always conflicts between current leaders and upcoming leadership, internal party processes take second place.

Financial support for political parties comes from MPs supporting the party, donors, and from organisations that are not publicly declared. Even though the law demands that their accounts be submitted to the Registrar of Societies, no party has ever done so. The situation is further aggravated by the absence of institutions to govern political parties.

The development of political parties in Kenya, just like other African countries, is still very young. It does not have a comparative ideological or class history to that of Europe as these do not play any role. Determinants of nationhood are interests and bonds of family, clan, tribe as opposed to membership to a political organisation – be it party or state. The current party status also draws from the fight for independence in the 1950s and 1960s with Kanu and the then KADU and the fight for multi-party democracy in the 1980s and 90s which led to the formation of the parties that currently exist. In both cases, there was a common enemy. First it was the British, and then it was Moi's dictatorship. In 2002 it was Moi himself. After the goal had been attained, the fight reverted to one for political power and state resources. This could be seen as one of the reasons why many parties do not have time to place emphasis on institutionalisation, hence their rapid disintegration.

Annexes.

1. Political Parties in Kenya

- NARC: National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition. Remains the official ruling party. It was originally a coalition of 15 parties, currently 14 and most of whom still continue to actively exist under their original names. The most important are DP, FORD-K and NPK.
- NARC-Kenya: National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition – Kenya. Registered in March 2006. A large portion of its core membership are former DP members, who are looking to give the party a non-tribalistic face by endearing it to other parts of the country apart from central province.
- ODM-K: Orange Democratic Movement – Kenya. The party sprung out of the campaign against the Wako draft constitution of 2005 and was registered in August 2006. Its inability to choose a presidential candidate from five contenders – Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, William Ruto, Uhuru Kenyatta and Musalia Mudavadi led to its split this month.
- ODM: Orange Democratic Movement. Registered soon after the referendum and has provided refuge for the candidates who walked out of ODM-K namely Raila Odinga, William Ruto and Musalia Mudavadi.
- Kanu: Kenya African National Union. A pre-independence party started by Jomo Kenyatta and others. Its next chairperson Daniel Moi made it a national party, and an instrument of the State. Since the elections of 2002 under the chairmanship of Uhuru Kenyatta, the party has been divided. Attempts to unify the party have been ongoing since June, when the Biwott faction ouster was quashed by the courts.
- LDP: Liberal Democratic Party. A party dominated by Raila Odinga and the Luo, which is unlike its name, not a liberal party.
- DP: Democratic Party. Was started by Mwai Kibaki. Still exists as an independent party.
- Ford-Kenya. Was the most influential opposition party between 1991 and 1997. Is currently viewed more as an instrument for the Luhyia community under Musikari Kombo to push their interests in the national arena.
- FORD-People: Under the chairmanship of Simeon Nyachae, it is the party of the Gusii of Nyanza province. It is not a constituent party of the NARC coalition but is in the government of national unity.
- FORD-A, SAFINA, Sisi kwa Sisi, Shirikiso. Are other parties in parliament, but with one or two MPs only.

2. Personalities in Kenyan Politics

- Mwai Kibaki: has been the president of the republic since 2003. Before the formation of the NARC coalition, he was the chairperson of Democratic Party. Under former President Moi, he was vice president and minister for finance. He resigned in February 1992 to start DP as an alternative to FORD among the Kikuyu. Was the presidential candidate of the coalition of opposition parties in 2002 leading to his election as president.
- Daniel T arap Moi: Kenyan president between 1978 and 2002. Was appointed as vice president to first president Kenyatta as a reward for giving up his party KADU. Still views himself to date as the spokesperson for the Kalenjin and greatest influence on the activities of Kanu and Rift Valley.
- Raila Odinga: Political leader of Liberal Democratic Party. Is the son of the legendary Oginga Odinga, a close friend and later key opposer to Jomo Kenyatta. Was the minister for Roads and Public Works between 2002 and 2005. Was the candidate for the proposed position of Prime Minister envisaged under the draft constitution. Was one of the key contestants for the ODM-K nominations for presidential candidate and differences between him and one other key contender Kalonzo Musyoka led to his walkout from ODM-K to take over ODM.
- Uhuru Kenyatta: still remains the chairperson of Kanu. Was weakened as a presidential contender when his party joined ODM-K.
- Kalonzo Musyoka: Was minister for foreign affairs under Moi. Joined Kanu rebels who walked out of Kanu to join NAK and form NARC. Was a member of the Orange team during the referendum debate, ultimately joining ODM-K under the umbrella of LDP. Due to conflicts with Raila Odinga, shifted parties within ODM-K to join LPK. Hopes to become the presidential candidate under ODM-K to contest against Raila and Kibaki. In the elections.
- Nicholas Biwott: Joined cabinet in the 1980s, and was appointed minister for energy. Was arrested on suspicion of murder of the then Foreign Minister, Robert Ouko, was sacked by Moi but reinstated in 1992. In 2006, he organised an illegal Delegates conference and ousted the Chairperson Uhuru Kenyatta. This election was quashed by the courts in June 2007.

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