

MAPAMBANO

● STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY AND A WORKER'S PARTY IN KENYA ●

PRICE: 20KR

CONTENTS

- ◆ *EDITORIAL: KENYAN WORKERS SHOULD TAKE OVER CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF TRADE UNIONS*
- ◆ *REFERENDUM: KENYANS IN SCANDINAVIA SAY "NO"*
- ◆ *OF ORANGES AND TALK OF A REVOLUTION IN KENYA*

SPECIAL EDITION ON KENYA REFERENDUM

20 reasons why the government of President Kibaki should be overthrown

When we proposed last week that the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) should prepare the masses psychologically for Kibaki's exit from power, it was not because of any personal hatred of the President. The truth is that the election of Mwai Kibaki as President of Kenya was an accident because Kenyans wanted to remove former dictator Daniel arap Moi from power regardless of who took over from Moi. The view was that there could be no progress in the democratic struggle with Moi at the helm because of harsh conditions the former President had imposed on Kenyans.

Current events in Kenya clearly indicate that Kibaki has served his purpose and his continued stay in power is now more of a political liability because he is driving the Nation backwards. Our perspective that Kibaki should be overthrown through democratic means available is based on the premise that he will lose to the Orange movement on November 21st and if he doesn't quit after this defeat, there will be a serious political crisis in Kenya that could plunge the nation into total chaos.

The Narc government is split and in the event of an Orange victory, the regime will not function, political tensions will rise while Kibaki and his henchmen will simply be struggling to hang on to power against a rising mass movement against the government. While we welcome the call by members of the Orange Movement for a snap general election regardless of the outcome of the referendum, we wish to strengthen the case for Kibaki's quick exit because Kenya needs a new leadership after the Narc disaster. We wish to

outline some of Kibaki's major mistakes which dictates that he should go.

1. CONSTITUTION: After failing to deliver a Constitution 100 days after coming to power, Kibaki hijacked a "people's driven Constitution" drafted at Bomas which he proceeded to mutilate through his lackeys in Parliament. Kenyans are now being asked to vote for a Constitution that will extend dictatorship and authoritarianism in the country indefinitely. This is unacceptable after Kenyans witnessed the making of a dictator during Moi's 24 years in power.

2. MEMORANDUM: Kibaki's official nickname since his days as Moi's Vice President is "General Kiguoya" which means "General coward". The President's conmanship and open deception saw him dump the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) agreed upon by his political allies before elections, a move responsible for the current split in the Narc government. The MoU fiasco is evidence that Kenya has a President who cannot be trusted.

3. TRIBALISM: Although Kenyans thought that they had elected a new President, the person who seized power was a "photocopy of Moi". Just like his former boss, Kibaki has filled the government with members of his Kikuyu ethnic group, a move that, in essence, promotes a vice hated the most by millions of Kenyans – tribalism. With Kibaki in power, the fight against tribalism has been ditched until he departs. Kibaki is a tribalist and advising him to stop tribalism is like advising a vampire to stop sucking blood. It

Continued on Page 6

STATEMENT ON THE ARREST OF DAVID OCHAMI

Yesterday's arrest of Mr. David Ochami, a Kenyan Journalist, by more than 10 policemen at the premises of Kenya Times Newspaper because of an opinion article he published in the paper was significant in two ways. It was the second major arrest of a Journalist since Narc took power while it also confirmed that President Mwai Kibaki is on a downward spiral towards authoritarian dictatorship that his predecessor Daniel arap Moi spent 24 years perfecting.

In a typical style only rivaled by illegal activities of a gang of torturers that were dubbed "Security Home Boys" during the climax of the Mwakenya crackdowns in the late 80s during Moi's one party dictatorship, Ochami was cleverly duped by his abductors who whisked him away in a convoy of cars to his house at Pangani estate. In line with tradition, Ochami's house was then ransacked

for two hours as the Journalist was held hostage.

In a kind of Déjà vu, Kibaki's "Security Home guards" took away newspapers, note books and an assortment of literature from Ochami's house before embarking on a "check in-check out" of the Journalist from one police station after another to hide his case from scrutiny. This is exactly the same method of intimidation Moi's Boys used with zeal but which failed to stop the struggle for political pluralism in Kenya.

What crime did Mr. Ochami commit to warrant the wanton intimidation, illegal curtailment of basic freedoms, sheer harassment and savage violation of his rights as a Kenyan citizen? The answer is that he published an opinion article in The Sunday Times of 25th September 2005 titled "Coups in Africa do not occur out of nothing".

continued on page 3

Kenya Civil servants Union intimidated into retreat after it's strike is defeated

The Kenya Civil Servants Union suffered a major set back in the eyes of its members after it's leadership compromised with the Kenyan ruling class to withdraw a suit the Union filed against the government. The suit followed suspension of over 1,100 workers who had gone on strike that had been called by the Union.

Addressing the Court just before the withdrawal of the case, Otiende Amollo, the Union's lawyer, said that his client decided to withdraw the case after receiving a letter from the Ministry of Labour to the effect that a Committee had been formed to look into issues of dispute between the Union and the government. Both Mr. Alfayo Nyakundi, Union's Secretary General and his deputy, Mr. Martin Ogoda, attended the proceedings at the Nairobi Law Courts. The Lawyer told Justice John Nyamu that the Union had no intention "of standing on the path of negotiations between the Union and the government".

The withdrawal of the case will most likely demoralize all sacked workers who had built illusions that the Union would be able to defend them and help them get back their jobs. The Civil Servants Union was re-registered after the Narc government took power and the general assumption was that the Union could break the tradition of betrayal, compromises and back door dealing between Union leaders and the government especially during industrial actions. At the time of the withdrawal, the government had frozen proceeds to the Union through their bank after sacking the striking workers and using unemployed graduates as scabs to try and defeat the strike.

What this means is that even as it took the govern-

ment to court "in a show of bravery", the Union was already bargaining from a weak position and, deprived of funds to finance the fat salaries of the Union's leaders, it is understandable why the Union was beaten into a corner, forcing the leadership to retreat.

It is not the first time a Union has betrayed workers in a situation of dispute with the government. The difference is that this time, the issue touched on a new Union that was operating in a post Moi (dictatorship) era. Initially, workers had great confidence in the Union and this is why they accepted to go on strike to demand a 600% wage increase to end poverty of workers. However, the action of Union officials shows that there is no change when it comes to purchase of Union leaders by a threatened ruling class. The methods the new government is using to defeat struggles waged by Workers are the same. Because of a crisis of leadership within the Unions, Union politics in Kenya is not advancing the interests of Workers.

The retreat by the Union is yet another lesson to workers in Kenya that if they want to fight in order to change their situations, there is little room for struggle through Unions being led by traitors ready to enter into deals under the table with the ruling class at any time. The Union did not consult workers who laid down their tools but were acting independently. An end to the endless cheating of workers will only come when workers begin to understand the potential of political organization along the directions of seizing power ie along the directions of setting up a Worker's Party.

Case on First lady dropped : Is Mrs Lucy Kibaki and other "top brass" above the law?

The case against Lucy has been dropped by Wako. Kibaki did not have to comment or apologise to Kenyans for what his wife had done to the Nation's image at the beginning of May. She went out one night and, with armed security around her, tried to put an end to a party by plugging off the loud speakers claiming that the party was making a lot of noise and that she could not sleep.

Then, she went to a local police station in Nairobi where she made several demands that could not be met after which she moved into the Nation House to give journalists a lecture in protest of negative publicity she was generating as a result of her uncouth behaviour.

May be, the matter could have ended there. But she proceeded to slap a journal-

ist, confiscate note books and mobile phones as she demanded that journalists stop making phone calls.

In a capitalist regime headed by a former Vice President of a defeated dictator, expecting action against First Lady Lucy could probably be expecting too much.

A bold journalist who had been slapped by the First Lady did file a case in court to seek justice but the case was quickly thrown out by Attorney General Amos Wako.

Wako has a lot of experience acquired from the former regime of Dictator Daniel arap Moi in the application of ruthlessness especially when it comes to cases touching on close acquaintances of the ruling class who have messed up with their powers.

From the tendency seen in Kibaki's "emerging dictatorship", it is clear that a

band of "untouchables" have surfaced within the regime.

Recent cases include that of Dr. Margaret Gachara, former boss of the National Aids Control Council (NACC) who was released from prison after stealing Ksh 27 million of tax payer's money. She was "purdoned" by the President for committing a "minor offence".

Then came the case of Lucy Kibaki who has had a case of assault against her "terminated" by the AG. Lucy's case has been followed quickly by the case of Mr. Tom Cholmondley, grandson of former colonial master Lord Delemare who has had a case of murder terminated by the AG. Is Mrs Lucy Kibaki and other "top brass" above the law in Kenya?

Joel Okello

“We agree with Ochami on his analysis about circumstances of coups in Africa”

In the article, Mr. Ochami was answering the increasingly familiar and alarmist outbursts of Mirungi Kariuki and David Mwiraria (Kibaki's key sycophants) who had suggested that imaginary anti-Kibaki forces (advocates of the “No” vote in the coming referendum) were out to overthrow the Kibaki regime.

According to Ochami's thesis, the failure of the 1982 coup attempt may have been a disaster for Kenya because this historic failure may have prevented the execution of pre-independence politicians like Mwai Kibaki who was, by then, Moi's Vice President and who has effectively ended the political aspirations of over 30 million Kenyans after his election three years ago.

The failure of the President to deliver a new Constitution within 100 days after coming to power and his fumbling with the Bomas Draft of the Constitution is a case in point.

Although we have our reservations as to whether the execution of former Dictator Daniel arap Moi and his Vice President Mwai Kibaki by the 1982 coup leaders could have prevented 24 years of ruthless dictatorship and an extension of that dictatorship through Kibaki, we agree with Ochami's analysis about the circumstances of coups in Africa, his parallels about the situation in Kenya and his position that Kibaki's mistakes “Have aborted the momentum for effective change” in Kenya. The journalist could not have put it better!

That is, we agree with Ochami's view that the Kibaki dictatorship has hopelessly failed Kenyans and needs to be overthrown by any democratic means available in the field of struggle.

Ochami's arrest confirms the dictatorial character the Kibaki regime continues to assume and the use of State machine to try and re-introduce “the culture of silence and fear” that Moi planted in Kenya but which was uprooted through struggle before Moi was himself defeated in December 2002.

Ochami was simply telling the truth as it is and arresting him will not postpone or solve the huge crisis facing Kibaki's government. There is a crisis of leadership in Kenya and the only reason why Kibaki is still in power is because there is no credible alternative political force that can effectively lead workers and the youth to power. If Kibaki has started arresting Journalists now, what will he do when he loses the referendum in November or when he senses defeat at the 2007 General elections? Will we see a return to detention without trial?

The alarm bells have been sounded and Kenyans should once again be on the alert because all indications are that a new dictator in the name of Emilio Mwai Kibaki has taken over the State machine which he is now using to arrest Journalists doing their work at newspaper offices. For conscious Kenyan minds, Kibaki hatoshi and the best option in the situation is for him to go now rather than later!

After a string of failures to deliver on key election promises, this latest arrest of yet another Journalist by marauding security officers with orders from Kibaki's “Internal security” should be the last signal that Kenyans should return to the path of revolution, not just to overthrow Kibaki but also to topple the system that bankrupted leaders like him are using to trample on the rights and freedoms of Kenyan citizens with impunity.

According to Ochami, “Kenyans should be allowed to hope for a blast or blow of holy wind from somewhere to end this mess”. Our view is that there will be no “holy wind” from anywhere to

liberate Kenya from the Kibakis even if Kenyans embrace themselves tightly in prayer with their heads upside down 24 hours a day 7 days a week.

A revolutionary Movement or Party armed with a revolutionary theory and a clear revolutionary Program for democratic change and transformation is urgently needed in Kenya to show the way out of the blind alleys of the rotten capitalist class rule now tampering with Press freedom in our country, intimidating and arresting journalists, looting the economy and using the huge security apparatus as a powerful tool for oppression KANU style.

We unequivocally condemn Ochami's arrest because it reduces the democratic space needed for revolutionary activity vital for liberation in Kenya while it also rolls backwards the democratic gains achieved through blood-shed and loss of thousands of lives especially during the dark years of the one party dictatorship of Moi.

In fact, Ochami's arrest is yet another warning to workers and millions of youth in Kenya that time for revolution to overthrow the system has come because the capitalist ruling class is the same - yesterday, today and tomorrow. Kibaki's government is violating the Constitution, a sad reminder that the ruling class the world over will always violate the Constitution as long as their class interests are threatened.

Ochami was arrested because Kibaki is using an oppressive system left behind by Moi, a system that we have repeatedly said, needs to be smashed to pave the way for reconstruction of the Kenyan society under a new democratic system led by workers and the youth, not pre-independence opportunists fed by imperialism to protect foreign interests.

We condemn the Kibaki dictatorship for trying to return Kenya to the 80s using worn out tactics that had already failed during the dictatorship of Daniel arap Moi.

Ochami's arrest confirms the dictatorial character the Kibaki regime continues to assume and the use of State machine to try and re-introduce “the culture of silence and fear” that Moi planted in Kenya but which was uprooted through struggle before Moi was himself defeated in December 2002.

We will oppose any charges brought against Ochami and dramatize his case in the International arena in case the government goes ahead to press for bogus charges against a conscious Journalist who was simply doing his work. Kenyans should resist a small gang of wealth grabbers calling themselves government to hold back a struggle that has been going on for more than 4 decades.

Ochami's article has nothing to do with “incitement” as the police put it. In the circumstances, we demand the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. David Ochami and a stop to the arrest and intimidation of journalists doing their work in Kenya.

Martin Ngatia – Kenya People's Democratic Movement (KEPEDEMO Mapinduzi)

Okoth Osewe – Kenya Socialist Democratic Alliance

Desmond Nyamu: Kenya Social Forum in Norway (KSF – Norway)

Betty Shangazi: Muungano Ya Akina Mama Scandinavia

Omariba Kadikiye: Organization of Kenyans in Denmark (OKD)

Christopher Omondi: Association of Kenyan Students in Finland (AKSIF)

Email: mapambanokenya@gawab.com

November referendum: kenyans in scandinavia say "no"

STATEMENT OF KENYANS IN SCANDINAVIA ON THE NOVEMBER REFERENDUM ON THE CONSTITUTION: VOTE A STRONG "NO" AND SHOW PRESIDENT KIBAKI THE DOOR

November 21st has been set by the Kenyan ruling class as the date for a national referendum for a new Constitution. As the count down began, rotten politicians allied to the corrupt Narc government began prattling on the necessity of Kenyans to vote "Yes" to a distorted and mutilated Constitution. We take the view that the Kibaki Constitution is in opposition to the National aspirations of the Kenyan people who have been waging struggle for a new Constitution for more than 4 decades.

The alternative that Kenyans vote "Yes or No" to "The Kibaki constitution" contradicts the reasons why Kenyans voted out the undemocratic dictatorship of former President Daniel arap Moi in December 2002.

When Moi refused to address the inadequacies in the KANU Constitution, thousands of lives were lost, people were sent to prison, activists forced into exile while hundreds of other Kenyans were maimed or crippled in the process of struggle for a new and democratic Constitution. By fidgeting with the Constitutional writing process, does Kibaki and his cohorts understand the history behind the real struggle for a new Constitution in Kenya?

After more than Ksh 4 billion was spent by the government to draft a new Constitution that truly represented the wishes of Kenyans (The Bomas draft), the document was fraudulently referred to Parliament, not to improve it but to water it down in favor of the wishes of Mount Kenyan Mafia currently responsible for the looting and plunder of Kenya's resources.

During 24 years of ruthless dictatorship of former President Moi, the most notable maladies of the colonial KANU Constitution were to be found in sections that accorded the President God like powers. In the Kibaki constitution, there is no fundamental difference because the President is left with powers that effectively places his office above the law. Kibaki wants the same powers as his former boss Mr. Daniel arap Moi. The document Kibaki has presented to the referendum cannot be ratified by any right thinking people anywhere and Kenyans are no exception.

SAY NO!!

The butchered Bomas draft that President Mwai Kibaki is urging Kenyans to vote for leaves the President with pow-

ers to hire and fire vital officers of the State, just like the days of Moi. The powers of the Prime Minister proposed in the Bomas draft have also been reduced to an extent that will make any Prime Minister an effective puppet or errand boy of the President.

As Kenyans resident in Scandinavia, we have already studied the mutilated Kenyan Constitution in detail and our position is that Kenyans should reject it by voting "No". A Constitution that was written by Kenyans themselves in the name of the "Bomas draft" exists. It is this Constitution that should have been brought before Kenyans for a referendum, not the altered version in Kibaki's mangled brief case.

Political rags who have been mobilized to campaign for a "Yes" vote are well known for both their carpet-crossing and turn-coating at the slightest invitation to a "retreat" where they are routinely bribed to vote yes to even the most obscene bills that have come before Parliament. These political elites are in business, not to sell any products but to play with the future of Kenya.

Other traitors like Professor George Saitoti, the Minister of Education, should be in jail after stealing billions of Tax payer's money during the Moi dictatorship. The new Constitution should have contained clauses that make bandits who commit economic crimes like Saitoti to be charged with treason. The gang of fraudsters surrounding President Kibaki like Dr. Chris Murungaru, Mirugi Kariuki, Kiraitu Murungi, Simion Nyachae, Moody Awori, Amos Wako et al have no credibility to sit in government, leave alone campaign for a "Yes" vote. Is it an exaggeration to ask Kenyans to show these hooligans the door?

KIBAKI CONSTITUTION WILL PROTECT THE RICH WEALTH GRABBERS IN KENYA

Kibaki is leading a regime of tainted land grabbers who have been responding to past crimes by setting up bogus money guzzling Commissions which have ended up protecting the rich. Kibaki, who is leading the "Yes" vote, has himself sold the country to imperialism. Foreign soldiers are walking away with crime while grand children of former colonial masters are walking away with cold blooded murder in our country. What is more?

We still remember how Kibaki tried to convert Kenya into a one party state after taking power by suggesting that political parties should be dissolved. He failed when Ken-

yans rose strongly and told him to dissolve his own DP Party. That is after he lied on the Memorandum of Understanding and cheated Kenyans that he would create half a million jobs per year. The ailing President is on a new experiment with his half-backed Constitution and we believe he is going to fail again!

Minority tribes like the Masais continue to be marginalized while other Kenyans continue to be collectively expelled from their land without alternatives. National resources like Tiomin have been handed over to foreigners to exploit while the national economy is firmly on the hands of imperialist institutions – many thanks to Kibaki!

Kibaki's campaign for a "Yes" vote is against a backdrop of landlessness that he has failed to address since he took over power. He is now telling Kenyans to accept a Constitution that will lease land to foreigners for 99 years. This is the same arrangement that has been protecting settler land grabbers in Kenya since the days of the colonial revolution. From our vantage point, we view the Kibaki Constitution as a document weaved to appease donors and to block the sharing of the national cake among all Kenyans!

Through the Privatization program, vital wealth producing institutions are being sold to multinational companies whose agenda is to deepen poverty in Kenya. The current Constitution is crafted to protect the rich property owners who form less than 10% of the Kenyan population. It is not intended to transform the lives of millions of Kenyans languishing in poverty.

THE CHURCH SHOULD STOP WORKING WITH THE DEVIL

Since Kibaki took power, political assassinations, human rights violations, torture in police cells, violent attacks on demonstrators, attacks on striking workers and numerous other undemocratic practices that were seen during the Moi dictatorship are back in Kenya. The bogus Constitution nursed by Kibaki's pimps and which Kenyans are being asked to accept is designed to maintain the status quo, entrench capitalist class rule and continue with the capitalist tendency of sidelining workers and millions of youth from the running of society. We say, oppose this Constitution!

The Kibaki Constitution is silent on the question of a minimum living wage for workers who are living on starvation wages. This Constitution must be opposed by a strong "NO" so that President Kibaki can go into quiet retirement. As Kenyans in Scandinavia, we are united with all Kenyans at home and abroad mobilizing for a "No" vote.

At this critical time of national crisis manufactured by President Kibaki and his kitchen Cabinet, we wish to condemn the Church for opting to remain neutral in the situation. By sitting on the fence at this point, the Church is eroding its well documented history of struggle when Moi was

murdering people. The Church's current weak position is a betrayal of congregations they represent in Kenya because it amounts to telling their flock not to vote "No" in the referendum. This situation will only help Kibaki and it is for this reason that we also wish to urge the church to stop doing business with the devil that Kibaki has become. We urge the faithful in Kenya to defy their compromised Benz-riding figure-heads and vote "No". This will help the nation!

FAGILIA KIBAKI AND HIS SYCOPHANTS

The government has said that it will use "every means available" to get it's way in the November referendum. We are confident that President Kibaki and thieves in his government are going to lose this game. We urge all Kenyans to take to the streets in case the President employs dirty Moi-like tactics and rigs the vote in his favor.

Kibaki was elected democratically. But this is the same case with Adolf Hitler in Germany whom, after his election, engineered one of the bloodiest genocides in the history of mankind. The Kibaki Kenyans elected is not the same person currently running against the wind, trying to get Kenyans to pass a counterfeit Constitution. We urge Kenyans to stop this old man in his tracks!

We, Kenyans in Scandinavia, expected any democratic Constitution to end the culture of Saidia nasikini (begging) and to stop the tendency where only the rich have access to justice. The Kibaki Constitution is sending very worrying signals because it looks more like a project to protect the interest of the rich. We believe that there is nowhere in the world where a democratic Constitution can be written by traitors, reactionaries, opportunists, wealth grabbers, boot-lickers, political prostitutes and former red-eyed home guards. Let it not happen in Kenya!

Former dictator Moi was defeated through mass mobilization and there is no reason why Kibaki should not have a taste of the same medicine. The yes campaign is doomed. Fagilia (sweep) Kibaki and his sycophants with a strong NO!!

Martin Ngatia: Kenya Peoples Democratic Movement (KEPEDEMO Mapinduzi)

Okoth Osewe: Kenya Socialist Democratic Alliance (KSDA)

Desmond Nyamu: Kenya Social Forum in Norway (KSF – Norway)

Betty Shangazi: Muungano Ya Akina Mama Scandinavia

Omariba Kadikiye: Organization of Kenyans in Denmark (OKD)

Christopher Omondi: Association of Kenyan Students in Finland (AKSIF)

Ruling by the Mafia was signalled by return of grand corruption in government

will never happen!

4. CORRUPTION: Institutionalized corruption was one major reason why Moi lost power. After seizing the State machine, cases of corruption scandals in the media have been choking Kenyans like fish bones stuck in the esophagus. The latest is a case of corrupt Generals sending Army helicopters to South Africa for repairs. An old merchant ship was recently purchased and converted into a naval ship in another corrupt deal that exploded in the media. After spending billions of Tax payer's money on the Goldenberg commission, Kibaki has failed to bring to book thieves in the Goldenberg scandal while during his leadership, Kenyans witnessed the explosion of the Anglo leasing scandal that forcefully brought the issue of rot and corruption in Kibaki's government to the national arena. The President has refused to prosecute a single thief who has stolen from the tax payer. Even his former anti-corruption boss, John Githongo, quit because he was convinced that Kibaki had lost the will to fight corruption. An estimated Ksh 40 billion has been stolen by Kibaki's friends since the septuagenarian assumed office. Why should Kibaki continue to remain in power?

5. WRONG PRIORITIES: While over 2 million Kenyans are facing starvation, Kibaki is planning to build for himself a palace worth Ksh 100 million at Tax payer's expense. The issue is so real that it was brought before Parliament. Kibaki's speeches that he is fighting for the interest of Kenyans is therefore sheer propaganda. A leader who plans to build a palace worth millions of money when his people are starving has lost the moral authority to rule. Kibaki must go!

6. ARREST OF JOURNALISTS: After Narc came to power, the illegal arrest of journalists and attempts to muzzle the media were considered byones of the Moi era. During the Kibaki Presidency, Kenyans have witnessed with "shock and awe" the return of intimidation, harassment and arrest of journalists doing their job in Kenya. With Kibaki as President, there is no reason to indicate that the situation will change in the future. This is why Kibaki has become a spent force who should be disposed of. A golden opportunity to do this by way of referendum has presented itself and Kenyans must not let this chance slip away. Let the referendum be a vote of no confidence in the government and subsequently a reason for snap elections so that Kibaki can go.

7. BRIBING VOTERS: A part from direct rigging of elections, former President Moi used to buy and destroy votes especially in opposition strongholds as a way of winning elections. Kibaki is bribing voters with land while Councilors are being enticed with "pay hikes" to vote "Yes" in the coming referendum. The Provincial administration has been rounded up and ordered to campaign for the "Yes" side. State funds are being used in the referendum to support the "Yes" campaigns because Kiraitu Murungi has said that the "Yes" campaign is a "government project". Are there any other reasons why Kibaki should not be relieved of his duties?

8. 500,000 JOBS: There is nothing as disappointing as promising poor unemployed youth jobs which cannot be delivered. This is exactly what Kibaki did during the campaigns. 11 million unemployed Kenyans were promised 500,000 jobs per year and they believed and voted for Kibaki. Three years down the line, not a single job has been created because the government is unable to invest in construction and industry, the surest way of creating jobs. Promises of better housing for the poor in slum areas have all evaporated. Instead, Kibaki has supported a salary increment of MPs to more than Ksh 500,000 while the President has himself cut a pay package of Ksh 2 million with a monthly "entertainment allowance"

of Ksh 200,000. Didn't some English men say "enough is enough"?

9. LANDLESSNESS: Land is a sensitive issue in Kenya because millions of Kenyans remain landless more than 4 decades after the Mau Mau freedom fighters took up arms to fight for land. Instead of addressing the issue of landlessness, Kibaki is using the issue of land to blackmail a section of Kenyans in the Rift Valley into voting "Yes" at the referendum. What could be more dirty? This is after these Kenyans were violently evicted from their land by the government which also destroyed millions worth of property. Kibaki needs to go so that pending issues like the land question can be addressed by a new leadership committed to resettling the landless in Kenya.

10. RULING BY THE MAFIA: There is nothing worse than a whole government being left on the hands of a small Mafia cartel that operates outside the law. The core of Kibaki's Mafia troupe is composed of Mirugi Kariuki, Chris Murungaru, Kiraitu Murungi, David Mwiraria, John Michuki, Njenga Karume among others. These Kikuyu chauvinists have and continue to behave as though they own Kenya. Our view is that to end the rule by the Mafia, Kibaki must give room!

11. COMMISSIONS AND TASK FORCES: There is a tactic Moi used to employ to buy time whenever his government was in crisis. It was called "ruling by Commissions and Task forces". Kibaki set up the Goldenberg commission but then what happened? Leading Commissioners were corrupted, Kibaki failed to act and now nothing tangible has come out of the Commission despite having spent billions of tax payer's money on it. The Ndungu Land Report has been ditched by Kibaki because too many thieves in the government have been implicated in land scandals including Kibaki himself. The Ouko Commission Report has not been released because of political reasons. Instead, its Chairman Mr. Gor Sungu has been taken to court for trying to get Dr. Ouko's killers to answer charges. We could go on and on. There is no end to reasons why Kibaki should continue residing in State House!

12. TEACHERS CHEATED: There are workers in Kenya living on what is called "starvation wages". This lot includes teachers who were cheated by Kibaki that their pay hikes awarded by Moi in 1998 would be paid after Narc came to power. Teachers voted for Narc "in toto". To date, this promise has not been honoured, exposing Kibaki as a deceiver of workers who cannot be relied upon. Any promise Kibaki now makes to Kenyans is dismissed as propaganda. How can he continue to remain President when his only listeners are his cronies and fellow ethnic cahauvists?

13. KIBAKI'S TERM: When he took power, Kibaki promised to step down once his 5 year term of office is over. Still on the point of dishonesty, Kibaki has declared that he will stand for President in 2007, shocking many Kenyans who thought that Kibaki was just a "transition President". If there is no pressure now for Kibaki to go, we might soon read about Kibaki wanting to become "President for Life". Honestly speaking, can Kenyans take this kind of hog wash any longer?

14. ATTACKS ON WORKERS: Kenyans witnessed with amazement when Kibaki sent riot police to brutalize workers who had simply gone on strike to demand for "living wages". This is what Moi used to do to contain industrial actions. As if that was not enough, Civil servants who decided to go on strike to press for better working conditions and higher wages were sacked by the government. Within a very short period of time, strike actions have been banned and workers intimidated. Kenya, under Kibaki, is one of the most anti-worker government in Africa today. Kibaki should

FROM PAGE 1

Kibakis overthrow could be done using peaceful and democratic methods available in the situation

go to pave the way for workers to organize and play a role in the running of the government. This should be the next item on the agenda in a post Kibaki regime.

15. POLITICAL ASSASSINATION: Professor Odhiambo Mbai, who was chairing the "Devolution of power Committee" during the Conference at Bomas to draft the Constitution Kibaki has mutilated, was assassinated in cold blood. According to video evidence by suspects, members of the ruling class and other Kibaki allies were named as having been behind the assassination. Instead of moving to unearth the truth as to who was responsible, Kibaki arrested the journalist who uncovered the evidence, charged him in court before releasing him due to external pressure. The issue is that political assassinations are back in Kenya under our own Kibaki. What does this say about his future as President?

16. SHOOT TO KILL ORDERS: The order to police "to shoot suspected criminals on sight" was a past time of former President Moi. John Michuki, Kibaki's Minister for Internal security, has ordered police to give suspected criminals the same treatment of death. As a consequence, hundreds of Kenyans have been summarily executed by police in the streets. The rise in crime is not due to any "natural urge" of Kenyans to commit crime but due to lack of alternative ways of making a living because the government is bankrupted and cannot create jobs. As police conduct executions in the streets, a former Commissioner of Prisons disclosed that 20 percent of Kenyans languishing in prisons are innocent. Both the police and the army have been unable to intervene after Kenyan ships are hijacked by war lords in stateless Somalia yet the President has been quick to set his security forces to execute Kenyans in the streets for suspected crimes. Kenya needs a new and fresh leadership that can provide lasting security to citizens and steer clear from public executions conducted by State police.

17. ONE PARTY STATE: In 1982, Kibaki engineered the conversion of Kenya into a one party dictatorship on the eve of the formation of the Kenya Socialist Alliance. After coming to power on a Narc ticket, Kibaki began proposing that Narc's affiliate parties should dissolve, a proposal that was strongly opposed by Kenyans who saw it as an attempt to erect a new monolithic government in Kenya. The point is that Kibaki has been there for too long and he takes several things for granted. What the President should do is to go into retirement for when will he enjoy his retirement benefits if he is approaching 80 and still wants to cling on to power?

18. PURCHASE OF JUSTICE: Under Kibaki's government, the grand son of Lord Delemare, a former colonial master, murdered a Kenyan national in cold blood. There was hope when the murderer was arrested and brought to court but that is where the hope ended. The Attorney General ordered that the murderer be released because there was insufficient evidence to try him. This was despite eye witness account of what happened. The issue here is that justice in Kibaki's Kenya is being dispensed selectively. The rich are able to buy justice while the poor are incarcerated. Are there any further reasons why Kibaki should not go?

19. KENYA IS SOLD: For a "developing country" like Kenya, the government needs to have a firm grip on the country's economy. Instead of increasing government control of major economic activities in Kenya, Kibaki is either allowing multinational companies to take control of the commanding heights of the economy or selling State enterprises to these multinationals under the privatization

program. We have a tea industry worth 43.5 billion and out of this, 78 percent is on the hands of foreign companies. The tourism industry is worth Ksh 42 billion and 71 percent is on the hands of foreign companies. We have 43 banks in Kenya and more than 38 are foreign owned. The Stock Exchange is populated with foreign companies. In simpler terms, the country has been sold to foreign interests and Kibaki is doing nothing about this. High prices of consumer commodities precipitated by spiraling inflation has made life impossible for millions of workers, peasants and the unemployed who can hardly put a square meal on the table. It is official that 56 percent of Kenyans are living below the poverty level. With Kibaki as President, Kenyans can only expect further empty promises and further exploitation of workers as poverty increases and the rich continue to get richer.

20. KIBAKI TOO OLD: Kibaki is a pre-independence politician who has been there for too long. In the process, he has come to assume that Kenya is a large and personal business empire. We refer to 15 years of misrule of first President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta when Kibaki was in government before Kenyans went through another 24 years of Moi's dictatorship with Kibaki in government for 10 years as Moi's Vice President. Even if he was a brilliant and astute politician, it is time for him to call it a day. Kibaki's advanced age and ill health could be a contributing factor to the current crisis in Kenya.

CONCLUSION:

We believe that the overthrow of President Kibaki could be done in a peaceful and democratic manner. Since the President has lost the support of Kenyans he had when he took over power, the decisive question is whether the masses can be mobilized to rebel against his regime regardless of the outcome of the referendum. A sure way to get Kibaki out will be to convince a vast section of workers to down their tools while at the same time mobilizing these workers and the 11 million strong unemployed youth into the streets with demands for better wages, better working conditions, jobs for the youth, land to the landless and calls for Kibaki to quit. The Orange team is well crafted to fill the power vacuum and to further open the democratic space for revolutionary politics needed to end Neo-colonialism and imperialist domination in our country.

There is no number of police or army that will be able to beat a determined people. Moi failed during the struggle for political pluralism. Governments have been toppled by organized masses the world over. President Kibaki is now a hindrance to Kenya's democratic struggle and as the defeat of his government in the November referendum appears imminent, this defeat will only advance the struggle in Kenya if it is carried to its logical conclusion of Kibaki's overthrow from power. From the point of view of KESDEMO, this is the best way forward.

Martin Ngatia

Interim Chairperson

ngatia_martin@hotmail.com

Okoth Osewe

Interim secretary

osewe@hotmail.com

Kenya Scandinavia Democratic Movement (KESDMO)

Of Oranges and talk of a revolution in Kenya

IT is obvious that politicians from both the “No” and “Yes” camps are slightly under the influence of their respective orange and banana-based slogans. But whatever happens in Kenya on November 21, 2005, the one thing we know for certain is not going to be happening is a “revolution.” What is a revolution? Well, let us turn to this guy Lenin, who is credited with knowing one or two things about this particular subject: There was a time when he said that: “Whoever expects to see a ‘pure’ social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is...”

But he is also remembered for saying this: it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the classical symptoms of a revolutionary situation according to dialectical scholars? They pointed to three major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the “upper classes”, a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth.

For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for “the lower classes not to want” to live in the old way; it is also necessary that “the upper classes should be unable” to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in “peace time”, but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the “upper classes” themselves into independent historical action.

Without these objective changes which are independent of the will, so the ideologues prescribed, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible and that the totality of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation.

The referendum offers Kenyans an opportunity of moving forward with the quest for a new, just democratic constitutional dispensation. Its result will not actually accord us this dispensation. It is important for Kenyans to be clear on this. That is why it is important for us to put away any orange or banana flavoured notions and instead reflect soberly on the political tasks ahead.

Such dialectical prescriptions stopped being in vogue but even assuming that they were correct pointers, would anybody say we have met the above litmus test in Kenya? In particular, can we say today that “...there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in “peace time”, but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the “upper classes” themselves into independent historical action...”?

It may well be that one of the weaknesses on the Kenyan political front is precisely the assumption that the wananchi are not, as a matter of argument yet, fully organized to take “independent historical action!”.

Again for the sake of argument, Kenya does not have such ideological orientations concretized in the name of an independent political party while the other probable route, the trade union movement has no such inclinations. True there may be consensus on the need for a democratic constitution. At the moment the forces that would appear to be articulating this national consensus happen to be fractious.

Perhaps it is probable for this national consensus to bring about a democratic breakthrough but the reality is that it would be a figment of fertile imagination if anybody insisted that this country is at the doorstep of a cataclysmic revolutionary upheaval within the next two months. And so we must remember what all these “oranges” and “bananas” are about:

Mapambano is a Kenyan political Newsletter published in Sweden. Editor in Chief: Okoth Osewe. Contacts: Tel: +46736533068. Email: mapambano@gawab.com Country/area Representatives: Okoth Osewe – Stockholm, Sweden, Onyango Oloo – Montreal, Canada, Orina Nyamwami – Nairobi, Kenya, Ronald Elly Wanda – London, Britain, Alex Owiti – Brazil including Latin America, Stephen Obaje – Kisumu, Kenya, Peter Nelson Juma – Siaya, Kenya, Dickens Kwama – At large

They are symbols to be used to identify the two options we have on the referendum ballot come November 21, 2005. The “banana” stands for those who will choose to endorse the Wako draft The “orange” stands for those who will be opposing the same draft.

Whatever the outcome, on November 22, 2005, Kenyans will not have a democratic constitution under any circumstances. We will either have the new constitution that mainly pro-Kibaki forces want or we will be stuck with the current undemocratic constitution that Kenyans have been agitating against for the last 15 years or so.

The referendum offers Kenyans an opportunity of moving forward with the quest for a new, just democratic constitutional dispensation. Its result will not actually accord us this dispensation. It is important for Kenyans to be clear on this. That is why it is important for us to put away any orange or banana flavoured notions and instead reflect soberly on the political tasks ahead.

But certainly the referendum should be an opportunity for us to introspect ahead of the 2007 elections and possibly, a turning point in our national consciousness as we shun narrow tribal identities, parochial religious bigotry and self-seeking opportunistic mainstream politicking as we embrace a national, tolerant, diverse, patriotic and focused political vision in Kenya.

Beyond those objectives, any talk of “revolution” is strictly speaking reckless adventurism. And speaking of the colour of revolutions, one would be especially wary of importing wily nilly into the Kenyan context, labels manufactured elsewhere. If anything, the appellation of “Orange Revolution” is one we should be winning away from.

How many of the NO chieftains really know what the so called “Orange Revolution” was all about? Those who had followed that Ukrainian upheaval from start to finish get goose bumps every time we hear the NO forces yell about the upcoming “Orange Revolution” in Kenya.

Those not in picture can read for themselves what the Orange Revolution was all about before making up their mind whether a figure like Viktor Yushchenko is what we want to emulate and carbon copy in Kenya. The No forces should simply concentrate on the task at hand—defeating the passage of the Wako Draft a the Yes forces push the opposite way.

By Onyango Oloo

**SUBSCRIBE to
Mapambano
Newsletter:
Call 46736533068
or send mail to:
mapambano@gawab.com
website:
www.kenyasocialist.org**