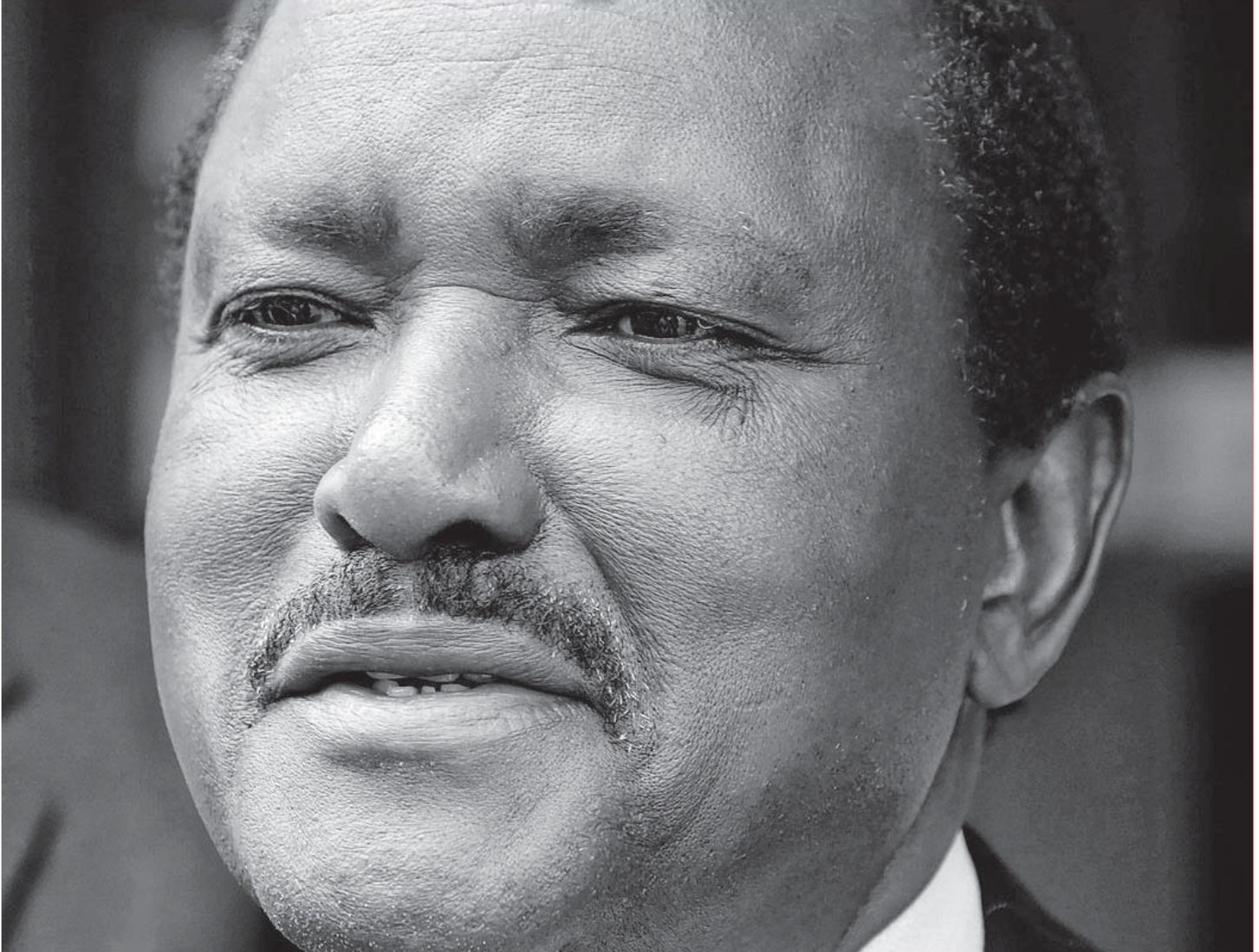


THE Weekly Review

For the Thinking Person

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MAN WITH A PLAN

Wiper party leader Kalonzo Musyoka has an ace up his sleeve. The former Vice President's prime role in the bipartisan talks that ended weeks of deadly street protests has catapulted him into the centre of opposition power games. Will he dethrone Raila Odinga as the Azimio kingpin and go for the presidency in 2027?

kenya lens

■ IT IS A STATEMENT THAT CAN BE VIEWED AGAINST HIS CAMPAIGN FOR AN AFRICA THAT STRESSES ITS SOVEREIGNTY

THE RUTO SUITS AND THE PRESSURE OF

If the President cannot early in his second year begin to solve the intractable economic problems around which the fate of his young presidency lies, then we can expect to see more in his demeanor and mood

● BY MACHARIA

GAITHO

It's the year of the Ruto Suit. If there is one defining change as President William Ruto completes his first year in office, it must be in his regularly discarding the conservative business suits for distinctive, and often colorful, tunics that are as much ideological as they are fashion statements.

The outfits in mauve, orange, green, maroon, burgundy, turquoise, mustard and everything in between have added a dash of colour and panache to the President's official functions. President Uhuru Kenyatta had also largely discarded the suit and tie for colourful silk shirts of the type made famous by former South African President Nelson Mandela, but it is Ruto who has made a clear statement by going beyond the casual and making his collarless suits part of his formal attire.

It has been a refreshing change from the dull grey suits, but adopting his own variation of what from the early years of African independence was trademark for President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere is than sartorial elegance. It is a statement that can almost definitely be viewed against Ruto's increasingly visible campaign for an Africa that stresses its sovereignty in regard to western economic and cultural dominance.

The Ruto Suit thus sends a message in much the same way the Kaunda Suit and the Nyerere Suit did. And further afield, as the Mao suit did from Chinese Communist Party chairman Mao Zedong. It is a statement of defiance, an affirmation of nationalism and freedom against western hegemony; and also demonstration of an ideological stance in favour of the common man.

The outfit is thus a natural progression of Ruto's Bottom-Up platform which stresses economic policies that prioritise the needs of the lower strata of society. And here lies the contradiction. Until he launched his 2022 presidential campaign around the Bottom-Up slogan and the Hustler Nation rhetoric, Ruto was not known for any ideological, and particularly not leftist or socialist, posturing.

He rose in politics as the quintessential system man, and the system was the unabashed capitalism that Kenya was one of the most unequal societies in the world. It was the system where a tiny elite in the political and merchant classes took advantage of their positions to amass unparalleled wealth, while the masses toiled in poverty. He was a beneficiary of the politics of patronage that concentrated resources at the top of the pyramid, leaving the poor to their own devices.

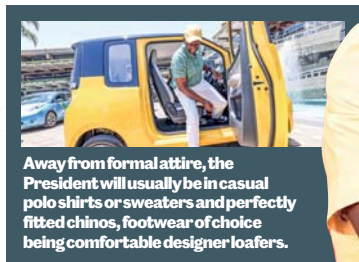
It was also the system where the wealthy and powerful were cloistered in 'Little London' protected from the masses by high stone walls, electric fences, razor wire



President Uhuru Kenyatta had also largely discarded the suit and tie for colourful silk shirts of the type made famous by former South African President Nelson Mandela



The presidency changes anybody. The pressures and stresses of high office will be visible within a short time in temperament and mood, as well as physical appearances.



Away from formal attire, the President will usually be in casual polo shirts or sweaters and perfectly fitted chinos, footwear of choice being comfortable designer loafers.

The outfits in mauve, orange, green, maroon, burgundy, turquoise, mustard and everything in between have added a dash of colour and panache to the President's official functions.

Ruto never was a socialist ideologue, but he unashamedly stole a winning formula from veteran opposition chief Raila Odinga, and ran with it all the way to State House.



The rise in international oil prices is out of his control, but finer details of global issues will often not matter much to a hustler who voted in expectation of instant reductions in costs of basic goods.



Oil prices, coupled with a shilling in free fall and rising interest rates will greatly undermine Ruto's economic recovery strategy.

and private security guards, while the rest of the country suffered starvation, neglect and marginalisation. Ruto campaigned on the promise to tear down those walls. To bring down the dynasties who since independence had dominated the political and economic landscape; and put in place a revolutionary new system where interests of the neglected Hustler

would rise to the top of the government agenda.

Ruto never was a socialist ideologue, but he unashamedly stole a winning formula from veteran opposition chief Raila Odinga, and ran with it all the way to State House. Once in office, however, he did not stop there, but adapted his attire to match the ideological shift.

However, it is clear at any glance that the Ruto Suits are not from homespun cotton stitched together by the local tailor. They are measured, cut and stitched to the highest standards quite at par with the high-priced designer suits from the exclusive design houses in Rome and London he otherwise sports.

A WhatsApp enquiry last week

on where his suits are made and who his stylist is was not favoured with a response. But it is clear even without the answer that in his year in office, Ruto has come to stand head and shoulders above his predecessor on the style and fashion department.

Those with knowledge of such things effortlessly point out his Brioni and other designer suits,

THE CHOSEN AND THE SHORT-CHANGED

Murmurs of disharmony behind the scenes as Ruto's elevation of young leaders unsettles some ethnic kingpins

● BY JUSTUS OCHIENG

The delicate balancing act between politics and economics has become a major challenge for President William Ruto as he marks a year in office. Like his predecessors, he struggles to reward supporters who stood with him in the run-up to the 2022 General Election against Raila Odinga of Azimio la Umoja One Kenya coalition. The appointment of professionals to implement the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda, for in-

stance, hasn't been easy.

And now, there are murmurs in the Kenya Kwanza administration that the President has sidelined some of the key figures and regional kingpins who played a crucial role in propelling him to power. Some of those who backed him during his tribulations in the second term of the Jubilee administration claim they got "minor positions". In what looks like a move to send the old guard to political oblivion, Dr Ruto and his deputy, Rigathi Gachagua, appear focused on grooming young lead-



Johnson Muthama



Okoth Obado



Josphat Nanok



Hassan Omar

ers in various regions. Analysts say the President is on a mission to create new centres of power by bringing on board new faces in a grand scheme that could edge out veteran politicians. Some of those who have allegedly been sidelined are Parliamentary Service Commission member Johnson Muthama, State House Deputy Chief of Staff Josphat Nanok, former Migori Governor Okoth Obado and Hassan Omar of the East African Legislative Assembly. Muthama was arrested during the campaigns and his businesses were frustrated af-

ter the government stopped the export of gemstones. His accounts were frozen only for them to be reinstated by the courts after reaching an agreement with the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA).

Many people have failed to fathom how Nanok, who was the director-general of Ruto's presidential campaign, and Muthama - who was the chairperson of the United Democratic Alliance - missed Cabinet slots. When Ruto constituted his campaign team, the tech-

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kenya lens

IN REGARD TO WESTERN DOMINANCE

HIGH OFFICE

and the accessories in shoes, ties and wristwatches that could make serious dents in the budget of any county. The African-inspired Ruto Suits also certainly do not come cheap. For Ruto, however, it is not just about dressing expensive, but dressing well.

Away from formal attire, the President will usually be in casual polo shirts or sweaters and perfectly fitted chinos, footwear of choice being comfortable designer loafers; all expertly color coordinated with light tans predominant. If Ruto's dress sense shows a person both at ease with himself and also conscious of his appearance, so does his general demeanour.

Opposition nemesis

The presidency has not taken away that easy smile, or the glint in his eye. Ruto in public still presents the picture of a confident, friendly personality eager to exchange hugs and backslaps and quick to break into uproarious laughter. But one also sees the prickly personage, one often lashing out in anger at provocation from his opposition nemesis, and ever ready to go on the offensive with unrestrained verbal tirades. It has not been an easy first year for President Ruto. He promised to hit the ground running, but one often gets the impression he got onto a treadmill that was already at top speed and he has no way to slow it down or jump off.

The poise and self-confidence does not disguise the fact that Ruto must be under a great deal of pressure. If it is not public protests and other provocations from the opposition, it is from an economy that stubbornly refuses to obey his commands. It can be no comfort that he is an unprecedented spike in petroleum prices put a big damper on his first year celebrations, with political impact likely to felt for some time to come.

The government communications machinery can trumpet many achievements and fulfilled promises, but Ruto is smart enough to know that no amount of propaganda or pointing the finger of blame at Raila and Uhuru will deflect growing public discontent over the cost of living and unmet expectations.

The rise in international oil prices is out of his control, but finer details of global issues will often not matter much to a Hustler who voted in expectation of instant reductions in costs of basic goods. Oil prices, coupled with a shilling in free fall and rising interest rates will greatly undermine Ruto's economic recovery strategy. He may in his first year established himself as master of the game on the

political front by winning over a large number of opposition legislators to neutralise Raila in Parliament, but the economy often defies political dictates and the bully pulpit.

The presidency changes anybody. The pressures and stresses of high office will be visible within a short time in temperament and mood, as well as physical appearances. Rapid weight gain or weight loss, greying hair, crow's feet and forehead lines are clear manifestations observed with figures who rose to the presidency at a relatively young age. From Uhuru Kenyatta to Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, change became visible within a short time. Uhuru bloated and is face puffed up, possibly reflection of lifestyle accentuated by the need to escape office pressures. Clinton lost considerable weight and his hair turned completely gray. Obama retained his lithe bearing but greyed out and developed lines on his face.

Dress aside, Ruto in appearance has fluctuated between rapid weight loss and gains. At one time he had lost so much weight that alarm was openly expressed about his health. It was later let out, unofficially, that the ascetic president sometimes subjects himself to severe fasting. This was what caused Raila to claim, without offering any evidence, that all State House staff were forced to fast irrespective of their religious observances.

While listening to a speech or watching some presentation or sports events, Ruto will often pay rapt attention, following events with his eyes, face, mouth hands and full body. He will laugh, cheer, clap, groan and put on the full display of emotions. But at times one will detect a distant, faraway look. He will cradle his chin between thumb and forefinger, and his eyes will go into a squint and be diverted from events on stage to some no-man's land somewhere into the clouds.

That is probably when he is battling the all the demons that come with the awesome responsibilities thrust on his young shoulders. In those moments one sees a vulnerable, lonely man, seemingly at a loss where to turn next.

Such are the pressures of office. If Ruto cannot early in his second year begin to solve the intractable economic problems around which the fate of his young presidency lies, then we can expect to see more in his demeanor and mood; and probably actions such as lashing out in anger and despondencies at whatever his identifies as obstacles to realization of his agenda.

gaithomail@gmail.com

■ DIAGEO HAS ACQUIRED AN ADDITIONAL 15PC SHAREHOLDING IN EABL

BEERFEST AND BEER FIGHT

Keroche and EABL strengthen operations as end-year festivities approach in battle for control of multibillion-shilling alcohol market

● BY PETER MBURU

The stage is set for a new round of beer wars as end-year festivities approach with local brewer, Keroche, reviving operations across the country. The biggest player in the market, East African Breweries Limited (EABL), is also making heavy investments at a time its majority shareholder, Diageo, has taken a controlling stake of 65 per cent.

Since the start of the year, Keroche has been making moves to get its feet back following a lengthy period of disruptions that cost the company its entire distribution network, hiring regional sales managers. Most distributors disappeared due to frequent closures of the company's operations in tax disputes with the Kenya Revenue Authority.

On the other hand, EABL has been making huge investments in a show of determination to hold onto the East African market, where Kenya constitutes 64 per cent of the revenues the company largely owned by Diageo. The British parent company has also acquired an extra 15 per cent stake. The actions set the two players ahead for a tough battle as Christmas festivities approach, and in a market that has in the past been a field of chaos, and ruled by dirty methods to sell more volumes and make more money.

Forming the key link between manufacturers and the market, distributors are the backbone of the alcohol industry, and the disappearance of Keroche's left the brewer almost paralysed.

But now, Keroche founder Tabitha Karanja claims that harassment from compromised government officials during the previous regime was the company's biggest problem. "Three major distributors have come back and we have already covered three-quarters of the country," Ms Karanja, also the Nakuru County Senator, says.

Keroche has in the past faced a

myriad of challenges in its attempt to capture at least a fifth of Kenya's beer market, heavily dominated by EABL, and has always blamed the dominant competitor for using unfair trade practices to kick the local brands out of the market.

The most recent battle was over the use of Euro brown beer bottles, where at least six of its distributors took the EABL to court a few years ago, accusing it of frustrating their businesses by limiting their access to the bottles that have a universal shape by embossing its logo on them. In a determination on the case of abuse of dominance and alleged use of restrictive trade practices by EABL and its local subsidiary Kenya Breweries Limited (KBL), the Competition Authority of Kenya (CAK) last year determined that while embossment of the bottles did not amount to abuse of dominance, all beer makers were free to use the bottles.

"That no manufacturer has intellectual property rights in relation to the industrial design of the euro brown bottle and that manufacturers are free to use the euro brown bottle to package their products and/or adapt it to imprint their unique identifier markings. The practice of bottle embossment is not peculiar to Kenya. It has been practiced across a number of jurisdictions," the CAK determined.

While CAK advised the two players to consider having unique bottle shapes to reduce disputes related ownership of the euro brown bottles, both haven't yet, which creates a likelihood that Keroche's recent heavy return to the market could revive the beer wars that have been common in the Kenyan market. "It also advised the parties to have an amicable bottles management policy to ensure that competitors' bottles are sorted and returned," CAK

stated. The war over bottles has been fought in the courts and also in Parliament, before it was finally settled by the CAK.

Ms Karanja, however, says that provided a level playing field in the beer market, the company's products are widely loved, adding that they will now be focusing on neighboring countries.

"For them to succeed, it was the support they got from the former regime. They had government offices and agents supporting them to do that, but since I believe this Kenya Kwanza government will not do that, they cannot even attempt that. It will now be us in the market, in a free and fair competition. By the end of this year, we will be everywhere and thinking of growing to other parts of the continent," Ms Karanja says.

Diageo bought 118.4 million shares at Sh22.7 billion from some minority shareholders. EABL Managing Director Jane Karuku said this is because Diageo views EABL as a 'jewel' that it cannot let go of. This leaves local shareholders in EABL with less than 40 per cent of the stake, meaning much of the profits generated will go back to the foreign investors. "This transaction was the largest single foreign direct investment in the Kenyan stock market in 2023, with Diageo paying a total of Sh22.7 billion to EABL shareholders in the market. The rate at which they (Diageo) are investing in the country does not show that they are going to sell to anyone. The investment is a signature and a signal that we are a jewel to them," Ms Karuku told a senate committee this month. In the year ended June 2023, the EABL recorded a Sh12.3 billion profit, which was a 21 per cent drop from the Sh15.6 billion profit the previous year.

Ms Karuku said EABL has recently made heavy investments in the region in a signal that it plans to stay for longer. While the EABL operates across Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, Kenya constitutes nearly two-thirds of the revenues it gets

across the three countries, though its revenues in the country and particularly beer business have been falling.

With Ms Karanja having been elected on a United Democratic Alliance (UDA) party ticket to Senate—the party that formed government last year—and confident that as one of the insiders on government her business will no longer be harassed by state agents, Keroche comes back flying a fair trading field flag, but knowing all too well that its competitor, the EABL, has deep pockets and networks.

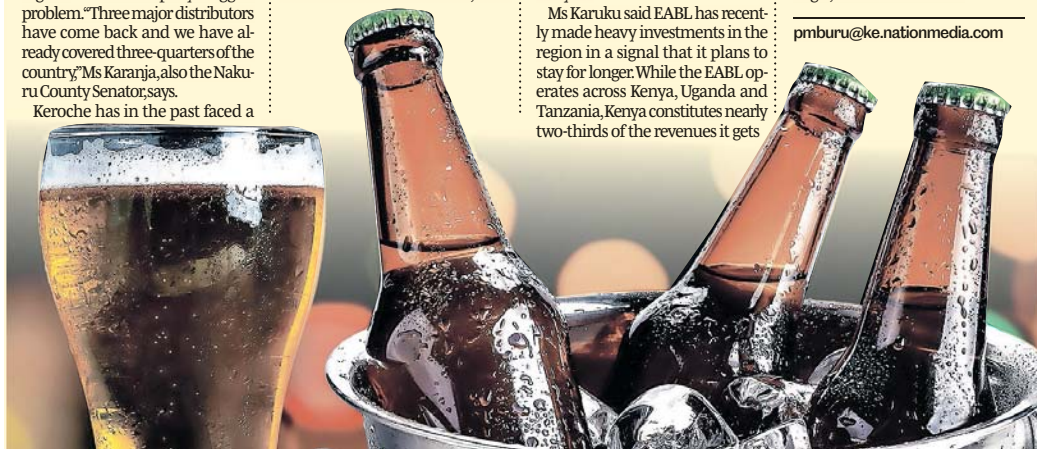
EABL, a company listed at the Nairobi Securities Exchange (NSE) and established in 1922, is East Africa's second largest by market capitalisation, only after Safaricom, while Keroche, established in 1997, is currently Kenya's only locally-owned beer maker.

Keroche's main plant in Naivasha has been shut down at least three times in the last two years over tax disputes with the KRA and last year was the worst period for the company as it was closed for about three months in total, including in February and June.

KRA had at some point also issued agency notices to banks against Keroche, starving the company of the much needed cash to operate.

Beer wars are not a new thing in the Kenyan market, since Diageo also fought heavily with SABMiller, another London-based firm, in the 1990s and in the end EABL had the last laugh after SABMiller, through its subsidiary—Castle Lager—closed its Kenyan operations in 2002. Keroche, on the other hand, launched its 'Summit Beer' in 2008, just a decade after starting operations, with high hopes to capture up to 30 per cent of the market by 2013. Today it produces Summit Lager, Summit Malt beers.

pmburu@ke.nationmedia.com



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■ THE MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS COULD BECOME CASUALTIES OF THE DALLIANCE BETWEEN KENYA AND THE US

CUBA'S ARMY OF WHITE COATS**As Ruto continues to undo some of Uhuru's projects, Nairobi appears to be under pressure to end the bilateral agreement with Havana and send home 100 doctors working in rural counties across the country**

● BY JOHN KAMAU

At the Park of African Heroes in Havana, Cuba, the bust of former President Jomo Kenyatta is one of the attractions. Unveiled in March 2018 by Kenyatta, it marked the solidification of diplomatic relations with the Caribbean island, which uses medical diplomacy to gain political friends. One of the outcomes of Uhuru's mission was a bilateral agreement that saw Cuban doctors sent to Kenya.

But as President William Ruto continues to undo some of his predecessor's projects – and as he continues to appease Washington – the fate of Cuba's 'army of white coats', as the doctors are globally known and who had been hired to offer services in the rural counties, is now in limbo. It is known that the US exerts pressure on countries that hire Cuban medical doctors and views them as victims of "trafficking".

At what point the Cuban doctors will become casualties of the dalliance between Kenya and the US is not clear – though there are various pointers. The National Assembly's Health Committee Chairman, Dr Robert Pukose, has already said that the 100 Cuban doctors, who have been in the country for six years, "have done their job and must now return home". Parliament will soon be asked to vote on the issue – though there is more to it than the presence of doctors.

The arrival of the Cuban doctors coincided with Kenya's campaign to have the Caribbean nations support its bid for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) non-permanent seat from 2021 to 2022.

President Kenyatta had not only opened a new embassy in Havana but had also toured several Caribbean nations and met with the leaders of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States in Barbados. Later, he would open the Caribbean Community (Caricom) embassy in Nairobi as part of his pan-African campaign. Cuba provides medical doctors to several Caricom members as part of bilateral agreements, and they played a critical role during the Covid crisis. They have also resisted pressure from the US.

The presence of the Cuban doctors in Kenya has been opposed by the local labour unions, which say that the government should have employed the jobless doctors first. But the former president had said that the 100 Cuban doctors were specialists in areas like nephrology, cardiology, and neurosurgery and that their mandate included training local specialists to provide standards of care similar to those in Cuba.

Two years ago, some Caribbean nations were under US pressure to stop hiring Cuban doctors. For instance, Barbados Health Minister Jeffrey Bostic told off Washington, which had threatened to target countries benefiting from Cuba's medical missions. Bostic told the lo-

cal press: "Barbados is a sovereign country and we make decisions in the interest of the country...and we are not going to buckle under the pressure of any other nation." That was at the time when Florida Republican Senator Rick Scott had introduced a bill to target countries that hire Cuban doctors through medical missions.

Although the Cut Profits to the Cuban Regime Act, which required the State Department to publish the list of countries that contract doctors through the Cuban government to be listed in the human trafficking list, did not receive the vote – it is believed that it pointed to a future policy direction. Whether Kenya could silently be bowing to pressure is not clear.

Comprehensive medical cover

During the Corona crisis, the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo criticised the South African government for accepting doctors from Cuba. The US argued that Havana was exploiting its medical workers. "Governments accepting Cuban doctors must pay them directly. Otherwise, when they pay the regime, they are helping the Cuban government turn a profit on human trafficking," the US said.

Early this year, the Council of Governors chairperson Anne Waiguru supported sending the doctors back to Cuba, arguing that they were costing millions of shillings. They allegedly signed extravagant contracts paid by national and county governments. The doctors are guaranteed comprehensive medical coverage under the National Health Insurance Fund, security, and air transport for their holidays. The county government pays for their electricity, water, and gas, and furnishes their homes. This is



Then Health Cabinet Secretary Mutahi Kagwe (left) addresses Cuban doctors stationed at the Kenyatta University Teaching Referral and Research Hospital during the launch of the Infectious Diseases Unit and Intensive Care Unit on August 5, 2020. FRANCIS NDERITU | NATION

not provided for local doctors with similar expertise. It has been claimed – and denied – that each Cuban doctor earns a monthly salary of Sh125,000, while the Cuban government receives Sh500,000 for each doctor. In total, the government of Kenya pays at least KSh625,000 per Cuban doctor.

When they arrived, the then-Cabinet Secretary for Health, Sicily Kariuki

said they had been placed in Job Group S, where the top salary is Sh882,180. Ms Kariuki denied that Kenya would spend Sh2 billion on the 100 doctors within the contract period. The Cuban government gets part of this money.

In some countries where Cuban doctors are engaged, critics say they provide the local authorities a window to avoid overhauling the domestic healthcare systems and engage the local workforce. This argument is the same that Kenya Medical Practitioners and Dentists Union members have put forward. Though Cuba, as part of the agreement, was to train 50 Kenyan doctors, the KMPDU Secretary General, Dr Davji Bhimji Atallah, told a Senate Health Committee in March that the deal was a "waste of human resources".

KPMU members had in 2018 tried to block the employment of the Cuban doctors, but their petition was dismissed. Justice Onesmus Makau said it lacked "precision in material particulars" and "sufficient evidence" to prove that recruiting Cuban doctors to work in Kenya discriminated against local doctors.

If President Ruto terminates the Cuba contracts, he will not be the first to do so. In 2018, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro severed the Cuban cooperation agreement and sent away 8,000 doctors hired from Havana.

For the last 60 years, Cuba has engaged in the medical export business and offered solutions to developing and developed nations eager to implement universal healthcare, much to the chagrin of the US. Following the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the Fidel Castro government

trained healthcare professionals and leased them to foreign countries. As a result, health diplomacy earns Cuba more than \$10 billion (Sh147 billion) and is bigger than the country's tourism sector.

Many countries seek to learn from Cuba's best practices and overlook the country's ideology to get medical experts from Havana. At any point, Cuba has more than 50,000 doctors sent to various countries through bilateral agreements. Also, countries facing a shortage of doctors in public hospitals contact Cuba to help, and it is estimated that today, Cuban doctors operate in more than 60 countries. So successful is the Fidel Castro experiment that life expectancy on the island is higher than in the US. With more than 100,000 doctors in practice, Cuba, which has a population of 11 million people, has one of the best doctor-patient ratios in the world – one physician per 110 people. Compare this to Kenya, which has (as of 2021) 13,376 registered medical doctors, resulting in a ratio of one doctor for more than 6,000 people.

Whether President Ruto will overturn and terminate the agreement remains to be seen. What is clear is that developing nations that hire Cuban doctors have to decide on who to please or offend – Havana or Washington. With President Ruto playing ball with the US – after the Chinese coffers dried – there are heavy chances that the Cuban doctors would be the first casualty. But only time will tell.

jkamau@ke.nationmedia.com@johnkamau



Dr Landy Rodriguez, a Cuban doctor, performs a surgery at the Mandera County Referral Hospital on August 7, 2018. MANASE OTSIALO | NATION

Murmurs of disharmony in UDA

Continued from Page 18

nical advisory committee chaired by Muthama tapped legal minds like Duncan Ojwang, Nelson Havi and Fredrick Otieno Nyanguri. These brains worked behind the scenes and drafted the case which challenged the puppet project of Kenyatta and Odinga dubbed the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). National Assembly Speaker Moses Wetang'ula, his Senate counterpart Amason Kingi, and Dr Alfred Mutua (Foreign and Diaspora Affairs Cabinet Secretary), later joined the Kenya Kwanza team.

"Some of the people like Mutua and Kingi came way late when everything had been done and you wonder what their contribution was because there are leaders who sacrificed everything from the beginning. In a meeting chaired by Muthama at his private office in Gigiri, he came up with the idea of challenging BBI and that is how it was defeated," said a source.

President Ruto's focus has been Nyanza, Western, Lower Eastern (Ukambani) and Coastal regions, where he has his fighting the bases of Odinga and Wiper boss Kalonzo Musyoka.

Dr Ruto has placed his hopes on ICT Cabinet Secretary Eliud Owalo and Mwala MP Vincent Musyoka to wrestle Nyanza and Ukambani from Odinga and Musyoka respectively. In Western, UDA Secretary-General Cleophas Malala is the President's chief messenger. During the burial of Mwala MP Musyoka's mother on August 22, Gachagua asked the community to cut ties with Wiper party leader, whom he accused of misleading the nearly two million-strong voting bloc spread across Kitui, Machakos and Makueni counties.

Government positions

"Muthama, who was the chairperson of UDA, joined PSC and could not continue to be the party boss. So we came up with post of Organising Secretary and gave it to Kawaya (Mwala MP). He also sits at the table where the national cake is shared. Ukambani should fully support him," said Gachagua as he endorsed the legislator to take over from the Wiper boss as the region's leader.

Gachagua's endorsement of the Mwala MP has ruffled feathers in the region with most leaders asking why the DP would give the Kamba community direction in regard to their own political kingdom, while himself he is fighting on his own to bring as many leaders as possible in the vote-rich Mount Kenya in his fold.

Kitui Senator Enoch Wambua, told The Weekly Review that Kalonzo's position in Ukambani cannot be ended with government appointments, saying any attempt to dethrone him would fail. "They have never succeeded before; they will not succeed now or in the future. Kalonzo's position in the community is not something that can be taken away by positions given to our people in government. Ka-

lonzo grew from the position and he never campaigned for it," said Wambua. During the 2017 General Election, when Uhuru and Dr Ruto were relying on the Mwala MP, Kitui East's Nimrod Mbai and the then-Machakos Town MP Victor Munyaka, they got a paltry 15 per cent, while Kalonzo, working with Muthama, delivered 85 per cent of the vote to Odinga.

But in 2022, the figures appeared to have improved when Muthama, a former financier of the Wiper leader, joined the Ruto campaign, shooting the vote from 15 per cent in 2017 to 30 per cent. Dr Ruto garnered 250,070 votes compared to 192,646 votes of Jubilee in Ukambani in 2017.

Should Azimio pick Kalonzo as their candidate in 2027, he would sweep the votes in Ukambani. "Kalonzo is positioning himself as the de facto Azimio leader and 2027 presidential candidate. He will face challenges because he has no magnetic appeal outside his traditional base and will need to develop capacity and competence to attract leaders and supporters to his camp. Majority don't see Kalonzo as a credible presidential candidate because he has not displayed the political killer instinct," observes political risk analyst Dismas Mokuja.

Dr Erick Komolo, a political analyst, notes: "Kalonzo must be seen as a team player who is able to unite the Azimio brigade and nothing stops him from doing that. He should also lead the team that constructively criticises the government on issues of public interest." President Ruto's move to groom young leaders in different regions isn't alien in Kenyan politics. President Daniel arap Moi tried to use the likes of William Odongo Omamo, Hezekiah Oyugi and Dalmas Otieno to undermine the Odingas in Nyanza, but the plan did not succeed.

In Ukambani, Moi and Mulu Mutisya backed General Jackson Mulinge to floor Paul Ngei but failed. Prior, Jomo Kenyatta had tried to upstage Ngei in 1963 by rallying behind Henry Muli but the plan also flopped.

When Moi appointed Musalia Mudavadi as the Vice President in an attempt to lure the Luhya community to rally behind Uhuru in 2002, he did not succeed with the community sticking with the opposition, where one of their own, Kijana Wamalwa, was Mwai Kibaki's running mate.

Dr Ruto's elevation of Malala seeks to tame Mudavadi and Wetang'ula. In his recent visit to Western, Senate Majority Whip Bonny Khalwale claimed that the key politicians from the region were sidelined. "There are only three factors in Luhya leadership - Mudavadi, Wetang'ula and Khalwale. You cannot plan anything in Western without the input of these leaders," he said.

Malala has insisted that both Amami National Congress (ANC) associated with Mudavadi and Wetang'ula's Ford-Kenya must fold and join UDA.

jjochieng@ke.nationmedia.com

■ THE LEAD AZIMIO NEGOTIATOR HAS AN EDGE OVER HIS COLLEAGUES

KALONZO'S SECRET PLAN

After playing second fiddle to Raila for too long, the former VP is ready to step out of the opposition leader's shadow to chart his own course

• BY JUSTUS OCHIENG

Wiper leader Kalonzo Musyoka's central role in the bipartisan talks between President William Ruto and opposition leader Raila Odinga places him at the centre of the political course going forward, with his allies seeing it as a stepping ground for a 2027 presidential run.

A former vice president believed to have a say over a solid two million vote bloc, the 69-year-old has shaped an international image having served as a Foreign Affairs minister and maintained key links to foreign leaders and organisations.

Musyoka has backed Odinga since 2013 election and is convinced that it's time he made a second attempt at the top seat after his last debut in 2007.

His elevation as the lead opposition negotiator in the ongoing talks with President Ruto's Kenya Kwanza Alliance now puts him at a vantage point compared to other Azimio la Umoja One Kenya principals, elevating him above Narce-Kenya leader Martha Karua - Odinga's presumed deputy, following her role as running mate in last year's election.

Apart from addressing the challenge on the high cost of living, Musyoka and his coalition are keen on the restructuring and reconstitution of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), establishment and entrenchment of the office of the Leader of the Official Opposition and the office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary.

Musyoka's confidant, Makueni Senator Dan Maanzo, told *The Weekly Review* that they were keen on ensuring that the National Dialogue Committee co-chaired by the Wiper leader and National Assembly Majority Leader Kimani Ichung'wah "expeditiously addresses issues on the table," before they can train their guns on the 2027 election. He disclosed that Odinga's Azimio coalition was "very serious" with Musyoka's 2027 candidature and they expect the entire team to rally behind him.

Even though Odinga has not publicly declared that he would not make another stab at the presidency, Musyoka's camp now sees Karua as the possible impediment to his candidature, owing to the ODM leader's brother Dr Oburu Odinga's recent allusion to Odinga retirement.

Odinga recently stirred the hornet's nest in Nyanza when he appeared to endorse National Assembly Minority Leader Opiyo Wandayi as the best bet to take over Odinga's role as the Luo polit-

ical supremo. According to a Wiper legislator, Karua believes that since she served as Odinga's running mate in the last election, she is the most suitable to carry the coalition's flag in 2027 should Odinga hang his boots.

But Maanzo argues that since Kenya Kwanza is keen on the entrenchment of the office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary in the constitution, it was also good for the opposition in regards to the 2027 horse trading. "We can have Kalonzo as the presidential candidate and still retain Karua as his running mate and possibly make Raila Prime Minister," Maanzo remarked.

Another battle frontier that could pit Musyoka against Karua is, if the dialogue committee approves the establishment of the Office of the Official Opposition Leader and agrees to have a deputy. Musyoka's allies are keen on having him hold the office either as the Opposition Leader should Odinga excuse himself or as his deputy should he agree to take up the position.

This could further strain the Wiper leader's relationship with Karua who, by virtue of serving as Odinga's running mate in the last poll, plays the second fiddle in the opposition ranks. Political analyst, Prof Macharia Munene, of the United States International University (USIU), argues that Musyoka's presence on the negotiations table will have political ramifications. "He is essentially there to try and secure a respectable job for himself and since Raila is not hanging his political boots, Kalonzo has chance to redeem himself politically and not necessarily through Azimio," Prof Munene says.

Senate deputy Minority Leader and Kitui Senator Enoch Wambua however, insists that "Wiper is an integral, solid and firm partner in the (Azimio) coalition."

"Our future plans as a party are clearly spelt out in our Constitution. But if you are asking me about the political direction, then it should please you to note that Wiper is ready to field a Presidential candidate in the next elections and form government in full solidarity with other coalition partners," Wambua told *The Weekly Review*.

Prof Munene argues that Musyoka needs his own outfit, not an Uhuru/Raila creation, adding that the Wiper leader's political fortunes are irrelevant to Ms

Karua whom he says is also keen on running for the top seat in 2027. Karua is however, yet to state her political future, even though she has stitched a political grouping dubbed - Kamwene, consisting of Mt Kenya leaders that says its main concern is to fight for the rights of the people of the region.

But keen to cajole the government side to agree to the implementation of the key dialogue committee agenda, Musyoka last week disclosed that they would now recognise President Ruto as legitimate, even though he later appeared to rescind his statement after Mr Karua insisted that the coalition had not agreed on the matter.

Days later, the Wiper leader however, enjoyed a camaraderie with a section of government officials during a State House banquet organized for the visiting Heads of State and government on the sidelines of the climate summit, setting tongues wagging on what he was up to.

But Machakos Deputy Governor Francis Mwangangi, a member of Musyoka's Wiper party came to his defense, disclosing that the former vice president did not breach any protocol by attending the

state function.

"That was a State function and His Excellency Kalonzo is a diplomat who is very passionate on the climate agenda. He attended the event simply because he approves of the recommendations made at the summit to address the climate change," Mwangangi told *The Weekly Review*.

Wambua insisted that the expectations of Wiper are not different from the expectations of all the Azimio-OKA affiliate parties.

"We hope that the issues that have been frontloaded by our side for discussion will be successful," the Kitui senator said. His Makueni counterpart Maanzo said they expect Musyoka as Azimio presidential candidate come the next election. "He (Musyoka) should be our candidate unless Azimio do not want to send Ruto home," he said.

Maanzo said they were hopeful that the talks will bear fruits and lead to the restructuring of the IEBC to level the playing field in 2027.

He however, warned Deputy President Rigathi Gachagua against what he termed as negative energy to frustrate the dialogue.

"We have seen the President has been positive about the dialogue but it is Rigathi who does not want the talks. We are not interested in their differences in Kenya Kwanza because our team led by our party leader is ready to discuss all the items including that of entrenching the office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary held by Musalia Mudavadi into the constitution," said Maanzo.

Mwangangi said Kenyans want the talks to succeed so that they can have a stable country.

"If we can achieve ending the rampant post-election chaos through the talks, we shall be able to ensure investors and international community's confidence and development of our country," the Machakos deputy governor said.

On Friday, Gachagua trashed the Azimio-Kenya Kwanza talks, terming them a waste of time.

He claimed to have asked Ichung'wah, the co-chair of the dialogue committee to stop wasting his time on the role and instead concentrate on working for his Kikuyu constituency electorates.



jjochieng@ke.nationmedia.com

opinion

The anatomy of Hassan Sheikh's 'Smart Jihad'

PETER
KAGWANJA



On August 5, President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud launched "Operation Black Lion" the second phase of his government's multi-pronged offensive against al-Qaeda-affiliated al-Shabaab militia.

Expected to rid the country of the terrorist group by July next year, the operation – already underway in the eastern regions of Galgumudug – will sweep across the South West state and Jubaland.

Drawing on crucial lessons from the hits and misses in the first phase that began in June 2022, the operation is unfolding as a "Smart Jihad" that expands the "Big tent" approach, deepens networks with local clan militias and elite to build the government's staying power in liberated areas, counter al-Shabaab's resurgence and resilience, confront complex clan dynamics and forge new partnerships with Somalia's neighbouring states ahead of the eventual exit of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia in 2024.

On September 14, I embarked on a 1,668-kilometre journey to Dusa-mareb, the enchanted capital of Galgumudug state in central Somalia.

Since early August, Mohamud has operated from Dhusamareb, symbolically taking command of the battle-front.

In this pristine land, I witnessed first-hand the patriotic feel of the "Smart Jihad" that he has personally commanded from the historic town.

Onboard Somalia's "Freedom Airline" to Mogadishu, I mused over the form of power that would set the country free from terrorism, and who will hold that emancipatory power by 2024.

I re-read John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Anatomy of Power* (1983) to make sense of the main sources of al-Shabaab's criminal power: the trinity of money (mafia-style economy), force (violence) and ideology (pseudo-Islam and media propaganda).

This "unholy trinity" has familiar echoes in Joseph Nye's modern binary of "hard power" (government and the military) and "soft power" of ideology, religion and press.

The begotten son of hard power and soft power is "Smart Power" – which essentially involves the strategic engagement of military force and all forms of diplomacy.

This is the post-Shabaab future of power in Somalia.

In May 2022, when Mohamud was elected president, he held a grand vision of Somalia's happy, united, free and prosperous future with a revised democratic constitution and guided by Somalia Vision 2060, a centenary vision to underpin post-war recovery and development over the next 37 years.

But from nuggets of Somalia's age-old wisdom, he found and embraced the country's topmost priority: stability. When a man coming from the warfront with two arrows lodged in his body – one in his eye, the other in

his backside – was asked which arrow should be removed first, his answer was apt: "the one in the rear so that I can sit."

Somalia, too, needs to sit – and al-Shabaab must be removed first.

But removing Africa's most resilient and destabilising force linked to 2,553 violent events and 6,225 fatalities by 2022 is no mean feat.

Al-Shabaab is a Janus-faced enemy that blends guerrilla tactics and mafia-like terrorism.

It draws its criminal power from \$100-300 million revenue extorted from 16 of Somalia's 18 regions that funds 5,000 to 10,000 fighters and a network of operatives – nearly a third of the Kenya Defence Forces personnel estimated at 29,000 in 2019!

HSM, as President Mohamud is fondly known by his people, is a manifestly complex web in partnerships to defeat the insurgency, guided by three pillars: military, economic and ideology.

On the military front, he made deals with local clan militias, called Ma'awhisley to fight alongside federal soldiers, providing better knowledge on the ground and preventing sympathetic locals from helping the militants.

Recently, Mohamud has widened the partnership to draw in religious leaders, Members of Parliament, senators, business and political elite to support local militias and establish nascent administrative units to hold liberated areas, address grievances,

establish justice systems and create sources of livelihoods for young people, thus preventing the return of al-Shabaab.

Ahead of Operation Black Lion, Mohamud reformed the army's command to ensure effectiveness.

The African Union Mission in Somalia and the country's international partners are giving support to this architecture.

He has taken bold steps to rallying the nation behind the war. In August, the president hosted federal state leaders in a National Consultative Council, which collectively agreed to energise the preparation of the federal government and member states towards the liberation of Jubaland, South West and the swathes of territory down River Shebelle.

The first phase of the operations, which began in June, covered Middle Shabelle and Hiiraan in HirShabelle state and Galgudud and Mudug in Galmudug state and liberated more than 215 towns from the militia.

But certainly, the biggest task is holding ground and asserting state control in liberated areas.

Al-Shabaab's recapture of the strategic Ruun-Nirgood and Hilowle Gaab districts from the Somali National Army (SNA) and Ma'awhisley militia, who reportedly withdrew without putting up a fight, has been a wake-up call to Mohamud and his administration.

The government has to ensure local clans do not sign peace deals with the

militia to ensure their own safety.

Second, the war is also economic. A guerrilla is like fish in water. The swamps of al-Shabaab's revenue from taxes, tolls and extortions must be drained.

Third, the war is ideological too. This entails rallying religious leaders and scholars behind it.

However, the missing link is Galbraith's fourth pillar of power: a robust press or publicity.

Al-Shabaab has proved very adept at propaganda war. It runs 17,000 social media accounts and posts more than 6,000 items every day or 180,000 posts per month. In military terms, this propaganda blitz amounts to a scorched-earth policy!

President Mohamud travelled to Dhusamareb – the capital of Galmudug – on August 5, where he unveiled Operation Black Lion, setting July 2024 as the final date to rid the country of al-Shabaab.

The offensive has started in the eastern part of Galgudud and the west of Hiiraan, including River Shabelle, as the government prepares to move further to the South West and Jubaland states, two important but tough battlefronts. Clan-based power-sharing disputes and supremacy tussles in Jubaland can potentially undermine the military operation.

Here, the federal government is already facing headwinds of clan supremacy wars after attempts to recruit Marehan militias in Gedo region.

The government of President Ahmed Mohamed Islam "Madobe" in Kismayu is wary that this might challenge the power of his Ogaden clan, now in power. However, Somalia must be more important than all its clans.

Prof Kagwanja is Chief Executive at the Africa Institute and Adjunct Scholar at the University of Nairobi and the National Defence University-Kenya.

UK denounces increasing espionage activity by China's agents

The daring escape of a terror suspect and his recapture after a four-day manhunt fascinated this country last week. More importantly, his exploits drew attention to increasing reports of spying activities against Britain on behalf of foreign nations.

Daniel Abed Khalife, 21, was being held in Wandsworth prison, London, pending trial in November on charges of seeking to spy for an enemy state, understood to be Iran.

He escaped by clinging to the underside of a food delivery truck, but was eventually arrested on a canal towpath 14 miles away, when he was hauled off a bicycle by a plain-clothed policeman. Khalife was born in London to Joseph Khalife, who has Lebanese ancestry, and Maria Khalife, whose family hails from Iran. The couple split up when Khalife was young.

The day before Khalife's arrest, a cyber security specialist, Professor Kevin Curran, warned that hacking attacks by the UK's enemies were becoming "relentless." His alert came after the Russia-connected hackers, LockBit, acquired secret information about British military sites, including the Clyde nuclear submarine base and Porton Down chemical weapons



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establishment. The attacks targeted a private security firm, Zaun, and led to thousands of pages of data being leaked onto the dark web.

Prof Curran said time was running out for the government to tighten security measures "as we enter a new era of global conflict." But the main concern of the security authorities is China. Police confirmed last week that two men had been arrested under the Official Secrets Act, one of whom was a parliamentary researcher suspected of spying for Beijing.

The Sunday Times reported that the researcher was in his 20s and had links to several MPs of the ruling Conservative party. He and a man in his 30s were arrested last March and released on police bail until a date in early October.

MP Tim Loughton said, "This is further evidence of how the tentacles of the Chinese Communist Party reach

into British institutions, and a fellow Conservative MP, Iain Duncan Smith, said, "It is time for us to recognise the deepening threat that the CCP poses under President Xi Jinping."

The government recently ordered its civil servants to stop installing surveillance cameras made by Chinese companies. This was in response to concerns raised by an intelligence officer, who warned that "almost every aspect of our lives is now under surveillance, using advanced systems designed by companies under control of other governments." Prime Minister Rishi Sunak expressed concerns about Chinese actions at the recent G20 summit in India. He "conveyed his significant concerns about Chinese interference in the UK's parliamentary democracy," a spokesperson said.

Attention is now sharpening on Britain's relationship with China,

with growing concern about Chinese espionage and interference in Parliament. MPs are asking whether more action should have been taken earlier to mitigate risks. A report last July by Parliament's Intelligence Committee warned that "China's size, ambition and capability have enabled it successfully to penetrate every sector of the UK's economy." It said the government had been slow to come to terms with the security risks from Beijing.

Other countries, notably Canada and Australia, have accused China of espionage and/or political interference.

People in chilly Northern Europe are hard workers while those who live around the sunny Mediterranean are laid back and easy-going. Right?

Not according to new research on work-life attitudes. The World Values Survey showed that 73 per cent of people in the UK say work is "very or rather important in their life." This was the lowest figure of 24 countries.

By contrast, the importance of work in Italy and Spain was rated at 96 per cent and by the French at 94 per cent. Non-European nations such as Indonesia and the Philippines scored 99 per cent.

Professor Bobby Duffy, director of

the Policy Institute at King's College, London, said the findings suggested "a steady drift in the UK towards a greater focus on getting the work-life balance right."

As for working life...
The head of a school of agriculture asked a prospective student why he had chosen this particular career. Student: "I dream of making a million from farming, like my father." Impressed, the head said, "Your father made a million from farming?" "No," said the student, "but he always dreamed of it."

A union leader triumphantly announced to the workers an agreement he had hammered out with the employers. "Your wages will increase by sixty per cent, everybody gets a company car and you will only have to work on Wednesdays." "What?" came a cry from the back. "Every Wednesday?"

An employee went to his boss and said, "Is there any chance I could have tomorrow off? My wife wants me to clear out the attic and fix the gutter." "I'm sorry," said the boss, "we're too busy to let you go." "Thanks, boss," said the worker, "I knew I could count on you."

Gerryo69@hotmail.com

people, power and politics

■ The Cradle of Africa's anti-colonial ideology and seminal source of Africa's intellectualism

The Mungai and Waiyaki Fort Hare university links that shaped the Kenyan policy towards apartheid

After the death of South African politician Mangosuthu Buthelezi, somebody asked me about his connection with some Kenyan leaders and why Kenyans were seeking higher education at South Africa's Fort Hare University. One doesn't have to look deeper. In his biography by Ben Temkin, Buthelezi says he shared a rondavel with Kenya's Dr Njoroge Mungai and Dr Munyua Waiyaki – who later became Cabinet ministers in Kenyatta and Moi regimes. But there is more to it. Fort Hare shaped Africa's nationalism to an extent.

Out of the experiences that Dr Mungai and Dr Waiyaki had in South Africa, they managed to shape Kenya's position towards the apartheid regime when they were Foreign ministers. They always quoted their firsthand experiences. Once upon a time, while interviewing Dr Waiyaki, he retrieved some Fort Hare pictures and told me that Charles Njonjo used to spot communist beads. I later sat with Njonjo and asked him about his communist ideals, and he quipped: "We were students and everybody was a communist then."

Interestingly, they all followed different ideological paths. But the most interesting is that Dr Waiyaki and Dr Mungai – out of their South African experience – became some of the most vocal critics of apartheid. As Foreign ministers, Dr Mungai and Dr Waiyaki occasionally had meetings with Buthelezi and supported his refusal to turn Zululand into a Bantustan state – some pseudo-self-governing entities created by the apartheid regime to keep Black South Africans from demanding South African citizenship. Buthelezi had then established the Inkatha Freedom Party as one of the largest formations in South Africa. Fort Hare's place in molding a generation of African leaders is now part of history. Founded in 1916 to train indigenous Africans and looked down on by other scholarship sites, it shaped the ideology of African leaders.

While marking the institution's centenary in 2016, Zimbabwe's President, the late Robert Mugabe, described Fort Hare as "the Cradle of Africa's anti-colonial ideology and seminal source of Africa's intellectualism".

"It was here that I discovered my African identity," said Mugabe, a former alumnus.

This university produced Presidents Nelson Mandela, Sir Seretse Khama, Julius Nyerere, Yusuf Lule, and Kenneth Kaunda and party leaders such as Oliver Tambo, the revered leader of the African National Congress, and Robert Sobukwe of Pan Africanist Congress. Other leaders included Zimbabwe's Joshua Nkomo – who would later use Fort Hare graduates to organise Zimbabwe's liberation movement. Among the recruits was Robert Mugabe.

It was not by chance that Fort Hare became attractive to Kenyan students.

In 1936, when the colonial secretary W. Ormsby Gore (later Lord Harlech) appointed a commission on the workings of Makerere College, a delegation from Fort Hare – on its way to Makerere – passed by Alliance High School. The delegates consisted of Fort Hare's first principal, Alexander Kerr, and Zachariah



JOHN KAMAU

K. Mathews, a pioneer black academic in South Africa. During this time, they met George Grieve, the Alliance High School principal, who had asked them to spend a few days at the school. "Before our visit to Kikuyu two Kenyan students studying for the Presbyterian ministry had spent two years in the divinity course at Fort Hare, and we were pleased to renew our friendship with them. Afterwards we learned that they had proved worthy pastors, though one, to our sorrow, died early," Kerr later wrote in his autobiography.

Fort Hare had some Presbyterian links, and those students who wanted to avoid following the colonial oriented education at Makerere opted for Fort Hare. Fort Hare had its origins in liberal missionary education, and historians consider it as the "shibboleth of modern African nationalism." It was one of the early incubation centers of an African elite that was also internationalist.

However, not all students at Fort Hare emerged as critics of South Africa's apartheid regime. Take Charles Njonjo – later Kenya's attorney general – as an example. It is well known that Njonjo fell in love with South Africa, and despite the apartheid system, he used to believe that the best approach was to improve diplomatic relations. In 1973, while touring South Africa, Njonjo had told an Afrikaans newspaper, Rapport, that there was nothing to hinder South African tourists from visiting Kenya.

Njonjo had many friends in South Africa and counted Fort Hare-trained Transkei's head of state, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, as his friend. Njonjo and Matanzima shared the same political thoughts. Fort Hare treats Njonjo as one of its most prominent alumni. Njonjo went to Fort Hare in 1943 and graduated in 1945. The records in Fort Hare indicate that he had enrolled for an MA, but he transferred to the University

of Exeter.

It seems that Njonjo maintained close links with Fort Hare and would later be close to his former teacher Monica Wilson who taught Fort Hare between 1944 and 1946 when she left for Rhodes University. Monica, while writing Z.K. Mathews' biography stayed in Njonjo's Muthaiga house as she interviewed the Fort Hare alumni from Kenya. Njonjo facilitated the issuance of her visa since South African passport holders were not allowed into Kenya. Another of his contact was the vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Sir Richard Luyt, who would occasionally visit Njonjo's Muthaiga home. In Njonjo's thinking: "The Whites in South Africa are just as native to South Africa as the Blacks. The Whites of South Africa know no other home." This statement would later be politically suicidal when he faced a Judicial Commission of Inquiry in 1984 that investigated his linkages with apartheid South Africa.

Another Kenyan politician from Fort Hare was Masinde Muliro and he left a mark in national politics. On South Africa, Muliro was the opposite of Njonjo. In 1965, he told the Kenyan Parliament in what looked like a snide at Njonjo: "I was educated in Fort Hare University of South Africa. They taught the philosophy of apartheid there. I never became part of this. I do not discriminate, simply because I was in South Africa, but if I believed in the philosophy of the South African, then I would never have taken the immediate step, on arrival, to join Kenya politics in order to fight for the liberation of my own country. The philosophy there is the humiliation of the black man, but it never humiliated me..."

The same Muliro thoughts could be seen in Dr Mungai, who graduated from Fort Hare in 1950 with a BSC degree before proceeding on a scholarship to Stanford in the US.

An exciting story on Mungai is that

before he left for Fort Hare, he was driving his father's bus, named Guthera, which was plying between Limuru and Nairobi.

Upon returning to Kenya, Dr Mungai would join hands with his Fort Hare colleague Dr. Waiyaki, a medical doctor, in pressuring the colonial government to allow African doctors to verify Jomo Kenyatta's state of health while he was under restriction. That is how a delegation consisting of Dr. Mungai, Dr. Waiyaki, Dr. Jason Likimani, and Dr. James Nesbitt went to see Kenyatta in Maralal.

Interestingly, though they were schoolmates, Njonjo and Mungai would fall out later. Mungai hated the apartheid South Africa, while Njonjo had conservative views. In independent Kenya, Mungai and Waiyaki would become the Kenyatta government's two most radical anti-apartheid voices. As historian Charles Hornsby noted, Mungai, "despite British wooing, criticised Western links to South Africa in a way that embarrassed the UK on several occasions."

When Dr Mungai was asked in 1971 whether Kenya would enter into dialogue with South Africa, he said, "if there is to be dialogue the issue of apartheid should be the main subject of discussion... If South Africa is serious about a dialogue with African states, it should enter into one first with its own Black people there whom it has oppressed and treated as sub-human beings over the years." Wealthy colonial chief Mwendwa Kitavi also took his son, Kyalé Mwendwa, to study in Fort Hare. He was part of the set of students from Machakos who arrived in 1948. They included Henry Muli, who graduated with a Bachelor of Science – and later became Kenya's ambassador to China – and Fred Mati, who read for a BA starting in 1948 and was Speaker of the National Assembly for many years.

In all these, the Presbyterian church played a significant role in sending students to Fort Hare. For instance, the Akamba Union and the church partly sponsored Henry Muli and Fred Mati. More so, Alliance High School had strong networks with Fort Hare, which belonged to the same network – the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. That explains why Alliance High School students would also find space in Scottish colleges such as New Battle Abbey College, Robert Gordon in Aberdeen, and St Andrews. They could also be enrolled in India's Erwings Christian College. For instance, Julius Gecau, later the executive chairman of East African Power and Lighting, refused to join Makerere and did odd business – selling illegal brew – in Nairobi to pay for his passport. He finally registered at Erwings Christian College in Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh), India, to prepare for his university matriculation.

If Buthelezi was a hothead in South Africa, he picked those habits in Fort Hare which was a breeding ground of African nationalism. Had Dr Waiyaki and Dr Mungai not been in Kenyatta's Cabinet, perhaps Njonjo would have steered Kenya's policy towards apartheid differently.

jkamau@ke.nationmedia.com
Twitter: @johnkamau

OBIT

Buthelezi: Warlord who became an African strongman

• BY CHRIS ERASMUS

When Zulu Prince Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi passed away last Saturday, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa described him as an "outstanding leader in the political and cultural life of our nation". Buthelezi, or Prince Buthelezi as he was known, is one of the most enigmatic characters to have wielded both traditional and modern political power in Africa. His death may have been at a ripe old age. His life? Two sides of a coin. In his time, he was a should-to-shoulder fighter with the likes of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, through the 1950s Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC). That was when the "young lions" of anti-apartheid movement turned to armed struggle. Yet he later became a hate-figure for the ANC, accused of collaboration with the apartheid regime and its system of racial oppression. Born in rural Zululand, now KwaZulu-Natal Province, on August 27, 1928, Buthelezi had only recently celebrated his 95th birthday. He had been active in politics, both in political party terms and traditional leadership, all his adult life, though frequently incurring controversy for his fiercely independent viewpoint. During the final stages of the apartheid era, Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party came into open conflict with the ANC. It represented the mainly older, conservative, and rural traditional elements among the Zulus, the largest ethno-linguistic grouping in South Africa at the time. While the ANC was whipping up international support for sanctions and disinvestment to help end apartheid, Buthelezi argued these were, "worse for black South Africans than apartheid itself", citing negative impacts on the economy, jobs and quality of life.

As the Chief Minister of an apartheid-era "black homeland", then called KwaZulu, Buthelezi was painted in some quarters as an "apartheid stooge", though he vehemently rejected that, insisting that he merely had a different perspective to the ANC and its allies. But these political differences led to outright conflict, with an estimated 12,000 deaths due to fighting between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC which escalated through the late 1980s and into the mid-1990s. In his later years, Buthelezi's demeanor softened and he became more peacemaker than a warlord.



Andrew Anini Chief Graphic Designer
Joan Pereruan Visual & Syndication Editor
Benjamin Situma Graphic Designer