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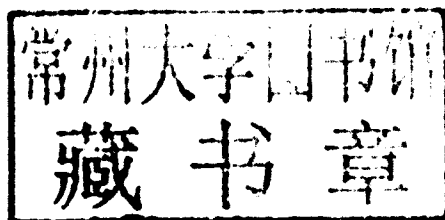
A History Since Independence

CHARLES HORNSBY

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The views expressed in this book are entirely the author's and should not be considered in any way the views of his employer. No information gained in the course of the author's duties has been used in this work.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

4Cs	Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change
ACK	Anglican Church of Kenya
ADB	African Development Bank
ADC	Agricultural Development Corporation
AEMO	African Elected Members Organisation
AFC	Agricultural Finance Corporation
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AIC	African Inland Church
AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ALCS	African Liaison and Consulting Services
APP	African People's Party
BAT	British-American Tobacco
BHC	British High Commission
CBK	Central Bank of Kenya
CCK	Communications Commission of Kenya
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CJPC	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
CKRC	Constitution of Kenya Review Commission
CLARION	Centre for Legal Aid and Research International
CMC	Cooper Motor Corporation
CNU	Coalition of National Unity
CO	Colonial Office
COGS	Chief of General Staff
COMESA	Common Market for East and Central Africa
COTU	Central Organisation of Trade Unions
CPK	Church of the Province of Kenya
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DC	district commissioner
DDDg	Donors for Development and Democracy Group
DFCK	Development Finance Company of Kenya
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development
DP	Democratic Party
DPF	Deposit Protection Fund

EAA	East African Airways
EAC	East African Community
EACSO	East Africa Common Services Organisation
EAD	East Africa Department, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
EAI	East African Industries
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
EAP&L	East African Power and Lighting Company
EAP&T	East Africa Posts and Telecommunications
EAR	East African Railways
EAR&H	East African Railways and Harbours
EATEC	East Africa Tanning and Extract Company
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EEC	European Economic Community
EPZ	export processing zone
ESAF	enhanced structural adjustment facility
EU	European Union
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London
FERA	February 18th Revolutionary Army
FGM	female genital mutilation (also female circumcision or clitoridectomy)
FKE	Federation of Kenya Employers
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
FORD-Asili	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili
FORD-Kenya	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya
FORD-People	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-People
Forex-C	Foreign exchange bearer certificate
GB£	British pounds
GDP	gross domestic product
GEMA	Gikuyu Embu and Meru Association
Gema	Gikuyu, Embu and Meru ethnic groups
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPT	graduated personal tax
GSU	General Service Unit
HELB	Higher Education Loans Board
HFCK	Housing Finance Company of Kenya
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
<i>HoROR</i>	<i>House of Representatives Official Report</i>
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICDC	Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICI	Imperial Chemical Industries

IDB	Industrial Development Bank
IED	Institute for Education in Democracy
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IFI	international financial institutions (World Bank, IMF)
IIEC	Interim Independent Electoral Commission
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPK	Islamic Party of Kenya
IPP	independent power producer
IPPG	Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group
IREC	Independent Review Commission
IRI	International Republican Institute
ISP	Internet service provider
K£	Kenyan pounds (20 shillings)
KACA	Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority
KACC	Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KAF	Kenya Air Force
Kamatusa	<i>Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu ethnic groups</i>
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAR	King's African Rifles
KASA	Kenya African Socialist Alliance
KAU	Kenya African Union
KAWC	Kenya African Workers Congress
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KBL	Kenya Breweries Limited
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KCB	Kenya Commercial Bank
KCC	Kenya Cooperative Creameries
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KCSOP	Kenya Civil Society Observation Programme
K-DOP	Kenya Domestic Observation Programme
KEDOF	Kenya Elections Domestic Observation Forum
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
KFA	Kenya Farmers Association
KFL	Kenya Federation of Labour
KFRTU	Kenya Federation of Registered Trades Unions
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Biezopasnosti (USSR)
KGGCU	Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KIE	Kenya Industrial Estates
KLFA	Kenya Land and Freedom Army (also LFA)
KLGWU	Kenya Local Government Workers Union
KMC	Kenya Meat Commission

KNA	Kenya News Agency
KNAC	Kenya National Assurance Company
KNC	Kenya National Congress
KNFU	Kenya National Farmers Union
KNP	Kenya National Party
KNTC	Kenya National Trading Corporation
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
KPA	Kenya Ports Authority
KPC	Kenya People's Coalition
KPCU	Kenya Planters Co-Operative Union
KPF	Kenya Patriotic Front
KPLC	Kenya Power and Lighting Company
KPTC	Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation
KPU	Kenya People's Union
KR	Kenya Railways
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
KSC	Kenya Social Congress
Ksh.	Kenya shilling
KTDA	Kenya Tea Development Authority
KTDC	Kenya Tourist Development Corporation
KTN	Kenya Television Network
KVDA	Kerio Valley Development Authority
KWAL	Kenya Wine Agencies Limited
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LNC	Local Native Council
LSK	Law Society of Kenya
MI5/6	Military Intelligence Section 5/6 (UK)
MoU	memorandum of understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NAC	National Alliance for Change
NAK	National Alliance (Party) of Kenya
<i>NAOR</i>	<i>National Assembly Official Report</i>
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NARC-Kenya	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition-Kenya
NAU	New Akamba Union
NBK	National Bank of Kenya
NCA	National Convention Assembly
NCC	National Construction Corporation
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCEC	National Convention Executive Council
NCPB	National Cereals and Produce Board
NCWK	National Council for Women of Kenya
NDC	National Disciplinary Committee

NDI	National Democratic Institute
NDP	National Democratic Party
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEMU	National Election Monitoring Unit
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NHC	National Housing Corporation
NHIF	National Hospital Insurance Fund
NIB	National Irrigation Board
NKP	New Kenya Party
NOCK	National Oil Corporation of Kenya
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPCP	Nairobi People's Convention Party
NPK	National Party of Kenya
NSE	Nairobi Stock Exchange
NSIS	National Security Intelligence Service
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
NYS	National Youth Service
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
ODM-Kenya	Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OP	Office of the President
PAC	Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly
PC	provincial commissioner
PCEA	Presbyterian Church of East Africa
PICK	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PNU	Party of National Unity
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PSC	Parliamentary Select Committee
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
RAF	Royal Air Force (UK)
SAOR	The Senate Official Report
SAP	structural adjustment programme
SAS	Special Air Service (UK)
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SDR	Special Drawing Right
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
Supkem	Supreme Council of Kenya Moslems
TI	Transparency International
TLB	Transport Licensing Board
TRDC	Tana River Development Company
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission
TV	television

UDI	unilateral declaration of independence
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UK	United Kingdom (also Great Britain)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US(A)	United States of America
USAID	US Agency for International Development
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VAT	value-added tax
VoK	Voice of Kenya
WTO	World Trade Organization
YK'92	Youth for KANU '92

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

This book is a history of the state of Kenya since its independence in December 1963. 'Kenya' was a colonial invention, and its history has been dominated by the disruptive changes that followed the British conquest at the turn of the twentieth century. However, while many histories of colonial rule and particularly of the Mau Mau conflict of the 1950s have been written, there are few histories of independent Kenya. There have been many edited collections of papers and many scholarly works on Kenya's economy, but most have focused on the colonial era or on specific post-independence topics. British rule lasted 60 years; Kenya has been a sovereign state for 47. Kenya should be assessed not only as a colonial invention, but also for the successes and failures of its own making. This book tries to do this. It is a history of one country, not a comparative history of Africa. It seeks to explain what has happened in Kenya since independence and to align academic understandings of post-colonial development with the experiences and perceptions of Kenyans about their country. Others will compare this story with that of other states, and I hope, use it to understand Africa better.

Kenya's history has not been one of war, military rule, mass murder or state collapse; neither has it been one of improving living standards, industrialisation, growing national pride and the establishment of a key role in the world economy. It has been rather a story of endurance: of political and economic structures inherited from colonial days, of unfulfilled promise and weighty historical baggage. It is a story that blends both politics and economics, a struggle to create and consume resources that involved Western powers and Kenyans in a complex web of relationships; a tale of growth stunted by political considerations, of corruption and of money.

It is also a story about people, about a few powerful individuals whose choices have so influenced Kenya's future. Few of them come out of the story entirely unblemished, though many made great sacrifices in the struggle for what they believed right. Hindsight is a wonderful thing and retrospective assessments of people's choices seldom take account of the circumstances and perceptions of their world at that time. To lead requires difficult choices and compromises, and the role of a politician in a less-developed society (in which nothing is easy and nothing is safe) is a challenging one. However, the rewards of success are great.

This is also a tale of people as communities and their collective behaviour, in which ethnicity plays a strong role – a topic that often evokes strong responses. Kenyan politics cannot be understood without understanding Kenyan ethnicity. It is not, however (and never was) a primordial constant, but an arena for conflict, based