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G. G. Kariuki : A historical Potrait of a Kenyan Politician

Njoroge, Ruth

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Godfrey Gitahi Kariuki, popularly known as G.G., is one of the longest serving political leaders in Kenya’s post-independence history. This is a volume of a peasant boy who contributed to Kenya’s struggle for independence. G.G. Kariuki entered politics since 1959 to date. He has risen in the political arena and equally fell. He is credited for diverse development of various projects in Laikipia District, such as water, electricity, roads, Market stall. One of the major achievements was the provision of Land. G.G. Kariuki has recently disclosed that MKenya Solidarity Movement will field a presidential candidate in the 2012 general elections. He added that if nominated by the party members, he was willing to vie for the top most seat saying he had what it takes to be the next president. However, the party, Mkenya Solidarity, still remains unknown to the Kenyan masses. His, is the history of a colonial heritage, compulsion to rebel, interpretation of reality, treachery and disillusionment.

Ruth Njoroge
Peter Waweru
Tom Nyamache

G.G. Kariuki: A Historical Potrait of A Kenyan Politician
Disillusion

Ruth Nyambura obtained her Masters degree in History in 2011. She is a full time lecturer Mount Kenya University and part time lecturer in various public universities. She is an author of several articles published in reputable journals on African Culture. She is a member of the Editorial Board of MKU, Journal of Education and Social Sciences.
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PREFACE

Godfrey Gitahi Kariuki, popularly known as G.G., is one of the longest serving political leaders in Kenya’s post-independence history. Yet, like many of his political contemporaries, his contribution to the historiography of Kenya has been overshadowed by the history of leaders whose careers were defined in Kenya’s colonial experience such as Makhan Singh, Jomo Kenyatta, Jaramogi Odinga Oginga, Thomas Mboya, Bildad Kaggia, among others. His life, political achievements, limitations as well as contributions on the local and national front have not been analysed and documented. This book analyses the life history of G.G. Kariuki and how he contributed to Kenya’s struggle for independence. It also investigated the role he played in resolving land conflicts and the resettlement of squatters, particularly in Laikipia, as well as highlighting his rise and fall on the national political arena. Although, different stories have been told about him in different ways, like in his own autobiography: *Illusion of Power, Fifty Years in Kenya Politics*. This book through a thorough investigation, found it worthwhile to offer, a critical examination, an alternative perspective of his life story as a long term political operative.

February 2012

Ruth Nyambura  
Research Scholar,  
Egerton University, Kenya
DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to my parents Mr. John Njoroge and Mrs. Margaret Njeri.
G.G. Kariuki’s Roots
Kariuki wa Waigwa (father to G.G. Kariuki) was born in Gathaithi location, Aguthi Divison, Nyeri District in Central province. He belonged to the Aitherandu clan and the Jaramba age set.

He was the first born of the family. As a young man he worked in Nairobi as a rickshaw driver at the present Norfolk hotel. Kariuki later moved to the Rift Valley and got a job as a labourer in Solai. While working there he married his first wife Wangui wa Wang’ombe who bore him a son, Waigwa. From Solai, Kariuki later moved to Lariak Estate in Laikipia district. The estate belonged to settler Gilbert Colville who arrived to live at the estate in the 1920s. In many ways, Colville incarnated the expansionist spirit of pioneering European settlerdom. In settler politics he played some part as an associate of Lord Delamere. Colville was a beef baron, nicknamed Nyasore (the lean one) by the Masai, whose land holding in the district was 160,000 acres and stocked thousands of zebu cattle.  

Colville was also a game warden who, in 1928, took up to shooting elephants in Marmanet area to keep them from invading maize farms. He was also “a great hunter …of lions and kept a pack of mongrel dogs who bayed the quarry until Colville came up and shot it….he destroyed over 250 lions this way.”

Kariuki worked in the estate as a foreman. Basically he allocated duties and supervised other labourers in Lariak Estate. As G.G. Kariuki indicates in the Illusion of Power he retired after thirty five years of service. While at the estate, he married his second wife, Wangui wa Ngumo, who bore eleven children. The living siblings are: Waigwa, Wacuka, Gathii, Gitahi (G.G. Kariuki), Nyambura, Maina, Munyiri and Mumbi. Njeri, Thomi and Nyakaria are deceased. His third wife, Wairimu wa Chiuri, has eight children. Kariuki died in 1984, at the age of 108 due to heart failure and old age. His second wife Wangui wa Ngumo(mother to G.G. Kariuki) died in

2007 due to old age at the age of 104. Kariuki was a loved man in the village, helping his fellow men in their day to day activities in times of sorrow and happiness. His wife, Wangui wa Ngumo is remembered by his son, Waigwa, as having been a loving mother, neighbourly and ready to extend her help when need arose. Waigwa reckons that this could have been a character adopted by his younger brother G.G. Kariuki.5

G.G. Kariuki, the fourth born, of the eleven children was born in December 1937. The year is remembered for two things: African advances were notable, in 1937 the Kenya Missionary Council included for the first time three African Church leaders among its members. All went well with the birth while the father was in the fields tilling the land and awaiting the news of the birth. Kariuki’s prestige was increasingly growing; at a time when his first-born son Waigwa was being circumcised, another son born was joining his line of heirs. The infant was named Gitahi, a name reserved for a warrior who rustled cattle from Maasai land and brought them to Kikuyu land. His was also given the name Ngumo, a traditional clan name passed onto him from his grandfather (his mother’s father) who was a wise and famous elder from Gathaithi location.  

G.G. Kariuki went through catechism classes in an Independent Church in Lariak Estate. It was the only African church, then, in Lariak Estate.6 Even though, he was not baptized, he was also given the name.7 From an early age he was known as Godfrey Gitahi or simply as Ngumo. Later, when he entered into politics, he came to be widely known as just ‘G.G.’-a nickname so familiar, brief and musical to pronounce often.

**Early Childhood**

G.G. Kariuki’s early childhood was spent on the estate, playing mainly with other squatter children. It was an area of dry vegetation and dust. G.G. Kariuki picked up the traditions of his people, details of his family background and the names of his ancestors, most important the legends of Gikuyu and Mumbi, father and mother of the Kikuyu tribe.8 An ordinary Kikuyu boy,

---

he spent his childhood herding the family stock. He was left to herd his father’s stock, while the father and elder brother were in the field tilling land. Herding was the role he hated most:

He felt it signified poverty because he wore no shoes under the scorching sun and dirt. He wanted to be in school and learn skills that could enable him get a job in a big office, earn a lot of money and possess property. He spent most of the time singing songs that depicted him as a wealthy and famous man in the society.

At the age of five G.G. Kariuki started attending a Kikuyu Independent School known as Lariak Primary School in Lariak Estate. The curriculum laid great emphasis on practical work; and those who progressed a little taught those who were just beginning. Under normal circumstances, the squatters hired the services of African teachers, who were either educated but without jobs or whose educational achievements mostly amounted to less than five years of formal education. The pupils were given only a bare introduction to the three Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). G.G. Kariuki was a day scholar throughout his school days. He would wake up at three in the morning; take a cold shower, put on his khaki shirt, shorts and no shoes and walk about four kilometres to and from school every day. He was a hardworking at school. At school, his classmates noted his keenness to schoolwork and obedience as key traits. Two of them stated: “He was a small boy, but we saw a bright future in him. He was clean, brilliant but very reserved; he answered most of the questions in class and hence, teachers loved him.” He went to sub A, B and standard one (standard 1-3 in the current education system). As a bright student he skipped class four and preceded to classes five, six and seven. While at school, he played football, volleyball and was involved in other sporting activities. He was always true to his friends and straightforward in his actions. G.G. Kariuki sat his Kenya African Preliminary Examinations in 1949. The results, whose transcript is preserved to date, are as follows (scores out of a hundred percent):

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9 L.S.B. Leakey. *Southern Kikuyu before 1903* p. 89.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature Study and Hygiene</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Records of Activities</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Carpentry</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these scores it is evident that G.G. Kariuki was a potential farmer and sanitary inspector; an average mathematician, carpenter and linguist. The subjects listed above are indicative of the kind of education offered to Africans by the colonial government. It equipped the learner with basic skills in history, geography, nature, mathematics, agriculture, hygiene and manual skills.

G.G. Kariuki was admitted to Kagumo High School in 1950 but could not join the school due to the inability to raise the required fees. Later, he joined Kiamwangi Secondary School, an independent school, in Kiambu as a boarder. Life in school was good as he was not bullied, because he was protected by his elder step-brother, Wang’ombe, who was also a student at the school. In the two years at Kiamwangi Secondary School, he was able to deepen his interests in education and studied history, literature, languages, mathematics and religion. Though his father never went to school, G.G. Kariuki saw him as a wise and determined man who wanted the best for his family. A man determined to educate his son and entire family. As G.G. Kariuki put it, “My father was determined to give his children education for them to achieve a better living standard; he saved his meager earnings to enable him pay the yearly fees.”

It is tempting to assume that G.G. Kariuki must have done well at his post-primary education, though he spent great time studying. His elder brother Waigwa explained:

> **His love for books was extraordinary; he used to read all night long; at the wee hours of the night he would dip his legs in a bucket full of cold water in order to keep sleep at bay. In school he was a quiet, happy and humble kid. He argued with other students but always avoided fighting. He was the youngest in the class.**

G.G. Kariuki dropped out of school at form two when the Independent School, like many others, was closed down as a consequence of the state of emergency in 1952.

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16 Waigwa wa Kariuki O.I. December, 2008.
G.G. Kariuki as a Labourer

When the Independent Schools closed G.G. Kariuki like many other African students went back to Lariak Estate. He was fifteen years and joined the Cugi\textsuperscript{17} group. Even though a few men from Laikipia had joined the Mau Mau, it was not rampant in the area. Among those who joined the uprising that G.G. Kariuki identified included: Muya wa Waigwa, Muthee wa Mwai, Maigua wa Wairiuko and a maternal uncle, Ngumo who was nicknamed General Gathee.\textsuperscript{18} G.G. Kariuki’s family repatriated back to Nyeri leaving him in Laikipia alongside his elder brother, Waigwa. Waigwa explains, “G.G. Kariuki cried to be allowed to join the family in Nyeri, but our father would not hear of it; and when asked, he would say, ‘you cannot keep your eggs in one basket.’”\textsuperscript{19} It is at this time that G.G. Kariuki was employed by Edward F. Hall, a settler in Lariak Estate as a dishwasher. Other employees were Kinyanjui wa Mungai, and Munene wa Chiuri (brother to his younger mother).\textsuperscript{20} These men were older than G.G. Kariuki and guided him in his daily chores. As G.G. Kariuki reminisces:

I would wake up at three in the morning; split firewood, light the fire and warm the water as I waited for the cook to arrive at six in the morning. I also washed utensils as the cook prepared the tea and other meals. After Edward F. Hall took breakfast of buttered bread and coffee, I would be left taking the crust dipped in the cream. We also slaughtered sick animals for his dogs and would also take our share from this. It is only during Christmas that he slaughtered pigs for us. My payment was five shillings per month.\textsuperscript{21}

Away from the kitchen G.G. Kariuki spent his time playing and hunting with boys of his age. This period was an important one in the growth of G.G. Kariuki. It was at this time that he learnt the Turkana and Maasai languages as well as their customs. He was also circumcised in as per the Kikuyu culture. After two years of working as a dishwasher, G.G. Kariuki graduated into a house boy in the same farm. He says:

As a house boy I was supposed to wake up at five in the morning; serve food for Edward F. Hall, feed the dogs, clean the house, make the bed, deliver and receive letters and messages for him to his friends and learn some cooking skills in the preparation for

\textsuperscript{17} This is a group, which comprised of young boys who after taking the Mau Mau oath was to scout, keeping surveillance to ensure that government agents did not find the oathing in progress.
\textsuperscript{19} Waigwa wa Kariuki, O.I. January, 2009.
becoming a cook in the future. It was better than when I was a dish washer. I was paid thirty shillings per month and given a day off.\textsuperscript{22}

G.G. Kariuki would read through the letters on the table and this is how he came to find the address of the then British Tutorial College. He copied the address from a letter from the college and sent an application for admission. A week later, he received a letter admitting him to the college. He recreates the following conversation as the one that occurred when Edward F. Hall called to break the news to him:

\begin{quote}
Edward F. Hall: Why is this letter addressed to you?
G.G. Kariuki: I applied for admission to the college.
Edward F. Hall: So you mean you are educated?
G.G. Kariuki: Partially; I applied out of curiosity but now am interested.
Edward F. Hall: Ok, take your letter, I’ll think of what to do.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

G.G. Kariuki was never one to give up, he persuaded Gachara Waigwa, his step-father and co-worker at the farm, to request Edward F. Hall to allow him receive study materials from a correspondence school through his address. Hall agreed, and in the year 1954, he enrolled at the British Tutorial College, Nairobi, for the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E). In the same year, G.G. Kariuki was hired as a cook for John Robertson, who joined Lariak Estate in the same year as a manager of a small section of the farm.

I would wake up at six in the morning to bake cakes and bread. This is a skill I had learned from Edward F. Hall’s cook, and also from a cook book I had bought from what I earned. I also got involved in teaching and coaching students preparing for examinations in the evening; I would be paid two hundred shillings per month. This went on until 1957.\textsuperscript{24}

In 1958, G.G. Kariuki applied for a Bachelors of Arts in Economics Course at an International correspondence College. He was admitted, but only studied for two semesters, abandoning his studies due to lack of college fees. Later he sought employment at Gatirima Farm, in Laikipia district, as a pig attendant. As he puts it:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{22} G.G. Kariuki, O.I. April, 2009.
\textsuperscript{24} G.G. Kariuki, O.I. February, 2009.
Feelings of resentment were beginning to grow. Outwardly I was quite restrained, pleasant; inwardly I felt a rebel, ready to fight the white man. I was determined to help my people. Thus, I would go complaining to the white employers of the poor working conditions and mistreatment of African labourers on their farms. As a consequence I was sacked. Left without a job, I moved to Nyeri to join my brother Waigwa. From his earnings, he paid for my training as a Public Health Inspector in 1959. Without a good job, I moved to Nyahururu and where, in collaboration with a friend, we opened a retail shop. In the meantime, I developed a fondness for the inspirational rhetoric of freedom fighters. I greatly admired Kenyan nationalists such as Jomo Kenyatta and Thomas Mboya. I realized I was not interested in shop keeping and left the shop in the hands of my friend to join politics.25

G.G. Kariuki has never felt inadequate in any particular area. Private reading, which he spends a great deal of his time doing, seems to make up for the education he loved but lacked resources to acquire it in his formal years. His love for education and reading is an evident part of his lifestyle and this is by the fact that in May 1999, he graduated with a Masters degree in International Relations from Salve Regina University, in the United States of America. His project focused on the effects of poverty on education performance in primary schools in Laikipia District. As to what motivated the research, he explains:

I wanted to analyze the reasons why students fail their examinations in Laikipia District. I felt concerned when I realized that the teachers do not take their children to the local schools in Laikipia and that they did not care about the performance of the students in the local schools.26

G.G. Kariuki wanted answer the following questions:

What happens to the pupils in Laikipia after they complete their primary school education?
Why do the pupils fail in their examinations?
What is the place of the girl child in Laikipia district?
What can be done to improve the infrastructure in primary schools in Laikipia?27

27 Ibid.
Clearly, G.G. Kariuki may not be a textbook intellectual but he relies heavily on his intelligence. Most of his ideas are based on common sense. He formulates his ideas through discussions; and, spends a good deal of his time identifying problems, modifies them and gets the solutions.

**Marriage**

G.G. Kariuki married from within the Kikuyu community; he was only twenty-four years and at the prime of his youth. As Stephen Macharia described him:

> He had a strong well built body; his features were coming to maturity. His face was tender, smooth and round. He was slim and of medium height. His skin was light and handsome. His eyes were bright, communicative and appealing. He was a lady-killer.28

He met Gladys Wairimu, while they both worked at the KANU office, Nyahururu. Wairimu was from Thunguma location in Nyeri district; the daughter of Harrison Wakaboci. Wairimu was initially employed at Ithenguri Primary School, where she taught for a short time. Sympathising with the pains of Africans at the mercy of the cruelty of the white man, she began harbouring an interest in politics, and moved to Nyahururu seeking a job as a secretary. This is where she met G.G. Kariuki and married him in a Kikuyu ceremony in 1961. She was twenty-two years old. It was a happy moment for the parents on both sides. Among those who attended their marriage ceremony were classmates, teachers and local leaders in Laikipia district.29

They settled in Nyahururu; and had their first-born son, Robert Mwangi, in 1962; Patrick Mathenge would follow in 1963, James Waigwa in 1964 and Jane Wangui in 1966.30 In 1969 the family moved to Igwamiti; where G.G. Kariuki had built a house. The children were later enrolled at Ngarenaro Primary School, Nyahururu, where Wairimu was working as a teacher. Their last born, Richard Maina, was born in 1974. In 1982, as a political leader, feeling the need to reside in a more central location to serve his people well, G.G. Kariuki relocated with his family to Rumuruti. “The place was also beautiful, cool and proved good for meditation and family holidays.”31 Wairimu is now retired and an active participant in the activities of the

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31 Ibid.
Presbyterian Church of East Africa (P.C.E.A). To Wairimu, G. G. Kariuki is ‘the better half’; always ready to help her out with the household chores, tending the animals and assisting children in their different duties.\textsuperscript{32} There are other things about G.G. Kariuki that are not widely known. He is generous and has never forsaken his family. His hard work can be seen in all his five children who not only possess university education from the United States of America, but also are responsible members within their society. Robert Mwangi is a lecturer in Architecture in the University of Nairobi; Patrick Mathenge and James Waigwa are businessmen in Nairobi and Nakuru; Jane Wangui works with the United Nation’s Children Funds (UNICEF) in Nairobi; while Richard Maina works and lives in the United States of America. They always respond to the cries of the people in Laikipia and give what they can especially food and other necessities. G.G. Kariuki has always shown interest in church activities. He has always given his personal contributions in the form of money and land to a number of churches.\textsuperscript{33}

**G.G. Kariuki’s Entry into Politics**

During the 1950’s, Kenya’s overriding aim was to attain political independence. 1951 saw an outbreak of scattered pockets of violence and the following year the Mau Mau began a campaign of violence against Europeans. 1952 was significant in defining the direction that Kenya’s struggle for liberation would take. Since the month of May of, that year, there had been reports of thirty-seven murders in the Kikuyu reserves, and almost daily reports of \textit{panga} slashing, house burnings and cattle maiming. European and Asian leaders were making increasingly forceful demands for action by the government.

Political activists in various parts of the Rift Valley went on an all out campaign to recruit any Kikuyu in the province who had not taken the oath. Dissatisfied with their slow progress, they resorted to the use of force and intimidation to recruit everyone to their side. Some Kikuyu who strongly opposed such measures became informers for the colonial administration, resulting in a new wave of convictions. In the light of increasing reports of forced oath taking and intimidation, the government called upon the Kenya African Union (KAU) to temper the violence. KAU leaders consequently visited many areas, including Nakuru, Gilgil and Naivasha,

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.

where meetings at which Kenyatta and other KAU leaders addressed the people were held. The largest of these rallies took place at Ol Joro Orok and Thompson’s Falls on 29 June 1952. Even before the state of emergency was declared, the Nakuru, Naivasha and Laikipia Districts were singled out as special districts ‘and enhanced powers were given to the administrative officers in charge.’ By August, conditions in Laikipia had deteriorated enough to warrant the declaration of a curfew in the area. But the oath continued to be taken in these areas, and with even greater intensity in Naivasha. By October that year tensions were steeply on the rise, with increasing rumours of intensified Kikuyu oathing leading to fears that the Kikuyu were organizing a vast terrorist conspiracy. This convinced the colonial government that the leaders of the Mau Mau must be the same men who were leading the Kikuyu in their overt politics: Jomo Kenyatta and his associates. The colonial government declared a state of emergency and arrested Kenyatta, charging him with leading and managing the Mau Mau.

Meanwhile G.G. Kariuki’s father kept informing him about the hardships his family was experiencing. His two siblings died of hunger; his sister lost her son a week later, while his father lost fifteen out of eighteen acres of land in 1954. G.G. Kariuki was living with a cousin in Nairobi trying to find himself a job. During this time, he took the chance to call the Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL), Thomas Mboya who he had read a lot about. Mboya greatly encouraged him to carry on the fight for uhuru and he vowed to join any political party to enable him liberate his people and end their misery. G.G. Kariuki entered politics in 1959 when he, Kinga Mwendwa and Mark Mwithaga, a former Member of Parliament for Nakuru North, formed the Central Rift Valley Labour Party; and hence joining the movement for the formation of a national political party to lead the struggle for independence from colonial rule that was under way. G.G. Kariuki agreed to serve as assistant organizing secretary for Laikipia district:

   My job was to inform rural workers about the work of the party in defending their rights and encourage them to join it. This went on upto 1960 when the party choose me a delegate to a conference in Kiambu to discuss the formation of a national political party.38

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37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
The delegates of the various smaller parties struggling for independence met and unanimously agreed to form a national party, and KANU was born. In August 1960, G.G. Kariuki was elected district secretary of KANU for Laikipia District.\(^39\) He vied for a seat in the 1961 election to represent North Eastern Province, which included Turkana, Samburu, Isiolo and Marsabit, but lost to Peter Aleman.\(^40\) He continued serving as the Laikipia KANU Branch secretary until 1967. In 1961, G.G. Kariuki was among those who went to Lodwar to see Mzee Jomo Kenyatta at his final stage of exile.\(^41\) After Kenyatta was released from jail he suggested that G.G. Kariuki should go to Ahus University in Denmark and study a course in Co-operative Management. However, when Mwai Kibaki later explained that elections were about to be conducted and that KANU would lose the Laikipia Parliamentary seat if G.G. Kariuki went away to study, G.G. Kariuki opted to stay and vie for the seat.\(^42\) He became the first Member of Parliament for Laikipia district in 1963.\(^43\) He had a lot to do for Laikipia district; his destiny had prepared him for this moment. But no one knew what really lay in his mind.


\(^{40}\) Ibid. (1978). “From Sports to Politics,” November 24,


CHAPTER TWO
G.G. KARIUKI IN PARLIAMENT UPTO 1978

The attainment Kenya’s independence in 1963 was without a doubt a historic moment; and with it, the all important responsibility to chart Kenya’s post independence future was thrust upon the new leadership. There were hopes that the distribution of resources would no longer be skewed like in colonial times and that resources like land would be redistributed to redress the multitudes of Kenyans who had long suffered under the impoverishing and dehumanising yoke of colonialism. There were various weighty decisions to be made by the leadership, and especially essential economic decisions that would hugely impact on the economic standing of the Kenyan peasants and working class. Kenya being primarily an agricultural country, agriculture, right from independence, was regarded as the crucial springboard for Kenya’s economic, industrial and social growth. The clamour, for independence had hoped to drive all white men out and Africanization had been a key and emotive political slogan in the tumult before independence as well as a key promise Kenyatta had made to the poor masses. However, soon after independence, Kenyatta encouraged the white settlers to remain in the country and develop agriculture.\(^44\) Kenyatta publicly confirmed this when opening the Elgeyo-Marakwet county show at Kamariny on January 10\(^{th}\), 1964:

> I love the soil, you are my friends. The soil has knit us together…it is our greatest investment…my theme today is, return to the soil…my government is strongly in support of whatever race, and my government will do anything possible to help farmers with loans so that they can develop their farms….\(^45\)

Laikipia District Before 1963

G.G. Kariuki was the first Member of Parliament for Laikipia district at the onset of independence in 1963. Generally, a Member of Parliament occupies a special position with multiple functions. On one hand, he is a legislator, a part of the central political system; on the other hand he constitutes one of the most important links between the government and the society. By 1920 Laikipia district bordered Samburu Reserve in the North; River Ewaso Nyiro in


the East. In the South West were the Aberdare Ranges and Laikipia escarpment in the North. There was a large unsurveyed and unalienated area between the farm boundaries and Southern Samburu border. This consisted of the large first class country blocks. The district was a stock-raising one occupied by former soldiers as settlers. Henry Collyer was in charge of the district. The most famous local chiefs were Masikondi and Legalishu. The only dispensary that existed in the expansive area was in Rumuruti and mainly served government employees. There was only one medical practitioner, L.T Col. R.A Cunningham, at the dispensary to attend to the patients. The wattle and daub huts were used as a hospital. The administration maintained a weekly mail service between Rumuruti and Gilgil. The runners carried private as well as official mails from one point to the other. The letters were collected from Nanyuki, Nyeri and Gilgil. The main supply of labour was from the Kikuyu Reserves in Nyeri district.

A market was established at Rumuruti in 1910 to serve Kikuyu farmers, and deter them from wondering about among the Maasai. The traders mainly traded cattle and sheep. There was also considerable trade in food stuffs between Laikipia and Nyeri districts. Few Indian shops were opened as the movement of the Maasai continued. A class III prison established in the area and gazetted by the government. It comprised of a brick, iron roofed building, erected early in 1905; it was divided in to three compartments. Peacock Donald was the inspector of police in charge of Laikipia district. There existed one school at the African Inland Mission station and only two sons of the chief Masikondi were enrolled there. A rough cart road, with no bridges, and on which people relied on drifts, existed between Gigil and Rumuruti. The principal crops grown were mealies, English and native potatoes, beans and arrowroots. There were also small patches of sugar cane and few banana trees. The farmers formed the Laikipia Farmers Association which aired their grievances to the government.

The only notable thing happening between 1905 and 1950 was the increase in the number European settlers; at the end of 1921, there were fifty eight settlers in the district who had

46 KNA/LKA/1: Laikipia District Annual Report, 1910-1911.
47 KNA/DC/LKA/1/2: Laikipia District Annual Report, 1920-1921.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
obtained farms under the Soldier Settlement Scheme. By the end of 1961 two private schools had been established; one on Dyke’s farm and the other on Daniela’s and neither received government assistance. An adult education scheme was nonexistent. Marmanet saw mill employed a number of natives, thus indirectly giving them industrial training. In October 1960, the East African Power and Lighting Company began work on the erection of poles to connect Thomson’s Falls to the power line in Lanet and even though major work was completed by 1961, electricity was not yet available. Rumuruti police station was established, with only fifty policemen for the whole district; and rather than patrol, their work consisted of keeping guard, escort and market duties. Two in-patient hospitals for Africans had been set up; the major one being at Thomson’s Falls, and a small sixteen bed hospital was in Rumuruti. Dr. Lowi remained the only surgeon in the district. There was no institute for higher learning or tertiary college for further training of professionals in the district. The existing schools were governed by the Europeans; and a private preparatory school was the only school allowed to serve the African community. Thomsons’ Falls and Olbolossat Farmers companies had been formed by local farmers and their main grievances were the acquisition of land by Africans and better payment for the labourers on the white farms.

Squatters were allowed to own goats, sheep and few cattle; even though there were no cattle dips and slaughter houses to serve the peasant farmers. Most of their livestock succumbed to diseases such as; Rinderpest, Plero-pneumonia, Black quarter and Coast fever. Insecurity emerged as a major problem in the district. There were increasing cases of cattle rustling and banditry perpetrated by members of the pastoral communities as well as other forms of theft within the villages. This could be explained by the growing number of idle and frustrated youths; who had some industrial training but could not find jobs or earned too little. Water, especially, during the dry seasons, continued to pose a major problem in the district. Women had to walk for long distances in search of water for their animals and other domestic purposes.

50 KNA/DC/LKA/1/5: Laikipia District Annual Report, 1905-63.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
Development in Laikipia District after 1963

Informants stated that, G.G. Kariuki played a key role in the development of Laikipia district, arguing that, one could not speak of the development of Laikipia district without mentioning G.G. Kariuki. In other words, the life of G.G. Kariuki is synonymous to the livelihood and development of Laikipia district.\textsuperscript{54}

However another informant differed with this perspective:

I would term G.G. Kariuki’s role in the development of Laikipia it as skewed. He only developed areas where he had interest; these were mainly concentrated by his supporters or areas inhabited by the relatives of the supporters. I would compare him to God who says, Thou shall not have any other God but me! G.G. Kariuki was very discriminative in developing areas in which did not vote for him.\textsuperscript{55}

The notion of rural electrification is of immense economic and social value within the frame work of the development of the nation. By 1978, rural electrification had developed in various locations in Laikipia West.\textsuperscript{56} As one respondent stated:

G.G. Kariuki should be credited for getting Laikipia West constituency connected to electricity. It was a dark world, and insecurity lingered, but we can now proudly say we have electricity. The main areas that benefited from this scheme were; Nyahururu, Kinamba and Rumuruti.\textsuperscript{57} Major schools also benefited through the installation of electricity. Students no longer strain to use pressure lamps in their evening studies; and even laboratory experiments that require power have been made possible. Some of the schools that benefited were Ndururumo High School, Njonjo Girls High School and Gatero Girls High School, among others.\textsuperscript{58}

Another area where as a Member of Parliament for Laikipia district, G.G. Kariuki was concerned had to do with provision of medical facilities. By 1978, he had spearheaded the construction of a number of Health Centres. The Health Centres included: Sipili, Igwamiti, Muthengera, Muhotetu, Mwenje, Changutii and Olndoinyo. Others included dispensaries such as Olmoran, Salama and Mutara. And later, through his sustained efforts the government the constructed a district level hospital in Nyahururu. He also assisted in the construction of a children’s ward

\textsuperscript{54} Stephen Macharia, Karani Njirigu. O.I January , 2009
\textsuperscript{55} Michael Mugo, O.I January, 2009.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Wahome Gichaci, Solomon Kiguru O.I. January 2009.
By 1963, only a few primary and secondary schools existed within Laikipia district. G.G. Kariuki was instrumental in setting up schools to enable the children of his constituents to access formal education. Some of the Secondary Schools he helped establish are Rumuruti, Ngumo Secondary School, Gatero Girls, Mwenje, Njorua, and Njonjo Girls. Primary schools include: Rimururuti, Kiguro and Waigwa Primary. Among the respondents of the study were two teachers had this to say, “Teachers in Laikipia district are very lucky. It is one of the marginal districts whose teachers receive hardship allowances in addition to their salaries. This was made possible by G.G. Kariuki.” G.G. Kariuki also played a role in ensuring that students from his constituency accessed commonwealth government scholarships, offered through the ministry of education. These scholarships would be offered with the influence of the Member of Parliament for each constituency. One of the beneficiaries had this to say:

G.G. Kariuki would look for the bright students in the constituency, especially those from poor families. Regardless of tribe, scholarships would be offered for post secondary education in India. I benefited from this scheme as I studied a Bachelor of Science course in India.

Another added, “After I completed my course in Law, I realized jobs were hard to come by in a foreign country. It is G.G. Kariuki who helped in securing a job in Nairobi.” As for tertiary institutions, besides the village polytechnics set up by the government, no other tertiary college was established during his tenure. However, he is credited for playing a significant role in the elevation of Laikipia Farmers Training Institute to a constituent College of Egerton University.

Livestock keeping seems to be a predominant economic activity in Laikipia West constituency. There is a large livestock population in Laikipia and the cattle to human ratio is estimated at 5:1. Beef production continues to be a major enterprise especially on the ranches and the settled areas. Thus one of the essential facilities considered were cattle dips. The construction was

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61 Beth Chepkemoi, Nicole Sang O.I. January 2009.
chosen on locality basis and the number of livestock per location. Earlier before 1939, no dips existed apart from spray races which were uneconomical to the small scale farmers. Almost all the fifteen locations in the constituency had one cattle dip as recommended by the ministry of livestock development. However, one informant remarked that:

It is true when we say that the cattle dips were constructed, but that is all that was done. The dips are never maintained and thus they are of no significance to the cattle keepers. Although we cannot blame G.G. Kariuki or any other member of parliament, skilled labour should be employed to maintain the dips.⁶⁴

One of the major economic activities in the district is the sale of beef cattle. As one Maasai respondent stated:

As far as Laikipia West constituency is concerned, there are slaughter houses but no established industry the trade in beef cattle and beef products. Thus we end up struggling to find market for our products. We keep animals for cultural value and they our main source of income as well. Beside the small slaughter houses constructed during the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta’s regime, nothing else has been done to develop and market agricultural products in the district. We sell our cattle to butchery owners to as low as three thousand shillings, or exchange them with the Kikuyu and Kalenjin farmers for food.⁶⁵

Laikipia West constituency (district) has a high potential of productivity. A large proportion of the natural vegetation comprises of the Acacia species. There are grasses and shrubs which form an important part of the diet for goats, sheep and cattle. Rainfall patterns in the area are varied. The area encompassing Nyahururu, Marmanet and Ng’arua locations has the highest mean annual rainfall ranging from 1000 to 1600mm which is favorably distributed all the year. As a result several cash and food crops fair well in the area. In Nyahururu, maize and wheat are the choice crops, while in parts of Olmoran and Kinamba pineapples, cabbages, maize and onions flourish. The other locations have little rainfall ranging from 450-900mm making them unfavourable for crop farming and hence predisposing the areas to nomadic, pastoralist communities. Despite the high economic potential of Laikipia, farmers still face many challenges. As one of them remarked:

Although G.G. Kariuki should be credited for the good work of settling the landless in Laikipia district; that was all he did for us. We do not have a market a ready market for our farm products. We harvest our pineapples, eat them or sell them at throw-away prices. The nearest town we can sell them is Nyahururu, and the products still fetch too little.66

In 2000, some 2000 members made attempts (that seem futile at the present) to start a maize Milling Company in Nga’rua. As one informant pointed out:

We realized that if we organized ourselves and collaborated with the various co-operative societies in the constituency, we would find a market for our products. The main aim was to buy maize from farmers, mill the maize and pack the flour in to bags. Then later we would sell it back to the local people in the district and beyond. But the company has never taken off. We had all the necessary facilities like the machines and capital but still we could not do anything without electricity. It was G.G. Kariuki who helped install a generator for the company.67

The concept of security is a serious issue for the nation to progress. Laikipia is one of the most insecure districts in Kenya. Beside interethnic and human animal conflicts, the district has also many cases of thefts. The education system in Kenya prepares the youth for what is termed as white collar jobs in urban centres. In actual fact it does not prepare the rural youth to be able to cope with the prevailing rural life or give them the basic skills to enable them get a good or well paid technical jobs. In view of this situation the school dropout at all levels find it difficult to be assimilated in the country’s economy. The system of Craft Training Centers caters for a national policy which helps the youth to play their role in the society by equipping the youths with the necessary skills in technical fields. “G.G. Kariuki helped establish a number of craft training centres such as Igwamiti, Rumuruti, Kinamba and Muthengeria even though the centers are poorly managed and the structures are not well maintained.”68

Water is an essential commodity for all living things. Most areas of Laikipia West are semi arid (marginal lands) hence the need to be provided with water. Besides dam constructions, G.G. Kariuki started two major water supply schemes in the district. The Nyahururu settlement water supply scheme covers two administrative locations of Nyahururu and Igwamiti. Some of the areas within this supply scheme are also supplied with piped but untreated water from the supply

lines of Laikipia County Council. The Laikipia water supply scheme supplies Muthengera, Marmanet Forest locations and the adjoining areas of Gituamba location. The Marmanet water supply scheme which was started in 1980 supplies water to Muhotetu, Gaiti, Melwa and a larger part of Rumuruti Location. This has helped to curb water shortage problems, especially when rivers Ewaso Narok, Nyarachi, Ol’Arabel, Melwa and Kisuria dry up during dry seasons. Farmers have benefited from these schemes as some confessed:

I started a small business on an acre of land. I plant cabbages and tomatoes and sell them to the locals. Today the farm is doing well because there is adequate water supply. I have been able to feed my family and even bought a vehicle that enables me transport my products to as far as Nakuru and Nairobi.69

However there are locations that feel neglected such as Muruku, Mutara and Salama. As one informant remarked:

We spend the better part of our time fetching water from wells located over ten kilometers away. G.G. Kariuki installed the water projects very discriminatively. Water is like gold to us. It is our source of income. We use donkey carts to fetch water from Thomson’s Falls then we sell each gallon at thirty shillings. By the end of the day we earn a lot of money.70

Even tourism in the region has suffered; it has become less attractive in the area because animals have migrated out of the National Parks in search of water and pasture. Pastoralists also suffer as they have trek long distances in search of water and pastures; and there have also been tensions between pastoralists and crop farmers who accuse them of encroaching on their farms.71 Some pastoralists have become destitute and changed their livelihood and left their homes in search for employment in nearby towns; mostly as gate sentries who are lowly paid. As one of them stated:

I left a large herd of sheep and goats in Muruku. There is no water for family consumption, let alone for the animals. Every day the animals die due to thirst and the long distance walk. I earn one thousand shillings of which I send six hundred to my wife and save the rest.72

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This change of livelihoods and the migration of pastoralists to towns tend to destabilize the existing family structures of the nomads. Elephant herds in the area often move over hundreds of kilometres towards the highlands, raiding and destroying crops and irrigation fields as a result of water shortage in the lowlands. Yet, compensation of property destroyed by wildlife in Kenya is extremely low and thus farmers would rather kill the animals rather than ask for compensation.\textsuperscript{73}

Roads are another source of difficulty in Laikipia. There is need to provide roads in the rural areas in order to facilitate the transportation of farm produce and other essential services. The whole district has only two tarmacked roads; the Nyahururu/Kinamba road and the Nyahururu/Rumuruti road. All the other roads are impassable during the rainy season. A number of informants complained over this issue and one of them remarked:

\begin{quote}
G.G. Kariuki only helped in the construction of the roads where he lives (Rumuruti), and where his brother lives (Kinamba). The other areas were completely neglected. We really suffer especially during rainy seasons. Areas like Maundu ni Meri and Olmoran are very insecure. Vehicles cannot reach there, thus people have to trek or use bicycles.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

\section*{G.G. Kariuki and the Land Resettlement Programme of the 1970s}

\textbf{Background to the Settlement Schemes}

On the eve of Independence, the departing British government negotiated a scheme that would see white settlers bought out of their farms by the in-coming African government. The money for this purchase was made available as a loan by the British government. However, Bildad Kaggia and Jaramogi Oginga saw no justification for the people to buy land which had been forcefully wrenched from them.\textsuperscript{75} From this experience, it was clear that a potentially desperate situation to settle Africans existed at the dawn of independence. The government embarked on an ambitious scheme; and, in 1962 announced the decision to establish the Million Acre scheme (also referred to as the High Density Schemes thereafter).

\textsuperscript{73} H. Liniger. \textit{Endangered Water}.
\textsuperscript{74} Miriam Njeri O.I. January 2009.
With the decision to undertake the Million Acre Scheme, there was the necessity to establish new institutions to take charge of the programme, especially in the view of the size of the scheme and the speed with which it was to be implemented. Subsequently, in 1963 the Settlement Fund Trustee (SFT) was set up.\textsuperscript{76} The committee of the Ministry of Agriculture, Settlement and Finance was formed. Its mandate included direction of policy and the dealing with the finances for both the Million Acre and low density schemes. A Central Land Board was also created; and, was solely responsible for the selection, valuation and purchase of land. The Board was under the chairmanship of Major General Sir Geoffrey Bourne, shortly, and the Department of Settlement,\textsuperscript{77} which had been established in 1962 in the Ministry of Land Settlement and Water Department, continued to administer the schemes on behalf of the trustees. Through the 1960s and 1970s the SFT would, through the local dailies and village \textit{barazas}, advertise and invite applications for allocation of land in the created settlement schemes. These schemes were constituted from the farms that the SFT had acquired from the white farmers.\textsuperscript{78} As Robert notes:

\begin{quote}
The basic purpose was…the transfer of land in the “scheduled areas” from European to African ownership….One must take into account the stability brought to the country in a political transition, without such a plan undoubtedly there would have been a breakdown in race relations and violence on a very large scale and a collapse in the general economy.\textsuperscript{79}
\end{quote}

The conscious process of designing these schemes involved several steps. First was the amalgamation of parcels and sub-division, by use of aerial surveys, into economically viable units, including the provision of access roads. This was followed by conversion of the land registration system from the complex Registration of Titles Act (RTA) to the simpler Registered Land Act (RLA), which was borrowed, from Australia. Along with that, the government made loans available not only for the purchase of land, but also for the acquisition of livestock, farm

\textsuperscript{76} R. Pagett. \textit{The Land Settlement Programme in Kenya}, p.67.
\textsuperscript{77} The Department of Settlement was responsible for the land settlement programme and its administrative structure was in no way integrated with the provincial administration in the country.
\textsuperscript{78} KNA/BN/84/14: Settlement Fund Trustees Papers.
inputs and other developments. These loans, which were part of a revolving fund, were administered by the SFT.80

Low Density Schemes were established for the experienced farmers with some capital. They were also known as International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or Commonwealth Development Cooperative Schemes. These schemes were limited to underdeveloped land of high potential. By mid 1969, all the low density schemes had been established while the Million Acre Scheme had been virtually completed.81 Co-operative farms and ranches were started where the land purchased was unsuitable for subdivision into small plots. The number of co-operators per farm was normally that which would be required to operate the farm with large scale farm techniques. By mid 1966, five such schemes had been organized with 406 members, another ten, which would involve an estimated 850 members, were in the planning stage. In Laikipia, there were a number of co-operatives formed such as Ethi, Laikipia teachers, Mugongo, Marura, Ndindika, Ngarashi, Marmanet and Losogwa.82 Assisted Owner Schemes were introduced in the early days of settlement to help qualified Africans buy entire European farms. To receive assistance, they had to have sufficient capital and suitable farming experience. Because of difficulties in arranging financing for those schemes, they were discontinued in June 1962 with their cost being absorbed into the High Density schemes. About 125 such owners had been settled on 34,000 acres. The Yeomen schemes were designed for the farmers with substantial capital and provided for a minimum cash income of 250 pounds per annum in addition to subsistence and loan repayment.

Beautiful gardens, lawns and hedges were built by Europeans as their farm yields increased. Problems emerged when Mzee Jomo Kenyatta issued instructions, immediately on coming to power, that such houses should be sold to those who could afford them at the original buying price, together with the sufficient settlement plots around them to make up 100 acres. These plots, combined, were called Z plots. This type of settlement, which involved 11,092 hectares,

80 It is important to note that the SFT exists to this day and the records of all their transactions from 1963 to date, including those allocations that were made in the Moi era, are available for perusal at the Ministry of Lands.
did not last for long as large scale farms were being settled on a co-operative or Shirika Scheme basis. In 1964, seven Sugarcane schemes were founded in Muhoroni to cater for members of the Luo community. Most of the 2544 settlers were to grow sugarcane in the blocks. They comprised a number of individual plots divided into four sections of approximately one hectare each. Due to poor management and organization, the settlement schemes collapsed.

In 1964/65 the Central Land Board, as agents of SFT, bought eighty large scale farms in one block totaling 52,758 hectares in the area between Thomson’s Falls (since renamed Nyahururu) and Gilgil. This was, by far, the largest contiguous block of land that was purchased during the fifteen years of settlement from 1961 to 1975. The land in the Salient was always difficult to farm varying between the wet, heavy clay soils near Lake Ol Bolosat to very broken rock outcrops further South around Oleondo station. The area was considered unsuitable for the High Density Settlement project. The plan was to create nineteen units which were to be run as large scale farms with three new settlers having two acres of subsistence plots. In 1972, the units were reformed into seven large farms, the subsistence plots for individual settlers were increased to five acres each and they were permitted to keep one cow each.

*Haraka* or Hasty Settlement Schemes for squatters were established in 1965 when the Ministry of Agriculture, in competition with the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, engaged a special Commissioner for the squatters. His duties were to register landless people who were found squatting on rundown farms; some of the farms had been abandoned by their owners and hence, consequently taken over by the Central Agricultural Board through the authority vested in the board with regards to section 187 of the Agricultural Act. The Central Land Board was asked to purchase twenty large scale farms in Turbo, the area north of Nandi (known as the Nandi Salient) totaling 6871 hectares and costing 179,563 pounds. The farms had been purchased by European farmers after the First World War and were claimed by Nandi community leaders as part of their Trust lands. In 1950, after years of tenacious claims, half of the Salient was purchased and returned to the Nandi and thus creating the Serora settlement scheme. The

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remaining twenty farms were purchased and returned before the Independence Day in 1963. Likewise the Kilombe area, comprising one large scale farm of 5032 hectares and costing 10,400 pounds, was bought by the Land Development and Settlement Board and turned back, free of charge, to the Tugen community of South Baringo as a grazing area. This was for the settlement of their claim raised with the Carter Land Commission in 1934 - that the area was wrongly alienated for European settlement in the first place.85

On completion of the first Million acres of new settlement, the land transfer carried out by the Department of Settlement was slowed down. There was an opportunity to reassess and rethink whether there might be a better way of transferring land from one racial group to another without so much dislocation and subdivision of large-scale farms. Meanwhile, the British government appointed a mission, under the chairmanship of the Maxwell Stamp to consider the need for further financial assistance to the Kenya government to further the settlement programme. The Stamp Mission had a gloomy view of the existing settlement programme; it had misgivings regarding the success of the schemes. The mission anticipated serious problems for the Kenya economy as a whole, arising out of the expected failure of many of the new farmers. They advised the Kenya government to begin professional economic surveys to reassess the economics of the settlement programme and to curtail any further sub-divisional settlement schemes until the economic surveyors had made their report.

In consideration of the alarm sounded by the Stamp mission and following further discussions between the Kenya and the British governments, a second more powerful mission was appointed. It comprised of four, two selected by the British government, namely, Dr. B.R. Van Arkadie of Yale University and Professor R.J. Apthorpe of Makerere College in Uganda and the other two, W.C. Omamo, then Principal of Egerton Agriculture College and J.D. Mac Arthur, a senior economic statistician in the Kenya government’s Department of settlement, by the Kenyan government. The team, referred to as The Van Arkadie Mission, took one hundred days to do its work between 4th July and 13th October 1966; and produced a report with 153 recommendations, including one to the effect that the Department of Settlement should be

transferred from the Ministry of Lands and Settlement to the Ministry of Agriculture. The mission also recommended that the Department of Settlement should restrict itself to the completion of the SFT programme as it was in 1966; and include a new Harambee-type scheme that had been approved in principle, and leave all other types of settlement schemes to other government Departments to implement. In 1969, two Harambee schemes were started at Ol Arabel and Lariak, situated in a high potential maize growing region North of Nyahururu Township; a total of 6,529 hectares were subdivided into 143 individual holdings, averaging fifteen hectares each with piped water reticulation to each plot.

Although attempts were made to select additional farms in the Londiani and Trans-Nzoia districts, no further land was purchased for the Harambee-type settlement schemes. The land purchase programme changed from the original conception of subdividing large mixed farms into freehold settlement plots to be issued to individuals, to the idea of retaining the large farms as units of production and giving them to Co-operative societies, who would run them as large scale farms under carefully selected farm managers. The SRT and Department of Settlement were in existence for a term of five years before a new body, the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC); answerable to the ministry of Agriculture, was created. The ADC purchased a number of farms with the intention of building up the National herds of dairy cows, beef cattle, sheep and pigs. The ADC land purchase programme caught the imagination of the vendors who thought they might get a better price for their farms and quicker valuations than if they dealt with the SFT. The ADC programme, proved valuable in providing training opportunities for farm managers; some of whom, later served in the Shirika Co-operative Scheme.

In July 1971, the SFT and the Department of Settlement launched the Shirika Settlement programme. The aim was to settle landless families, on a cooperative basis, on large scale farms. Day to day farming procedures and work programmes were discharged with regard to the concurrence of the Executive Committee of the Cooperative Society and of each individual member of the society; who would also provide the skilled as well as the unskilled labor force on each farm. By 31st December, 1975, most of the ninety three large scale farms, totaling 94,807 hectares and costing 5,678,256 pounds, had been handed over to the members of the
newly formed cooperative societies. This programme, with low density schemes, was designed to settle some 33,000 families on approximately one million acres of land, over a period of five years.\textsuperscript{86} In Laikipia, two Shirika farms, Ndindika and Mbuyu were established.\textsuperscript{87}

The special commissioner for squatters settled as many people as possible on any vacant, run down, or mismanaged farms that he could find outside the jurisdiction of the Director of Settlement. The programme outgrew itself and was inherited by the Director of Settlement in 1971. By December 1975, 13,035 families as well as 2,014 cooperative society members had been settled on thirty five different Haraka schemes totaling 56,581 hectares. The chief objective of the settlement policy was undoubtedly an entirely socio-political one. The powers that be, believed that the transfer of ownership of the one million acres of land from Europeans to Africans would satisfy the demands for land and thereby contribute to political stability throughout the country.\textsuperscript{88}

**G.G. Kariuki as an Assistant Minister for Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning**

The hunger for land by the landless at the advent of Kenya’s independence would temporarily be assuaged by settlement schemes based on land purchase aided by the massive loan from the British government as discussed above. Unemployment, on the other hand, was temporarily eased by the Tripartite Agreement adopted in February 1964; the agreement comprised of proposals by Thomas Mboya; a trade unionist, freedom fighter and then Minister for Planning. A Session Paper No.10 of 1965 was developed to enumerate guidelines and policies that Kenya would pursue to achieve her social and economic development. So far so good; the country was doing relatively well, in terms of social and economic development. However, the common citizenry was troubled by questions on whether the benefits of this development would to them or not. There were debates, too, on how well distributed this development was.

It is apparent that in the years before 1978, both in and outside Parliament, G.G. Kariuki kept a low profile and hardly took sides in controversial issues. Such was his demeanor in public, that

\textsuperscript{86} P. D. Abrams, *Kenya’s Land Resettlement Story*, pp. 135-146.

\textsuperscript{87} KNA/DC/LKA/RUP/E/19: Laikipia District Annual Report, 1974.

he was once described as being “quiet almost to the point of being self effacing.” 89 However, he always questioned the progress of different ministries and was working on plans for settlement and land allocation in Laikipia district. In 1964, he launched a constituency office; where his constituents could register their grievances. Most of the constituents would go to him to request him to meet their personal needs like food, school fees and hospital bills. One informant stated: “Am grateful to that man, I went to him in 1965 and asked him to assist me pay the hospital bills for my wife who had been admitted at Nyahururu Hospital with asthma. G.G. Kariuki paid the money and helped transport my wife back home.” 90 In 1966, G.G. Kariuki put forward a motion in parliament in 1966 and argued, “The government should ensure that the available land for settlement should be made available in terms of cost. It should at least cost less than ten pounds per acre. I urge government and the Ministry to look into this issue with an open eye….” 91

In addition G.G. Kariuki appealed to the government to include Laikipia district in the land purchasing programme. Though he discussed this issue with a number of cabinet ministers and the Minister of Land, Jackson Angaine, nothing much was done; except empty promises that the government was going to look into the matter.

In May 1969, there was a heated debate in parliament about corruption among civil servants and political leaders. “If permanent secretaries can build homes every year,” G.G. Kariuki suggested, “There must be something wrong with the society. The public should also be careful about politicians who donate large sums of money to self help projects, where the hell do they get those thousands of shillings to donate every week.” 92

In his contribution to the debate on the Fencing Bill, whose main aim was to formulate the rights and liabilities of occupiers of agricultural land in cases where they had common boundaries, G.G. Kariuki argued that it was essential for people through their own initiative to

fence their farms but not to be compelled by an act of law. Regarding the death sentence in the Kenyan Penal Code, G.G. Kariuki contended that a clause could be introduced where one would be imprisoned for between forty and fifty years. He also asserted that if one was to carefully deal with the thieves then their fingers could be cut and that way the person would be known or marked as a thief.

G.G. Kariuki played a role in pushing for changes in the way the affairs of KANU, the governing party, were managed. He suggested in Parliament that there was need for structural reorganisation within the party; he felt that a new committee would bring new changes in the party. Moreover, he believed that if changes were not injected into the party, its funds were likely to be squandered by individuals as they liked. On matters concerning health in Laikipia West, G.G. Kariuki, on private notice, asked the minister of health whether he was aware that some health centres in Laikipia West, namely Rumuruti, Ngarua, North Marmanet, Shamanek and South Marmanet, had not had drugs for three consecutive weeks. He requested the ministry to ensure that the centres were provided with drugs without delay. Pertaining education, since nursery schools in the country were not being run by the government, he advocated for the Minister for Education to consider giving grants to county councils to run nursery schools.

In 1969, G.G. Kariuki was re-elected with majority votes against Paul Ngure and Benjamin Wekesa, G.G. Kariuki’s former part time assistant Secretary in the KANU office. The following year Kenyatta named him to the cabinet as the assistant Minister for Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning. He served under Jackson Angaine, who was the then Minister for Lands. G. G Kariuki explained about this position, “Kenyatta saw me as hardworking and a conciliator of the different communities residing in Laikipia district. He felt that I was capable of dealing with the resettlement programme without prejudice.” As the name of the Ministry implies, it was responsible for settling the landless, land adjudication and consolidation as well as maintaining plans for property boundaries and the production of physical development plans. As an

96 Ibid.
assistant Minister, G.G. Kariuki was never at a loss of words when questions regarding the various roles of the ministry. Concerning squatters, a Member of Parliament, Jilo Falana, asked him to inform the house of the reasons that led to the government’s decision to abolish the Special Commission for Squatters alongside the government organ responsible for establishing the extent of the problem of squatters in the Coastal region. In response, he stated that the commission had been abolished because the government considered it unnecessary to have different departments duplicating the role of settling the landless; and thus the Department of Settlement would handle the settlement of all landless people. He felt that there were no squatters in Kenya; rather there were landless citizens who needed to be resettled.98

As an assistant Minister, G.G. Kariuki shunned tribalism. For instance, when Francis Lotodo asked if the Minister was aware that since independence the Pokot had not been considered for Settlement in Trans- Nzoia District; and whether he had any plans for them, G.G. Kariuki answered firmly, stating that he did not consider tribes or the origins of the landless in the settlement programmes. He pointed out to the MP that every district had a selection committee that dealt with settlement schemes. He informed the Members of Parliament that settlement records were not kept on tribal basis, and called on them to advise their constituents to apply to their district selection committees in order to be considered for settlement.99 G.G. Kariuki had one anecdote, which never failed to raise considerable laughter in parliament. For example, when Murunga told G.G. Kariuki to stop “dancing” with his files, and, rather elaborate on why the settlement and registration process for Machakos was taking too long, he replied, “I will let the answer be as short as I am. I am not dancing with my papers, and rather I prefer dancing with the honourable lady (Grace Onyango) in the house.”100 Although he failed to influence the passing of any motion, in parliament, in his favour, he avidly responded to questions and issues regarding land and settlement as well as overseeing the issuance of land title deeds to the former colonial government detainees.

Laikipia West Farmers Company

In 1970, having witnessed difficulties that his constituents were facing with regard to land acquisition and settlement, G.G. Kariuki in collaboration with the local authority leaders convened a meeting at Muthengera to discuss the possible solutions to the problem. The meeting was chaired by councillor Wahome Gichachi. In a speech at the gathering, G.G. Kariuki spoke of the need to start a land buying company:

An uneducated man with an empty stomach cannot be expected to understand either the economic or the moral aspects of education. He must have land first to till and thus get his daily bread. But you know Kenyatta alone cannot give you everything. All things we must do together. You and I must work together to develop our country...what about when the old man goes? It may be that when he does go, we will see that his greatest service was bringing Kenya to a position he is no longer needed. Nonetheless Kenyans believe not in the work of one man but an effort by many...¹⁰¹

Those at the meeting agreed to start a land buying company and immediately a board of governors; G.G. Kariuki was named the Managing Director and Chief Trustee, Solomon Kiguro the secretary while Mutahi Maina became the treasurer. In 1971, women were encouraged to form self help groups in order to solve their domestic problems. The groups did a lot; for example, they helped pay school fees for the poor families, helped furnish houses and paid hospital bills.¹⁰² When the land company was registered, women groups were invited to buy land in shares. Each person paid 1, 520 shillings which was worth five acres of land. Two hundred shillings was also needed to offset the registration fee, bringing the total amount of money to be contributed to Ksh.1, 720.¹⁰³ It can be said that G.G. Kariuki’s intention was not to favour any tribe:

Our job is not to promote tribalism, but to try and achieve better life for the communities of Laikipia. How wonderful it is for us all to live like brothers and sisters. I encourage everybody to come forward and get land as long as one has the subscription fee.¹⁰⁴

Yet his triumph in the affair was still to come. The company planned to buy six farms owned by European settlers. The allocation of land was to be done through balloting. However, G.G.

Kariuki and the other leaders realized that the members needed land but did not have money; thus they negotiated with different banks and acquired loans in their names rather than in the names of the company.\footnote{James Kibo, Bett Sang, Ezekiel Sikuulu, Solomon Kiguro, O.I. January, 2009.}

At Mwenje (ex-Columbus), the company purchased 16,000 acres and settled 3000 families by 1975. However, 6,000 acres were to be exchanged with forest land but it was never done. In 1973, the company bought 51,000 acres at Sipili. Initially there were 102,000 acres; the other 51,000 acres went to Kihika Kimani led Ngwataniro Farmers Company. In 1974, the company bought 35,000 acres at Ndumo; 1500 at Marmanet (ex- Cunningham), 3000 at Gatero (ex-Campellcross) and 1,600 acres at Igwamiti (ex-Litif) and later bought an additional 1,000 acres in the same area for Nyakinyua women group.\footnote{Stephen Macharia, Wahome Gichachi, Solomon Kiguro, O.I. January, 2009.} By 1982, 10,000 families had been settled; and by the following year 20,000 families had been settled on six farms by the company. This was a big success. Through negotiations with several banks, G.G. Kariuki was able to access loan facilities to help pay for members who could not raise the required amounts. Those who did not have the Ksh.1, 720 were required to pay only twenty shillings to be allocated five acres of land.\footnote{Margaret Mwaniki, Mary Wambui, O.I. December, 2008.} This seems to have been the biggest and best gift he gave to Laikipia. As one of the residents remarked, “He gave us free land, what can twenty shillings do?”\footnote{Joyce Muthoni, Julius Kamau O.I. January, 2009.} Some members confessed to have paid only twenty shillings and were allocated over five acres of land. “I paid twenty shillings only, and promised to pay the rest, which I have never paid; I got five acres of land in Gatero.”\footnote{Hannah Wanjiku, O.I. January, 2009.} The company was well coordinated by G.G. Kariuki, thus it helped to a certain extent alleviate poverty in Laikipia district. Agricultural production improved, and by 1975 it had risen by over 6%.\footnote{KNA/LKA/DC/: Laikipia DAC Divisional Land Control Board Minutes, 1968-1976.} By 1976 Laikipia had become a fully land-adjudicated area.\footnote{KNA/LKA/RUP/E/9/: Laikipia Annual Report, 1974.} By the time company had finished buying and allocating land to its members, it remained with over five million in its bank account. This money was set aside to be used in the future to construct hospitals, schools and other facilities in Laikipia.\footnote{Wahome wa Gichachi, O.I. January, 2009.} In the meantime, G.G. Kariuki helped in the establishment of fifty other land buying companies in Laikipia district. These
included: Gema holdings by Njenga Karume, Maundu ni Meri, Thome, Kiamariga, Njorua, Othaya Chinga, Muhotetu, Tandare, Mukurweini and Mathira Kihindui. \(^{113}\) However, his company had some shortcomings in its attempts to settle the landless in Laikipia. One respondent noted that:

G.G. Kariuki settled people, but he was very discriminative, the good lands were given to his friends (officials of the company), his family and in-laws. He would say in the meetings that people would get land through balloting but he had already allocated the best lands for his friends. \(^{114}\)

Even though G.G. Kariuki’s settlement efforts aimed at ensuring that all members of the different ethnic communities in Laikipia were settled, they were viewed as skewed in favour of one community in that members of his Kikuyu were the major beneficiaries. “Only the Kikuyu got land in Laikipia district, the other communities were told to go back to their original homelands and buy land there.” \(^{115}\) This could have been as a result of the fact that the Kikuyu, better organized from the onset, had formed land buying companies and cooperatives that allowed them to easily reach agreement with several European farm owners to the effect that they were the only people to whom the land would be sold to once sufficient funds were collected from the members. By the time the other groups, especially the Kalenjin groups, realized what was happening, and by the time they organized themselves into cooperatives and companies, a lot of land had already been bought fully by the Kikuyu. \(^{116}\) However others held different views, over the same matter, as one respondent affirmed:

We came from Njoro in 1973 when we heard of the land buying company in Laikipia district. We paid the subscription fee and through secret ballot got ten acres of land in Gatero settlement scheme where we have been living ever since. Kihika Kimani realized that G.G Kariuki was becoming very famous in Rift Valley through buying land using the company. Kihika approached G.G Kariuki and together they bought 102,000 acres in Sipili. The Mwenje settlement scheme was allocated to any other person and even was given out for construction of Mwenje secondary school. \(^{117}\)

By 1974, G.G. Kariuki had helped settle thousands of landless in Laikipia district. He had also helped poor parents who could not pay school fees for their children through Laikipia West Welfare Fund; which he solely financed. Most of these beneficiaries were girls. G.G. Kariuki believed that assisting women would eliminate poverty from Kenya. Poor parents would approach him and he would give more than ten thousands for secondary education and five thousands for primary school children; more than five hundred students benefited from this kitty in Laikipia district. In the 1974 general elections G.G. Kariuki faced a major opponent, F.K. Mbuthia, who was an official of GEMA. His nomination to that position had been supported by G.G. Kariuki two years earlier. One informant noted that:

Mbuthia had been supported by the Kikuyu from Nyeri, he received more than one million especially from GEMA holdings, and he had doubts of winning because G.G. Kariuki had become so famous especially among women, whose votes always determined the winners in Laikipia district. He agreed to put forward his name only after he was promised to have his job back as a civil servant in case he did not win. G.G. Kariuki had too the benefit of support from many of the residents of Laikipia, Mbuthia on the other hand had the support of the youths who supported him during the day but termed his manifesto as unrealistic at night.

G.G. Kariuki’s throng of supporters went mad with delight when he was re-elected, and carried shoulder high. G.G. Kariuki had garnered 7,939 votes to defeat Mbuthia who managed 5,933 votes. By the mid 1970s, Kenyatta was sickly. The Change the Constitution Movement emerged in 1976 and was popular in 1977; its proponents aimed at stopping the then Vice President, Daniel Moi, from becoming president in the event of Kenyatta’s death. Jackson Angaine (Minister of Lands and Settlement), Paul Ngei (Minister of Co-operative Development), Njoroge Mungai and Njenga Karume (a nominated member of parliament and Chairman of GEMA), and Kihika Kimani (chairman of KANU, Nakuru branch) led the proponents for the change while Charles Njonjo (the Attorney General), Stanley Oloitiptip (Minister for Health) and G.G. Kariuki campaigned against the change. G.G. Kariuki by this time was climbing the political ladder; he was not only a politician in Laikipia district but had secured a place for himself in the national political arena as the subsequent chapter will show.

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CHAPTER THREE
G.G. KARIUKI AS A CABINET MINISTER

Introduction
The period between 1979 and 1982 represents some of the most significant moments in the life of G.G. Kariuki. It is arguable that during this time G.G. Kariuki was no longer a political nonentity. He was now a player not only in the local politics but also on the national front. He was named to President Moi’s cabinet as Minister of State in the Office of the President in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration. G.G. Kariuki had rightly secured a place for himself at the national political arena. He was among the first ministers to accompany the president on tours to various countries. The presidential trips involved talks regarding economic aid and military matters. Prior to his appointment to the Cabinet, G.G. Kariuki had served as the chairman of the Betting, Control and Licensing Board in the Kenyatta regime; he succeeded J.M. Kariuki. This was another upward movement in the political arena. Samson Murithi Nduhiu, his close associate, succeeded him in 1979. An Act of Parliament Chapter 131 Laws of Kenya of 1966 established the Betting Control and Licensing Board. Prior to the Act, the functions of the board were being handled by the Police Department. The Board had nine sitting members and it played a big role in changing the notion that gaming is a vice. Given the positive contributions the gaming industry makes to the economy in terms of employment and revenue generation, gaming became a legitimate consumer pursuit and hence the need for vigorous promotion. The Act provided for the control and licensing of Betting and Gaming premises and the activities carried therein; for the authorization of lotteries and prize competition as well as eradication of illegal gambling.

It is therefore no exaggeration when one asserts that G.G. Kariuki became the most powerful and visible minister in Moi’s government between 1979 and 1982. G.G. Kariuki, responded to his new position by engaging in local, national and international politics.

123 Ibid.
124 www.betting@wananchi.com
G.G. Kariuki’s Role in the Rise of Moi to Power

When Jomo Kenyatta died in 1978, KANU held its national executive council on the 4th of October of the same year; Moi was elected unopposed as the President of the party and was formally installed as the second President of the republic of Kenya. With Moi’s ascension to the presidency a new era had started. But how does one explain Moi’s peaceful and smooth succession, following the intense change the constitution campaigns to bar him; coupled with the fact that by 1978, the Kikuyu elite dominated the political, administrative and economic life of the country? It is arguable that two major factors favoured his ascendancy. One was that many of his would be political enemies underestimated him. They assumed and believed that he was not ambitious and even labelled him a ‘passing cloud.’ Secondly, despite their strong presence in all important fields, the Kikuyu were fragmented into various camps that were hostile to each another. Moi effectively exploited these deep-seated divisions among the Kikuyu. He decided to side with one group; the Charles Njonjo, G.G. Kariuki and Mwai Kibaki group. But the man behind his success was G.G. Kariuki.

G.G. Kariuki, then almost unknown on the national political stage, suddenly came out of nowhere to become a significant power broker in KANU. He presented a list of candidates for the various party posts; the list was dimmed to represent the wishes of the Kenyan people. It contained a lot of new blood and only a few of the well-established politicians at the time. Interestingly, G.G. Kariuki’s original list proposed Oloitiptip for the post of national chairman, but later his name would later be replaced with Omolo Okero from Nyanza province. G.G. Kariuki did not personally present this list to the public. It was left to Oloitiptip and Shariff Nassir to get the parliament to put its seal of approval on it. This was merely a political campaign gimmick since delegates elected party officials from the various branches all over the country and not by parliament, but it turned to be a disaster. When Oloitiptip and Nassir attempted to read the list in parliament, they were heckled and booed by the members who kept shouting, “We do not want dictatorship from Oloitiptip or Nassir.” The Members of Parliament sang the party

127 Ibid.
song, *KANU Yajenga Nchi*, as they shouted “Oloitiptip and Nassir chini!” A badly shaken Oloitiptip was escorted out of the house while Nassir dashed out through the back door.

But that was not the end of the matter. On the eve of the party elections on October 4, 1978, G.G. Kariuki was the originator of more than 3,000 cards listing the names of those who “Kenya had determined” should be elected to what post. The cards had the blessing of the powers that be. As a matter of fact, only G.G. Kariuki, the printer, and a few of those working with him knew the contents of the cards. Until the cards were finally distributed at Kenyatta International Conference Centre, where delegates had gathered for the election, G.G. Kariuki was to confirm, months later, to the *Weekly Review* that even the president did not know the contents of the cards. He reportedly had gone up to the president, just before the meeting started, and showed him one of the cards and informed him that those whose names appeared on the cards would be elected. As it turned out, they were all elected, most of them with huge majorities over their opponents. G.G. Kariuki had successfully marshalled a provincial block-voting strategy in the 1978 election; and was the first to declare total support for Kibaki to be elected KANU vice chair. He would also double as Kibaki’s chief strategist; and round up support for him in Marsabit and Isiolo. His friendship with Kibaki started when Kibaki left Makerere University to become KANU’s executive officer. As G.G. Kariuki stated:

> When Kibaki left Makerere he found me in the party’s national executive and we started together. He was a man eager to promote the party and most of us gave him all we could offer on a friendly basis as members of one organization.

In February 1979, when the *Weekly Review* sought to find out how he had managed to assemble such an invincible team, G.G. Kariuki responded:

> It was a question of having done a little homework. We worked hard with district chairmen; we got a lot of help from leaders all over the country. The cards may have been

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129 This strategy advocated that every province was guaranteed representation on the party’s national executive.


my ideas, but most of the work had already been done by dozens of KANU leaders in the preceding weeks.\textsuperscript{132}

When asked to clarify what he meant by ‘we’ in his statement, he did not; however it was clear these were the members of the task force that put together the cards. It was later understood they included the branch party chairmen. If G.G. Kariuki’s 1979 claim that even President Moi was unaware of the contents of the pink cards, one can only be left wondering who was behind his team. In terms of political power play, G.G. Kariuki, had not mastered the clout required to initiate and execute such political schemes at that point in his political career.\textsuperscript{133} However, some people felt that, “G.G. Kariuki was one of the politicians known who to do much to get others into powerful positions without coveting such a position; and this is what he did for Moi.”\textsuperscript{134} Others had the impression that:

G.G. Kariuki cannot be said to be a self-sacrificing martyr as some believe him to be: the man had known what it meant to be in power when he served as an Assistant Minister for Lands and Settlement. He needed to acquire more power by making Moi famous. He knew he would be rewarded.\textsuperscript{135}

When this was pointed out to him, G.G. Kariuki retorted:

\begin{quote}
The author of the \textit{Weekly Review} did not know what happened and did not wish to know from me as the author of the cards. There were no powers required but a strategy. It would have been a big blow if Kibaki was to be defeated by Nyaga.\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

In the event that Njonjo was the man behind G.G. Kariuki’s pink card, then one can argue that this could have been part of Njonjo’s long term political strategy. Since Njonjo was then Kenya’s Attorney General, and hence expected to remain above party politics, he could not have personally executed the moves; G.G. Kariuki did. Emmanuel Karisa Maitha claimed that Said Hemed had told him, back in late 1978, that Njonjo would be resigning in time to join parliamentary politics. And that, with the help of Chief Secretary Jeremiah Kiereini, Njonjo

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[133]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[134]{Onesmus Kariuki, Stephen Macharia, Karani Njirigu, O.I. January, 2009.}
\footnotetext[135]{Mathew Muriuki, Stanley Kabugi, O.I. January, 2009.}
\footnotetext[136]{G.G. Kariuki, O.I. May, 2009.}
\end{footnotes}
would not only become a minister but would also eventually take over the presidency from Moi. If this were true, it would be reasonable to conclude that Njonjo had taken a great opportunity to not only satisfy himself about how well he could manipulate the party machinery to his own benefit, but had also managed to install a substantial number of his own men in key positions with the hope of mobilizing them in a future confrontation with Moi.  

The death of President Kenyatta, however, did not lead to any significant break from the philosophy that had guided Kenya’s governance policies since independence. President Moi was determined to maintain it. Moi took over Kenya’s presidency and initially left the Cabinet he had inherited from Kenyatta largely in place. The civil service remained largely intact; except for a few changes in a number of government departments. In November 1979, while addressing KANU leaders, for the first time since the elections of 1978, Moi spoke of how he had appreciated the orderly and mature way in which the elections had been carried out. He said:

…These elections were a major and complex national exercise…we Kenyans can look back at that huge exercise with satisfaction and justified pride…I want to thank you all, as KANU leaders in all branches, for the role you played in ensuring elections were conducted properly and in a truly mature fashion…The cabinet is going to be an active body in our affairs.  

Moi adopted a policy of unifying people; he released the people previously detained by the Kenyatta and adopted non-confrontation strategy emphasizing reconciliation. In 1980, at the state opening of parliament, he declared that his policy and style of politics would be based on the principle of peace, love and unity:

We must all remember the importance of upholding national unity…Anyone who truly regards the aspirations of our people and development of our nation as the objective, must regard himself duty bound to uphold this philosophy…

In the general elections of 1979, J.G. Mathenge who had contested and lost in 1974, contested again for the Laikipia West seat against G.G. Kariuki. He lost again; owing to the incumbent’s

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139 Ibid, p.3.
record of service. G.G. Kariuki had already done a lot for the people of Laikipia; especially on land acquisition and settlement and thus the voters were unwilling to elect anyone else at a time when his political star looked bright. During this time Moi had also been campaigning in Laikipia; and declared at a public rally that he would like to G.G Kariuki returned to parliament unopposed.140 G.G. Kariuki garnered 21,200 votes against Mathenge’s 6,100 votes.141 What was the meaning of this election victory for G.G. Kariuki? He was named the Minister of State in the Office of the President in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration, in Moi’s government; while Njonjo became the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs in 1980. In addition to his ministerial status, G.G. Kariuki was also appointed the Vice Chairman of the Kenya-Arab Friendship Association whose aim was to foster good relationships between Kenyans and Arabs.142

G.G. Kariuki and Njonjo teamed up with Moi to form a mighty triumvirate of power never before witnessed in the history of Kenya.143 The two (G.G. Kariuki and Njonjo) enjoyed special security protection, which included a contingent of plain-clothes bodyguards and General Service Unit men at their residences.144 Eyebrows were raised at the way Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki travelled in the presidential limousine; using it so often, that it was dubbed the ‘office matatu.’ People would ask, “Who is the president?” “Is it Moi, Njonjo or G.G. Kariuki?”145 Henceforth, G.G. Kariuki became one of the men who stood by the president through thick and thin. He even defended the loyalty of the Kikuyu while addressing a public rally in Kangema, Murang’a by stating that the Kikuyu had no secret plan to undermine either the government of Moi or anyone else, “Just as God appointed Mzee Jomo Kenyatta to liberate this country from the yoke of colonialism, so has he chosen President Moi to lead us to greater heights of prosperity.”146 During a campaign to unite the Kikuyu members from Kiambu, who had been complaining that the government was after them and thus were persecuting them, G.G. Kariuki

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140 Weekly Review. (1983). Oloitiptip was to be Vice President, July 15.
144 Weekly Review. (1983). Oloitiptip was to be Vice President, July 15.
145 Ibid, p12.
had two words of advice to such people, “perish alone.” He said such people should not drag the name of the district into personal predicament.\footnote{Ibid, (1978). -'National Matters', November 10.} G.G.’ Kariuki’s loyalty to Moi was illustrated in his speeches in parliament. In a ministerial briefing in 1981, he ended his speech with the following sentence, “I do not think Kenya will ever have a better president than the one we have today.”\footnote{Kenya National Assembly Official Report, Third Session, Vol. Lvi, July 1981, p.859.}

From this statement, we can conclude that G.G. Kariuki employed sycophancy to remain a political darling of President Moi to endear himself to political favours. G.G. Kariuki’s political star soared to the top; he never left the president’s side, making some political observers and rivals to refer to him, in jest, as Grace Gathoni.\footnote{G. G. Kariuki dismissed the jest as inconsequential.} He and Njonjo were among the chief advisers of Moi.\footnote{Weekly Review. (1980). -Mwai Kibaki in Political hot Seat; October 24.} The public considered them to be Moi’s closest and most trusted aides. They were so powerful and close to Moi like human shields; that most politicians felt cut from access to the president. Opposing G.G. Kariuki and Njonjo became synonymous with opposing the president. This fact was evident when former Member of Parliament for Nyeri, Waruru Kanja, charged in parliament that Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki were being accorded extra security protection at the expense of the state because of their past sins. Kanja also called for the naming of the “big man” in the Mboya murder and also claimed that G.G. Kariuki and Njonjo were plotting to have him assassinated.

However, G.G. Kariuki defended himself and Njonjo; and denied that they were being guarded for any past crime and appealed to Kenyans to ignore the statements by Kanja. He asserted, “Anyone doing that should be ready to answer all the questions the government might put to him.”\footnote{Ibid. (1980). -Serious Accusations leveled on Ministers; November 21, p.5.} Njonjo retorted, “If I was not sacked during the late Kenyatta’s time, I will not be sacked now.”\footnote{Ibid.} Kanja, then an assistant minister in the local government docket, was dismissed by president Moi who declared that his appointment was no longer in the interest of the government. A few months later, Kanja was arrested and charged with contravening the
country’s foreign exchange and control regulations and served a year in jail besides losing his parliamentary seat.153

**G.G. Kariuki in the Local Politics**

With regards to G.G. Kariuki’s rising political star on the national front, life in Laikipia West constituency changed; it became more dramatic and lively. As two informants recollected:

An airstrip was constructed in Rumuruti. Moi became a regular visitor in Laikipia district and at G.G. Kariuki’s home. G.G. Kariuki’s ‘circle of friends’ would be taken to trips overseas, for instance, to India and America. The Nyakinyua women group would dance their hearts out for the president and in return they would receive a token of lessos and money.154

In conventional wisdom, it becomes reasonable that a man who speaks ill of you should be your enemy or at least that you should feel he is your enemy. In the case of G.G. Kariuki, there was such a man, a fervent critic named Wagathia. Wagathia always felt G.G. Kariuki was slow in his way of doing things; even when he was settling the landless in Laikipia; it was not enough in the eyes of Wagathia. One day, while addressing a crowd in Losogwa, G.G Kariuki asked for a matchbox. He removed a stick from it and broke it into pieces. And in his usual dry humour said, “This is the way I will break Wagathia. Let me hear no more of his lies fostered by hate and envy.”155 This was at the heyday of his power.

This power came with considerable changes in G.G. Kariuki’s personal fortunes and those of his family. He entertained guests from all over; indicating the changing fortune. As two informants noted:

G.G. Kariuki made a happy home. He did not lose touch with his family. He would in most cases spend his weekends at his home in Igwamiti. He would be at ease with the elders with whom he always had discussions centered on the welfare of the co-existing communities in Laikipia district and their unity. Equally, he welcomed many visitors and

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guests from as far as Turkana and Samburu districts. Thus he not only served his own constituents but also other people from the Rift Valley.156

Laikipia West constituency experienced his generosity as a minister; he participated in many fundraising activities. In 1980, for instance, he donated more than a million shillings to various self help groups and invited various guests from within and outside the district who donated money and materials to self help groups and schools.157 At personal level, G.G. Kariuki had by 1979 began to accumulate wealth. He had bought large tracks of land in Laikipia district and established businesses in Nyahururu, Nakuru and Nairobi.158

G.G. Kariuki in Sports
G.G. Kariuki is also a onetime sports personality; with more than a passing interest in martial arts. In 1977, he engaged a private trainer, Moog Yun, and started training in Tae Kwon Do; one of the world’s popular martial arts (with regards to the huge number of enthusiasts worldwide), originating from Korea. Tae (strike\break with foot), Kwon (break with fist) easily translated as “the way of the foot and fist” or “the way of kicking and punching.” The sport combines combat techniques, self defense, sport, exercise, meditation and philosophy. It was established in 1950’s and 1960’s; the names and symbolism of the patterns often refer to elements of Korean History.159 As Tae Kwon Do competitor, he achieved a second level black belt. With a thoughtful gaze, reminiscences:

When I was Minister of State, I introduced Tae Kwon Do to the youths and the armed forces. It is an interesting sport. It instils discipline to the trainees; it boosts confidence as one performs daily activities beside self defense.160

In 1981, he served as the chairman of the Kenya Tae Kwon Do Association as well as the Vice President of the World Federation of Tae Kwon Do Association (WTF). However, in 1983, he resigned from the posts.161

159 Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.
G.G. Kariuki as Minister of Internal Security and Provincial Administration

In his capacity as the Minister of State in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration, he was primarily tasked with overseeing law enforcement, national security and provincial administration agencies. He was in charge of the Kenya police, Special Branch, the Criminal Investigation Department, the General Service Unit and the Anti-Stock Theft Unit. In comparison with the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, where he had served till his full ministerial appointment, the new ministry was one that hit news headlines frequently. Politically, on paper, it was a ministry with loads of power and huge resources to influence client and patronage distribution.

Despite the public view that G.G. Kariuki was a powerful and elegant minister, he faced two major forms of frustrations. First, he was answerable to the president and did not have direct power over the ministry. He was just a glorified personal assistant; expected to take action that only served the best interests of the president. For example, certain matters, like transfer or dismissal of senior government officers in the ministry, important security operations and declaration of curfews, could be decided without his knowledge.

The second frustration was the Ndegwa Commission; prompted by the need to have a critical look at the existing government machinery. The commission investigated the state of the Public Service and suggested remedies to the problems of the 1970s. The Commission devoted a major part of its efforts to the restructuring of the civil service, in terms of role, philosophy, management, practices, administration and management of public finance. It proposed the continuation of the executive roles of the Public Service Commission, but, with increased delegation of authority to the Permanent Secretary to include job groups “A” to “L.” It also recommended abolition of the Provincial Personnel branches. It further recommended that a civil servant could attend to his private interests while at the same time serving the public. This to G.G. Kariuki was a challenge, stating that “It would result to loss of dedication and

162 G. G. Kariuki. Illusion of Power, p.79.
163 Ibid, p. 80.
professionalism…would lead to corruption in the civil service due to delegation of role by senior officers to the junior ones.”

In 1979, the Waruhiu report was launched and in the following year, made recommendations from Ndegwa report. The recommendations were not fully appreciated, terming them as widely maligned, distorted and misrepresented. Waruhiu reported that the reaction of the government to the Ndegwa report was at best lukewarm. Below is an extract of that report:

We consider that all those who serve the public:
(a) Should give it their undivided loyalty wherever and whenever it has a claim on their services;
(b) Should not subordinate their duties to their private interests nor put themselves in a position where there is a conflict between their duty to the state and their private interests;
(c) Should not engage in any occupation or business which prejudices their status as members of public service or bring any such service into disrepute; and finally
(d) Should at all times maintain the professional and ethical standards which the nation expects of them in transacting government with efficiency, integrity and impartiality.

G.G. Kariuki studied the Commission report and agreed with it on matters of discipline in the police force. In 1981, G.G. Kariuki called for a meeting at the Police Pavilion and stated:

I am surprised that some civil servants put business ahead of their duties; you cannot serve two masters. I am expressing my views as a loyal Kenyan chosen to serve the nation and those of our beloved president….Those who think business is important than their duties, I have one word for them; resign!

The country faced insecurity in 1980, chiefly in North Eastern and Rift valley provinces. Responding to a question, in Parliament, regarding a land dispute in Ntulele, Maasailand, which had degenerated into an ugly tense war of words pitting different Maasai groups against each other, G.G. Kariuki, argued that it was an issue the government would settle. He cautioned individuals against settling land disputes by themselves, stressing that this task was purely a government prerogative. With the aim of expediting a solution to land squabbles and other

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problems in Masailand, he visited Narok.\textsuperscript{169} While speaking at Narok stadium, he declared that the government was the only state organ vested with absolute statutory power to settle land problems and not individuals. He stated that:

\begin{quote}
In trying to settle the land squabbles among the Eldamat, Purko and Kekonyooike Maasai, the government will endeavor to uphold justice and fairness. In connection, the government will ensure the protection of the minority clans as much as the majority clans. The government will never sit back to see the minorities being mistreated.\textsuperscript{170}
\end{quote}

He urged that, in order to facilitate and accelerate the settlement of the land issue, a census should be carried out in Ntulele of the Eldamat, Kekonyoookie and Purko Masai. The protagonists and other interested parties were meanwhile urged not to interfere with the exercise. His visit was not in vain as there was notable change in attitude among the Masai leaders in the week that followed.\textsuperscript{171}

In 1980, when Hon. Wakiondo asked G.G. Kariuki, in his ministerial capacity, to explain to the House when vacant posts for chiefs in Tharaka and Marimanti locations would be filled; and whether he could enlighten the house on how the posts of chief and their assistants whenever vacant were filled; and if he could make sure that such posts were advertised prior to being filled; he stated that the methods used in appointing of chiefs had changed. He clarified that chiefs were selected by a committee; three names of candidates of the vacancy of a chief would be selected and forwarded to the office of the president which then picks one of them. On the question of advertising the posts, he requested to remain silent until he held a discussion, over the same, with the president.\textsuperscript{172} In the same year, he was opposed to the motion raised in parliament by Hon. Abuya, who condemned the police in general of being corrupt and misusing others. G.G. Kariuki assured the house that the Kenya police and army were well trained and they were going to maintain high standard of security.\textsuperscript{173}

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{169} Ibid. (1980). ‘President’s Ire’, September 26,
\item\textsuperscript{170} Ibid, p.16.
\item\textsuperscript{171} Ibid
\item\textsuperscript{172} Kenya National Assembly Official Report, Second Session, Vol Liii, May, 1980.
\item\textsuperscript{173} Ibid, Third Session, Vol Lv, June, 1980.
\end{footnotes}
Responding to Hon. Midika, who had wanted to know how many acres of agricultural land were still in the hands of foreigners and what plans the minister had for buying such land and selling it to the landless Kenyans, G.G. Kariuki said there were more than 462,334 acres and he had consulted the provincial and district commissioners to check on the matter. However, he said that the government had no plans to buy such lands for allocation to the landless since there was no money to for such a course. He further explained that there was a policy of “willing buyer, willing seller”, and that the foreigners were willing to sell their farms to willing wananchi noting that more than 80% of the formally white owned farms had been bought by Africans.  

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In the 1980s, campaigns to curb population increase intensified. G.G. Kariuki, despite clashing with Njonjo in 1979 when the latter Proposed the Marriage Reform Bill, on the basis that it was too Western in its orientation, was one of the supporters of the family planning campaign. “There is nothing wrong in giving our women a good time,” G.G. Kariuki said amid laughter in the house and added, “But all we need is proper family planning services to cut the population rate without short cuts.”

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During G.G. Kariuki’s tenure as the Minister for Internal Security, there were increases in intensified violent attacks on the public, in North Eastern Kenya, by shifta bandits. The bandits had killed a number of civil servants in the province. The government had mobilized security in the area and imposed a 6 pm to 6 am curfew over the whole province and declared a state of emergency. Addressing the press, in Nairobi, he stated that the Kenya government had declared an all out war against the shifta. He said, “The time has come when we should make sure that this type of situation is not repeated…our security forces are determined to contain the situation.”  

176 Party officials from the North Eastern Province, took him to task on the same issue when he accused MPs of Somali origin of making no effort to contain shifta banditry in the Province. Led by Abdi Hassan, the then Mandera District KANU branch chairman and Kassim Ibrahim Hassan, the branch executive officer, the official also protested against the minister’s remarks suggesting that it was difficult to trust the Somali people. G.G. Kariuki had said: “But

174 Ibid.
the Somali speaks in two lips and it seems as if they say, we are electing you to go to that
government of yours, but leave us to continue with our own business.”

The officials gave him an ultimatum to withdraw his statement; but, he did not. Rather, he
declared that the people of the North Eastern province had only themselves to blame for the
burning of houses as they were the ones hiding and supplying food to the shifta bandits. The
Garrisa KANU district executive officer, Abdi Fatah Sheikh, accused G.G. Kariuki of acting
“like a very determined friend” of those who badly needed war between Kenya and Somalia;
while Onshur called for his removal from his ministerial portfolio. Sheikh further, accused him
of having forgotten that Kenya had the due process of lawfully punishing those guilty of any
offences. In January 1981, lifting the curfew imposed on Wajir and Mandera, G.G. Kariuki
said the development did not cover Garrisa. He said the people were being given time to show
they were ready to co-operate with the government. G.G. Kariuki said shifta bandits were
different from other bandits,

Because we know that these people were trained and assisted by Somalia. The Kenya
government is aware that some Kenyan nationals go to Somalia, where they are provided
with guns to create chaos in Kenya. Such people will be dealt with ruthlessly.

In an affront to the freedom of the press, the government, in 1981, in a special Kenya Gazette
notice signed by G.G. Kariuki banned the Libyan owned Weekly newspaper, The Voice of Africa
for no specific reason; the minister argued that it was not in the public interest to allow it to
sell. When Members of Parliament put him to task to explain the issue, he defended the ban
and maintained that there was need for a national newspaper which should be owned by the
Kenyans; if not, then by KANU. He felt that the newspapers of the day had a problem of
distortion or misinterpretation because their writers and editors were not men of high integrity. In
addition, he contended that there was need to ensure that what is said, whether wrong or not, is

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reported accurately; and that it was improper for a reporter to try to bring his own terminology or interpretation and hence report the opposite of what was meant.\textsuperscript{181}

As Minister for Internal Security, G.G. Kariuki was also tasked to answer security related questions concerning the relations between Kenya and her neighbours in Parliament. With regard to border disputes between Kenya and Tanzania, he stated that he had meetings with government officials from Tanzania to deliberate on how to maintain security on the border of the two countries, especially the Maasai and South Nyanza areas bordering Tanzania.\textsuperscript{182} He also mentioned the problems experienced on the Kenya-Uganda border in respect to people smuggling guns into the country from Uganda and assured the house that the problem would be solved.\textsuperscript{183} Further, G.G. Kariuki described the relation between Somalia and Kenya, which had been characterized by border clashes. He stated that the presidents of the two states had held a meeting and thrashed out matters of mutual interest to the two countries. He said that he felt Somalia was genuine in claiming it did not need any part of the Kenya’s territory. He felt that Kenya’s problem with Somalia resulted from armed bandits and gangsters infiltrating Kenya from the Somalia territory.\textsuperscript{184} Concerning Ethiopia, he felt that it was stable and peaceable. In the same vein, he also congratulated the Kenya police for maintaining law and order, during the Organization of African Unity Conference in Kenya.\textsuperscript{185}

**G.G. Kariuki as Minister for Land, Settlement and Physical Planning**

The stability of the Moi regime was, however, increasingly threatened by the growing opposition, stigmatized as ‘dissidence’ by government stalwarts, from the intellectuals, based largely at the University of Nairobi, and from political activists such as Oginga Odinga, Masinde Muliro, George Anyona, Martin Shikuku and Koigi wa Wamwere. Throughout the 1980s, various groups opposed the one party rule, mostly operating and coordinating their activities from Nairobi and Kenyatta Universities. In August 1982, there was an attempted coup against Moi’s government led by junior Air Force officers. The 1980s also saw the emergence of

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.
underground movements such as Mwakenya, Umoja, Kenya Patriotic Front, Kenya Revolutionary Movement and the December Twelve Movement. Dissent had become an important historical phenomenon in Kenya. For example, in 1970, Nairobi became an autonomous university and direct government interference in the management of the affairs of the university intensified. In 1972, the editor of the student newspaper, University Platform, was arrested for criticizing government policy. The students rioted; the university was closed and Platform was subsequently banned. In February 1975, students boycotted classes and demonstrated in the streets following the assassination of J.M. Kariuki, a popular Member of Parliament. The government reacted violently, beating up students and closing the university. This episode marked a turning point in the relations between the government and the University community.

In January 1978, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, a novelist and then chairman of the Department of Literature at the University of Nairobi, was arrested and detained following the performance of a play considered subversive by the conservatives in the Kenyatta government. The play, Ngahika Ndeenda (I will marry when I want), co-authored by Ngugi wa Thiong’o and Ngugi wa Mirii had been performed by Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s community based theatre group at Kamirithu, Limuru. It attacked the government’s policy towards the poor or the ‘wretched of the earth.’ The open theatre was closed; and Ngugi detained. In September 1979, students of Nairobi University criticized the government’s decision to ban Oginga Odinga and three other former opposition figures from contesting the general elections. The University was closed and the students’ leaders expelled. In 1981, was increasing becoming polarized into two factions: a conservative wing, one described as Nyayo and the other, a reformist wing, labeled anti-Nyayo. Njonjo and Kibaki held, within the same week, separate meetings. Njonjo, at a meeting in his Kikuyu constituency, attacked anti-Nyayo elements in the country while Kibaki felt no one should arrogate himself the ability to act as a barometer of people’s loyalty to the president. It is at this time that Moi moved G.G. Kariuki to the Ministry of Land, Settlement and Physical Planning. Many observers felt that Moi did this only because he felt threatened by G.G Kariuki’s fame, but, Moi explained that the need to change the cabinet was necessary in order to achieve “a

clear assignment of responsibilities and proper allocation of work, so as not to overload some ministries.”188 Even though, G.G. Kariuki argued that he felt relieved doing what he loved most: settling the landless, his friends, colleagues and the public at large felt that he had been demoted. As one informant remarked “He was used to riding in the president’s limousine; this was a slap on the face for G.G. Kariuki who always stood by Moi.”189 Back in parliament, there was a motion by Hon. Kiragu, asking the government, through the Ministry of Lands, to find a place where the National Irrigation Board would buy spare machines. G.G. Kariuki seconded the motion, believing that the only way to improve or better rice farming in the country was for the ministers to discuss better farming methods to reduce rice importation in the country.190

The Estate Duty Abolition Bill was a matter hotly debated in parliament. The object of the bill was to abolish Estate duty on the estates of persons dying on or after 1st January, 1982.

During the second reading stage, G.G. Kariuki supported the motion, arguing that some people, particularly women and children suffered after their husbands or fathers died. He said that this was one of Kenya’s biggest problems since independence following the acceptance of some anti African laws at independence. He stated that KANU had decided never to receive money from a poor person, because a dead person should not pay for his debts.

He also recommended that the Attorney General be requested to support and collate all laws that were contrary to African culture and table them so that they could be amended. In addition, he felt that the law on the Capital Gains Tax Act was restrictive since it held back development. He suggested that it hindered development, since; an individual would not develop by collaborating with their wife alone, but, had to employ people to work for him.191 By the end of 1982, The Laikipia West Farmers Company owned more than 127,000 acres of land and settled more than 20,000 families by 1983. Laikipia district had 53 companies with a total membership of 154,182.192 This was the greatest achievement for G.G. Kariuki in matters of land and settlement.

191 Ibid.
CHAPTER FOUR
ETHNOPERITICAL CONFLICTS IN LAIKIPIA AND G.G. KARIUKI ‘S ROLE

The Nature of Livelihood in Laikipia District

Laikipia district has a diverse population comprising the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Turkana, Samburu, a small population of the Maasai and white farmers. Thus one can correctly say it a district inhabited by pastoral nomadic and agricultural communities. It is also a multi-ethnic and multi-racial district. Conflicts that occur in Laikipia district are of two types: inter-ethnic and human – wildlife conflict. The Kikuyu community is usually attacked by the Pokot and Samburu who are mainly in search of pastureland, while the Tugen from the neighbouring Baringo district fight them over land and political reasons. The Pokot raids the Turkana and the Samburu and vice versa. The main reason for such attacks is the need to increase their herds. The elephants are the main animals that attack the maize farms. Pastoral nomadic subsistence is based on assets of two main kinds: domesticated animals and grazing rights. Pastures and water are used communally. The local society has communal right to use their resources, but the sense of ownership even communally does not seem to be entertained. When a stranger moves in with his cattle or to cultivate the land the local people will complain of the danger of disease and depletion of pasture in the first case and the appropriation of pasture in the second; but not against the appropriation of soil, land as such or even the presence of the stranger on land which he has no right communally with others.193

Traditionally, raiding has been part of the culture for the pastoral societies which had three main objectives: First, it had a social and economic base. An individual without livestock could not participate in the socio-political affairs of the society. Secondly, there was competition for grazing land and water. Due to scarcity or dwindling of resources as a result of overpopulation or adverse climatic changes, some groups are forced to move their livestock to territories that belong to other ethnic groups or clans and this causes conflicts. Thirdly, there are survival strategies. Loss of cattle could lead to raids, which was one of the options of replenishing depleted herds. Or raids

could be undertaken as means of increasing one’s stock as an insurance against unforeseen calamities. In other words, cattle wars constituted a communal response to natural calamities.194

Pastoral communities have a handicap when it comes to advancement. They do not know what they are missing. In 1951 Hunting Ford described Maasai as:

A people who ‘on the whole have remained aloof from our way of life’, when you do not know anything better, you do not want anything better because you do not know what you want. Contrary to the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin who have advanced in all aspects of life.195

Pastoral communities are poorer than most others. For example the Turkana are so poor that the lowest Graduated Personal Tax rate in their area is twenty shillings a year instead of the usual forty eight shillings.196 They can go for days without food or water, under a merciless sun, because these are the conditions present almost throughout the year.197

In pre-colonial times, pastoral societies tended to use migrations as a panacea to manage conflict and/or natural calamities. The pastoralists enjoyed friendly relations with most of their neighbours in spite of sporadic raids and conflicts, which to a very large extent were regulated by elders through the political system of gerontocracy.198 This peaceful coexistence included intermarriage between the pastoral neighbours. But the imposition of fixed ethnic and national borders by the colonialists, with little regard to the seasonal variations and the needs of the people for pastures, had serious repercussions.199 The borders did not only limit free access to grazing land and water but also seem to have increased social conflicts among the pastoralists. As access to land diminished and populations of people and livestock increased against available resources, there emerged acute competition for water and pastures. These, in turn, tend to intensify both intra and cross borders raids and conflicts.

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196 Ibid. p.142.
197 Ibid. p.143.
Causes of Conflicts in Laikipia District

Cultural Differences

Conflicts occur when the parties involved try to achieve their objectives by destroying or disabling their opponents. Different occurrences of armed conflicts have varying characters and degrees of intensity. It is unfair to term the conflicts in Laikipia as ‘tribal’ or ‘land’ clashes. The conflicts have been as a result of a number of factors. The pastoral communities in Laikipia originally came from the neighboring districts such as Turkana and Samburu districts. Pastoral systems are, to a large extent, products of climatic and environmental factors. Nowhere in their livelihood is any homestead permanent, nor under any circumstances do nomads move in consent.

Turkana land is an arid, desiccated country probably undergoing some progressive deterioration though at a slow rate which must have began before the present inhabitants came to occupy it. Since 1930s the annual rainfalls have varied between 19.3 and 37.4 inches:

Outside the wet season, rain does not usually fall in any quantity. December to January appears to be completely rainless…much of the country is black cotton soil which is highly resistant to absorption of water…

There are some indigenous conceptions regarding the use of pasturelands. The first principle is that there are no specific pastures rights attached to any individuals or groups of any sort. Pasturage is common to all members of a tribe. A herd of stock can be moved anywhere anytime. The second principle is that movements are made primarily at the discretion of the owner of a herd, or of his agent in charge. Furthermore a herd is not necessarily to be found in the same place at the same successive years; most importantly particularly in Turkana land, conditions of rainfall and therefore, of grass and water is seldom the same two years together, and in any one spot. These facts are borne out by what the Turkana say:

We can move anywhere, everywhere. You own stock and things; you do not own the country. Further, a man is not prevented from changing his areas of pastoral operations, nor need his brother or sons follow his geographical cycle.

These thoughts were similarly shared by the Samburu community:


201 Ibid. p.77.

202 Ibid. p.66
A man who has cattle is important. He can have many wives and many sons to look after his herds….This is our land, it belongs to us all.\textsuperscript{203} We cannot watch our animals die; we have to look for better land. The land belongs to God and we need not to ask for permission from anybody other than our God.\textsuperscript{204}

Livestock theft always occurs, as Francis Wambua, the Laikipia branch chairman of the Kenya Red Cross Society who has lived in the area for more than thirty years said:

Whenever a raid occurs, those who lose their cows then undertake a counter raid to recover the stolen cows or to restock their herds. The raids also are intensified over grazing land exacerbated by drought. When the rains are inadequate to accommodate the grazing needs of the pastoralists. These conflicts cut across the communities.\textsuperscript{205} Armed conflicts occur between the Pokot and Samburu over grazing land or Kikuyu land. Tugen also present problems because they also graze animals. Turkana are the poorest and present no major conflict, mostly they steal for survival.\textsuperscript{206}

\textbf{Illegal Fire Arms}

The most conflictual location in Laikipia West constituency is Sipili. A report by ‘Kids Libs’ founder said that Sipili has been an area of conflict between Samburu and Pokot, primarily over cattle. “There are deaths every week. Most are never investigated because the area is remote and has no effective police presence. Illegal firearms are still our major problem, unless solved we will never have peace.”\textsuperscript{207} Two informants from Samburu community affirmed:

Two neighbouring clans could occasionally arrange for a fight against each other. Thus each clan had to make the best arrows, shields and spears to fight the other clan. Sometimes the fight became bloody but an intervention by the elders solved the case. Thus weapons are part of our culture and we always posses them. Our Morans must carry spear or an arrow to be identified as a real man. We always keep our weapons ready guarding the Manyatta so that when the enemies come we have to attack them in solidarity.\textsuperscript{208}

\begin{footnotes}
\item Moses Lekupe, Samson Letinina O.I January 2009
\item Stephen Macharia, Wahome Gichaci O.I January 2009.
\item Letiwua Lenayoo, Lekupe Lekoloo, Lesile Leina, O.I January 2009
\end{footnotes}
The response from the Kikuyu community also proved the presence of weapons in their homes.

The fact that we border with the pastoral communities we cannot just watch them steal and destroy our homesteads. We always know they will attack us. I gave some Pokot maize and potatoes in exchange they gave me three arrows, a spear and a shield. 

**Inadequate and Unequal Distribution of Resources**

The inhabitants of Laikipia district which is partially arid depends for their livelihood on livestock, cattle, goats, camels and sheep. The pastoral communities rely on access to water and pastureland. Such resources are scarce and under increasing pressure they must be shared with ranchers, farmers and wildlife as well with the needs of the urban communities. Water is a basic need for the nomadic-pastoralists, the tourist industry rural farmers and the urban dwellers. To ensure that water is protected, the farmers farm and fence around the water catchments areas. On the other hand the pastoralists feed their animals with the water saying “water is a gift from God thus no one owns it or decides who can use it;” this becomes a real source of conflict.

Laikipia district has been embroiled in conflicts for generations so much that many Laikipia district residents differentiate between the “usual” violence and the poll-related kind. Wambua said that the region often experiences clashes between pastoralists and cultivators or between different groups of pastoral communities. Wambua said the Kenya Red Cross Society has recorded at least 19,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Laikipia West and East since January 2009. The IDPs are mostly from the Rift Valley while a similar number reside in Laikipia district. A. Gichigi affirms:

The conflicts over grazing land is a common experience. Often there are raids between Samburu and the Masai and between Samburu and the Pokot. The Turkana are often used by either side of the warring communities in their quest for better grazing land.

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209 James Kamau, O.I January 2009
In the interviews, some of the informants stated that G.G. Kariuki encouraged tribalism and only developed locations inhabited by the Kikuyu community. As several non killing informant claimed:

We walk for over ten kilometres to get a health center and a school. We always used to complain to G.G. Kariuki as our member of parliament but all he used to say was, ‘go back to you districts and be helped there or better still ask for your help from heaven. This is Kikuyu land.’ We always feel left out in terms of development yet our animals have to feed, thus we always risk and end up fighting.212

Three informants were in agreement that the resources were there, but distributed in relation to political interests. In the words of one of them:

Laikipia West district is both an urban and rural area. The resources available such as roads, hospitals, water and electricity are distributed unequally such that you find locations and areas around Kinamba, Nyahururu and Rumuruti are well developed than the rest of the district. G.G. Kariuki developed areas where he had a lot of supporters or relatives and friends of his relatives. The rest of the district was neglected, thus the communities who live in the non-developed areas like Sipili Salama and Mutara locations always felt left out and went out looking for better services.213

**Elections and Democracy**

Democracy lacked meaning in Laikipia district in 1983, when the voters who supported G.G. Kariuki were denied the right to cast their votes peacefully. As informants narrated:

One would go to the polling station escorted by armed policemen, they would tell us not to vote for G.G. Kariuki. Some of us were whipped when we declined to vote and we had to do so to save our lives.214

During campaigns and elections life always changed for the worse in the Rift Valley especially during the Moi era. Laikipia which is part of the province experienced Moi’s wrath. From 1992, on the onset of multiparty politics conflicts were experienced but minor damages were experienced in Laikipia district. The 1998 attacks began in Laikipia district in mid-January and spread to Nakuru district. They occurred only in areas where the Democratic Party (DP) had won

212 Simon Kipkoech, James Kibet, Andrew Lokoloo, O.I January 2009
214 Jessse Kamau, Naomi Chesire, Nancy Cheptoo, O.I January 2009
seats in the 1997 Parliamentary elections and began shortly after Mwai Kibaki, the DP chairperson, announced he was mounting a legal challenge to the Presidential election results.

In Laikipia district the violence was sparked by a raid on a farm. On 11th January 1998 the home of Esther Njeri Mburu was attacked by armed Pokot who raped her and her daughter and stole fifteen goats. The assailants were followed by a group of Kikuyu who, unable to catch them, attacked fifty four animals belonging to the Pokot. This increased the tension in the area and as a result the District Officer of Ng'arua division, organized a peace meeting on 13th January between the Kikuyu and the Pokot communities. However, shortly after the meeting ended raiders from the Pokot and Samburu communities, supported by some Turkana, began attacking unarmed Kikuyu, killing four people and burning and looting their houses in Magadi, near Ol Moran.\textsuperscript{215} The following was the sequence of events as recorded from the interviews of some of the people affected:

There were screams and bullet shots coming from the direction of the forests, moments later cries of people were heard from arrow shots, later invaders torched the houses and the sky looked hazy with smoke from the burning houses and farms, there was hardly any domestic animal in sight. The following day people found ashes and smoldering fire, the remains of their former homes. We picked up the little we had and fled to Maina location, We miss our homes but we cannot go back there\textsuperscript{216}

Killings, house-burnings and looting then spread to Survey, Miharati and Merigwit. There followed a series of attacks in the area on unarmed Kikuyu in their homes and five women and girls were raped in front of their families. From the 14 to 17 January, 1998, almost 2,000 people fled the area and sought refuge at the Catholic mission at Ol Moran and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) compounds. Many of the wounded were taken to the Catholic Church at Kinamba. One man, Kamande Ndegwa, a driver from Thika district, was killed while assisting some of the displaced to carry their belongings to the camps. On 17\textsuperscript{th} January the Kikuyu organized a response to the attacks and over 100 men armed with pangas (machetes) and rungus (sticks) confronted the raiders at Rum-Rum Valley, Mutamaiyu. However the majority of


\textsuperscript{216} Hannah Njeri, David Mwangi, Michael Njenga, Ruth Njeri, O.I January 2009.
the raiders had guns. By the end of January most of the killings in Laikipia district had stopped. Over 50 people had been killed, almost all Kikuyu, over 2,500 people had been displaced and 78 Kikuyu houses and stores had been burnt. There were five reported cases of rape during the attacks. In the previous seven years there had only been eight reported cases of rape. The majority of those people killed were aged over 60.217

Opposition politicians also made statements supporting or even justifying their communities’ right to take up arms and defend themselves, following the lack of action by the authorities. For example, Mwai Kibaki stated, “Mr. Moi cannot afford to maintain silence as if nothing is happening ... when the killing of our citizens has been going on in the last two weeks. It is only natural that the victims will take arms to defend themselves.” 218

Moi criticized opposition politicians for making inflammatory statements and accused the DP of fuelling hostilities in its bid for political power. In all districts of the Rift Valley there was widespread condemnation of the government's failure to address the violence. Delays in strengthening security in the areas were coupled with the failure of the security forces to respond to attacks and no attempts to disarm the raiders. In Laikipia district, despite the large numbers of the dead, the local police refused to intervene. As one church leader noted on 21st January 1998, “In at least three instances, when suspected raiders were sighted, the police were informed in good time, but came many hours later and no arrests were made.” 219 Concern was expressed by the NCCK that the failure to act could increase the level of violence, “We regret the government's continued unwillingness or inability to arrest this unfortunate situation. The government's failure to arrest the situation may force the victims to retaliate and thus cause anarchy.” 220 It was not until 21st January more than a week after the attacks had begun, when the Provincial Commissioner (PC) visited Laikipia district, that a contingent of over 100 members of the General Security Unit (GSU) were deployed. At a public meeting on the same day the PC announced that there would be a new administrative post, a District Officer, at Ol

219 Ibid
Moran and security would be strengthened. Seven new police posts were set up. But when the security forces moved into the area, the raiders moved elsewhere and further killings occurred.

In March, same year, in one of the few incidents when the police did respond quickly to an attack, the police vehicle was ambushed and a policeman was killed. This incident took place shortly after armed raiders were reported to have killed the daughter of a policeman. The majority of the new police posts remained, although several were later removed when police officers were recalled to participate in the police games, an annual sporting event, in Nairobi. The government failed to effectively investigate and punish armed aggressors and appeared not to be acting evenhandedly. The majority of those arrested were Kikuyu. The security forces did not arrest anyone during the raids. Kikuyu survivors recognized many of their attackers and reported them to the police. Few of the Kikuyu attacked believed there was any point in reporting attacks to the authorities. They appeared to have no confidence in the police or the judicial system. One witness stated that they had taken one Kalenjin accused of being involved in the attacks on the Kikuyu to the local GSU camp. The response of the GSU was to beat him and then release him.

One human rights Non Governmental Organization (NGO) which had visited Laikipia district, the Kenyan Human Rights Commission, stated that they had given the police a list of people accused of being involved in the attacks on the Kikuyu, but they appeared not to have acted on this information. Instead a number of Kikuyu assisting with transporting the bodies of victims from Rum-Rum Valley were arrested and their vehicles impounded. They were accused of ferrying Kikuyu to the valley, prior to the counter-attack, and were charged with incitement. Displaced people interviewed by the delegation believed they would not be safe in their homes. In Laikipia district one witness said, “We will be killed if we return, but we have no other choice, anyone who could leave the area, because they had relatives elsewhere or other resources, has already left.” Though conflicts have always awakened in Laikipia district G.G. Kariuki did what he could to restore peace among the warring communities, as several informants affirmed:

222 NCCK statement, 18th January 1998.
G.G. Kariuki had the advantage of expressing himself in Kikuyu, Turkana, Maasai and Samburu languages. He would visit the fighting communities and talk to them in their languages. People loved him as an elder and would listen. Other times he would visit the village elders who would then talk to their people. He would always air the grievances of people in the media; he does it even now when he is not in parliament. A bit of peace was experienced during the time he was in parliament, we always counted on him, he was our caretaker and we miss him.223

Widespread violence broke out after President Kibaki was controversially returned to power on December 30th 2007 with the most serious clashes affecting the Rift Valley. Laikipia district was not left behind. Nominated councilor John Bosco Lorinyok Epur attributed the Rumuruti violence to ethnic animosity. As he put it:

As far as I know the violence started when a Turkana man was killed after he was allegedly found with stolen goats; what I would like to know is why the death of one person would lead to the deaths of dozens of others if there wasn’t more to the incident than meets the eye.224

Epur further said, “It is the mistrust and suspicions between the Kikuyu, on the one hand, and the Turkana and Tugen on the other, which has caused all these problems.”225 He also pointed out that the man who was killed was not in possession of stolen goats. Laikipia West District Commissioner, Fredrick Chisia said vernacular FM radio stations and other media heightened ethnic divisions ahead of the 27th December 2007 elections, leading to an increase in ‘negative ethnicity’ in the aftermath of the poll. As he stated:

There is no single community in this country that can stand on its own. We are all interdependent on one another and the sooner all communities in Laikipia West recognize this fact the better.226

He further stated the government had taken measures to bring peace including the deployment of Administration like Post troops, peace meetings and encouraging dialogue between the warring

223 Mary Njeri, Agnes Chepkorir, Albert Mwangi, O.I January 2009.
224 Ibid.
226 Ibid, p.10.
communities. He asserted that his office had identified opinion leaders in each community who were being encouraged them to talk to their people about the importance of maintaining peace; this may be slow and time consuming but in the end we hope to achieve lasting peace. Paul Thairu, the councilor for Rumuruti which bore the brunt of the March 2008 violence told IRIN:

We have been holding peace meetings in urban areas but when we go back home, we find fighting going on between our communities; we must get to the root cause of this situation if meaningful peace is to be achieved.

Thairu said he believes the violence in Rumuruti was planned but he declined to name those behind the clashes:

It seems this fighting was planned and was to have taken place alongside all the others that were experienced in other parts of the country but it was not possible earlier because of the meetings we were holding to encourage peace. I believe the youths who took part in the violence were paid; in fact some from this area were ferried to other parts of the country to cause chaos following the announcement of the election results.

However, some residents argued that G.G. Kariuki always played a role in stimulating conflicts in Laikipia district. They held the view that G.G. Kariuki always claimed Laikipia West constituency could not be developed and represented in parliament by anybody else. Thus when he lost in the 1992, 1997 and 2007 elections he incited the communities to fight against each other. Curiously enough, G.G. Kariuki prior to the 2007 general elections in one of the campaigns said, “I hold your lives in my hands, if you do not vote for me you will never have peace, you will always fight and suffer.”

A similar view was,

G.G. Kariuki played a key role in the making of Moi as president. Moi on the other hand was the one behind conflicts in the Rift Valley and Laikipia being part of it was affected

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227 Ibid.
228 IRIN Africa, East Africa Kenya, p.5.
229 Ibid.
especially after 1992, thus when we suffered under the Moi regime we partially blame G.G. Kariuki. 231

In contrast others stated, “We cannot blame G.G. Kariuki for the causes of the conflicts or any other leader but he did very little to help us.” 232 To many interviewees, it was as if the shepherd had forsaken his flock,

G.G. Kariuki was a member of parliament for Laikipia West constituency for long thus he knew the root causes of the conflicts but all he did was hold occasional talks. Where was he and the police when our animals were taken away and our houses burnt. They were supposed to protect us, weren’t they? 233

G.G. Kariuki affirmed that he did and does the best for the people of Laikipia West constituency. He blames the Moi, Kibaki and the Grand Coalition regimes for the conflict situation in the district:

Kenya has one of the best security forces in Africa, which, given the will and the necessary tools, could wipe out such a security problem in a week. But the government has always failed to effectively investigate and punish armed aggressors and appears not to be acting evenhandedly. The security forces did not arrest anyone during the raids. One is helpless in such a situation and can do very little. 234

What has become a daily routine for the Laikipia West residents are demonstrations. For instance, in November 2008 Laikipia West residents including teachers demonstrated outside the area District Commissioner, Charles Mwathe’s office following insecurity cases in the area in which five people had been murdered. The motives were yet to be known. Mwathe promised that patrols would be increased to enhance security and to get weapons that were said to be held illegally. But the crowd said that if they were given empty promises, then “things will be worse.” The administrator was amazed that the community policing had not been established in the area. 235 Leaders from Laikipia West and East in May 2008 vowed to hold a demonstration in

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231 Joseph Kiptoo, Nathan Mwangi, O.I January 2009
232 Josephine Wangari, Naomi Wanja, O.I January 2009
233 Peter Mwangi James Kamau, Hannah Wanjiku, O.I January 2009
234 G.G. Kariuki O.I January 2009
Nyahururu and Nanyuki if insecurity matters in the region were not addressed in time. The Laikipia West Member of Parliament, Nderitu Muriithi addressing the mourners during the burial of a slain Councilor Johana Mwaniki pleaded with the crowd not to demonstrate and assured them that he was going to talk to the minister of Internal Security, George Saitoti to allow the introduction of civilian home guards. The angry crowd retorted that he always gave them empty promises while they needed real action.236

G.G. Kariuki’s Role in Addressing Human-Wildlife Conflict

For a long time residents of Laikipia District have been in conflict with elephants. The wild animals have killed maimed and wrecked havoc on private farms. They invade especially during the harvesting season. The elephants inhabit the Marmanet, Rumuruti and OL-Arabel forests.237

Two informants observed:

To solve the conflict G.G. Kariuki decided to construct an electric fence from Olmoran to Laikipia ranch. The fence cost almost ten million. The fence helped in preventing the elephants from invading the farms, but the forests in the constituency need to be fenced to curb the problem. The estimated cost was about eighty million.238

A report from a local newspaper reported that the first phase covering an eighty one kilometre long electrical fence was to be completed by the end of April 2008. An official of Laikipia Wildlife Forum had disclosed.239 G.G. Kariuki had for years sought the protection and help from the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS), which was, by law, supposed to provide security to his constituents. It was to no avail. There was endless talk, promises and yet more promises, but never action to really address the problems. Inevitably G.G. Kariuki found his rising frustration and irritation with KWS was equally shared by the pro-wildlife landowners’ country -wide and not unique to his constituent farmers. He learned that fellow Members of Parliament from other wildlife constituencies were also irritated and that the only places in Kenya with no serious wildlife problems were those where there was no wildlife left. He saw that the issues separating

the anti and pro wild animals factions could be redressed if they were left to sort things out between themselves. It was the inaction and endless obfuscation by KWS and the faceless NGO donors that sustained it, that created the problems he and fellow politicians had to address.

In November 2003 G.G. Kariuki announced to his colleagues in Parliament, that as a solution to this general and rising frustration, he would introduce a Private Members Bill to amend Kenya’s Wildlife Act. And that is what he did. The Bill’s objective was two-pronged: to seek better service from KWS and to set up a workable system of compensation for those who suffered loss to wildlife. As the law stood, and in the authoritarian style of the Kenyatta and Moi governments, the President appointed the Minister responsible for wildlife, the chairman of the KWS Board of Trustees and the Director of KWS. This hardly made for stability. Each appointee felt he had the Head of State’s ear, destroying any sense of hierarchy. When the chairman of Trustees was Charles Njonjo, the ex-Attorney General and a political heavyweight nobody could question the activities of the organization. G.G. Kariuki decided to go the root of the problems. First; his bill readdressed a legal drafting error. When the KWS was created to run under a Board of Trustees, the draftsman failed to change ‘Minister’ to ‘Board of Trustees.’ Thus while the Board was supposed to manage the KWS, the Minister retained all the executive power by default-rendering the Board toothless. Next G.G. Kariuki’s bill removed the president’s power to appoint the chairman of Trustees. It also removed his power to appoint the Director of KWS and vested it in Kenya’s Public Service Commission ‘on the advice of the Trustees’

The Bill deprived the Minister the opportunity to appoint six cronies to the Board of Trustees. Instead, it increased the appointees to nine elected by the country’s wildlife forums. Added to this were a further four—a lawyer, a tourist industry representative, a businessman and a biologist—all nominated by appropriate professional bodies. Section five of the Wildlife Act allows the Trustees to appoint District Advisory Councils to help them determine local policy. This power had never been used, but it now became mandatory: they have to appoint such Councils, which will consist of three ex-officio members (KWS Warden, Agricultural Officer and local MP) and four members elected by the District Wildlife Forum. Where compensation is concerned, those landowners (including KWS which own reserves) who make money from ten listed big game species, were reliable to compensate people within five
Kilometres of their borders for damage inflicted by those animals. The extent of compensation up to one million was to be determined by the Local District Advisory Council. This meant that if no money could be made, no compensation was to be paid, and that the extent of liability was resolved locally by residents in the district and not by distant officials in Nairobi.

Some felt that the Bill was deficient in that it did not bring back hunting mammals for sport or commercial cropping. Consequently G.G. Kariuki and the members of parliament felt that it was an administrative issue that should not interfere with the more basic need of getting KWS running properly and could be addressed later. The only amendment called for where cropping was concerned was simply rearranging powers already in the Act so that they read more clearly (the existing Section 47 became 47 and 47 A). Others felt that Kenya’s Wildlife Act should have subject to wider amendment or totally rewritten. While there were grounds for more far-reaching amendments of Kenya’s laws, this not only involved the Wildlife Act, but all the laws relating to natural resources, which overlapped and conflicted. Care was taken to ensure the Bill’s progress complied with prescribed legislative procedures. It was discussed by G.G. Kariuki with many parties in the seven months between conception and publication by the government Printer on the 18th June 2004. After passage through its first reading in July, it was examined by the House Finance, Trade, Tourism and Planning Committee between July and November and, again in accordance with proper procedure, comment from the public was invited, received and listened to. It went through its second reading in November, being passed with support from both sides of the House. In December it again came before the House sitting in Committee and was modified with amendments and given general approval. The G.G. Kariuki Bill passed its third and final reading on the night of 9th December 2004 before the House went into recess for Christmas and New Year. Its passage constituted the single most positive step of recent times in Kenya’s conservative history.

Into this environment, the ‘Kenya Coalition for Conservation’ launched a worldwide appeal through a blizzard of e-mails to Kenya’s President, Mwai Kibaki, not to allow the G.G. Kariuki Bill to become law. Clearly the coalition preferred the status quo, in which, where wildlife was concerned, the coming and going of ministers, chairmen, Trustees and Directors was sort of chaotic. It was felt that the G.G. Kariuki’s Bill was wealthy white men’s front to reintroduce
hunting even though the Bill was not about hunting. G.G. Kariuki had this to say about the rejection of the Bill, “Kibaki was cheated by Raphael Tuju not to sign the Bill. Tuju claimed that the Members of Parliament had a better Bill than the one I had presented. He promised a comprehensive Bill within three months.”

Following this development the Laikipia district community started digging a forty two Kilometer-long moat around their homesteads. The trench was to cut off Bondeni, Siron, Mutamaiyu, Limunga and Kianugu in Rumuruti Division from the reach of the animals. "We have already done over twelve kilometres. “We will finish the rest slowly by slowly,” said an upbeat, Alexander Kiago, the project manager. "No one is guaranteed that his wheat or maize crop will mature for harvesting," Joseph Kigera of Siron said. The locals think the conflict started in the 1990's when the vast forest cover was subdivided and subsequently cleared for settlement. Initially, elephants used to roam between Samburu, Laikipia and Isiolo districts. But due to drastic weather changes, the beasts have had to migrate further from their habitat. "As such, there is a stiff competition between domestic and wild animals causing bitter often violent conflicts," Mrs Jane Gitau, a Kenya Wildlife Service Warden said. In a 1999 elephant population census, 5,000 were found in the three districts. "Without the degradation of the forests, such a population can easily be supported without many problems," she said. In 2001, KWS initiated a plan to relocate some of the elephants to the Meru National Park. The eleven million shillings project was abandoned mid-way. "We relocated four bulls from Rumuruti to Meru but they went back after four weeks," Julius Kimani the immediate former KWS senior warden in charge of the area said. Kimani feared that it might take more time before another plan is initiated. Kamau Kihara says previously, the elephant herds visited a salt lick in Rumuruti between August and December 2000.

Farmers have suffered immense losses due to invasion of their fields by the animals. At least 10 people have lost their lives after the elephants trampled on them in the last one decade. Ranch owners have been accused of deliberately letting the elephants from their expansive farms roam into adjacent crop fields. "They release the animals to our farms after switching off their electric

fences in the dry season,” claimed Waigwa Kariuki, a farmer at Kinamba. But a renowned conservator, Kuki Gallman, who owns the 100,000-acre Laikipia Ranching Company, brushed off the accusations. She said elephants are wild animals and no private rancher has control over them. "I never brought any elephants from Italy and it is by sheer luck that they find refuge in my farm where the forest has not been depleted," Gallman said. An effort to erect electric fences using solar powered energy has been an option to many farmers.

The implementation, expensive to carry out due to maintenance costs. Simon Wachira said it cost him over Sh120, 000 to put up a 500 metre-fence which he said was of little help. "It requires a solar panel of 120 watts, cables, batteries, converters and other materials to put up... it is too expensive," said Wachira. With the support of local leaders the community had been mobilized to undertake the project. What started as a minor undertaking in mid June had now picked momentum and by October it was expected that the elephants would be under control. The moat was nine feet deep and two feet wide. "It will ensure that no animals cross it unless it is silted with soil and other materials," said Kiago. G.G. Kariuki hoped that the trench would have helped minimize the huge costs of human/wildlife conflict. He regretted that the Government had never compensated the losses even after making formal claims.  

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CHAPTER FIVE
THE FALL OF G.G. KARIUKI

Introduction

From 1984, G.G. Kariuki faced the greatest challenge in his post-colonial political career. The fact that he had gained access to the centre of Kenya’s political stage did not mean that his challenge to Moi as a man of national stature would have been overlooked by Moi himself. G.G. Kariuki and Njonjo had become the central actors in the politics of the day (early 1980s). G.G. Kariuki had come to prominence with Moi’s advent in 1978 when he emerged as the KANU’s party power broker. G.G. Kariuki’s leadership was acclaimed almost people in Laikipia district and beyond: he was a powerful minister, thus it was apparent that G.G. Kariuki’s progress was to be checked lest he assumed too much power.

In 1982 there was a cabinet reshuffle. Njonjo was left in constitutional affairs department, Home Affairs going to Kibaki, who lost the finance docket, while G.G. Kariuki together with Nicolas Biwott both criticized for over familiarity towards the president were shut out of State House into their own ministries. G.G. Kariuki became minister of Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning while Biwott was the Minister of Energy.²⁴³

The celebrated cry of "Harambee!" with which Kenyatta concluded his speeches had encapsulated the late president's approach to politics. At one level harambee spoke a preference for local-level community action to achieve collective benefits or "development." At another level it embodied a strategy of bargained exchange; Kenyans could "pull together" by compromise—by sacrificing rewards or labour in the knowledge that at some other time or through private means the contribution would be reciprocated—and by refusal to enshrine the interests of one group above all others in the party, or, indeed, in the cabinet. Moi introduced a different slogan and a different conception of appropriate political strategy, "Nyayo!" (follow in the footsteps) took the place of "Harambee!" Although the slogan was intended to convey respect for Kenyatta and highlight the need to pursue the course the first president had set for the country, Nyayo acquired a second interpretation: do what the Office of the President tells you to

do. Politics as control began to take the place of politics as exchange.\textsuperscript{244} It is in the light of the discussion above that this chapter looks at the tribulation of G.G. Kariuki’s. Precisely it discusses his expulsion from KANU party and his role on the onset of multiparty politics in Kenya. It is essential to examine the transition from KANU to NARC and G.G. Kariuki’s role in it. Finally his contemporary political career are highlighted.

**Expulsion of G.G. Kariuki from the KANU Party**

On August 1982, junior members of the Kenya Air Force attempted a *coup d’état*. Although the coup was abortive, this event affected the intellectual integrity and autonomy of the University in several ways. First, many students who took to the streets of Nairobi to celebrate were arrested and charged with offences ranging from rioting to sedition. One of those students was Tito Adungosi, the chairman of the students’ Organization of Nairobi University (SONU), a body which had been established in 1982, as a central body representing students. Adungosi, who was SONU’s first chairman, was on 24\textsuperscript{th} September 1982 sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment for sedition but he later died in prison in 1988, under suspicious circumstances. Secondly, the vice chancellor began to operate more and more as a political appointee and less as an academic. And through him, the government was able to stifle any open political activity or criticism. No faculty member dared to speak out in public and the students adopted a low profile. The attempt resulted in the longest closure of the university, from August 1982 to October 1983, a period of fourteen months. The result was a backlog of students waiting to be admitted, which could only be handled by introducing the ‘double intake’ in 1987, with all the dire consequences for the quality of university education.\textsuperscript{245}

The events of August 1982, changed matters a great deal. Moi realized that the coup had given him a renewed mandate for change, a chance to break the political and administration shackles which had limited his room for maneuver since inheriting Kenyatta’s mantle. It was a process he embarked on almost at once. He began by withdrawing from certain kinds of relationships. Those affected were his close associates, Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki. Quickly both men were relegated to the same status as other ministers. No more endless morning tea at State House

\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.

which led to lunch and went into the afternoon. Indeed, Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki, like other ministers had to have appointments to see the president, and as time went by those appointments became few and far between until a situation arose when the only time the president would see Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki was at cabinet meetings or official functions in which their respective ministries were involved.246 G.G. Kariuki addressed a huge loyalty crowd in Nanyuki and suggested that those on charges of participating in the abortive coup attempt should be tried in public so that Kenyans would learn the truth. G.G. Kariuki said in his capacity as chairman of Laikipia KANU branch he was asking the government to tell the people the exact number of rebels that had been either killed or captured or still at large.247

Hardly had Kenyans recovered from the shock of the coup attempt than the country was faced with a new and more complicated challenge. This was the ‘traitor affair.’ At a public rally in Kisii in May 1983, Moi revealed that a powerful politician in his cabinet was plotting to overthrow his government, with the assistance of some foreign governments. The traitor was soon identified as Charles Njonjo, who was the Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Member of Parliament for Kikuyu constituency. G.G. Kariuki was quick to defend himself that those talking about the alleged traitor should come out and name him. On the traitor issue G.G. Kariuki when he was a minister of land and settlement had issued a signed statement on May 10th 1983, pledging loyalty to the president but at the same time challenged the usefulness of the truth and cry about the so-called traitor. G.G. Kariuki said that the various press statements by leaders had only served to create doubts and mixed feelings on the public. Thus he felt the best course of action was the government to establish machinery and institutions:

To take the necessary action now on the person with intent of destroying our popularly elected government. Since it was the president himself who had come up with the allegations about a person being groomed by a foreign power for the purpose of taking over presidency, the president should name the suspect.248

Njonjo was the most feared minister in Kenya; He was an institution in himself. First as Kenya’s Attorney General and the confidant of Kenya’s late first president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, from

independence in 1963, and then in the same role after Kenyatta’s death in 1978. Njonjo continued to serve the Moi administration, first as Attorney General and then, after, having retired from the civil service in 1980 to enter politics, as Member of Parliament for Kikuyu constituency and head of the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs.\footnote{249} His stature and power from then had grown so much that he came to overshadow then Vice-President, Mwai Kibaki, who gradually paled into an insignificant background.\footnote{250}

As a senior civil servant Njonjo had been relatively independent, enjoying access to the levers of power without having to answer to the people. At the same time rather like the president himself, he could appear to be above politics, whispering advice in Moi’s ear with seeming impartiality.\footnote{251} In diplomatic and business circles it was routine to have a Njonjo and a Moi camp, viewing the two men as joint heads of state. But Njonjo had little or no grassroots support among the ordinary Kenyans, He was the uncompromising hawk in cabinet, masterminding to make Kenya a \textit{dejure} one party state.

For twenty years the man projected himself as the defender of the constitution and he had built up insidious political machinery that had to be dismantled.\footnote{252} Njonjo’s enemies in parliament and elsewhere fell to the task with glow. The Member of Parliament for Kerio Central, Francis Mutwol, alleged the traitor was a cabinet Minister, while Martin Shikuku claimed that the traitor was fond of wearing three piece suits-a favoured form of dress for Njonjo. One of the then cabinet ministers, Paul Ngei equally came close to identifying the traitor, whom he said was the same man who had once referred to Machakos leaders as underdeveloped, a remark on record as having been made by Njonjo. Ngei went on to say that the said traitor was out of the country and should come back home and face the music like a man. At that time, Njonjo was on a visit to Britain and France. Although nobody had actually named him, Njonjo was quick to deny he was the much talked traitor immediately after his return.\footnote{253} Moi had chosen a shrewd moment at which to launch the oblique attack in his overweening minister. Uncharacteristically, Njonjo had

\footnotetext{249}{This ministry was created in 1980 by Moi and Njonjo served as a Minister till 1983.}
\footnotetext{250}{Weekly Review. (1992). “Check of Power” July 31, p.6}
\footnotetext{251}{A. Morton. \textit{Moi: Making of an African Statesman}}
been involved in several political scrapes: the treason trial of his cousin Andrew Muthemba; his alleged involvement with the attempted coup in the Seychelles Islands in 1981 which sought to restore his friend James Mancham to the presidency; the disgrace of his appointee as Attorney General Joseph Kamere who was found to have received corrupt loans from the Bank of Baroda. Already on the defensive, this chorus of accusation placed Njonjo on the back foot. Moi suspended Njonjo from his ministerial duties and a few days later the KANU National Governing Council suspended him from the party.  

A Judicial Commission of Inquiry, consisting of three judges –Justice CH.E. Miller (chairman), Justice Chunilal E. Madan, Queen’s Counsel (QC) and Justice Effie Owuor - was appointed in July 1983 to inquire into allegations made within and outside Parliament against Njonjo. G.G. Kariuki was an inner core member of the Njonjo group earmarked for the same post of Minister of State in the Njonjo cabinet. Moi also decided to call a snap election on September 26, 1983. This was not the best time for G.G. Kariuki whose enemies were coming up with new strategies and allegations every day. G.G. Kariuki had held the Laikipia West seat uninterrupted for twenty years. He was also the first and to date the only Member of Parliament from Laikipia West to hold a full cabinet post. In addition, he was the district’s KANU chairman and his stature was therefore such that the politics of the district revolved around him. As one informant remarked:

1983, was to be the start of a bitter contestation for G.G. Kariuki; the end of his graceful political career. It meant the end of his period of maximum power. He could have been the president of this country; at all cost his succession had to be prevented.

Similarly, another informant pointed out that:

The kind of campaigns that existed in 1983, were full of propaganda. G.G. Kariuki was said to have pulled Joseph Mathenge (gatege) for five kilometres because people preferred him to G.G. Kariuki. Thus what gatege got were sympathy votes.

259 Waigwa wa Kariuki, O.I January 2009.
Mathenge emerged winner with 17,645 votes to G.G. Kariuki 8,996. It was a humiliating defeat for G.G. Kariuki, who later charged that the elections had been rigged in Mathenge’s favour. G.G. Kariuki was utterly unimpressed by the elections outcome saying, “We cannot accept the vague result of the elections. If Kenya is a democratic country it should remain so. The future of this country cannot depend upon lies”. G.G. Kariuki’s position remained hard and consistent, little did he know that, worse was to come. As one informant noted:

Soon after the 1983 elections, documents of Laikipia West Farmers Company were taken by the provincial administration officials and the offices closed. The finance which was over six million was misused and the remaining land taken away, thus G.G. Kariuki could no longer settle people. I and Wahome Gichaci were picked for questioning due to misappropriation of funds but due to lack of evidence we were released. Some schools in the area had their names changed. These are G.G. Rumuruti Secondary School, Ngumo Secondary School (named after G.G. Kariuki’s grandfather), Kiguro Primary School (named after me) and Waigwa Primary School (named after G.G. Kariuki’s elder brother). The schools were denied government funds and most of the children transferred.

G.G. Kariuki’s departure from the scene appeared to leave a vacuum in the district political leadership. Neither Mathenge nor his counterpart in Laikipia East, Charles Muthura, possessed the kind of political clout necessary for one to be accepted as a district spokesman. As such, the district witnessed some confused political activities with local politicians seeking new alliances. The relationships between Mathenge and Muthura soon soured after the election in what was seen as an attempt by the men to claim district leadership. The problem seemed to have risen from the fact that Mathenge was appointed as an assistant minister after the election, therefore gaining a higher stature than Muthura. But Muthura, who saw his own seniority in the fact that he had served as a Member of Parliament for a longer time, having been first elected in 1979. Consequently, he did not take kindly to what he saw as Mathenge’s throwing his weight around because of his position in the government and the two men were soon at loggerheads.

In January 1985, however, Mathenge was suddenly sacked from his post as an assistant minister and was replaced by Muthura. No reasons were given for the new move but Muthura could now claim to be the senior in all ways to Mathenge. But as fate would have it, Muthura did not last in
the government for too long either, for he was also suddenly sacked in August, 1986. Both men
had been humbled, and the distinction of being the only district in the country without a
representative in the government, they both seemed to have faded from the local limelight. It is
also note worthy that neither of them had won any district executive post in the 1985 KANU
grassroots elections and their departure gave way to the emergence of other politicians at the
district level. Attention seems to have shifted to the local KANU branch which was dominated
by Mathenge’s and Muthura’s rivals. G.G. Kariuki’s fall was moaned by many benefactors as
two informants observed:

G.G. Kariuki was for a long time an assistant minister for lands and settlement and
assisted many people in acquiring land thus securing for himself a traditional following.
After 1979, he conducted numerous fundraising meetings, leading to the initiation and
development of many projects. We had come to believe he was God sent. Women cried
and vowed to demonstrate nude. Children and the elderly cursed.264

Another affirmed:

From 1983 to 1992 we felt neglected. Those that succeeded G.G. Kariuki (Mathenge,
Ndumia) died. Cege Mbitiru did nothing to the people. The current Member of
Parliament, Nderitu Murithi has not been accepted by the people, he is a stranger to us.
Conflicts intensified, wells dried and our animals started dying of hunger. God was
punishing his (G.G. Kariuki) offenders. He had heard the innocent cries.265

The 1983 general elections had uprooted many of Njonjo’s allies and G.G. Kariuki was not to be
spared. According to the evidence given at the judicial inquiry, Njonjo’s strategy for ousting Moi
from power had been a two-pronged one. He worked amongst members of parliament towards
getting sufficient parliamentary numbers to carry a motion of no confidence in the president, at
some crucial time. He also worked with KANU leaders at the branch and sub-branch level to get
the kind of majority that he would have eventually needed to be voted into the presidency. The
other alleged strategy was that he planned a coup against the president but this the
commissioners did not find proven. In his wake many of his associates in the civil service, the
police force and even in politics fell like dominoes. G.G. Kariuki was named in the inquiry. It
was said that, Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki were to discuss with Gethi (a man planning to overthrow
Moi’s government) but never got to do so because they were preparing to organize the

Organisation of African Unity Summit in Nairobi.\textsuperscript{266} It was not clear, what special duties had been assigned to G.G Kariuki.\textsuperscript{267}

G.G. Kariuki was alleged to have led a group of four politicians, Julia Ojiambo, Joseph Kamotho, Fred Kubai and himself to Elijah Mwangale’s office to talk issues with him for naming Njonjo as a traitor. It was there that G.G. Kariuki was said to have told the group that Njonjo would one day lead Kenya. G.G. Kariuki told Mwangale that he was the one who had caused all the trouble by mentioning Njonjo as a traitor. G.G. Kariuki said Njonjo had connections overseas and it would only take a minute to take over leadership and that all he needed was to press a button and things would work out by themselves to take over the presidency. G.G. Kariuki added that he did not believe Njonjo was interested in taking over power or that he was a traitor.\textsuperscript{268}

After going through the humiliation of seven months of the judicial inquiry into his conduct, Njonjo was pardoned. The findings were made public by Moi himself on Jamhuri day in 1984. Moi used the occasion to pardon his former friend citing his age and past service to the country as reasons for clemency. Njonjo wisely retreated to a very private life, quietly going about his business and farming activities and scrupulously avoiding the public limelight. Njonjo did make news on two occasions after the inquiry. The first time was in January 1985, when he returned his KANU life membership certificate to the Kikuyu district officer for forwarding to KANU headquarters fulfilling a demand that was not made of others expelled from the party. Some months later, his attempts to obtain a practicing certificate in order to engage in his profession as a lawyer was rebuffed by the Law Society of Kenya on the grounds that he forwarded his application through an agent, his lawyer Paul Muite, rather than personally. Njonjo suggested at the inquiry that he regretted ever entering the “dirty game” of politics and indicated that he would rather be left alone.\textsuperscript{269}

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With the fall of Njonjo the political equation in the country had changed. In a speech during Kenyatta day celebrations, Moi told a meeting in Kabarnet that the transition period between his leadership and that of his predecessor; the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta had come to an end. The country, he said, had entered a no nonsense era in which only positive action would be entertained. Moi now turned to the party machinery ostensibly to rejuvenate it, but with the equally obvious purpose of purging the party of disloyal elements, particularly the remnants of Njonjo men. For this he had to call party elections at all levels. Moi characteristically first decided to extend the popular base for the party’s mandate. A major recruitment drive which boosted the membership of the party fivefold nearly to five million preceded the party elections. Ordinarily more members should mean greater strength for incumbent party leaders at the local level, but the enormous increase of party members seemed to throw confusion into the operations of the party as elements were concerned. Old allegiances were threatened as new alliances were forged at the sub and branch levels. As a result many of the old guards lost their party seats or power bases even before the party delegates met to choose the national executive committee of the party. One such personality was Paul Ngei who had been the chairman of the party in Machakos for more than a decade.

There were no factions within the party as had existed before. There were no factions within the party either. Everyone was vying with everyone else to appear as the foremost supporter of the only faction worth belonging to the president’s faction. Under normal circumstances it is not surprising that Moi ended up with the team he wanted in the national party executive. Old guards such as Mr. Robert Matano, the then party sectary general and Mr. Isaac Omolo Okero, then the National chairman, gave way to new faces. Mr. Burudi Nabwera (Secretary General and Mr. David Okiki Amayo (National Chairman) were in every aspect Moi’s men. An interesting aspect of this process of power consolidation by Moi is that it seems to have been done with Moi playing his political cards very close to his chest. There were days in the past when major political changes by Moi would have been orchestrated through maneuvers in which the president’s closest aides (Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki at the time) were in involved. Such maneuvers always led to leaks which gave observers an idea of the intentions of the president. This time, it seems that no such orchestration took place, at least not in the sense of strategies

being drawn up by the president and his closest aides and being then carried out on his orders. This led to an intriguing guessing game amongst politicians as to whom the president favored for what party seat.

Moi’s strongest weapon in the process of consolidation of his power had been continued closeness to the people at the grassroots levels. Populism had always been the cornerstone of his political performance, but in the past two years he used his links with the general public to outflank his opponents whether the conservative (Njonjo) type or the radical leftist (mainly University) type. The impression he tried to give to politicians was that he was with the people and that the people were with him, at most of his frequent visits to urban and rural areas, the challenge he had thrown to leaders for them to stay in line with the people and their president. KANU had transformed the party into the most powerful institution in the land, in the process removing the possibility of parliament asserting itself as independent in situation as it has never demonstrated in the past. The administration also kept a tight reign on the party and parliamentary electoral machinery, to the extent that any politician out of favour found it difficult to capture an elective post.271

In September 11, 1984 G.G. Kariuki attended a KANU National Executive Committee meeting in the old chambers (Uhuru Chambers) at parliament Buildings under the chairmanship of Moi as the party president. The issue of discipline was discussed and on September 14, 1984, the KANU Governing Council met at the same venue where National Executive Committee had met. G.G. Kariuki also attended; he was later to leave the meeting so that further discussions on discipline could take place.272 The outcome of the discussion was the expulsion of the members involved in the Njonjo affair. G.G. Kariuki was one of the people expelled from the party. It was the biggest political purge ever executed by KANU in one day: fifteen people were expelled from the party. Other expellees included Charles Njonjo, Jackson Kalweo, Richard Litunya, Stanley Oloitiptip, Moses Kiprono (former deputy speaker), Said Hemed Said (former parliamentary chief whip), Francis Lotodo, Zablon Olang’, Joseph Kamotho and Clement Lubembe.273 Following expulsion,

272 Ibid.
Njonjo, Oloitiptip and G.G. Kariuki began a campaign against those that claimed they were not loyal to Moi (“anti-Nyayo”). The term “anti-Nyayo” was initially used to refer to political dissidents or those who were critical of government policies, but it was later turned around by the promoters of the campaign to embrace individual politicians who differed with them on any issue or who threatened their personal political interests to drive a wedge between Moi and Kibaki who was the Vice President then.274

After the fall from power, G.G. Kariuki attended an ex-Mau Mau freedom fighters rally at Ruringu Stadium in Nyeri on 23 February, 1986. It was his first public appearance since his fall from power.275 Waruru Kanja, the former Member of Parliament for the area had obtained a government authority to convene the meeting and invited G.G. Kariuki with Moi’s knowledge. The following week, Moi lamented in a meeting in Tumutumu girls’ high school where he was conducting an Harambee. He said he was happy about the meeting, even if it was attended by a former cabinet minister, the then disgraced G.G. Kariuki whose presence at the meeting Moi likened to the presence of a “hornless animal at a meeting of horned animals wearing make believe wax horns.” In an apparent reference, Moi said that nobody should be blamed for his lack of horns. “His wax started melting and his horns started to fall” Moi said.276 The message as observers saw it was that G.G. Kariuki should remain in his political oblivion, while Kamotho had been given the green light to try and return to the political fold. Moi had now formed an alliance with Kanja. Politics can be a strange business; Kanja was back in parliament alive and a cabinet Minister to boot. The combative Kanja had been sacked as an assistant minister and later went on to lose his parliamentary seat after being jailed for illegal possession of foreign currency, in addition for making allegations against G.G. Kariuki and Njonjo. Now Njonjo and G.G. Kariuki were far removed from the centre stage.277 Tables had turned and may be ‘Kenyans had decided’ the men to be in parliament.

After being forced out of active politics G.G. Kariuki began to write his autobiography, *Illusion of Power: Fifty Years in Kenya Politics*. In this book he states that although he was the State

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Minister in charge of security, everything to do with his docket was controlled by Moi. He affirmed “I was always consulting the president on over matter and so really, the president was in charge.” 278

He also decided to study accounting and he became member of the Institute of Financial Accountants in London. He worked hard and achieved a second level black belt in Tae Kwon Do, but he had to discontinue his chairmanship of the Kenya Tae Kwon Do Association and remained only as a patron. G.G. Kariuki was also a vice-president of the World Federation of Tae Kwon Do (WFT) but resigned due to his inability to participate in its meetings as his travels had been curtailed. 279

After the first political comeback aborted G.G. Kariuki applied to the KANU disciplinary committee to have his case reconsidered and he got an encouraging answer to appear at KANU headquarters at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre in April 1987. He was informed his application had not gone through the ‘normal’ channels and was instructed to start afresh by seeking clearance from the Laikipia KANU branch which would also possibly recommend him for a pardon. 280 G.G. Kariuki approached the branch immediately. He was interviewed for one hour but the branch declined to either clear or recommend him for readmission to the party. The branch chairman, Danson Ndumia, who was also the Nyahururu mayor, had turned out to be the most prominent political figure in the district and already made it clear that he intended to challenge Mathenge for the Laikipia West seat. The branch was divided; some supported G.G. Kariuki’s readmission while others strongly opposed it. Danson Ndumia issued a press statement saying that G.G. Kariuki had not fulfilled certain unspecified conditions and that he had been duly instructed to fulfill them. The branch later announced it had forwarded its recommendations regarding his case to the disciplinary committee but it was amply clear that whatever else these were they were not in G.G. Kariuki’s favour. The disciplinary committee announced it had taken a short break but it was never to convene again for it was disbanded by Moi in September without any indication whether the Laikipia branch’s recommendation regarding G.G. Kariuki

280 Weekly Review, December, 2, 1988,p. 11.
had been received at party headquarters or not. KANU announced the names of the former expellees pardoned and cleared to run for general election in 1988, G.G. Kariuki’s name was not among them.

After KANU elections in December 1989 Moi announced clemency for G.G. Kariuki after being in the cold for almost six years. Moi said that by remaining quiet G.G. Kariuki had displayed his loyalty to KANU. G.G. Kariuki was readmitted to the party at the meeting which expelled Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia. Moi threatened still more expulsions, saying, "The jiggers have been removed but many little eggs remain in the wound and they must be killed." This must have been the happiest day of G.G. Kariuki, after falling from power following his expulsion from KANU. His rehabilitation came shortly after he was mentioned as a former business associate of a runaway politician, Andrew Ngumba, but there was no evidence to substantiate that allegation. Why did it take long for G.G. Kariuki to be pardoned? G.G. Kariuki was vulnerable for four reasons. First, he like Njonjo was a Kikuyu and was distrusted by Kalenjin and Abaluhya clique around Moi. Secondly, as a Minister of State in charge of Internal Security he had worked closely with Njonjo. Thirdly he had clashed with Biwott who was one of the strongest politicians in Kalenjin land. Biwott who was then the Minister for Energy had replaced G.G. Kariuki as the second representative of the Rift Valley Province in the KANU National Executive Council. Fourthly, G.G. Kariuki, unlike a number of others named at the inquiry, never bothered to attempt to clear his name and that might have been another contributory factor to his long stay in the cold. It seemed the best course of action for him was to maintain a low profile as he was once described in pre 1978, ‘quiet to the point of being self effacing.’

281 Ibid.
282 Ibid.
G.G. Kariuki and Multi-Party Politics in Kenya

From 1989, the global politics had changed, thus favouring the struggle of the people against authoritarian states in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. The reforms of Gorbachev inspired transformations which led to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and which swept through Eastern Europe and the former USSR. In 1991, several African states moved towards multiparty politics: Benin, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Burkina Faso, the Central Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mauritania, Rwanda and Zambia. The pro-democracy movement in Kenya was spearheaded by veteran politicians, such as Oginga Odinga, Masinde Muliro, George Anyona and Martin Shikuku. The movement was greatly encouraged by policy statements from Western nations and the World Bank. On 21 June 1990, the KANU Review Committee had been appointed, under the chairmanship of Professor George Saitoti, the vice president of the party, to look into three areas: the KANU nomination rules, the KANU election rules and the KANU code of discipline. The Review Committee had been appointed in response to growing demands for political change in the country. Consequently, Moi enlarged the committee from ten to nineteen, adding mostly non-party members. The chairman of the committee was also compelled to widen the scope of the mandate so as to hear and entertain views on all national issues.

Kenyans who appeared before the Review Committee demanded the abolition of the queue-voting system; the dissolution of Parliament as it was no longer representative of the wishes of the majority; the removal of Section 2A of the constitution to allow multipartyism; limitation of presidential tenure; restoration of the security of tenure of the Attorney–General, Judges, Controller and Auditor-General, and Public Service Commissioners; immediate abolition of detention without trial; immediate release of all political detainees; and strict observance of human rights. KANU had decided to listen to the grievances and views of the public. Moi called for a special KANU Delegates Conference on 4 December 1990 to discuss the 170-page Saitoti Report. The Delegates Conference adopted only a few minor amendments on the report. They

289 The queuing system had been conceived of in 1985 for KANU nomination of Parliamentary and Civic candidates to general elections.
abolished the queue-voting system, the 70 per cent rule and expulsion as a method of discipline. 290 Reminding the delegates to be open and frank, Moi said:

Whatever you say should be said from true conviction. A number of Kenyans who made their presentations to the KANU Review Committee expressed the views they held on various issues because Kenya strongly believes in the principle of free expression….The decisions or resolutions you arrive at today have the potential to build or destroy this nation. 291

For the first time KANU was facing the issue of reform squarely. The party thus acted wisely in listening to and acknowledging voices that had been demanding change. Hence the period 1989-92 was more a period of constitutional reform than that of revolution. The county’s critics, from both within and outside Kenya, took advantage of these reforms to clamour for even more change. 292

On his return to the KANU party, G.G. Kariuki issued a public statement declaring that ‘my coming back to the party fold as a member will always be geared towards utilization of my ability and skills to strengthen the mass movement -KANU. Leaders of Laikipia had been eager to welcome his rehabilitation. Joseph Mathenge had been defeated in 1988 by Danson Ndumia and G.G. Kariuki’s friend, Francis Ole Kaparo from the Laikipia West constituency was the most important political figure in the district. Ndumia protested few months later that G.G. Kariuki was attempting to undermine his position in Laikipia West and was building up a network of local councilors to challenge him for his position as district KANU chairman. Following the two incidents, G.G. Kariuki appeared to abandon any immediate attempt to recapture office.

The emergence of campaign for multi-party democracy provided G.G. Kariuki with an ideal opportunity to demonstrate once more his loyalty to Moi and KANU. After Matiba and Rubia’s detention in July 1990, G.G. Kariuki issued a statement decrying the need for opposition parties by warning that KANU should allow more freedom of debate within the party. As pressure for political pluralism grew, G.G. Kariuki became more outspoken in defence of KANU and single-party rule. He felt the cause of popular dissent was not single party rule in itself but absence of

adequate freedom within the party and sufficient checks on the executive by the legislature and judiciary. Those errors could be corrected without dismantling KANU’s monopoly of power. Like Moi, he warned the multi-party democracy would exacerbate ethnic divisions in the country. Despite his argument local politicians denounced G.G. Kariuki for being a closet supporter of multi-party movement. Joseph wa Mangoli, an ally of Mwangale suggested G.G. Kariuki had a secret meeting with members of multi-party movement at the Mount Kenya Safari Club in Nairobi. Following this spate of criticism, G.G. Kariuki became less outspoken.293

On 13 February 1991, Oginga Odinga called a press conference at the Press Centre at Chester House. He announced to the local and foreign press that he had called them to witness the launching of a new political party, the National Democratic Party (NDP). He reminded them that, in his New Year message to the people of Kenya, he had said that the year 1991 would be the year for the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenya Constitution so as to establish multiparty democracy in Kenya. Then he issued a statement entitled ‘Our Stand’, in which he stated:

There is no doubt in the minds of most Kenyans that we need fundamental changes in this country. We need to establish a government which is truly acceptable, legitimate and responsive to the people’s needs. We need to establish a government led by men and women of integrity; people committed to national development and not the looting of the national economy.294

In August 1991, Oginga Odinga was involved in the launching of yet another political movement. He teamed up with five other veteran politicians-Masinde Muliro, Martin Shikuku, George Nthenge, Philip Gachoka and Ahmed Bamahriz to form the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), a pressure group whose stated objective was to fight for the restoration of democracy and human rights in Kenya. The founders of the Forum stated that they were brought together by a shared vision of ‘multi-party democracy as the most effective mechanism for the establishment of good governance, public accountability, the rule of law and social justice.’ The Forum was supported by an assortment of people with different agendas, but who were united in their determination to get rid of the Moi government and KANU.

In November 1991 G.G. Kariuki prepared a lengthy statement of his views of the failings of African governments. Although he did not specify Kenya, G.G. Kariuki criticised personal rule by unpopular leaders clinging on to power. The *Weekly Review* observed that:

> Hitting out at a culture that encouraged emperor worship, the singing of praise songs and the mandatory display of a leader’s portrait even in private places, G.G. Kariuki argued for a system that instituted rational distribution of power, enforceable checks and balances…allowance for responsible diversity of political opinion.\(^{295}\)

G.G. Kariuki endorsed the decision and reaffirmed his support for KANU. He called, however, for new grassroots party elections so that KANU could strengthen its position by removing unpopular leaders. This came when Kibaki and George Muhoho defected to form Democratic Party (DP) but G.G. Kariuki stood his ground. Moi and KANU headquarters welcomed his decision and pushed the local party branch into holding elections so that they could exploit the new asset.\(^{296}\) On 3 December 1991, some 3,600 KANU delegates, meeting at Kasarani Sports Centre in Nairobi, adopted the recommendation by the KANU governing Council to ask Parliament to repeal Section 2A of the country’s constitution. This time the delegates were informed that they were to make a choice between retaining KANU as the sole party or permitting the formation of many parties. In the words of Kalonzo Musyoka, organizing secretary of the party and one of the hardliners, “The choice is between KANU and violence. It is upon you to decide.”\(^{297}\) It was Moi who saved the situation, by indicating that there was a third choice-allow multipartyism. Subsequently, on 10 December 1991, Parliament passed the constitutional amendment repealing Section 2A, thereby effectively ending KANU’s legal monopoly of political power.\(^{298}\) In January 1992, the *Nairobi Law Monthly* warned that the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenya Constitution did not guarantee democratic governance. The significance of the repeal was that it increased the options open to their choice of who governs. It continued in a commentary:

> The formal openness of a system is no guarantee of substantive openness. To create a system that is substantially open demands patience, diligence, discipline, commitment

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and at times, heroic sacrifice….Democracy concerns itself not with the annihilation of opponents but the peaceful resolution of conflicts….It is easy to be a pro-democracy activist, it is difficult to be just….299

In short, were the opposition leaders mere pro—democracy activists or were they genuine democrats? In the new branch elections held on 7-8 March 1992 G.G. Kariuki emerged victorious taking over as Laikipia KANU Chairman after nine years in the political wilderness. A number of informants observed that:

G.G. Kariuki had to cling to Moi and KANU to survive politically. Outside KANU he realized he could not get any votes. He was also living under fear of being expelled from KANU party.300 G.G. Kariuki had worked for the KANU party, thus after he was pardoned he had to continue displaying loyalty to Moi and KANU.301

However G.G. Kariuki stated that he embraced the reinstatement in KANU in December 1989 because he believed he would have the opportunity to tackle important issues once again.302 The repeal of Section 2A had raised the hopes of many who felt suppressed under the single-party system. The party on which many Kenyans hinged their hopes for ‘the second liberation’ was FORD, because it had grassroots support in most parts of the country. But, by August 1992, the party was on the verge of a major split. FORD party leaders had a common bond which was the hatred for the KANU leadership, which soon proved inadequate to hold them together. Later things began to take unexpected turn when the interim chairman, Oginga Odinga, disagreed on the method to be used during the party elections. As the party elections drew near and various presidential candidates—Odinga, Matiba, Shikuku and Masinde Muliro—declared their candidacy, cracks along ethnic lines began to show, as it appeared hard ethnic loyalties would determine the eventual winner. Thus the party split into two on September 1992, FORD Asili led by Matiba and FORD Kenya by Oginga Odinga.

A spectrum of widespread ethnic conflicts ensured upon the introduction of political pluralism in the country. According to local newspaper reports, there was furious exchange of accusations and counter-accusations between the government and the opposition over who was promoting

300 Njoroge wa Dani, O.I January 2009.
violence in the country generally and ethnic conflict in particular. The Rift Valley province which included Molo, Njoro, Nakuru, Laikipia, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu districts was the most affected. Meanwhile, Moi having the hindsight of these events, took advantage of this fragmentation and introduced, the 25% rule Bill, which stipulated that a winning candidate at the presidential election garners 25% in at least five of the eight electoral provinces. Moi’s calculation here was that the opposition could be manipulated into disintegration along ethnic lines, making it impossible for it to beat KANU, which became a fact. This led to a disillusionment of the political class, distanced from objective reality, cutting deals with Moi to stay in power, thus weakening any political parties in the opposition. Ethnicity still remained strong, and as long as opposition leaders were trapped in their ethnic cocoons, Moi was happy. Ford Kenya had its support among the Luo and Bukusu section of the Luhya, DP among the Kikuyu, the rest too small to bother him. On 29 December 1992, the long awaited civic, parliamentary and presidential elections were held. Eight political parties participated. These were KANU, FORD-Kenya, FORD-Asili, DP, Kenya Social Congress, Kenya National Democratic Alliance and Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya. Moi emerged winner of the presidential elections and KANU won a majority of parliamentary seats.

In the grassroots elections G.G. Kariuki lost in the 1992 general elections to Kihika Kimani. Francis Ole Kaparo was nominated by Moi and later he became the speaker of the National Assembly. As such, Moi chose G.G. Kariuki in the place of Ole Kaparo in 1993. He was also re-appointed the Chairman of the Betting Control and Licensing Board. For their part, Moi and KANU needed an effective champion among Kikuyu voters who could defend the ruling party in Mwai Kibaki’s Nyeri stronghold and in areas of Rift Valley populated by Kikuyu small holdings since independence. It was thought G.G. Kariuki would prove a powerful advocate for the ruling party and moderate the debacle that KANU seemed to be facing throughout Kikuyu land. As two informants noted:

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Moi was playing the use and dump politics. He realized G.G. Kariuki was still there and alive politically. He had to use him to face the opposition in the Rift Valley.\textsuperscript{306}

G.G. Kariuki was like a fish out of water without Moi and KANU. He had become very unpopular in Laikipia district since he did not advocate for the second liberation.\textsuperscript{307}

G.G. Kariuki later remarked that:

I felt very frustrated; I knew Moi was using me because I was a bit presentable to the communities in Laikipia district. I did not like the idea of being nominated in a polarized parliament. However, during the term I was nominated (1993-1997). I worked as if I was the elected Member of Parliament. I embarked on improvement of primary schools by provision of textbooks. I also embarked on peacemaking efforts aimed at healing the wounds of the clashes that had hit the district.\textsuperscript{308}

**Transition from KANU to NARC**

In the 1997 general elections G.G. Kariuki contested the Parliamentary seat on a KANU ticket. Local politicians in the district advocated for the cancellation of his nomination papers. Despite effort through the office of the president for intervention little was done to assist him. G.G. Kariuki’s politics became once again the politics of survival. He campaigned single handedly and got 13,193 votes and lost to Kihika Kimani of the Democratic Party.\textsuperscript{309} Many Kenyans wondered why G.G. Kariuki remained loyal to KANU and Moi even after the wave of change in the 1990s. According to G.G. Kariuki:

I chose to remain with KANU the party I had helped found in 1960. I always hoped there would be improvement in governance of the country. Tribal clashes had ensued in the Rift Valley and Laikipia district was not left out. I knew I was going to lose in the 1997 general elections but reasoned that if I remained in KANU peace would prevail in the district and the Kikuyu community would not suffer as they were being killed for supporting the opposition.\textsuperscript{310}

Raila Odinga quit Ford-Kenya but decided against trying to register a new party and settled for Steve Omondi Oludhe’s National Development Party (NDP). Raila won a by-election for the Langata seat in March 1997. Meanwhile Moi and Raila discussed on the merger between Raila’s NDP and KANU. This formidable alliance between KANU and NDP scared opposition

\textsuperscript{306} Joseph Ngunjiri, O.I January 2009.  
\textsuperscript{307} Stanely Kabugi, O.I January 2009.  
\textsuperscript{308} G.G. Kariuki, O.I May 2009.  
\textsuperscript{309} G.G. Kariuki, O.I February 2009.  
\textsuperscript{310} G.G. Kariuki, O.I February 2009.
leaders like Kibaki, Ngilu, Wamalwa, Anyang-Nyongo’ and Nyachae among others into a frenzy search for opposition unity. What followed was consultations between Charity Ngilu, the leader of National Party of Kenya (NPK), Mwai Kibaki, Michael Wamalwa which resulted into a movement they called the National Alliance for Change (NAC). Very quickly the number of groups and parties interested in supporting a single party for the 2002 elections grew to fourteen. They were Democratic Party (DP); Ford-Kenya; Social Democratic Party (SDP); Ford Asili; United Democratic Front (UDM); Social Party for Advancement of Reforms in Kenya; Sabasaba Asili; Mass Party of Kenya; National Convention Executive Council; Federal Party; KENDA; PPF; Mazingira Green Party of Kenya. After a year NAC changed its name into a derivative from the manipulation of Charity Ngilu’s NPK, to the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK).311

On 18 September 2002 at Ufungamano Hall, the result of the nomination process on the major party posts was announced. Mwai Kibaki, the leader of DP was named the flag bearer of NAK, Michael Kijana Wamalwa the leader of Ford Kenya was named his running mate and Charity Ngilu leader of NPK was offered the non-existent post of a Prime Minister.312 On July 28, 2002 Moi made a statement to the effect that Uhuru Kenyatta would be his successor. Moi reportedly told a delegation that Uhuru’s nomination was sealed during the March 18 merger between KANU and NDP party.313 Mudavadi who had previously been rumoured as the presidential front runner announced his candidacy on July 27, followed by Raila, Katana Ngala and Kalonzo. Saitoti did not declare his candidacy until August 14. In a closed door meeting Raila posed the problem. Moi had put so much into campaigning for Uhuru Kenyatta. He had advised Mudavadi to look for any post than that of the presidency and told Saitoti that he was not a presidential material. Raila summed up and said the only choice left was to use all the available resources and form an alliance with the aim of moving out of KANU. He suggested a launch on the following day at the Intercontinental hotel. The launch was successful and the idea of Rainbow Alliance took Kenya by storm. The Alliance held its first rally at Uhuru Park on September 23, 2002.

312 D. A. Badejo. Raila Odinga: An Enigma in Kenyan Politics.
313 “Moi chooses his Successor” in Daily Nation, July 29, 2002, p.3.
However Ngala and Mudavadi returned to the Moi’s fold as Kamotho, Gumo, Khaniri, Odoyo and Saitoti stuck with Raila.

The Rainbow Alliance was a formidable force in the electoral politics leading up to the 2002 elections but it was difficult to be certain that KANU would be beaten if the Rainbow Alliance entered the elections without joining hands with Kibaki’s NAK. The options were to build a relationship with either Nyachae of Ford People or Kibaki’s NAK or build a grand coalition of all the three anti-Moi tendencies. Rainbow Alliance, NAK and Nyachae’s Ford People were running separate campaigns however they agreed to send representatives to each other’s rallies. As the Rainbow Alliance held its rally in Kisumu, the NAK had one in Kakamega. Ochieng Mbeo, the East African Parliament legislator, with George Khaniri and Ochilo Ayako represented Rainbow Alliance in Kakamega, as G.G. Kariuki, Noah Wekesa, Wangulu Ng’ang’a, Joseph Munyao represented the NAK in Kisumu. Nyachae also attended the Kisumu rally to show solidarity with Rainbow Alliance. This was the first time that the three opposition groups were at the same event. A memorandum was signed with Nyachae, Rainbow Alliance which used their newly acquired party’s name, the Liberal Democratic Party. The Alliance had agreed to find a political party as a vehicle for participation in the 2002 elections. However this alliance could not win on its own. Raila recognized that this would be a gamble and attended the Uhuru Park rally held by NAK and Ford People. Raila proposed that the intention of Rainbow Coalition to join NAK and form a super alliance to be known as National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Raila’s proposal was adopted. Kibaki it was later agreed was the single presidential candidate. After a vigorous campaign in the December 27, 2002 elections Kibaki received 3,646,227 votes of the total 5,861,844 votes cast. He took 62.2% to Uhuru 31.3% (1,835,890) votes. The election proved that Moi was after all fallible.

As soon as Kibaki was sworn in as the third president of Kenya in December 2002, he dishonoured the agreement he had signed before the election which was specified as 50:50 power sharing of cabinet posts. The cabinet opposition marked the first open discord in NARC. The day after the announcement, a number of LDP members of Parliament stated that their wing of NARC had been badly treated by Kibaki. Otieno Kajwang’ the Mbita Member of Parliament-

elect, spoke for all and called on Kibaki to change the cabinet list and said, “The Memorandum of Understanding is not portrayed in the cabinet announced last Friday. Unless the president follows the MOU on appointments, tenets on which NARC was founded will be betrayed.”

When G.G. Kariuki was asked whether he was bitter that President Kibaki did not name him as minister when NARC ascended to power in 2002 despite the fact that he had served a powerful minister during Moi’s administration, G.G. Kariuki said, “I had no agreement with president Kibaki to make me minister after 2002. I therefore do not have any problem. There is no cause for bitterness between me and him. And I insist there was no agreement.”

The situation heated over the calls for dissolution of NARC parties and the struggle for a new constitution. President Kibaki opening the third session of the ninth parliament on March 30, 2004 defused tension by promising that a new constitution would be in place by June 30, 2004. On June 30, instead of a new constitution, Kibaki announced a cabinet reshuffle to create a Government of National Unity. This development marked the end of NARC idea of a multiparty coalition government. The NARC government had promised a new constitution within its first hundred days in office but under pressure from Raila and LDP members of NARC delegates re-assembled for a deliberative process on April 28, 2003. They revisited the draft and most of the provisions were agreed on by consensus. However devolution of power, structure and powers of executive, the transition clause and Kadi’s courts remained controversial. Raila had started mobilization for the referendum as the only way left out to counter Kibaki and his group. This led to referendum in 2005.

G.G. Kariuki supported the constitutional change and criticized political leaders opposed to the proposed new constitution, saying they were self seekers only interested in their political survival. He said politicians pushing for a ‘No’ vote on the document had resorted to false propaganda and violence after realizing it curtailed their political ambitions. G.G. Kariuki told Kenyans to be wary of politicians who were not interested in the country’s welfare. He was speaking in Nyahururu during a meeting with religious leaders, development groups and civic leaders, to plan meetings in Nakuru and Nyahururu. He appealed to Kenyans to turn out in large numbers.

315 Daily Nation, January 6, 2003, pp.1and 3.
317 D. A. Badejo. Raila Odinga: An Enigma in Kenyan Politics.
numbers and vote for the new constitution, saying there would be a new era of governance for the country once it was enacted.318 But Raila’s Orange Democratic Party won against the Party of National Unity and immediately Kibaki sacked all the ministers opposed to the new constitution.319

In 2007 G.G. Kariuki declared support for Narc-Kenya and was also the chairman of the party in the district. His challengers were Oseko, Michael Mugo, the late Stanely Kabugi, Jackson Machomba, Nderitu Muriithi and Eunice Muthoni. The aspirants claimed that G.G. Kariuki who was the going Member of Parliament had discriminated against areas where he did not enjoy support in the distribution of the Constituency Development Funds (CDF). Although G.G. Kariuki had argued that most of the CDF funds were used to put up health facilities mainly in Rumuruti and Ng’arua divisions in order to ease congestion at the Nyahururu District Hospital, his opponents argued that some divisions had been ignored. Mugo and Machomba argued that the CDF committee was not all inclusive and that the areas where G.G. Kariuki had a strong following got the lion’s share of the fund. Oseko claimed that the education sector was the worst hit while Mugo added that youths in the constituency needed to be empowered financially to enable them start small scale income generating projects. On the other hand, G.G. Kariuki insisted that his CDF committee, headed by Anglican cleric John Munga, abided by the people’s wishes.320

G.G. Kariuki in the Kenyan Contemporary Politics

After the 2007 general elections, G.G. Kariuki resigned from the Narc-Kenya party to form the Mkenya Solidarity Movement. The party was registered on 28 December, 2008 and launched on the same day at the 680 hotel in Nairobi. The party is still unknown to the Kenyan masses. G.G. Kariuki explained in details what the party intends to do:

I’m a party leader of the Mkenya Solidarity Movement Party. It is a national party for all the communities of Kenya. All I advocate for is change. Time is ripe for Kenyans to reconsider past structures of government which is evident they have not been happy

with…and this is the time to do so especially when we have an outgoing president who will not be vying for office since his mandatory two terms will be over. Am telling the youth that constitutional change is a path to change because it is them with the power to influence change through participation. I do not own the party but it is open to everybody willing to join it. The party’s manifesto will come from the views of the people at the grass root levels. They know what they want and it is a matter of making decisions. The outlawed Mungiki sect does not have anything to do with this party.321

However the formation of this party was received with mixed reactions from different informants in Kenya:

It is the same old man trying to appear in a new portrait. If he really want to empower the youths he should groom one of his sons or daughters to represent that change.322 It is quite amazing that a man known to be moderate has all over sudden become a radical. He is simply trying to appear relevant in the contemporary politics while he is irrelevant; he is looking for a political rebirth.323 His political euphoria will die soon, it serves meaningless verbiage. His politics are dead politics just as the politics of KANU. African politics is dominated by the aged we are trying to do away with. G.G. Kariuki represents the old philosophies and faded ideas. He should quit politics honourably.324 In what way does he motivate the youth at his advanced age? If he really cares for the youths he should employ them rather than participate in politics.325 G. G. Kariuki cannot stay without being a leader, thus he is looking for people to lead but he does not fit in the current Kenyan political scenario.326

For those who felt that it was time for politicians of the age and times of G.G. Kariuki to leave politics to the younger generation having represented his people as a Member of Parliament for a long time, G.G. Kariuki had this to say:

It is for the people to decide whom they choose as their leader regardless of age. Wisdom is not in age but rather depends on an individual. The issue of the young and old is a waste of time because the present parliament has more Members of Parliament who are below forty five. It means that Kenyans (voters) played their role and that they would continue to do what they think is right through the ballot paper and box.327

Since losing his parliamentary seat G.G. Kariuki has been holding public meetings throughout the country. On 14 May, 2009, G.G. Kariuki was charged in a Mombasa court with incitement to violence. He denied the charges and was freed by Mombasa Senior Principal Magistrate Lillian Mutende on bail. G.G. Kariuki is alleged to have said without lawful excuse, that he would mobilize and bring together Mungiki Youth, Kaya Kombo, Bagdad, Kalenjin Warriors, Sabaot Land Defense Force, Chinkororo and Jeshi la Mzee who have power to overthrow the government. It is alleged that what he said indicated that it was desirable to cause unrest in the country, an act which was calculated to lead to destruction of property and cause death. The court heard that the offence was committed on 19 April, 2009 at Wogect Centre P.C.E.A church Makupa in Mombasa. G.G. Kariuki’s lawyer, Evans Monari told the court pursuant to warrant of arrest issued on 11 May, 2009, “we learnt about it through the press and made immediate effort to come to court.” Monari said they went to court and recorded statements before making themselves available in court. Monari made an application to have the warrant of arrest issued against G.G. Kariuki withdrawn, terming him as a senior citizen who obeyed the law. He also applied to have him granted bond. “Mr. Kariuki is aged over 72, he cannot abscond court”, said Monari. Prosecutor Dominic Mate did not object to the bond application but said that the bond should be commensurate with the offence. Ms. Mutende lifted the warrant of arrest on G.G. Kariuki and granted a 200,000 Ksh. bond with a surety of similar amount or an alternative of 100,000 cash bail. Monari made an application seeking to be granted witness statements in the next fifteen days to speed up preparations for the case.328

Beside politics G.G. Kariuki is looking forward to establish a training institution for competence in Parliamentary and Civic Affairs. The Kenya Institute of Parliamentary and Civic Studies (KIPS) has a mission to enhance capacity-building for legislators, civic leaders and their respective staff. Parliaments in Africa, especially in East Africa, have become inseparable partners in the governance of nations/states. The core role of a Member of Parliament (MP) and the civil leader is legislation and representation of the people in government. To carry out this mandate effectively, the MP needs to have immediate knowledge and understanding of the institution of Parliament. Thus KIPS was founded to address the issue of access to training

facilities, primarily for Members of Parliament, civil leaders and the staff serving in representational institutions. The aim of the institute is not just to provide access to training locally and at an affordable rate, but to also provide tailor-made programmes that will be relevant to the learners. G.G. Kariuki has recently disclosed that MKenya Solidarity Movement will field a presidential candidate in the 2012 general elections. He added that if nominated by the party members, he was willing to vie for the top most seat saying he had what it takes to be the next president. Speaking during a civic education on the new constitution in Solai area of Nakuru county, he dismissed foreign countries funding youths in the country to take over leadership of this country, as misguided saying the youthful politicians had no experience and political maturity to lead Kenya and the foreign ideology had no place in this country. G.G. Kariuki criticized ethnicised political alliance, and argued that such leaders were seeking to promote ethnicity and tribal chiefs. This ideology, he said was overtaken by time and had no place under the new constitution dispensation. He called on Kenyans to vote competent and visionary leaders both at county and national levels in the 2012 general elections who will manage their resources effectively.

Asked what value he added to the Kenyan politics having been in the field for over fifty years, G.G. Kariuki said, “I do not know the value I have added, given that there was no value that was measured before and after. It is for the people to say.” The political containment of G.G. Kariuki in 1983 elections was a major blow in his political career and a start to the politics of survival. He was to fall from grace after he was linked to a failed attempt to topple then Kenyan President, Moi in the Traitor (Njonjo) Affair. He was subsequently expelled from the ruling party and public life. In 1988, he lost an attempt to recapture his old parliamentary seat, but, was later nominated in 1993 to replace Francis ole Kaparo who became Speaker of the National Assembly. However, his comeback did not last long; he vied for the Laikipia on a KANU ticket in 1997 and lost, because the party had lost popularity in the constituency. In 2002, he contested on NARC ticket and won; but lost it five years later when he vied for re-election on a NARC-Kenya ticket. In his autobiography, *Illusion of Power*, G.G. Kariuki reflects on his fifty years in Kenyan politics. He observes that the majority of political leaders, he included, never seem to

learn from the mistakes of their predecessors. Instead, blinded by personal ambition, they commit grave deeds against their colleagues and the public in general for the sake of glory, riches and power.
CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSION

Who is G.G. Kariuki? G.G. Kariuki is a loving husband and father. His culture has been shaped by the Kikuyu ethnic group. He is sympathetic, reserved, rude and arrogant. However, he does not shy away from sharing with his hosts regardless of their social status. This is a quality that won him a lot of respect and admiration from Laikipia district.

G.G. Kariuki’s political star took time to rise, but, once at the apex, the fall was sudden and resounding; he was never to regain the glory of a powerful party mandarin hobnobbing with the powers that be. Known for his soft spoken manner, with a trademark of a well groomed moustache he rose to become one of the most powerful power brokers in the early years of the Moi regime. He arrived on the national political scene in 1979, when Moi succeeded Kenyatta as Kenya’s second president, and named him to his cabinet as the Minister of State in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration. This, clearly, for joining forces with Njojo and others in a political battle against politicians that attempted to change the constitution to bar Moi from succeeding Kenyatta.

G.G. Kariuki joined party politics in 1959, when he teamed up with Mark Mwithaga (a former Nakuru MP) and Kinga Mwendwa to found the Central Rift Labour Party (CRLP). However, on 14th May 1960, they dissolved CRLP to become the founding members of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) at a congregation in Kiambu. In August of the same year he was elected KANU secretary for the Laikipia branch. In 1961, he vied for the Northern Frontier District parliamentary seat and lost to KADU’s Peter Aleman. During campaigns for this election he managed to meet Jomo Kenyatta who was then a prisoner at the Lodwar Labour Camp. He continued to actively engage in the activities of KANU. He eventually vied for and captured the Laikipia constituency seat in the 1963 independence general elections, after the elective unit was curved from Northern Frontier District.

During these elections to usher in Kenya’s independence, KANU trounced KADU overwhelmingly and formed the government in which G.G. Kariuki was initially a backbencher.
He was to remain a backbencher until October 1970 when Kenyatta appointed him an Assistant Minister of Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning; a position which he was to hold until 1979.

Even though he was a personal friend to Kenyatta, it is clear that, between 1963 and 1979, G.G. Kariuki remained a colourless political nonentity mainly concentrating his political activities within Laikipia district. During this time he became deeply engrossed in his project of settling the landless in the district. In colonial times, land in Laikipia, as a part of the White Highlands, was a preserve of European farmers and ranchers. This effectively relegated Africans into landless squatters. This state of landlessness had been one of the core reasons Africans had fought the British for independence. In Laikipia the land question was a complicated one; when the white settlers arrived in the early 1900s it was inhabited by the Maasai. The colonial government introduced land laws and policies that alienated the Maasai from Laikipia to give way to white settlement. In the subsequent years, other communities started moving into Laikipia owing to a number of reasons. The Kikuyu, for example, emigrated into Laikipia in search of employment (having lost their own land), to escape conscription into the army and also with the encouragement of the settlers who were increasingly in need of labour. The Turkana and Samburu, on the other hand, moved into Laikipia for grazing purposes. At independence, as the settlers started leaving there was need to find a way to settle these communities that were laying claim on the land in Laikipia.

Having inherited a constituency with a multitude of squatters, G.G. Kariuki embarked on initiatives that would ensure that his constituents were settled. He would eventually take advantage of a government settlement scheme (the Million Acre scheme); an ambitious scheme announced 1962 to buy a million acres of land from white settlers for the purposes of settling landless Africans. He encouraged his constituents to form co-operatives that would allow them to share the cost of purchasing land from the settlers. In 1970, collaborating with local leaders in Laikipia district he convened a meeting that culminated in the formation of the Laikipia West Farmers Company. This was a land buying company (G.G. Kariuki) was elected its first Managing Trustee) that would eventually play an important role in the resettlement program in Laikipia. By the close of 1979, he had become a champion in settling the landless in Laikipia.
District and had helped establish more than fifty land buying companies in Rift Valley. Through his persistent efforts he assisted in the settlement of about 20,000 families in Laikipia.

Despite all the good work he undertook towards the settlement of the people in Laikipia, his efforts are seen to be skewed in favour of his Kikuyu community. The settlement programmes he initiated in the district largely benefitted the Kikuyu and hence the rest of the communities residing in the region like the Maasai, the Turkana and the Samburu were not beneficiaries of the settlement schemes. In the aftermath of all this weaknesses, all the other conflicts that existed amongst the communities living in Laikipia, some of which arose out of skewed allocation of land and other resources remained unresolved in his time as the MP of the area. He also favoured his family, friends and mainly people from the areas that voted for him in the distribution of resources leaving out any areas opposed to him.

Following the realization that President Kenyatta was on the verge of death, power struggles ensued and political intrigues in KANU increased as the leaders engaged in seesaws to determine who would succeed Kenyatta. The political manoeuvres in the Kenyatta succession that had began with intense personal rivalries that culminated in the assassinations of Tom Mboya, in 1969, and J.M. Kariuki, in 1975, would become complicated by the emergence of intense tribalism as Kenyatta advanced in age. With the imminent, inevitable death of Kenyatta, tribalism reared its ugly head in the succession debate with members of the president’s ethnic community asserting that “one of their own” should succeed the president. This, they felt would protect their vast businesses and wealth acquired mostly through unorthodox means. Two polarized camps emerged in the tense succession political squabbles. One camp agitating for changes to the constitution so that Daniel Moi, then Kenyatta’s Vice President, would not succeed Kenyatta if he passed on in office was led by GEMA operatives who believed that their fortunes would be safe if a Kikuyu succeeded Kenyatta. Among the leaders in this group were Jackson Angaine, Njoroge Mungai, Njenga Karume and Kihika Kimani. The other camp, led by Charles Njonjo (then Attorney General), Stanley Oloitipitip and G.G. Kariuki fought and won the battle against the “change-the-Constitution” camp; setting the stage for Moi to succeed Kenyatta as the second president of the Republic of Kenya.
There was a need to reorganise KANU’s structure in line with the new changes in power. With the approval of President Moi, G.G. Kariuki, came up with a list of candidates to be elected to various party seats. He engineered a strategy that ensured that all names on his list sailed into office; this involved convincing 22 KANU branch chairmen to sign a declaration in support of the election of the candidates on the list during the KANU delegates conference held on the 28th of October, 1978. When all the candidates on his list were elected the new KANU office bearers, it effectively confirmed him as the ultimate power broker in KANU making him one of “the president’s men.” His political fortunes were on an upward surge; his political star shone even more brightly. Hot on the heels of this victory, he pulled a major triumph by being reelected back to parliament with a landslide win over his closest opponent during the 1979 general elections. President Moi had joined him on the campaign trail urging his constituent to elect him unopposed. Moi rewarded his loyalty with the powerful portfolio of the Minister of State in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration; this effectively confirmed his stature as one of the most powerful men early in the Moi regime.

The period between 1979 and 1982 was the highlight of G.G. Kariuki’s political career. During this period, he and Njonjo teamed up with Moi to form a mighty triumvirate of power never before witnessed in the history of Kenya; allowing him to enjoy unequalled access to the president. By virtue of their close ties with President Moi, the two enjoyed special security protection; which included a contingent of plain-clothes bodyguards and General Service Unit men at their residences. They crisscrossed the country in the company of the president and frequently rode the presidential limousine; using it so often that it was dubbed the ‘office matatu.’ G.G. Kariuki evolved into a major defender of the president, eventually sinking into the highest ebbs of sycophancy to continue gaining favours from the president. Henceforth, he joined the ranks of the men who stood by the president through thick and thin. At one time while addressing a public rally in Kangema, he defended the loyalty of the Kikuyu to President Moi by stating that the Kikuyu had no secret plan to undermine either the government of Moi or anyone else, “Just as God appointed Mzee Jomo Kenyatta to liberate this country from the yoke of colonialism, so has he chosen President Moi to lead us to greater heights of prosperity.” Often, his speeches in the defense of the president, which bordered on sycophancy were made in parliament; for example, at the end of a ministerial statement made in parliament to demonstrate
his loyalty to the president he declared: “I do not think Kenya will ever have a better president than the one we have today.”

During his heyday, he was ever present at the side of the president and he was considered Moi’s most trusted political confidante. Political observers, friends and foes alike referred to him as Grace Gathoni, in jest, as a result of his, almost, permanent presence at the side of the president. At times, if one opposed G.G. Kariuki or Njonjo it was with opposing the president himself. His personal fortunes also changed in tandem with his rising political star; he began to amass wealth. He bought large tracks of land in Laikipia district and established businesses in Nyahururu, Nakuru and Nairobi and even influenced the construction of an airstrip in his constituency. Moi became a regular visitor in Laikipia district and at his home. He entertained guests from all over; indicating the changing fortune. Laikipia West constituency experienced his generosity as a minister; he participated in many fundraising activities. In 1980, for instance, he donated more than a million shillings to various self help groups and invited various guests from within and outside the district who donated money and materials to self help groups and schools.

As a powerful Minister of State in charge of Internal Security and Provincial Administration, he was primarily tasked with overseeing law enforcement, national security and provincial administration agencies. He was in charge of the Kenya police, Special Branch, the Criminal Investigation Department, the General Service Unit and the Anti-Stock Theft Unit. In this capacity in 1961, he signed a special notice signed banning the Libyan owned Weekly newspaper, The Voice of Africa for no specific reason. He later argued that it was not in the public interest to allow the paper to be published maintaining that there was need for a national newspaper which should be owned by the Kenyans; if not, then by KANU. He felt that the newspapers of the day had a problem of distortion or misinterpretation because their writers and editors were not men of high integrity. In addition, he contended that there was need to ensure that what is said, whether wrong or not, is reported accurately; and that it was improper for a reporter to try to bring his own terminology or interpretation and hence report the opposite of what was meant. This was an affront to press freedom in as much as it was the government’s attempt to control the flow of information it considered critical to it. However, unknown to the
public he was acting for forces beyond his control as he did not have autonomy to take decisions in the ministry, which was largely controlled by the president as a result of its sensitivity.

Meanwhile, Moi started facing growing dissent; the optimism that the country had that things would change when Moi took over from Kenyatta had borne no fruits. Leaders like Oginga Odinga, Masinde Muliro, George Anyona, Martin Shikuku and Koigi wa Wamwere who had been pushed to the political margins teamed up with the intellectual class to oppose the one party state. Moi moved quickly to amend the constitution to make Kenya a *de jure* one-party state. To consolidate his power further, President Moi moved G.G. Kariuki to the less powerful Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning. Even though this was an obvious demotion, G.G. Kariuki felt that it was an opportunity for him to continue with his pet project of settling the landless.

The political situation was no longer in his favour. Soon, events that eventually led to his political downfall began to take shape. Following the unsuccessful coup d’état in 1982 by the Kenya Air Force, suspicious in the government became intense and those suspected of being disloyal to the president would soon be purged from the government. Witch-hunting would earnestly begin as politicians sought to settle scores. Those suspected of being disloyal to the president would be disgraced and expelled from KANU. In 1983, politics manoeuvring took an unfortunate turn when several ministers issued statements saying that there was a cabinet minister intent on sabotaging the government. G.G. Kariuki was not among those who issued the statements; instead he asked politicians to stop exchanging childish war of words. Soon he and Njonjo would be accused of leading a walk out from parliament. The president would complicate the matter by announcing that foreign countries were grooming a certain minister to take over the presidency. It soon dawned on Njonjo that he was the said traitor.

Consequently, the president appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate Njonjo. G.G. Kariuki would be mentioned in the traitor affair as Njonjo’s associate in the conspiracy of the “traitor affair”, by two politicians, Emmanuel Maitha and Fred Gumo. It was political doom for all the politicians mentioned at the hearings of the commission investigating Njonjo. G.G. Kariuki, who did not take the accusations seriously, did not bother to defend himself before the
commission or the media; this was his undoing. The Party he had helped found and served loyally for close to a quarter century would ironically find him guilty as charged, and expelled ungraciously. This was a heavy hammer that G.G. Kariuki was not going to escape and with its fall his glorious days in politics had ended unceremoniously. His attempts at political come backs have not been successful.

In the contemporary politics, G.G. Kariuki has been described in the media as a ‘polished martial artist, capable of reinventing himself’. He has launched a party that he hopes will change the Kenyan society for the better. He feels change can only happen through a revolution. The Party’s manifesto will be written from the views of the people (from the grassroots). However, the party, Mkenya Solidarity, still remains unknown to the Kenyan masses. His story is the history of a colonial heritage, compulsion to rebel, interpretation of reality, treachery and disillusionment. His political career epitomizes the ups and downs that are the lot of many politicians in turbulent Africa. There's no reason to give up on biography as a venue for understanding what happened in the past. No history of any region would be complete that did not contain the life record of many of the men and women who constitute its citizenry. Writing a biography of a living person can be challenging but there is need to account for the lives of various individuals who have been active on the Kenyan political stage.
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“Kariuki, Kalweo: All set for a full return to the fold”, June 16, 1989.

(IV) Government’s Publications


(V) Other Publications

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(Ⅵ) Newspaper Articles


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(vii) Theses and Dissertations


(VIII) Seminar and Conference Papers


(IX) Books and Journal Articles


(X) Books


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**(xi) Oral Source**

**List of Informants**

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