





NDI MISSION TO THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA

February 3-7, 1992

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION REPORT



**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Suite 503, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136

■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDIIA

Chairman
Walter F. Mondale

Vice Chair
Rachelle Horowitz

Secretary
Kenneth F. Melley

Treasurer
Marvin F. Weissberg

Finance Chair
Elizabeth F. Bagley

Presidents
J. Brian Atwood

Board of Directors
David L. Aaron
Harriet C. Babbitt
James B. Booe
John P. Dunfey
Thomas F. Eagleton
Eugene Eidenberg
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Richard N. Gardner
Alexis M. Herman
Marifé Hernández

Robert E. Hunter
Geri M. Joseph
Jan Kalicki
Peter G. Kelly
Penn Kemble
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.
Elliott F. Kulick
Madeleine M. Kunin
John Lewis
Leon Lynch
Lewis Manilow
Lenore Miller
Azie Taylor Morton
Mark A. Siegel
Michael R. Steed
Maurice Tempelmann
Esteban E. Torres
Andrew J. Young

Senior Advisory Committee
Madeleine K. Albright
Bill Alexander
Michael D. Barnes
John Brademas
Bill Bradley
Richard F. Cickesc
Mario M. Cuomo
Patricia M. Derian
Christopher J. Dodd
Michael S. Dukakis
March Fong Eu
Martin Frost
Richard A. Gephardt
John T. Joyce
Mike J. Mansfield
Donald F. McHenry
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Edmund S. Muskie
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Bill Richardson
Charles S. Robb
Stephen J. Solarz
Cyrus R. Vance
Anne Wexler

Chairman Emeritus
Charles T. Manatt

Executive Vice President
Kenneth D. Wollack

Vice President
Jean B. Dunn

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain, and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is chaired by former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and is headquartered in Washington, DC.

NDI has conducted democratic development programs in more than 40 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

Election Processes: NDI provides technical assistance for political parties and nonpartisan associations to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 30 international observer programs.

Legislative Training: In Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa, NDI has organized legislative seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services and committee structures.

Local Government: Technical assistance on models of city management has been provided to national legislatures and municipal governments in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Civil-Military Relations: NDI brings together military and political leaders to promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations.

Civic Education: NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs.

Political Party Training: NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws expert trainers from around the world to forums where members of fledgling parties learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is the report of the international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) to the Republic of Kenya. This report was written by NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel C. Johnson and Program Assistant Peter Silverman. It was edited by NDI President J. Brian Atwood, Executive Vice President Kenneth D. Wollack and Public Information Director Sue Grabowski. NDI extends special appreciation to delegation members Jean Jolin, Billie A. Miller and Foston Sakala for their valuable contributions to this report and the mission to Kenya. NDI would also like to thank Kenya's Ambassador to the United States, Denis D. Afande, the United States Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, and the Law Society of Kenya for their assistance in arranging the delegation's visit. Finally, the delegation extends to the people of Kenya the admiration and support of the international community as they embark on this historic transition to multiparty democracy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
II.	INTRODUCTION	4
III.	BACKGROUND	4
IV.	POLITICAL CLIMATE	6
	A. Kenya African National Union (KANU)	7
	B. Opposition Parties	8
V.	KEY ELECTION ISSUES	9
	A. The Electoral Commission	9
	B. Voter Registration	11
	C. Civic Education	11
VI.	THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA	12
VII.	THE CHURCH	13
VIII.	CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS	14
IX.	CONCLUSIONS	14

APPENDICES

I.	Delegation List
II.	Delegation Biographies
III.	Delegation Program
IV.	Statement of the International Delegation to the Republic of Kenya

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A five-member international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) visited the Republic of Kenya from February 3-7, 1992 to assess the country's rapidly changing political environment and to discuss preparations for multiparty elections. The delegation also sought to demonstrate the support of the international community for Kenya's transition to multiparty democracy and to explore options for future NDI programs in support of this important process. This mission to Kenya builds upon NDI's democratic development programs in countries throughout Africa.

The delegation, which comprised democratic leaders from Barbados, Canada, Zambia and the United States, visited Kenya in response to invitations from a range of Kenyan leaders. During its mission, the NDI delegation met with officials of the Government of Kenya, and political and civic leaders who are playing critical roles in the democratic transition currently underway. In the conduct of its mission, the delegation sought to gain an understanding of election-related policy disputes but avoided offering specific prescriptions for resolving those disputes. These solutions should come from a process of dialogue and negotiation among Kenyans. Thus, the delegation hoped to avoid interference in the process, while enhancing confidence in the country's future election system by broadening understanding of international standards and suggesting safeguards to promote trust in the system.

The NDI mission took place at a critical phase of Kenya's transition to multiparty democracy. Following independence in 1963, Kenya had been a model for African nations -- a progressive and independent country that took its British rule-of-law legacy seriously. In recent years, however, the country's reputation as an African nation with democratic principles and as a regional economic pillar had begun to erode.

During the past several months, the democratic reforms sweeping Africa began to have an impact on developments in Kenya. Prominent church leaders, lawyers, human rights advocates and political leaders, including members of President Daniel arap Moi's Kenya African National Union (KANU), began calling for political reform and pluralism. In December 1991, President Moi, in an historic initiative, announced a return to multiparty politics in Kenya. Moi had previously expressed concern that multiparty politics would plunge Kenya into the factionalism and ethnic bloodletting that had beset many of Kenya's neighbors. He continues to express these worries publicly, though his "unity" message is now designed to lend support to the ruling KANU party.

The political atmosphere during the NDI delegation's visit to Nairobi was highly charged, and it was clear that expectations for the forthcoming election process were mounting. KANU leaders generally expressed confidence that the government would weather the political storm and emerge victorious, while leaders of the opposition expressed dismay and considerable skepticism that the political process upon which they were about to embark would be free and balanced.

There is now an unprecedented opportunity for Kenyans to work together to move their country forward. It is clear that political tensions must be eased through immediate and sincere

dialogue between the government, the opposition and other sectors of Kenyan society, and among the opposition parties themselves. This dialogue will help ensure that the transition framework and the new multiparty system are based upon rules and principles that reflect a general consensus among all political entities. Such a consensus does not now exist in Kenya. At present, for example, most opposition leaders with whom the NDI delegation met signalled their distrust of the government by calling for the presence of international election observers throughout the election process. The government, while it has no official position on the issue, appears to believe that outside observers are unnecessary.

Fundamental to this process is the government's need to demonstrate that it is indeed committed to the changes it initiated. Some actions and public statements by President Moi have tended to undercut his own initiative, leaving many Kenyans skeptical of the government's intentions. The government's resentment that, in the words of a senior government official, it was "blackmailed" into political reform by the international community seems to have affected its attitude toward the transition process. The situation requires acts of good faith, particularly on the part of the government, which carries a heavy burden for implementing President Moi's initiative. The Kenyan people are waiting for a signal that the new era announced in December has in fact begun in earnest. If sincere confidence-building measures are not soon implemented, the political dynamics could lead to conflict, another round of repression and a general deterioration of the situation.

The NDI delegation noted several positive aspects of this initial stage of Kenya's democratic transition. Political parties have emerged and are preparing to compete in the country's forthcoming election process. Nonpartisan civic organizations have begun the task of addressing issues relating to civic education and voter participation. Finally, Kenyans across the political spectrum are actively engaging in debate that is essential to democracy. Now that the new multiparty system has been introduced with its attendant freedoms of speech and association, the process of change has taken on considerable momentum.

The delegation noted a number of serious issues that should be addressed by the Kenyan people in order to ensure a successful, peaceful and credible democratic transition:

- 1) *The Electoral Commission must be regarded by all Kenyan citizens as having the independent authority to administer the elections, and the ability to do so in a manner that is transparent and politically neutral.* The Commission must not only be cognizant of its important role in directing the country's election process, but also in informing the electorate and encouraging voter participation in the process to the fullest extent possible. In order to perform these functions and to establish trust in its independence, the Electoral Commission must be given its own resources to perform its tasks and reach out to those who are skeptical about the election process.

The lack of confidence in the Electoral Commission by a major segment of Kenyan society represents an urgent challenge. Steps must be taken to create the necessary confidence level, either through consultations between the Commission, the political parties and other groups, or through the creation of a new Commission selected with the participation of all parties and groups. The noted absence of direct communication,

particularly between the parties and the Commission, must be reversed if these issues are to be resolved. Any changes in the status quo must occur in a constitutional manner, and should therefore be done expeditiously.

- 2) *Political parties should together promote democracy through open competition and debate, and by presenting clear choices to the electorate.* Their goal during this critical process should be the consolidation of democracy in Kenya, not solely the attainment of political power. The first objective of these parties is to cooperate by establishing the rules of the electoral process in negotiation with the constitutional authorities and then to promote understanding of these rules.
- 3) *The media must play a critical role in this transition by informing the electorate throughout the election process in a truly nonpartisan manner.* In this context, it is imperative that the Kenyan government undertake to ensure that all political parties be granted equal access to the media.
- 4) *Finally, as a significant number of young voters are now eligible to participate in elections for the first time, they and others should be given every opportunity to exercise their fundamental right to register and vote.* Bureaucratic delay and material shortages could make it difficult for some 3 million Kenyans to receive their national identification cards, a prerequisite for registering to vote. Government officials assured the delegation that this problem will soon be corrected. If it is not, confidence in the process will be seriously compromised.

The people of Kenya have taken the critical first steps along the road to multiparty democracy. It is they who must judge the validity and credibility of this democratic transition. Recent elections in the region and elsewhere in the world have demonstrated that such transitions must take place in an environment that is truly open and peaceful, and that the international community can play an important supporting role in this process. As the Kenyan people undertake this tremendous challenge, they deserve the respect, admiration and support of the international community.

II. INTRODUCTION

This report assesses the transition to multiparty democracy currently underway in the Republic of Kenya from the vantage point of the five-member delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The delegation that visited Kenya from February 3-7, 1992 was led by NDI President J. Brian Atwood, and included: the Honorable Billie Miller, member of parliament of Barbados; the Reverend Foston Sakala, chairman of the Zambian Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee; Mr. Jean Jolin, deputy director general of elections of Quebec; and NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson. The delegation was accompanied by NDI Program Assistant Peter Silverman and Intern Derrick Olsen. The delegation's mission was to assess Kenya's rapidly changing political environment and discuss preparations for multiparty elections. The delegation also sought to demonstrate the support of the international community for Kenya's transition to multiparty democracy and to explore options for future NDI programs in support of this important process.

III. BACKGROUND

Kenya has had an elected civilian government since independence in 1963. It has been a *de facto* one-party state since that time, and a *de jure* one-party state since 1982. President Daniel T. arap Moi assumed office in 1978 upon the death of Kenya's first head of state, Jomo Kenyatta. President Moi has maintained strong control over the government and the ruling KANU. The popularly-elected National Assembly has wielded little independent authority in recent years, and has been largely considered a rubber stamp for all government initiatives.

The Kenyan Constitution has been amended several times, increasing the government's authority and dismantling the system of checks and balances. Kenya's famed political stability was threatened in August 1982, when members of the Kenyan Air Force led an attempted coup that was swiftly put down by forces loyal to President Moi. The air force was later disbanded, and approximately 600 men were convicted of mutiny. Prominent members of the Luo community, including Raila Odinga, son of the former vice president, were arrested and charged with treason. Although many, including Odinga, were later released, trials continued well into 1983, and contributed to an atmosphere of suspicion culminating in the dismissal of Constitutional Affairs Minister Charles Njonjo, the dissolution of parliament, and the calling of national elections. President Moi was returned unopposed to the National Assembly in 1983, and was declared KANU's sole candidate for the presidency.

In the aftermath of the 1982 coup attempt, President Moi instituted a series of measures that had the effect of further eroding the country's democratic institutions and narrowing the channels of popular dissent. That year, the constitution was amended to legalize the one-party state. In 1988, Moi ended life tenure for justices, thereby stripping the judiciary of its autonomy. Expulsions from KANU were routinely used to discipline members of parliament and party members who had fallen out of favor with the government. Criticism of the government and KANU by the media resulted in the banning of some publications and the arrest and detention of leading journalists and advocates of political change. Some clergymen, having become increasingly vocal in calling for political reform, were publicly accused of subversion

and sedition by the government. Critics of the government have accused KANU of massive rigging in parliamentary elections, and of eliminating the limited choice theoretically permitted in a one-party system. Opponents have also accused the party of corruption.

In the 1990s, the democratic transitions in Eastern Europe provoked calls for similar change in Kenya. President Moi's response was harsh, and he accused those seeking the relinquishment of KANU's monopoly on power of being "colonialists and tribalists working for foreign masters." During the past two years, Kenyans have seen a number of government corruption scandals, the suspicious murder of popular Foreign Minister Robert Ouko, the equally mysterious fatal auto accident of Anglican Bishop Alexander Muge (a prominent critic of the government), and the arrest and detention of numerous opposition figures. These events fueled opposition to Moi's leadership and intensified the demands for democratic reform.

In an apparent attempt to quell criticism of his government and KANU, President Moi enacted a number of political reforms since 1990, including reforming KANU's nomination, election and disciplinary rules. In December 1991, yielding to pressures at home and from abroad, President Moi announced that he would re-establish a multiparty political system in Kenya. In doing so, he discarded a key constitutional amendment (Section 2A), originally advanced by Moi in 1982, that made Kenya a *de jure* one-party state. President Moi's reversal on multiparty politics was dramatic, and appeared to catch the opposition off guard. He had previously warned that pluralism would plunge Kenya into the factionalism and ethnic bloodletting that had beset many of Kenya's neighbors. He originally announced that multiparty politics would come "in one or two years" and then stated that such change would come "soon." Moi's change of heart came less than one week after Western donor nations announced that they would suspend new commitments of financial assistance to Kenya, and would link future aid to the introduction of economic and political reforms within six months.

While these recent developments were encouraging, the opposition called on President Moi to make further concessions. Kenyans were hopeful that 1992 would usher in a new era of meaningful democratic change. But as the New Year began, political tensions continued to mount. In January, four of President Moi's critics, including former Vice President Josephat Karanja, were arrested and briefly detained. They were charged with spreading rumors that President Moi planned to stage a military coup and cancel his promise to hold multiparty elections.

The opposition will be challenged to quickly mobilize for the elections. President Moi appears to believe that KANU will prevail in free elections, and that it alone can transcend the "tribalism" that many expect to muddy the political waters during the election process.

The Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) has been in the forefront of political change during the past year, but the broad-based opposition movement has already splintered. Former Vice President Mwai Kibaki recently broke with the ruling KANU and opted to form his own political party (the Democratic Party) as an alternative to FORD. Other parties are likely to emerge, and the opposition could indeed divide along ethnic, ideological, and generational lines.

Finally, President Moi has not clearly presented a timetable for multiparty elections. This has fueled speculation that he is attempting to dictate the nature and pace of democratic reforms. Critics of the government assert that Moi will delay elections in the hope that internal divisions tear apart the opposition. Agreement on an election timetable as well as on the reforms needed to accommodate the system for multiparty competition will go far in allaying concerns. Suggested modalities for arriving at these changes vary. Some leaders advocate a national conference, while others propose a more narrow negotiating process. It is difficult, however, to imagine how these crucial changes can be adopted in the absence of dialogue and negotiation.

IV. POLITICAL CLIMATE

President Moi's reinstatement of a multiparty system after nearly a decade of one-party rule has focused Kenya's attention on the anticipated multiparty elections. However, at the time of the NDI delegation's visit, President Moi stopped short of announcing the date for the elections, stating that he would not unveil his "secret weapon".

With the advent of the multiparty system, several political parties have emerged to compete in the upcoming elections. The president's unexpected initiative caused concern in the opposition over the pace of reform, and placed great pressure on the newly-formed political parties to organize and compete effectively.

The first legal anti-government rally in more than 25 years took place in Nairobi on January 18. According to media estimates, more than 100,000 Kenyans gathered at the rally in an expression of political defiance that had not been tolerated only months earlier. At the time of the delegation's visit, the newly formed political parties were actively campaigning around the country.

Kenya's new political freedoms are finding expression in the media as well. The press is exercising less self-censorship and has been criticizing the government and the ruling KANU. Political parties have begun to attack each other through the media, using it as a vehicle for discrediting opponents. With media access and news standards still issues to be formally addressed among the parties, there is concern that the media is becoming too politicized and a source of disinformation.

While keeping in mind that these political changes were adopted only in December, the NDI delegation noted with concern that the political environment remained tense and polarized. There appeared to be little dialogue among the opposition parties, or between the opposition and the government. Fundamental differences existed on such critical issues as the election framework, election administration, voter registration, access to the media and civic education. These issues were not being addressed by the parties in any consultative manner. Instead, public pronouncements by all sides have contributed to a polarization that threatens to slow the pace of change as well as the very reconciliation that this historic opportunity offers the people of Kenya.

A. Kenya African National Union (KANU)

Following growing discontent with the lack of political reform in Kenya, a Review Committee headed by Vice President George Saitoti was appointed by KANU in June 1990 to consider the party's nomination, election and disciplinary rules. At President Moi's urging, KANU's December 1990 Delegate's Conference approved the Committee's recommendation to discard the queuing system introduced in 1986. This system was heavily criticized for not allowing a secret vote, for favoring incumbents by making no provisions for campaigning, and for providing no legal recourse in cases where voting irregularities were alleged. The Conference also approved the Committee's recommendations to end the "70 percent rule" (which provided for the automatic election of a candidate who receives at least 70 percent of the vote in a primary election), and the expulsion of KANU members from the party as a means of party discipline. This final change, however, did not provide for the reinstatement of those mostly reform-minded party members who had already been expelled from KANU. The Review Committee rejected multiparty reform in favor of continuing one-party rule, as well as proposals to establish a new electoral commission and to prevent cabinet members from holding party posts. The approved changes were subsequently endorsed in January 1991 by KANU's Executive Committee.

President Moi's move toward a multiparty system was unexpected by the opposition and led to early division within its ranks. Critics of the president believe that a divided opposition was one of Moi's goals in making the surprise decision, giving KANU the opportunity to win a snap election. KANU enjoys the advantage of an entrenched party structure following 25 years of *de facto* one party rule. Despite apparent support for the opposition in urban areas, some observers believe the president retains support in rural areas among minority ethnic groups that were discriminated against under Jomo Kenyatta and that fear a return of Kikuyu-dominated rule. (Under Kenyatta, himself a Kikuyu, the Kikuyu and Luo groups enjoyed a predominant role in government and in KANU at the expense of smaller ethnic groups. Likewise, Moi's Kalenjin group has benefitted from his tenure at the expense of the larger Kikuyu, with the Luo no longer considered formally aligned with any particular group.)

The government's claims of bringing relative peace and prosperity to Kenya have been muted by a seriously weakened economy and growing calls for political freedoms. The precedent of democratic change in Africa, most recently in Zambia, and Moi's long resistance to such reform, pose a formidable challenge for Moi's government.

By February 1992, divisions that had characterized the opposition also emerged within KANU. KANU was stunned by defections to the opposition by top government leaders, including former vice presidents, ministers and vice ministers, and by local officials. The government has accused the defectors of using the multiparty system to ignite ethnic politics and reestablish the old Kikuyu-Luo dominance, and has warned Kenyans to be aware of emerging political parties that are backed by "foreigners." These defections will likely affect the president's support in the Kikuyu-dominated Central Province, home of approximately 25 percent of the Kenyan population. Many are predicting mass defections from KANU following the dissolution of the parliament prior to the elections.

B. Opposition Parties

The emergence of a multiparty system has caused the nascent opposition parties to focus on their need to organize quickly for elections. Opposition political leaders recognize that regional, generational, personality and particularly ethnic issues that were temporarily marginalized under a broad pro-democracy umbrella need to be reconciled if they are to compete effectively against an entrenched KANU party. Early divisions within the opposition demonstrated the delicate task of maintaining a united opposition.

The defections that have plagued KANU may also pose significant challenges for the opposition. Specifically, the defection of Kikuyu leaders to both FORD and the Democratic Party could split the major Kikuyu vote from Central Province.

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD)

In August 1991, former Vice President Oginga Odinga announced the formation of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), a broad-based opposition group pressuring for democratic change and human rights. Odinga had launched an opposition group, the National Democratic Party (NDP), in February 1991, but it was denied registration by the government. Odinga petitioned the High Court to grant the NDP's registration, but the Court ruled in July that Section 2A of Kenya's Constitution did not permit an alternative to KANU. The founders of FORD stated that they did not intend to seek registration or become a political party, but would serve as a catalyst for the multiparty debate.

FORD's early activities were met with government resistance. In September 1991, President Moi declared the group illegal, leading to the arrest of FORD leaders and the banning of a pro-democracy rally in October. In November, FORD leaders were arrested two days before a government-banned opposition rally. Thousands of protesters condemning the arrests were violently dispersed by security forces, and several FORD leaders who participated in the rally were arrested.

With the emergence of multiparty politics in December, FORD's efforts to transform itself into a formal political party resulted in an immediate split in the party. One group was led by Martin Shikuku, a former member of parliament, who established an interim party leadership comprising three of the six FORD co-founders. Shikuku criticized his FORD counterparts, many of whom he considered recent converts to the opposition's cause, as being opportunists. The second, broader group consisting of academics, human rights lawyers and former political leaders, was headed by Oginga Odinga, who established a 32-member interim steering committee. The division within FORD raised doubts about the opposition's ability to unite in an election process, and has fueled the issue of ethnicity, with some pointing to the old ethnic power alliances emerging in FORD that existed before Moi's rule.

Democratic Party (DP)

In January 1992, Mwai Kibaki, a former vice president and minister for health, resigned his cabinet post and formed the Democratic Party (DP). He was joined in the DP's interim leadership by several prominent political figures and former government officials.

The emergence of the DP was seen as a significant blow to the government in demonstrating the degree to which KANU was fragmenting. Kibaki was one of five Kikuyu politicians to resign from the government in one week. This, coupled with the strong Kikuyu contingent in the FORD leadership, illustrated President Moi's waning support in the important Kikuyu-dominated Central Province.

The DP is attempting to project itself as a responsible organization with real political experience and a keen sense of the nation's future challenges. The popular Kibaki has attempted to challenge KANU and the Moi government on substantive issues -- the economic malaise, the weakening agricultural sector, the failing parastatals, and government corruption. He challenged the government to update the national voter registry to include the estimated 3 million unregistered young people. Kibaki has also called for the creation of a new Electoral Commission and for the presence of international election monitors throughout the election process.

V. KEY ELECTION ISSUES

The NDI delegation noted the absence of meaningful dialogue on the transitional agenda among the political parties, the various sectors of society and the government. There exist different expectations and serious disagreement among the parties on the rules that will govern the election process. Kenya's past experience with multiparty politics and election administration provide a basis for the transitional period. However, significant changes are needed in the new political environment to enhance public confidence in the election process and to ensure a peaceful and successful transition to multiparty democracy. The government and KANU should introduce confidence-building measures to demonstrate their commitment to the multiparty system, specifically by engaging the opposition parties on an equal basis in this process.

A. The Electoral Commission

Kenya's 1963 Constitution provides for the establishment of an Electoral Commission that consists of a chairman and not less than four other members, all to be appointed by the president. Members of parliament, the armed forces or the public service cannot serve on the Commission. The constitution also provides for the independence of the Commission from the direction of any other person or authority, and for the security of tenure of its members.

The Commission's responsibilities, as set forth in the constitution, include: the supervision of the voter registration process; the appointment of the Supervisor of Elections and other officers; the supervision of the polling and vote counting processes, and the announcement

of election results; and the review and prescription of the number, the boundaries and the names of constituencies in Kenya.

The current eight-member Commission was appointed by President Moi in September 1991 for a five-year term. The chairman is Justice Z.R. Chesoni, a former Court of Appeals judge. In consultations with the delegation, the chairman explained that the present Commission expects to assume its full constitutional responsibility for the conduct and supervision of the upcoming election process. He stressed that, notwithstanding its appointment prior to the political reforms, the Commission is completely independent and accommodates the new multiparty environment. He insisted that the Commission members do not profess adherence to any particular political party, and therefore considered the opposition's concerns regarding the Commission's independence to be unfounded. The Commission was appointed according to the constitution, which does not require the president to consult with anyone on the issue. The chairman stated that the parties were welcome to share their views and ideas with the Commission, and he added that pollwatchers from the political parties and civic groups would be permitted to observe the polling and vote counting process. He added that, as far as the Commission was concerned, international observers would be welcomed as well.

Despite the Commission's assurances, there is serious concern among a range of Kenyans regarding the independence of the present Electoral Commission. While constituted within the framework of the constitution, the Commission was appointed directly by President Moi, without consultation with the opposition parties and other sectors of Kenyan society. Critics feel that the Commission's appointment on this basis, particularly given the political change since that time, raises significant doubts as to its nonpartisanship. The opposition argues that President Moi's commitment to the multiparty system is questionable as long as the government is unwilling to compromise and account for the new multiparty political environment. Some opposition leaders have spoken of boycotting the election if a new Commission is not established.

Following the repeal of Section 2A of the constitution allowing for multiparty participation, many Kenyans believe that additional changes in the election law are necessary. Opposition parties point first to the need for a new mechanism for selecting members of the Electoral Commission.

In consultations with the NDI delegation, the attorney general affirmed that additional changes will be made to adapt to the new multiparty system, although he indicated that substantial changes were not needed. He explained that once the revisions are drafted, they must be approved by the cabinet before being presented to the parliament for final consideration. The attorney general stressed that the proposed revisions will be published before consideration by the parliament to keep the public informed of these important changes. He expected this process to be completed in the spring.

Opponents of the government also contend that in past elections the Electoral Commission acted merely as an ad hoc electoral boundaries commission, with the attorney general supervising the elections and the provincial officials administering them. The government itself does not appear to treat the Commission with the seriousness normally accorded a constitutional

office. The Commission does not have its own budget (there is a line item in the national budget for elections), administrative offices or a permanent staff. In order to gain the confidence of the electorate, the Commission must demonstrate that it possesses the mandate and the independence to administer free and fair elections.

This lack of confidence in the Electoral Commission by a major segment of Kenyan society represents an urgent challenge. Steps must be taken to create the necessary confidence level, either through consultations between the Commission, the political parties and other groups, or through the creation of a new Commission selected with the participation of all parties and groups. The absence of direct communication, particularly between the parties and the Commission, must be reversed if these issues are to be resolved. Any changes in the status quo will likely require constitutional reform, and should therefore be carried out expeditiously.

B. Voter Registration

The voter registry is not computerized and is updated and revised prior to each election; the registry was last updated in 1988. The Electoral Commission and the Supervisor of Elections are responsible for verifying the voter lists. In Kenya, citizens 18 years of age or older are eligible to vote. In order to register to vote, eligible voters must first acquire an identification card which can be obtained at local administrative offices around the country. Once registered, the individual receives a voter card which is required for voting in the elections.

It is estimated that more than 3 million new voters are eligible to participate in the upcoming elections and have not yet been registered. The NDI delegation heard reports that young voters were encountering difficulties in obtaining their ID cards due to commodity shortages and bureaucratic delays. There have been charges of partisanship on the part of local officials in the issuance of the cards, and a lack of uniformity in the requirements for voter registration. The attorney general assured the NDI delegation that more materials were forthcoming and that all eligible voters would be allowed to register prior to the elections.

Throughout its visit, the NDI delegation stressed the importance of encouraging maximum participation of the electorate to help ensure the integrity of the elections. Whether intentional or not, the disenfranchisement of voters would seriously undermine the process.

C. Civic Education

The citizens of Kenya must be actively engaged in the election process for it to derive legitimacy from the expressed will of the people. This active participation requires a commitment from civic organizations, political parties and the government to promote an understanding of the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of citizens in a democratic society. Kenya's past experience with a multiparty system and with competitive elections has provided a foundation for citizen participation in the country's political life. However, a comprehensive voter education program is needed to expose Kenyans to their new rights and responsibilities in a multiparty system, to overcome apathy or cynicism about the voting process, and to encourage registration and voting.

The Electoral Commission has maintained that civic education is the responsibility of political parties. The NDI delegation stressed that civic education is a shared responsibility. The Commission itself will be the source of important information regarding the election calendar, and the rules and procedures for the voter registration and balloting process. The public must be informed of such information, and the Commission is in the best position to provide it.

The parties certainly have an interest and responsibility to encourage voter participation. The above-mentioned difficulties in acquiring ID cards and registering to vote can create apathy, particularly among youth. The parties, working separately and in cooperation, can provide the public information about the election calendar and the procedures for obtaining the identification cards, registering to vote, and casting a ballot. They must also work with the Electoral Commission and other groups to eliminate bureaucratic or other hindrances to voter participation in the elections.

Political and civic groups with whom the NDI delegation met recognized the need for a coordinated civic education program in the pre-election period. In most cases, these groups were still organizing and were only beginning to focus on civic education issues.

Some organizations had already initiated civic education programs. For example, the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCK) produced and distributed thousands of pamphlets discussing the democratic process, addressing such issues as citizen rights and responsibilities in a democratic society. Posters with catchy slogans have been distributed around the country encouraging people to participate in the democratic process and explaining the procedures for registering to vote.

VI. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The Kenyan media must demonstrate a strong institutional commitment to covering all aspects of the country's forthcoming election process. This includes providing equal access and expression in the media to all political parties. The new multiparty system, however, will require some refinements of Kenya's media system and procedures. At the time of the NDI delegation's visit, all radio stations and one television station were owned and operated by the government. A second television station is managed by KANU. The permanent secretary of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting said that a third, privately-owned television station would shortly go on the air, although he would not disclose who the owners of this station would be. Until late 1991, the country's privately-owned newspapers practiced considerable self-censorship, and several members of the press were subjected to verbal attacks by political leaders and other forms of intimidation by the government. The new multiparty system now offers the media unprecedented opportunities to significantly increase its coverage of news and provide the citizenry information in a nonpartisan manner.

In its meeting with the permanent secretary, the NDI delegation urged the Ministry to take the lead in ensuring that the media adapts quickly to the country's changing political environment. The delegation further suggested that the manner in which the Kenyan government

handled media issues would help determine the level of citizen confidence in the election process. The permanent secretary indicated that a new policy framework for the media was currently under development. The television stations, he said, planned to cover the rallies of all political parties. He said that the government was now more willing to tolerate criticism through the media, but that the institution of the presidency must be respected. Therefore, the head of state should not be challenged directly by any political figure.

The NDI delegation relayed to the permanent secretary concerns expressed by opposition figures regarding the allocation of broadcast media time, and suggested that the Ministry work with the Electoral Commission and the political parties to arrive at a formula for media allocation that is fair and balanced. The delegation suggested that consideration be given to increasing the time allocated for campaign broadcasting and advertising, and to helping ensure the fairness of campaign coverage on news programs, perhaps by establishing a neutral body to monitor this issue.

Noting that the permanent secretary, the Ministry's chief civil servant, was wearing a KANU lapel pin, the NDI delegation also stressed the need to separate the ruling party from the government's professional structure. A new code of ethics on this issue would ensure the integrity of the civil service in the new multiparty environment, and assure its members that they would not be subject to intimidation and reprisals by freely expressing their will at the polls. The permanent secretary stated that no recommendation had yet been made regarding the nature of the civil service; specifically, whether its members would be free to join political parties. He added that civil servants must faithfully serve the government of the day.

VII. THE CHURCH

During the past decade, Kenya's religious community has played a key role in promoting democracy and human rights. Increased Church activism in the political arena has caused considerable tension between the Church and the government. Since the early 1980s, Christian clergymen have been critical of the Moi government, and have recently been in the forefront of calls for political pluralism and reform. President Moi, who describes himself as deeply religious, has begun to denounce the character and integrity of the clergymen. Despite verbal attacks from Moi and other government and KANU officials, the clergy continues to play an important role as an advocate for sweeping change. The Catholic and Protestant clergy communicate collectively through pastoral letters and from the pulpit during religious services, and have begun to engage in a range of civic and voter education activities. The NDI delegation met with several Church leaders who lamented the lack of civic culture in Kenya, and the need to educate the citizenry on the basics of democracy.

During its meeting with the NDI delegation, the leadership of the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCK) reviewed its voter education program for the election process, as well as its long-term goals for supporting democratic education throughout the country. The NCCK recently published a comprehensive booklet, entitled "Why You Should Vote," which has been distributed nationwide through churches and other institutions. In addition, the NCCK has printed posters emphasizing the importance of registering and voting. The NCCK, which

stresses its nonpartisanship, believes that well informed citizens are essential to consolidating democracy in Kenya, and that the present political system has taken advantage of "people's ignorance." The NCKK hopes to draw upon examples offered by Church leaders from other African countries whose efforts have encouraged voter participation and have helped ensure the integrity of their country's election process. Once the election process actually begins in Kenya, the NCKK, perhaps in cooperation with other nonpartisan groups, plans to launch a major election monitoring and pollwatching operation.

VIII. CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

A pre-requisite for a successful transition to democracy is the development of a strong civic culture. Kenya has benefitted from active civic organizations representing various sectors of society. They have remained committed to promoting democratic rights and political reform, often at great risk. The efforts of women's groups, religious and youth organizations, law and media societies, and other groups must now be enhanced. In a polarized political environment such as Kenya's, civic groups have a particularly important role to play in encouraging citizen participation through nonpartisan activities.

Together with the need for general civic education, Kenyan civic organizations recognized the critical need to enhance voter confidence in the election process. In consultations with the NDI delegation, civic groups were concerned with a general lack of confidence in the election administration. The current debate over international observers underlined the need for Kenyan organizations themselves to develop the mechanisms to help ensure free and fair elections. Looking to recent examples in Zambia and elsewhere, these groups hope to organize nonpartisan pollwatching activities to ensure the integrity of the election process.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

The government and people of Kenya have taken the critical first steps toward a multiparty democracy. The NDI delegation noted such positive developments as the emergence of political parties that will actively compete in the elections, nonpartisan civic organizations that are engaged in civic education programs, the reorientation of government institutions to accommodate the new multiparty environment, and the energizing of Kenyans across the political spectrum by their newfound political freedoms.

Since the delegation's February 1992 visit, the political environment in Kenya has become more polarized as incidents of political violence threaten to derail the process of democratic reform. It is more crucial than ever that meaningful dialogue on the transition be initiated between the government, opposition political parties and other sectors of Kenyan society, as well as between the political parties themselves. It is urgent that such consultations begin to determine the rules that will govern the election process.

It is the shared responsibility of all sectors of Kenyan society to create an atmosphere of confidence in the nation's democratic transition. The present situation requires acts of good

faith, particularly on the part of the government, which must demonstrate its commitment to the political reform initiated by the president. Several measures are urgently needed to promote the confidence of Kenyans in the election process and to ensure a peaceful and sustained transition to democracy:

- Kenya's Electoral Commission will have to gain the confidence of the electorate that it will conduct the elections in a truly nonpartisan, independent and transparent manner. If not, pressures to create a new Commission with a broader representation will intensify. Moreover, the government and the Electoral Commission can enhance confidence in the election process by clearly establishing an election calendar;
- Political parties must cooperate to establish rules and procedures for free and fair elections. They must also engage in open competition and debate, offering the voters clear choices on a range of substantive issues;
- A voter education program should be undertaken to expose Kenyan citizens to their new rights and responsibilities in a multiparty system, and to encourage participation and confidence in the electoral process. The government and other groups must make every effort to provide voters the opportunity to register and to participate; and,
- Political parties and nonpartisan civic organizations can also help promote confidence in the election process through voter education efforts, as well as through pollwatching activities. It is critical that domestic groups develop the capability to impartially monitor Kenya's elections. Such groups will enhance the capability of international observers if they are invited for the elections; if there is no international presence, civic organizations will play an even more vital role in promoting a free and fair process.

The Kenyan people will ultimately determine the success or failure of the democratic transition. They deserve the support and admiration of the international community, which stands ready to assist in this historic endeavor.



APPENDICES



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Suite 503, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136

■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDIIA

APPENDIX I

NDI MISSION TO KENYA DELEGATION LIST

J. Brian Atwood

President
National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs
Washington, D.C., USA

Reverend Foston Sakala

Chairman
Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating
Committee (ZEMCC)
Lusaka, Zambia

Lionel C. Johnson

Senior Program Officer
National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs
Washington, D.C., USA

Peter Silverman

Program Assistant
National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs
Washington, D.C., USA

Jean Jolin

Deputy Director General
Elections of Québec
Sainte-Foy, Québec
Canada

Derrick Olsen

Intern
National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs
Washington, D.C., USA

Billie A. Miller, MP

Barrister & Attorney-At-Law
Bridgetown, Barbados



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Suite 503, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136

■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDIIA

APPENDIX II

NDI MISSION TO KENYA DELEGATION BIOGRAPHIES

J. Brian Atwood has served as the President of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs since 1985. He was United States Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations from 1979 to 1981. Mr. Atwood also served as executive director of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (1983-1984), Vice President of International Reporting and Information Systems (1982) and Dean of Professional Studies and Academic Affairs at the Foreign Service Institute (1982).

Lionel C. Johnson has been Senior Program Officer at NDI since April 1990. He manages political development programs in Haiti and Poland, as well as East Asia and East Africa. From 1982 to 1990, he served as a career diplomat in the U.S. Foreign Service. Mr. Johnson's assignments included serving as Special Assistant to Secretaries of State George P. Shultz and James A. Baker, III and Assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines during the historic democratic transition of 1986.

Jean Jolin is the Deputy Director General of Elections of Québec. He is also President of the Administration Council of the Notre-Dame-de-Bellevue College. He has been a member and a teacher at the Center for Political and Administrative Studies of the University of Québec's National School of Public Administration. Through the university, Mr. Jolin directed a public management program with public officials from Zaire, and helped organize the establishment of a public management institute in Cameroon.

Billie A. Miller is a member of Parliament in opposition. In addition, she is a practicing attorney. Ms. Miller is a former Minister of Health (1976-81) and Minister of Education (1981-86). She is also a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Barbados branch executive committee. She was a faculty member on NDI's May 1991 program to Guyana entitled, "Enhancing Confidence in the Electoral Process".

Rev. Foston D. Sakala is Chairman of the Zambian Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC), a nonpartisan civic organization formed in September 1991 to conduct civic education and election monitoring programs in support of the historic October 1991 multiparty elections in Zambia. In only five weeks, ZEMCC recruited and trained over 7,000 volunteers for the pollwatching and election monitoring effort. Rev. Sakala has been principal at Justo Mwale Theological College in Lusaka since 1979. He has also been chairman of the Christian Council of Zambia.



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Suite 503, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136

■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDIIA

APPENDIX III

NDI Mission to Kenya February 3-6, 1992 Delegation Program

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3

- Lunch Beth Mugo, Chair, Kenya Professional Business Women's Club
-12:30 pm Villo Nowrojee, Editor, *Child Watch*
 Margery Kabuya, National Director, Christian Children's Fund, Inc.
- 3:00 pm Rose Waruhiu, Former Member of Parliament
- Dinner Dr. Josephat Karanja, Former Vice President of Kenya and Member,
7:30 pm Steering Committee, FORD

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4

- 10:00 am Justice Z.R. Chesoni, Chair, and Members of the Electoral Commission
- Lunch Vincent Auka, Leader, FORD Youth Congress
12:30 pm Francis Maina, FORD Youth Leader
 Wanjiru Kabura, FORD Youth Leader
- 2:30 pm John Keen, Secretary, Democratic Party and Former Assistant Minister in the
 Office of the President
 Mwai Kibaki, Interim Chair, Democratic Party, and Former Vice President of
 Kenya and Minister of Health
 George Muhoho, Founding Member, Democratic Party and Former Minister for
 Research, Science and Technology
- Dinner Dr. Oki Ooko Ombaka, Director, Public Law Institute
7:30 pm Kasanga Mulwa, Former Member of Parliament

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5

- Breakfast
7:30 am Rev. Timothy Njoya, Presbyterian Church
Rev. Peter Njenga, Provost, All Saints Cathedral, Anglican Church
Father Ndikaru wa Teresia, Thika Catholic Church
Father Mac' Opiyo, Catholic Church
- Lunch
12:30 pm Rev. Samuel Kobia, Secretary General, National Council of Churches
in Kenya (NCCCK)
- 2:30 pm D.K. Andere, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
- 5:30 pm Paul Muite, Chair, Law Society of Kenya and Member, Steering Committee,
FORD
Wachira Maina, Managing Editor, The Nairobi Law Monthly
Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Executive Committee, FORD
Gitobu Imanyara, Editor-in-Chief, The Nairobi Law Monthly and Member,
Steering Committee, FORD
Grace Githu, Chair, FIDA
- Reception
6:30 pm Hosted by the Law Society of Kenya
- 8:30 pm Delegation Dinner

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6

- 8:00 am Sally Kosgei, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International
Cooperation
- 9:00 am John Joseph Kamotho, Minister for Education and Secretary General, KANU
- 10:30 am Amos Wako, Attorney General
- 11:30 am E.W. Mwangale, Minister for Agriculture
- 2:30 pm George Saitoti, Vice President of the Republic of Kenya and Minister for Finance
- 4:00 pm Press Conference
- Dinner
7:30 pm With United States Ambassador and Mrs. Smith Hempstone



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Suite 503, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136

■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDIIA

APPENDIX IV

STATEMENT OF THE NDI INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Nairobi, Kenya
February 6, 1992

This statement reflects the preliminary findings of a five-member international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). This delegation, comprising representatives from Barbados, Canada, Zambia and the United States, came to Kenya in response to invitations from a range of Kenyan leaders. The delegation met with officials of the Government of Kenya, and political and civic leaders in its effort to assess the state of the country's transition to multiparty democracy. NDI will publish a more comprehensive report of its visit shortly.

NDI is a political development institute that conducts nonpartisan programs to foster democracy in nations around the world. This mission to Kenya builds upon NDI's programs in countries throughout Africa, including Botswana, Ethiopia, Liberia, Namibia, Senegal, South Africa and Zambia.

The delegation offers its strong support for the historic initiative of President Daniel T. arap Moi in recommending the constitutional change creating a multiparty system in Kenya. This courageous decision has done much to reinforce Kenya's traditional position of leadership in Africa, a position that has been sustained during the tenure of the President.

We also note that the constitutional amendment, adopted on December 11, 1991, is less than two months old. It would be unfair to expect that this change could have produced an institutional transformation in such a short period of time. The transition to a multiparty democracy has just begun.

The delegation observed many positive developments: political parties have emerged to compete in the forthcoming elections; nonpartisan civic organizations have begun to address the need for civic education; government agencies are contemplating operational changes to adjust to the new circumstances; and Kenyans across the spectrum seem invigorated by the new political freedoms they enjoy. In that the advent of a multiparty system came as a surprise to most political actors, these developments are encouraging.

Yet, the delegation is concerned that the political environment remains tense and polarized. There seems to be little if any dialogue among the opposing political parties, and between the parties and the government. Harsh, seemingly unyielding statements by all sides contributes daily to division in the country. This has slowed the pace of change and, if it continues, the reconciliation that the December 11 action was meant to produce could be lost along with the historic opportunity presented.

The situation requires acts of good faith, particularly on the part of the government, which carries the heaviest burden for implementing President Moi's initiative. Consultations should be held urgently to resolve fundamental disputes over the election framework. These disputes should be discussed face to face, rather than being aired in newspaper attacks. A new democratic spirit must emerge that supports compromise and condemns absolutism, for democracy is not a game of winner-take-all, rather it is the business of give-and-take. Our impression is that the people are waiting first for a signal from the President himself that the new era he announced in December has in fact begun in earnest.

The transitional agenda should be delayed no further, for it is a long one. If a national election is to have real meaning and produce the legitimacy that flows from the people's expressed will, the individual citizens and institutions of the nation must be fully engaged in the process. A voter education program should be undertaken to expose citizens to their new rights, to erase any lingering apathy or cynicism about the voting process, and to encourage registration and participation. Political parties should promote democracy by organizing themselves democratically and by participating in open debate that presents clear choices to the people. A particular need exists to include women more actively in the higher councils of party organizations. Young people should also be encouraged to actively engage in the political process. The media has a vital role in informing the electorate throughout the process in a truly nonpartisan manner, and in providing all parties with equal access. Some of this activity has already begun, as we have noted, but with a tentativeness born out of doubt that the transition is in fact going to go forward.

It is urgent that consultations begin to determine the rules that will govern the electoral process. We note that a solid framework already exists but that modifications to accommodate the new multiparty context are needed. The Electoral Commission will have to gain the confidence of the electorate by conducting the election process in an independent and transparent manner. Steps that can be taken to create the necessary confidence level range from the creation of an entirely new election commission selected with the participation of opposition forces, to consultations with the existing commission leading to procedures that will build trust. The delegation understands that any changes in the status quo must occur in a constitutional manner, but urges an expeditious resolution of the matter that will inspire confidence in the system. No election commission can perform its function unless it is fully independent of political influence, is open and transparent in performing its duties, and is staffed adequately for the huge task that it must undertake.

Another urgent challenge is the registration of eligible voters. The delegation heard many complaints about difficulties young people are having in receiving their national identification card, a document needed for voter registration. We heard that as many as 3 to 5 million potential voters do not yet have these cards because of administrative obstacles and delays. Disenfranchisement on this scale, whether intentional or not, would be a serious matter.

The government and people of Kenya have taken the critical first steps along the road to multiparty democracy. This international delegation congratulates them for this historic

constitutional change, one that can unleash the creative and productive forces that result from the full participation of all citizens in the governance process. The Kenyan people have their fate in their own hands and it is they who will determine the success or failure of this democratic experiment. We in the international community, however, must play a role as well, refusing to interfere but insisting that the Kenyan people receive the support they need to meet this challenge. We hope that this delegation's presence in Kenya will begin to provide the people of this great nation with the optimism they require to ensure the success of their transition to multiparty democracy.

