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December National Democratic Party (*Natsionalnaya Demokraticeskaya Partiya-Jeltogsan*, NDP-*Jeltogsan*), founded in 1990 as a pro-independence movement, named after the month of anti-government riots in the capital in 1986 (in the Soviet era). A nationalist movement, *Jeltogsan* advocates close links with Turkey and Iran, and in 1992 announced the sending of party volunteers to assist Azerbaijan in its conflict with Armenia. In 1995 its leader was prominent in the opposition to the presidential constitution adopted in August.

Freedom Civil Movement of Kazakhstan (*Grazhdanskoye Dvizhenie Kazakhstana-Azat*, GDK-*Azat*), nationalist formation founded in 1990 to promote Kazakhstan's independence, but soon losing ground to other political forces. In October 1992 it joined with the December National Democratic Party and the Republican Party of Kazakhstan to form the Republican Party *Azat*, but the merger quickly broke down over policy and personal differences. By the late 1990s it was moribund.

Leadership. Mikhail Isinaliyev

Generation (*Pokoleniye*), movement seeking to represent the interests of pensioners; sometimes forms alliances with other political parties such as the Citizen Democratic Party (*Azamat*).

Leadership. Irina Savostina

Kazakhstan Revival Party, founded in 1995, this small pro-presidential party nominated 10 candidates in the October 1999 elections to the *Majlis*, but failed to win any seats. Not re-registered post-2002.

My Kazakhstan, founded in September 2001 under the leadership of a nephew of President Nazarbayev.

Leadership. Qayrat Satybaldy

Orleu Movement, opposition movement founded in February 1999, sometimes loosely allied with the Republican People's Party of Kazakhstan in the Republican Bloc. It failed to qualify for participation in the October 1999 *Majlis* elections.

Leadership. Seydahmet Kuttykadam

Republican Party of Labour, small centrist party, formed on the basis of the Republican Engineering Academy. It fielded six candidates in the October 1999 *Majlis* elections, but failed to win any seats.

Republican People's Slavic Movement-Harmony (*Respublikanskoye Obshchestvennoye Slavyanskoye Dvizhenie-Lad*), founded in mid-1993, becoming the largest ethnic Russian movement in Kazakhstan, also drawing support from other Russian-speaking groups such as Tatars, Germans and Koreans. Advocating close relations with Russia, dual citizenship for ethnic Russians and equal status for the Russian language, it won four seats in the 1994 elections but did not participate in the October 1999 contest.

Russian Centre (*Rossiiskiy Tsentrum*), grouping based in the ethnic Russian community, denied registration for the 1995 elections.

Socialist Party of Kazakhstan (*Sotsialisticheskaya Partiya Kazakhstana*, SPK), formed a month after the abortive hard-line coup in Moscow in August 1991 as would-be successor to the then ruling Communist Party of Kazakhstan (KPK), adopting a programme of political pluralism and cautious economic reform. President Nazarbayev (the former first party secretary of the KPK) withdrew from the SPK in

December 1991 and subsequently launched the People's Unity Party of Kazakhstan (SNEK) as the government party (see Fatherland Party). The SPK then took on the role of an opposition party. It won eight seats in the 1994 legislative elections but was not credited with any in December 1995. In April 1996 SPK leader Petr Svoik, a former head of the State Committee on Prices and Anti-Monopoly Measures, became a co-chairman of the new Citizen Democratic Party (*Azamat*), although the SPK retained its individual identity. It sought to contest the October 1999 parliamentary elections, but was deemed ineligible on the grounds that Svoik formed part of the leadership of a different party, namely *Azamat*. Did not seek re-registration post-2002.

Leadership. Petr Svoik (chairman)

Kenya

Capital: Nairobi

Population: 32,500,000 (2004 est.)

Kenya achieved independence from the United Kingdom in 1963 and was proclaimed a republic the following year. In 1969 the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) became effectively the sole legal party, a *de facto* status that turned *de jure* in 1982 and even triggered a failed coup attempt. It was not until December 1991 that President Daniel arap Moi, facing increased internal and external pressures, approved constitutional amendments to re-establish a multi-party system.

The central legislative authority is the unicameral National Assembly, with 210 directly elected representatives, 12 nominated members and two ex officio members (the Speaker and the Attorney General). It has a maximum term of five years. Executive power is vested in the President and to a much lesser extent the Vice-President and the Cabinet. Both the Vice-President and the Cabinet are appointed by the President, who is elected for a five-year term by universal suffrage. The winning presidential candidate must receive besides the majority of votes at least 25% of the votes cast in at least five of Kenya's eight provinces. A new constitution has been under discussion since 2000 and will probably introduce the position of Prime Minister. By February 2004, 53 political parties had been registered, including various previously banned parties such as the *Saba Saba Asili* of Kenneth Matiba and the United Democratic Movement (UDM) of Kipruto arap Kirwa.

The presidential election held on Dec. 27, 2002, marked the dawn of a new era. Daniel arap Moi, Kenya's second President, who had ruled for five successive terms from 1978 onwards, did not stand because he was obliged by the Constitution to step down. His preferred successor and KANU candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta, a son of Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta, lost the election to Mwai Kibaki, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) candidate. Kibaki won the presidency with 62.3% of the votes cast, ahead of Kenyatta (31.2%), Simon Nyachae (Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People, FORD-People, 5.9%), James Orenge (Social Democratic Party, SDP, 0.4%) and Waweru Ng'ethe (*Chama Cha Umma* Party, CCU, with 0.2%).

In the parliamentary elections, 34 political parties contested the 210 seats, which were distributed as follows: NARC 125, KANU 64, FORD-People 14, Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili (FORD-Asili) 2,

Safina 2, Sisi kwa Sisi 2, and Shirikisho Party of Kenya (SPK) 1. Nine women MPs were elected. The party distribution of the 12 nominated Assembly seats was as follows: NARC 7, KANU 4 and FORD-People 1. The number of women parliamentarians now stands at 17.

Chama Cha Umma Party (CCU)

Address. P.O. Box 55814, Nairobi

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Leadership. David Waweru Ng'ethe (chairman and political leader); Geoffrey Wamalwa (secretary-general); Muturi Gitau (organizing secretary); Eunice Nganga (treasurer)
Chama Cha Umma (Party of the People) was registered on Feb. 15, 1999. In the 2002 elections the CCU fielded 11, all unsuccessful, parliamentary candidates and its leader Ng'ethe, an educationalist, ran in the presidential race as well. In 1997, as UMMA Patriotic Party of Kenya candidate, he won 3,543 votes (0.06%) as compared to 10,038 in 2002 (0.2%). Like the SDP's James Orengo, Ng'ethe also failed to win a parliamentary seat. The party's agenda primarily sought to promote traditional African cultures and, for example, to abandon English as the national language and promote Kiswahili instead.

Democratic Party (DP)

Address. PO Box 53695, Nairobi

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Website. www.dp-kenya.org

Leadership. Mwai Kibaki (chairman); Joseph Munyao (general secretary); Calista Mwatela (treasurer)

The DP emerged at the beginning of 1992 with the departure from the ruling party of dissatisfied Kenya African National Union members to join the opposition. Its leader, Mwai Kibaki, who had been a longstanding government figure until his resignation in December 1991, attacked widespread official corruption and declared the new party's commitment to democracy, open government and free enterprise. In the December 1992 elections, which the opposition denounced as rigged and fraudulent, Kibaki won third place in the presidential election with almost 20% of the votes cast, while DP candidates secured 23 seats in the National Assembly.

In the December 1997 presidential election, Kibaki was the runner-up with 31.5% of the vote. The High Court dismissed a subsequent petition by Kibaki challenging the validity of the election results. The DP won 39 seats in the December 1997 legislative elections, making it the largest opposition party in the National Assembly. The DP, together with FORD-Kenya and the National Party of Kenya, acted as the "Big Three" who led the formation of the National Alliance (Party) of Kenya (NAK) and ultimately NARC, which won the 2002 elections. The DP's Mwai Kibaki became NARC's frontrunner for the presidency, which he won in a landslide victory over KANU's candidate Uhuru Kenyatta.

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili (FORD-Asili)

Address. PO Box 72595, Nairobi

Telephone. +254 (0) 733 764698

Leadership. George Nthenge (chairman); Martin Shikuku (secretary-general); A.N. Kathangu (acting secretary-general); Isaac Dahir (treasurer)

FORD was established by prominent opposition politicians in August 1991 and attracted immediate government hostility. The most high-profile figure at that stage was Odinga Odinga, a Vice-President of Kenya in the 1960s and a former member of the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU). The government's repressive response to the FORD pro-democracy campaign drew international condemnation, threatening Kenya's relations with crucial aid

donors. The party was registered immediately following the regime's acceptance of multi-partyism at the end of 1991. From mid-1992, however, FORD was weakened by mounting internal divisions and rivalry over the selection of the party's presidential election candidate, which resulted in a split into two opposing factions – FORD-Asili under Kenneth Matiba and FORD-Kenya led by Odinga – that were registered as separate political parties in October 1992.

In the December 1992 elections, in which the party claimed that gross irregularities had taken place, Matiba finished second to President Moi with 26% of the vote, while FORD-Asili candidates won 31 seats in the National Assembly (although one representative subsequently defected to KANU in June 1993). Divisions within FORD-Asili emerged in November 1994 when the party's national executive committee reportedly suspended Matiba for six months. Further internal turmoil ensued, with new party officers appointed in March 1996 failing to obtain support from their predecessors. Matiba subsequently formed a separate party, FORD-People.

In the December 1997 presidential election, Martin Shikuku received less than 1% of the vote, while FORD-Asili won only one seat in the legislative elections that were held simultaneously. In 2002 the internal friction further deepened when one section led by acting organizing secretary Wanguhu Ng'ang'a joined NARC while the Martin Shikuku faction decided to try their own luck. They fielded 41 candidates for parliament and won only two seats through popular politicians who had defected from other parties after the nominations – in Tharaka, a candidate who had defected from KANU, and in Kitui South a candidate who had been rejected initially by the NARC headquarters, were declared the winners.

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-Kenya)

Address. PO Box 57449, Nairobi

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Leadership. Musikari Kombo (chairman); John Munyes (secretary-general); Ramogi Ochieng Oneko (treasurer)

FORD-Kenya was one of the two main rival elements to emerge from the original FORD opposition movement. The party was registered in October 1992, initially under the leadership of Odinga Odinga, who managed to achieve fourth place in the December 1992 presidential election with almost 17.5% of the votes cast. In the simultaneous legislative elections, FORD-Kenya tied for second place with FORD-Asili, winning 31 National Assembly seats each. FORD-Kenya subsequently joined an opposition alliance to challenge the validity of the election results. In June 1993 Odinga assumed the leadership of the official opposition in the National Assembly. However, he died in January the following year and was succeeded as chairman of FORD-Kenya by Kijana Wamalwa, previously the party's vice-president.

In June 1995 secretary-general Munyua Waiyaki renounced his party membership, subsequently joining the United Patriotic Party of Kenya. At the end of November 1995 it was reported that Wamalwa had been ousted as chairman of FORD-Kenya by Raila Odinga (one of the late leader's sons), which reflected the factional rivalries within the party. However, the following month the High Court confirmed Wamalwa as party chairman, restraining Odinga from taking over as leader. Odinga subsequently joined the National Development Party (NDP).

In the December 1997 presidential election Wamalwa came fourth, with 8.4% of the vote. Despite a weak campaign, Wamalwa retained a substantial level of support in almost all the Luhya districts. In the legislative elections held at the same time, FORD-Kenya won 17 assembly seats, which put it behind the NDP (21 seats) but substantially ahead of FORD-Asili (one seat) and its offshoot FORD-People (3 seats).

Soon after the 1997 elections, FORD-Kenya, like the NDP, seemed to team up with KANU. However, unlike the NDP, the link did not develop into a strong bond, and eventually FORD-Kenya MPs voted with the opposition. The decision to remain in opposition and Wamalwa's attempts to unite it paid off when, after the 2002 elections, Wamalwa became Vice-President. However, his health had been causing concern for a long time and after a one-month stay in a London hospital he died on Aug. 23, 2003, at the age of 61. He had served as Kenya's second-in-command for only eight months. The party leadership was subsequently contested by three candidates, with Musikari Kombo emerging as the winner on Oct. 25, 2003. In the following months, FORD-Kenya, dismayed at having lost the vice-presidency to the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), positioned itself more independently within the NARC entity, contesting the merging of the original NARC parties into one.

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People (FORD-People)

Address. Nairobi P.O. Box 8380, 00200 Nairobi

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E-mail. fordpeople2002@yahoo.com

Leadership. Simon Nyachae (political leader); Kimani wa Nyoike (chairman); Mwandawiro Mghanga (secretary-general)

FORD-People was founded in October 1997 by Kimani wa Nyoki, a former leader of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili, following a split in that party between Matiba and the secretary-general, Martin Shikuku. Matiba then boycotted the 1997 elections. However Kimani wa Nyoike decided to run in both the presidential and parliamentary elections. Lacking charisma and without Matiba's financial backing wa Nyoike won a mere 0.1% of the presidential vote and came only second in the Kipiriri parliamentary elections. FORD-People won three seats in the December 1997 legislative elections (Kinangop, Kangema and Mathioya constituencies in Central Province). FORD-People's future looked even bleaker after Matiba dropped the party for *Saba Saba Asili* and at least two of its MPs were about to switch allegiance to the Democratic Party (DP).

The defection of KANU rebel Simon Nyachae in June 2001, however, gave the party a new and wealthy leader. After falling out with the ruling KANU party, Nyachae had been looking for an existing party for some time. After failing to link with the *Shirikisho* Party of Kenya or another smaller party, he settled for FORD-People. Nyachae had strong support in Kisii Nyanza and through his past KANU links had good contacts in Coast and North Eastern Provinces and parts of Eastern and Rift Valley Provinces. Close to the time of the elections, FORD-People entered into an electoral pact – the Kenya People's Coalition – that incorporated the *Safina* party of Paul Muite and Farah Maalim and the National Labour Party (NLP) headed by labour union activist and former DP parliamentarian Kennedy Kiliku. In the end, the NLP fielded 17, all unsuccessful, candidates alongside FORD-People. The NLP had initially been rumoured to be ripe for a takeover by Nyachae – as were the UDM, *Shirikisho* and the Labour Party Democracy – but disagreements over the inclusion of Ngilu's NPK, favoured by Kiliku, is said to have blocked the move. In the end, the NLP fielded candidates alongside FORD-People, and Kiliku openly campaigned for Kibaki, as did Paul Muite (*Safina*).

The Rainbow Coalition had also signed a memorandum of understanding with the People's Coalition but at the last moment decided to join the National Alliance of Kenya (NAK). Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) officials' preference for Kibaki over Nyachae was a major blow to Nyachae's ambitions to become the sole presidential candidate for a united opposition. Talks about a "Super Alliance" between NAK, the

People's Coalition and the Rainbow Coalition (LDP) collapsed by late October 2002 when Nyachae pulled out due to disagreements over their method of selecting a single presidential candidate for the opposition. Nyachae was accused of being a lone ranger after refusing to join the Super Alliance. In the presidential election Simon Nyachae came third with a total of 345,378 votes (6%), almost three-quarters of which came from Kisii. FORD-People fielded 186 parliamentary candidates and gained 14 seats, mostly (10) in the Kisii region together with Mutito (Eastern), Kinango, Wudanyi (Coast), and Baringo East (Rift Valley).

After the elections a split in the party developed between wa Nyoike and Nyachae over the nomination of Kipkalia Kones to parliament, which did not go down well with the party chairman who had designs on this seat himself. The matter ended up in court and Kones emerged as the winner. In March 2003, however, wa Nyoike announced the suspension of party leader Simon Nyachae, a move that in fact never happened. Nyoike transferred the party offices and left with all the files. Another reason for wrangling in the party was the alleged misappropriation of the nomination fees collected from aspiring candidates. In October 2003 wa Nyoike went back to court to try to force the Electoral Commission (ECK) to nominate him as a parliamentary candidate. The two factions were reconciled in December 2003, only to be back in court over the challenged nomination of Kones by April 2004. A High Court decision revoked his nomination but the Court of Appeal decided on a status quo solution whereby Kones would remain in parliament until the case was heard.

FORD-People had formed a new collaborative pact with KANU by December 2003: the Coalition of National Unity (CNU). KANU supported Nyachae as CNU chairman, with Uhuru Kenyatta, as his deputy until the CNU could hold elections. It could possibly become another major block in Kenyan politics, in particular if dissatisfied factions from within NARC join forces. It remains to be seen if this new initiative will take off seriously.

Kenya African National Union (KANU)

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Leadership. Uhuru Kenyatta (political leader and acting chairman), Julius Sunkuli (acting secretary-general); Yusuf Haji (treasurer)

KANU was established in 1960 espousing centralized government, "African socialism" and racial harmony. It was the ruling party from 1964, and between 1982 and 1991 its status as the sole legal political organisation was embodied in the Constitution. Daniel arap Moi succeeded Jomo Kenyatta as President and party leader in 1978. In December 1990, following President Moi's lead, KANU delegates voted to retain the one-party system. However, the sustained pro-democracy campaign and international pressure for reform made this position increasingly untenable and, in December 1991, the party endorsed Moi's abrupt decision to introduce multi-partyism. KANU subsequently suffered a number of defections to newly established opposition parties.

In the December 1992 elections, Moi retained the presidency with just over 36% of the votes cast, the opposition vote having been split between the leaders of three opposition parties. In the legislative elections, KANU faced strong opposition attacks on government corruption. The party retained power with 100 of the National Assembly seats, although many sitting KANU members were defeated, including 15 cabinet ministers.

In December 1997 Moi was re-elected President with 40.6% of the vote, while KANU won 107 seats in the National Assembly, where it was subsequently supported by

the National Development Party (NDP). Its leader, Raila Odinga, had finished third in the 1997 presidential election, receiving over 11% of the vote. In the simultaneous legislative elections, the NDP also placed third, winning 21 seats in the National Assembly. Odinga subsequently aligned the NDP with the KANU. As a reward for collaborating, the NDP had Job Omino elected as deputy speaker in parliament. In June 2001 the NDP's policy of "co-operation" with the government moved closer to full coalition (although this term was not used) when Odinga and another NDP member were appointed to senior ministerial office. Two other NDP members became assistant ministers, while virtually all of the party's backbenchers moved to sit alongside the KANU members of the National Assembly. In March 2002, and after long negotiations, the NDP decided to dissolve itself and merge with KANU to form the New KANU. This move made political observers conclude that the ruling party was assured of victory in 2002.

However, it had become obvious soon after the 1997 elections that the main political battle in the country was not taking place within the National Assembly but in government over President Moi's succession. The rift between KANU-A and KANU-B leaders quickly resurfaced even though the latter had been humiliated by the electorate and the initial non-reappointment of Prof George Saitoti as Vice-President. In April 1998, the first cracks appeared when Finance Minister Simon Nyachae boldly predicted, in front of the opposition, the diplomatic community and three-quarters of KANU MPs, that the Kenyan government would soon go bankrupt and that corruption was rampant within its ranks.

By appointing Uhuru Kenyatta as KANU's candidate for the presidency, Moi gave the final blow that led to the party losing the 2002 elections, ending its 40-year rule of the country. In spite of fielding the highest number of candidates (209), only 64 KANU candidates were elected to parliament in 2002. Uhuru Kenyatta got 1,828,914 votes. Following his defeat, Uhuru Kenyatta tried to re-organize the party. Former President Moi also formally stepped down as party chairman in September 2003. Former Finance Minister Chris Okemo, the organizing secretary Nicholas Biwott, vice-chairman Noah Ngala and nominated MP Mutula Kilonzo, among others, challenged Uhuru's leadership when they indicated their interest in the KANU chairmanship. Former Vice-President Musalia Mudavadi did not seek to become the party's flag bearer and joined NARC on an LDP ticket in November 2003. Soon after, Uhuru launched "the KANU return to power campaign". The KANU party elections that had been scheduled for Jan. 10, 2004, were cancelled. The new alliance with FORD-People and the party leadership issue appear to have split KANU into at least two camps; those supporting Uhuru and others backing powerful Rift Valley KANU MPs such as Nicholas Biwott, Gideon Moi and Julius Sunkuli. In February 2004, MP John Serut of Mt Elgon defected from KANU, later telling his constituents that KANU was dead and that he intended to join a party within the ruling NARC coalition ahead of the next general election. In April 2004 Uhuru was appointed acting chairman without a real contest for the position taking place, something that did not go down well with fellow contenders. This move was seen to be a scheme to revitalise the party and lock out some of the old guard who were regarded as a "burden" when it came to reforming the party. KANU also warmed up relations with their former colleagues in LDP and together they moved some motions in parliament to block the government.

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)

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Leadership. Lawrence Gumbo (chairman); Mumbi Ng'aru

(secretary-general); Hussein Sharriff (treasurer); David Musila (acting chairman); Joseph Kamotho (acting secretary-general)

The LDP was formed in 1999 with the assistance of minority-interest activists of Asian extraction. It remained a little-known party until it agreed to host a group of former KANU leaders who had protested against former President Moi's decision to handpick Uhuru Kenyatta as the KANU presidential candidate. These leaders – Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, George Saitoti, Moody Awori, Joseph Kamotho – established a pressure group called the Rainbow Alliance on Aug. 14, 2002. They officially abandoned the ruling party on Oct. 14, the day Uhuru Kenyatta was nominated as KANU's presidential candidate; a memorandum of understanding had been signed with the former LDP chairman Dennis Kodhe on Sept. 18 but the union was not unveiled until Oct. 14. Initially LDP (Rainbow) had sought an arrangement with the National People's Coalition of FORD-People, *Safina* and the National Labour Party, but soon decided to team up with the National Alliance (Party) of Kenya (NAK).

The enormous task of setting up a political party – unifying former National Development Party, NDP, and disgruntled KANU politicians while at the same time joining another coalition party (NARC) – is clearly reflected in the problems that emerged over the signing of the memorandum of understanding between the LDP and NAK in the confusion over the party's organisation. The original chairman, Dennis Kodhe, was thought to have handed over to Job Omino, whose position was taken over by David Musila after his death in January 2004. However, according to official Registrar of Societies documents and confirmation by the Electoral Commission of Kenya in February 2004, Lawrence Gumbo and Mumbi Ng'aru are the party's official chairman and secretary-general, respectively. After the death of Kijana Wamalwa, the LDP's Moody Awori obtained the position of vice-president. LDP also saw Mudavadi re-unite with his Rainbow Coalition partners after defecting from KANU. Within NARC relationships with the DP and the NPK in particular were not all that cordial, in spite of several meetings to discuss the problems. From early 2004 onwards LDP issued many threats to walk out of the coalition. On several occasions LDP politicians teamed up with their former KANU brethren to block government policy.

National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)

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Website. www.narc-kenya.org

Leadership. Mwai Kibaki (political leader) Charity Ngilu (chairman); Fidelis Nguli (secretary-general) Peter Malonza (treasurer) Titus Mbathi (acting chairman) Burudi Nabwera (acting secretary-general)

The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) was formed on Oct. 14, 2002, and brought together 15 groups. A cluster of 12 political parties (DP, FORD-Kenya, National Party of Kenya, FORD-Asili, *Saba Saba Asili*, SPARK, Labour Party of Kenya, United Democratic Movement, SDP, KENDA, Federal Party of Kenya, Mazingira Green Party) formed the National Alliance (Party) of Kenya (NAK) in February 2002. It was joined by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) on Oct. 14, a small dormant party taken over by members of the Rainbow Alliance, a dissident faction of the New KANU that united former NDP politicians and disgruntled KANU members. There are also two civil-society organizations – the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) and the Progressive People's Forum (PPF). This union brought together the four runners-up in the 1997 election: Mwai Kibaki (DP), Kijana Wamalwa (FORD-Kenya), Charity Ngilu (NPK) and Raila Odinga (LDP). In 1997 their com-

bined vote (3,566,716 or almost 58% of the vote) far outstripped KANU's score of 2,500,320 (40%). In addition, they were able to count on massive support for NARC in at least five populous key regions of the country (i.e. Central, Western, Eastern and Nyanza Provinces and Nairobi). Other prominent NARC supporters were expected to deliver votes in Rift Valley (Saitoti) and Coast (Balala) Provinces.

It took a long time for the opposition to realize that disunity would be a major obstacle to electoral victory. Two important steps were taken to achieve such unity. First, talks between Mwai Kibaki, Kijana Wamalwa and Charity Ngilu began seriously under the heading of the National Alliance for Change (NAC) in 2001, which ultimately resulted in the National Alliance (Party) of Kenya (NAK). Some seven months later the Rainbow Coalition revolted within KANU and eventually broke away. Under the leadership of Raila Odinga, the faction initially sought unity with the FORD-People of Simon Nyachae and *Safina's* Paul Muite and their Kenya People's Coalition (KPC) before proceeding to join forces with NAK. The proposed Super Alliance between KPC, NAK and the Rainbow Coalition failed to materialize after Raila Odinga hinted during a public rally that Mwai Kibaki would be the best person to lead this opposition alliance. The Swahili phrase *Kibaki anatosha* ("Kibaki is fit to lead") sealed this unity that had eluded the opposition since 1991.

The original parties did not disappear within NAK or NARC. For the 2002 elections they agreed to hold nominations under the NARC umbrella instead of organizing single presidential, parliamentary and civic nominations as separate parties. To avoid the risk of not being allowed to register, NPK became NAK in June 2002 and in October 2002 NAK became NARC. As a result, the officially registered NARC officials are still those of NPK. A memorandum of understanding was signed between the LDP and NAK that advocated a 50-50 power-sharing arrangement between the two parties. The NARC parties were expected to be dissolved after the 2002 elections to pave the way for a single ruling party. After the 2002 elections however, the LDP argued that the agreement was not being fulfilled and delayed unification. The LDP argues that NARC is a coalition of NAK and itself, while NAK claims that NARC is legally a single party as all the government MPs came to power through it. Disagreements between NAK and LDP parliamentarians over the new constitutional proposals are also a major issue, with the latter striving for a strong prime-ministerial position for its *de facto* leader Raila Odinga. NAK members feel that such a position would undermine the power of President Kibaki. In a counter move, the NPK's Charity Ngilu was put forward as a possible candidate for the position of prime minister should a new constitution provide for the office. Opinions differ whether NARC should be a coalition party (LDP, FORD-Kenya, Labour Party of Kenya), a coalition allowing for dual membership (DP, Ford-Asili, UDM, SPARK, *Saba Saba Asili*, Mazingira Green Party) or an individual membership party (NPK, SDP). Attempts by both insiders and outsiders, e.g. religious leaders, to solve these internal frictions had met with failure as of mid-2004. Instead, President Kibaki established a government of national unity when KANU and FORD-People MPs joined his Cabinet in June 2004.

Safina

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Leadership. Paul Muite (political leader); Juma Kiplenge (secretary-general); John Icharia (treasurer)

In May 1995 the internationally recognized conservationist and palaeontologist, Richard Leakey, announced that he was joining Paul Muite and other members of the *Mwangaza* ("Enlightenment") Trust (the charitable status of which had

been revoked by the government in January 1995) in the formation of a new opposition party. The following month the party name – *Safina* ("Noah's Ark") – was announced and an application for registration was made. Despite not being registered until Nov. 26, 1997, *Safina* won five seats in the following month's National Assembly elections after campaigning on an anti-corruption and pro-human rights platform. In July 1999 Leakey was appointed head of the civil service and secretary to the Cabinet (with responsibility for fighting corruption) but resigned from this post in March 2001. In October 1998 he had been replaced as the *Safina*-nominated parliamentarian/candidate by Josephine Sinyo. Mwandawiro Mghanga, who had replaced Leakey as secretary general, handed in his resignation on Oct. 31, 1999, barely one year after taking up this position. Mghanga, a former student leader, mentioned frustration from the party ranks and a lack of spirit in *Safina* as the main cause for his decision. *Safina* suffered another blow when two MPs from North Eastern Province, Adan Keynan and Elias Barre Shill, dumped *Safina* for KANU. Both had moved to *Safina* after they had lost in the 1997 KANU parliamentary nominations. In 2002 they ran on a KANU and a NARC ticket respectively but both lost.

In the run-up to the 2002 election, the party was split between a Muite and Kiplenge camp endorsing Mwai Kibaki as presidential candidate and Farah Maalim (*Safina's* chairman) who supported the FORD-People's candidate Simon Nyachae. *Safina* fielded 59 parliamentary candidates of whom only two won seats. Paul Muite retained his 1997 Kabete seat in Central Province though with a reduced majority. Muite's reputation had suffered from his association with Kamlesh Pattni in the Goldenberg scandal, whereby the latter was said to have offered money to Muite. Peter Munya, after losing the NARC nomination, claimed the Tigania East seat for *Safina* in Eastern Province. Farah Maalim lost the Lagdera seat on a FORD-People ticket. *Safina* seemed to have lost its momentum and members have been decamping en masse to join NARC. In July 2003 Paul Muite said that *Safina* had decided to support NARC and would consider joining it. The close ties with NARC, in particular its NAK section, were also exemplified when Paul Muite was voted in as the chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Review in favour of Raila Odinga. In July 2004, though, a combined effort by LDP and KANU politicians resulted in the chairmanship position being taken over by William Ruto of KANU.

Shirikisho Party of Kenya (SPK)

Address. P.O. Box 70421 Nairobi; PO Box 90469, Mombasa
Telephone. +254 (0) 722 430973

Leadership. Mashengu wa Mwachofi (acting chairman); Yusuf Aoubakar (secretary-general); Mwakio Ndaui (treasurer)

The *Shirikisho* Party of Kenya (SPK), based in Kenya's Coast Province, won one seat in the December 1997 legislative elections. It has advocated a federal system of government in Kenya (*shirikisho* or "federation"). In parliament it has mainly addressed issues affecting the coastal region and above all its Mijikenda people, such as the alleged privatization of the Kenya Ports Authority and the fraudulent sale of the Kenya Cashew Nut Factory. The party was embroiled in a series of leadership disputes in 1998-99. It fielded 17 candidates in 2002. Harrison Garama Kombe won the Magarini seat in Coast Province after having failed in 1992 and 1997 on PICK and KNC tickets, respectively. *Shirikisho's* former leader, Suleiman Shakombo, retained his Likoni seat for NARC after initially defecting to KANU in April 2002. *Shirikisho's* new leader, Mashengu wa Mwachofi, came only third in the constituency of Mwatate. Towards the end of 2003, various *Shirikisho* officials confirmed that they were holding talks with the LDP about forming a possible alliance.

Sisi kwa Sisi Party of Kenya (SKSPK)

Address. P.O. Box 54335 – 00200, Nairobi

Telephone. +254 (0)7 22 723808/769267

Leadership. Zakayo Munyi Karimi (chairman), Adan Wachu Chachole (secretary-general), Mohammed Sheb-wana Mohammed (treasurer)

The *Sisi kwa Sisi* Party of Kenya (“We with Us”) was registered on June 21, 2000, and fielded just 11 parliamentary candidates in the 2002 elections. It won two seats (Juja and Kangundo) with politicians who had defected from NARC and KANU after failing to acquire nomination by these parties. In Kangundo, a first-timer, Moffat Maitha (a teachers’ trade unionist), was banking on the support of teachers and won with 26% of the votes, defeating 13 other contenders. In Juja, businessman William Kabongo gained almost 43% of the votes, beating 10 rivals, among them the KANU’s outgoing MP Stephen Ndicho who had been favoured by KANU headquarters in spite of losing the party primaries to Kabongo, who won with a landslide vote. Both candidates had bribed voters or security personnel during the KANU primary but Ndicho’s links with KANU won him the nomination.

Kabongo’s popularity seems to stem from development projects (schools) he supported in the area. The youth factor was also important: his youthfulness and the use of *benga* songs with new and challenging lines sung by popular singers linked to Kabongo’s night clubs located along the Kenyan coast seem to have played a decisive role in winning the votes of young Kenyans. Even in early 2003 *Mungiki* sect members indicated they would support the *Sisi kwa Sisi* Party for the presidency. Political observers have suggested that *Sisi kwa Sisi* might be “bought” in the future by national politicians like Kenyatta and transformed into a youth movement for the poor in an attempt to challenge the incumbent Mwa Kibaki’s emphasis on investors and the old. Yet soon after the elections both Maitha and Kabongo announced they were on the government’s side and voted with it. However, during the run-up to the Naivasha by-election in April 2003, supporters of the *Sisi kwa Sisi* clashed with supporters of the NARC candidate Kihara. The *Sisi kwa Sisi* candidate (Amario) and the party’s (then) chairman Rukenya Kabugua and treasurer Zakayo Karimi were arrested.

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Address. PO Box 21770, Nairobi

Telephone. +254 (0) 2603090/ +254 (0) 722 844896

Leadership. James Orengo (chairman and political leader); Apollo Njonjo (secretary-general); Pheroze Nowrojee (treasurer)

Founded in 1992, the SDP won 15 seats in the December 1997 National Assembly elections. Peter Anyang Nyong’o, who had lost his parliamentary bid, was nominated to parliament. Its (woman) presidential candidate, Charity Ngilu, came fifth with 7.8% of the vote. From 2001, disputes in the party led to it splitting into three factions, each headed by one of the three key officials – Charity Ngilu, Peter Anyang Nyong’o and Apollo Njonjo. Ngilu left the party after a clause was introduced in the party’s constitution that required its presidential candidate to be a university graduate, a condition that technically barred her from the top position. She defected to the National Party of Kenya (NPK). The Njonjo faction teamed up with James Orengo, who had defected from FORD-Kenya, while Anyang Nyong’o joined the NARC coalition and stepped down as a presidential candidate. The Orengo faction openly sought to be linked with NARC, but in vain. The Electoral Commission (ECK) recognized the Orengo faction as the legitimate SDP representative and the party subsequently fielded its own parliamentary candidates and presidential hopeful. This split further weakened the party that had already lost a number of SDP parliamentarians during the late 1990s, mainly to KANU

(Kiminza, Ndicho, Murathe, Muiruri). The 2002 elections were fought by 96 SDP candidates and resulted in the SDP losing all of its 16 seats in parliament. James Orengo won 24,537 votes, a meagre 0.4% of the total, and ended in fourth place in the presidential race. Only Beth Mugo, Charity Ngilu, Peter Kaindi, John Katuku and Peter Anyang Nyong’o on a NARC ticket and Patrick Muiruri on a KANU ticket made it back to parliament.

Kiribati

Capital: Tarawa

Population: 80,000 (2000E)

Kiribati (the former UK protectorate of the Gilbert Islands) became an independent republic in 1979. Under the constitution, legislative power is vested in a unicameral 41-seat House of Assembly (*Maneaba ni Maungatabu*). This consists of 39 popularly elected members, one nominated representative of the displaced Banaban community (resident since the 1950s in Fiji because of the environmental degradation of their island by phosphate mining), and the Attorney General (as an ex-officio member, unless already elected). An executive President (the *Beretitenti*), who is popularly elected from amongst members of the Assembly, governs with the assistance of an appointed Cabinet and is empowered to dissolve the Assembly and to call general elections. Both President and Assembly serve a four-year term.

Traditionally there have been no formally organized political parties in Kiribati. In recent elections, however, loose associations have been formed in response to specific issues or in support of particular individuals. In Assembly elections held on Sept. 23 and 30, 1998, two such groupings, the *Maneaban Te Mauri* (MTM) and the *Boutokaan Te Kouaua* (BK), secured 14 and 11 seats respectively, the other 14 elective seats being won by independents. Presidential elections held on Nov. 27, 1998, resulted in the re-election of Teburoro Tito of the MTM with 52.3% of the vote. Tito’s third term in 2003 lasted for only a few months after losing a vote of no confidence in parliament. He was replaced by Anote Tong of the BK. Anote Tong’s rival for the presidency was his brother Harry Tong, an ally of Tito. The results of the July 4, 2003, presidential elections were as follows: Anote Tong (BK) 47.4%; Harry Tong (MTM) 43.5%; and Banuera Berina (*Maurin Kiribati Pati*) 9.1%. Legislative elections held in May 2003, resulted in the MTM holding 24 seats, the BK 16 and the Banabas (who live in Fiji) 1.

Boutokaan Te Kouaua (BK)

Address. c/o Maneaba ni Maungatabu, Tarawa

Leadership. Anote Tong

Rendered as “Pillars of Truth” or “Supporters of Truth”, the BK grouping came second in the 1998 and 2003 legislative elections, with leader Anote Tong winning the 2003 presidential election.

Maneaban Te Mauri (MTM)

Address. c/o Maneaba ni Maungatabu, Tarawa

Leadership. Teburoro Tito

Its title being variously translated as “Protect the Maneaba”, “Blessings of the Meeting House” or simply “Good Luck”, the MTM emerged in the mid-1990s as the supporting group of President Teburoro Tito. Tito had been elected in 1994 with the backing of a Protestant-oriented Christian Democratic Party