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**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER
REPORTING OF THE RUN-UP TO THE 1997 KENYAN GENERAL
ELECTION**

By

PETER MAINA MATU

This thesis is being submitted in accordance with the requirements for the

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University of the Free State.

Bloemfontein

Supervisor: Professor H. J. Lubbe

November 2003

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis hereby submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.



P. M. MATU

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study aims to describe and analyse the reporting on the run-up to the 1997 general elections in the Kenyan print media within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The study is restricted to data from three Kenyan newspapers, viz. the *Daily Nation*, the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times*. An examination of the coverage of the run-up to the general elections will help determine whether Kenyan newspapers operate with conflicting and pre-determined ideological positions in their reportage. Using Critical Discourse Analysis as its analytical tool, the study investigates the concept of ideology, showing how ideology is encoded, enacted and reproduced in the discursive patterns. The discursive patterns include lexical choices, metaphors, syntactic patterns and intertextuality among others.

The differences between the reports in the three newspapers establishes two different political camps, referred to as social groups (Oktar, 2001) or social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996), or identities that are realized through the ideological square of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation (Oktar, 2001). The establishment of two political groups can be attributed to the fact that media language can construct political realities with the intention of controlling and manipulating the readers through the use of discursive patterns.

There is a need for a study such as this because, as Ennaji (1999:152) observes, 'the most revealing discourse type where power and ideology are strongly exercised is that of the mass media'. Thus there is need to expose or reveal what Fairclough (1989:49) refers to as 'the hidden power of the media'. According to Ennaji (1999:152), the power exercised by the media is not direct,

but implicit in the ways that the mass media manipulate people according to specific aims. It is, therefore, what is implicit that we want to make explicit so as to point out the manner in which the electorate (readers) is manipulated.

The study would also show how ideological discourse is constructed politically as a means to influence the electorate to view one political party favourably while viewing the others unfavourably.

1.2 RATIONALE/JUSTIFICATION

Most studies using Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical toolkit in analysing media language have concentrated on the British Press (Trew, 1979(a), 1979(b) Fowler, *et al.*, 1979; Hodge, 1979; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995(a), 1995(b); Caldas-Coulthard, 1993; Reah, 1998; Thornborrow, 1999; Beard, 2000). Few studies have attempted a critical discourse analysis of newspaper reporting of the run up to general elections. Even the few available are scanty and sketchy and do not provide detailed description/analysis (Reah, 1998; Beard, 2000).

Other studies, especially from Europe, have concentrated on the portrayal of the theme of racism in the media (Van Dijk, 1984, 1987(a), 1991, 1992, 1993(a); Essed, 1991; Wodak, 1991). Studies on African print media are indeed few and far between (Morrison & Love, 1996; Morrison, 1996, Thetela 2001). This aspect of lack of detailed studies from the African print media has been profoundly expressed by Morrison & Love (1996) when they observe that, while a good deal of work has been published on the media in Africa, particularly the print media, there has been little detailed critical attention to discourse strategies in African print media and media relating to Africa. From this argumentation, it is clear that there is a lacuna/hiatus in critical discourse analysis in relation to African print media, and this study aims to contribute to the filling of this hiatus.

It is also hoped that, by showing how ideology is enacted through various discursive practices, the study may help journalists and other media practitioners, to engage themselves in more balanced reporting and aim to attain the ideal/abstract level of ideology free discourse.

1.3 HYPOTHESES

The working hypotheses for the study include:

that the language use of the Kenyan print media conveys and portrays conflicting ideological positions;

that these conflicting ideological positions are realized through various strategies or discursive patterns, viz. lexical choices, metaphors, syntactic patterns and intertextuality;

that in exhibiting its ideological standpoint the Kenyan print media manipulates the readers, through language, to agree with or to believe the newspapers' standpoint. Language, therefore, is used to reinforce ideologies.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The study relies heavily on the methodologies of critical linguistics and particularly Critical Discourse Analysis to carry out an examination of headline articles and some editorials in Kenyan newspapers prior to the 1997 general elections. The principal method used is, therefore, to analyse newspaper texts for metaphors, lexical choices, syntactic devices and intertextuality. The analysis of texts using discourse strategies will show how various political parties are presented and the reasons behind the presentation.

CDA grounds the theoretical claims in the idea that both the ideological loading of particular ways of using certain linguistic forms systematically and the relations of power which underlie them is often unclear to people (Fowler, 1991; Oktar, 2001). Since CDA gives attention to the grammar and vocabulary of texts, our aim in using it as a methodology is to make opaque aspects of discourse explicit.

1.5 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the study is to investigate newspaper reporting in the Kenyan context within the domain of critical linguistics. The aim of the study is to unravel any value-laden language in order to reveal what may lie behind lexicalisation, metaphorical concepts, syntactic patterns and intertextuality.

The study attempts to show how the three Kenyan newspapers report the run-up to the elections and the linguistic mechanisms or strategies used. These mechanisms (lexis, metaphors, syntax, intertextuality) are loaded with a pre-determined ideology to perpetuate a newspaper's hidden agenda.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study is a conceptual discourse analytic research (Mouton, 2001:168 – 169) based on textual data and is composed of seven chapters. Chapter 1 largely dwells on the background to the study, the motivation thereof and the methodology. Chapter 2 reviews the current literature that informs the study and conceptualises the place of Critical Discourse Analysis within the broader framework of discursal-analytical studies. Chapter 3 outlines a brief political history of Kenya and traces the development of print media in Kenya. Chapter 4

largely deals with the ideological square as portrayed in the Kenyan press. Furthermore, it shows how the semantic, stylistic and syntactic means are incorporated in the ideological square. Chapter 5 concentrates on lexicalisation, that is, lexical choices that are used to influence or manipulate as can be observed from the data. Chapter 6 identifies and discusses the metaphors that can be attested in the data. Attempts are made to show the function of the metaphors in political discourse. Chapter 7 provides the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces the historical and philosophical development of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its related themes. The place of CDA within the broader framework of linguistics and philosophy is contextualized and the influence of Halliday's Functional Grammar in the development of CDA is synthesized. In addition a discussion on the theoretical aspects of metaphors is provided. The chapter also tackles the major themes that have informed the study or the development of CDA. Thus an examination/overview is provided on such themes as language and ideology (and its offshoot, the ideological square), language and power, political linguistics and language and the media.

2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theory that has been used successfully to investigate the structuring of power, ideology and domination in speech in general, and in texts in particular. In this section a review of the historical development of CDA is provided paying particular attention to its history, aims and applications.

CDA continues a well-known, but often off-mainstream, tradition in the humanities and the social sciences that can be traced to several philosophical propositions, which include the Bakhtin/Voloshinov circle, Marxism, Frankfurt School in the 1930s, decisionism, and the universal pragmatics of Habermas. Except for the work of a few scholars, critical studies research has largely been ignored and has even fewer dedicated followers in research on language,

discourse and communication (Van Dijk, 1987(b)). What follows is an exposition of the philosophical propositions.

According to Mesthrie (2000) Voloshinov's characterization of the promotion of the study of the ideology via language is deeply entrenched in linguistics. Voloshinov was a Soviet scholar prominent in the 1920s, whom many analysts believe to have actually been Mikhail Bakhtin. He was forced to adopt a pseudonym to publicize his unorthodox ideas. The centrality of Voloshinov's work is a critique on Saussurean structuralism with regard to the linguistic sign. Saussure stated that the linguistic sign consists of a combination of signifier and signified, the relationship of which is arbitrary. Thus the signifier spelt d-o-g has no inherent link with the concept "dog" that it names. There is no one-to-one relation between the concept and the object it stands for. Therefore, the same object "signified" could be called something else. The relationship is therefore a kind of social contract agreed upon by a speech community. In addition to that Saussure characterized society as general and abstract without showing any particular interest in subgroups within the society. Since critical linguists take social arrangements and divisions within society seriously, the idea of language as a system of socially neutral signs is unacceptable (Mesthrie, 2000:322).

Voloshinov stressed the ideological nature of the sign, thus departing from the Saussurean framework. Voloshinov places more emphasis on the conditioning of the forms of signs by the social organization of the participants involved and by the immediate conditions of their interaction. The conditioning elevates the sign to become an arena of class struggle, opening it to different orientations and evaluations in the social world. Despite the fact that Voloshinov's interest was in class inequalities, his formulation can be extended to other struggles over language and struggles within language, for example, those of gender and minority rights. This is what Voloshinov referred to as "heteroglossism" – the coexistence and interplay between several "voices" or linguistic and social

orientations in a speech utterance. The multiple orientation (or open endedness of language) is opposed by dominant classes because their interests are to downplay the polyphonic, semantic and social possibilities of the sign. Dominant classes try to make the sign uniaccentual. Voloshinov believes that we enter into human consciousness and social consciousness via our learning of language. Therefore, to have subjectivity and to be human is to have first entered via language into dialogue with others. The "self" is therefore social since it is a collection of various roles, a make up of languages or voices spoken by others (Mesthrie, 2000:322).

Hammersley (1997) explicates the contribution of Marxism and the Frankfurt School to the development of CDA. He argues that the primary source of the term "critical" in CDA is the "critical theory" developed by the Frankfurt School of Marxism. According to Hammersley (1997) the use of the term "critical" arose when the Frankfurt Marxists were exiled to the United States as a result of the Nazi takeover in Germany. The term *Marxism* was taboo in America, and so they began to refer to their work as *critical* rather than *Marxist*. Hammersley observes that the early Frankfurt theorists inherited from Marx the idea that how society ought to be is not a matter of mere subjectivity, but an objective fact that is built into how society is and how it has developed historically. They argued that in the twentieth century this objective possibility, which is immanent in capitalist society, had become almost wholly obscured by ideology. This, they believed, was one of the reasons why a successful communist revolution had not occurred in the West. The primary task for them was ideology critique, the aim being to reveal what ideology obscures, the possibility that modern society could be organized in a different non-oppressive way (Hammersley, 1997:240).

Underlying the idea of ideology critique as concerned with revealing objective possibilities for change, is Marx's philosophy of history. Marx saw history as culminating in the realization of human "species-being", and he treats all forms of exploitation and oppression present in history and in contemporary society as

signaling humanity's alienation from its own true nature. This alienation was not, however, something that could be eliminated by an act of will. Instead, in large part it arose directly from success in gaining control over external nature. Marx regarded the development of technology as reducing domination by nature and increasing the alienation of human beings from one another because technological development had produced hierarchical modes of organization ranging from feudal estates to nation states and joint stock companies. Marx argued that this process had reached its most intense form of capitalism, where the material resources for human liberation from nature are available but the relations of production represent the most severe level of social alienation. Thus, he believed that capitalism contained all the necessary preconditions for the self realization of humanity: it had developed the forces of production to the point that provided the material base for this; while the extreme social alienation of the working class supplied them with a capacity for a true understanding of the nature of capitalism, and a motive for bringing about radical change to a new kind of society in which oppression and exploitation would disappear (Hammersley, 1997:240 – 2).

Hammersley (1997) shows the basis on which CDA could be founded on decisionism. In his argumentation, he states that decisionism proponents differ from the Frankfurt School because they reject any attempt to derive value judgements from socio-historical analysis. Whereas Marxism presents ideals – how things can and should be – as discoverable through investigation of the true world, decisionism denies that values are open to rational justification. In the decisionism view, one chooses one's values and this involves a leap of faith or an act of will rather than rational deliberation. Their sources in this connection are the views of nineteenth century critics of Hegel, that is, Nietzsche and Kierkegaard. Hammersley (1997) asserts that much "critical" writing in the social sciences seems to rely on decisionism. It is often argued, for example, that what is distinctive about "critical" research is that it makes its value commitment

explicit and uses it to guide inquiry whereas mainstream research claims to be value-neutral but is not (Hammersley, 1997:242 – 243).

The contribution of Habermas' universal pragmatics to the development of CDA cannot be gainsaid. Hammersley (1997) and Menz (1989) have shown how the universal pragmatics developed by Habermas have been incorporated into CDA. Hammersley (1997) says that Habermas' work was derived from the Frankfurt School but took a distinctive, Kantian, turn. Menz (1989) makes an observation that Habermas in particular criticized the dangers of a purely positivistic science and its proneness to ruling ideologies. He states that a science which limits itself to the description and objective representation of facts neglects an important aspect, namely the aspect that science is practised by scientists, that is to say by people with opinions, concepts, interests and ideologies of their own. Habermas outlines a scientific theoretical framework within which one can pursue critical social sciences and hence also critical linguistics.

According to Menz (1989) Habermas develops a model which includes two essential dimensions. A critical science, should it want to legitimize itself, must first of all be self-reflective, and secondly, it must consider the historical life-context in which linguistic and social interactions take place. By self-reflection Habermas means an attitude: the scholar must consider the social importance of his own actions, i.e. he must reflect. The social and linguistic scholar is himself also part of that system which he analyzes; hence he must be conscious of the fact that scientific research is not value free, it does not take place in a vacuum, it is shaped by interests, and also by the scholar's own interest. Thus it is absolutely necessary that the scholar should declare and substantiate his interests. A critical science must be conscious of the fact that the social rules and the social context, which are analysed, are historically grown and not given by nature. They are derived from a life context and must be interpreted within their historical development (Menz, 1989:228 – 230).

CDA is specifically interested in power abuse, that is, in breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power. Power abuse may be supported or condoned by other group members, sanctioned by courts, legitimated by laws, enforced by the police, and ideologically sustained and reproduced by the media or textbooks (Van Dijk, 1993(b), 1998:369 – 373).

In the mainstream structural and generative approaches up to the 1960s and 1970s none of these philosophical orientations discussed above played a significant role in linguistic research. Structural and generative grammars in the 1960s and 1970s had been developing formal systems of analysis whereby language users and social contexts were almost ignored. However, pragmatics emerged with the notion of speech acts and came closer to the study of social interaction, although its approach remained fairly philosophical and abstract. Text linguistics and discourse analysis, which also included conversation analysis, broke the rigid sentence boundaries of grammars and placed more focus on the units of language use and communication, i.e. text and talk. Both discourse analysis and text linguistics remained context free, that is, they were too close to grammar and logic, or their focus was on purely formal properties of conversational interaction such as turn-taking and other forms of sequencing. Such theories never went beyond an analysis of general rules and strategies of mutual understanding and interaction with regard to language users and the relevant properties of social context.

Sociolinguistics made a break from pragmatics and redirected attention from the study of the linguistic competence of members of a homogenous speech community to the analysis of actual language use in the social context. Much of the research focused on context-dependent variations in language use such as sound structure, syntax, lexis, style, narratives or other discourse genres. Under the influence of Labov, who critically discussed the earlier work of Bernstein,

sociolinguistic research examined the role of race, class and gender in language use and the resulting social inequalities and oppression. Whether conceptualized as relative deficiency (with respect to the white, middle class norms), or as autonomous difference of class or ethnically based socialites, the major advance was a more socio-politically orientated approach to language and discourse. Similar remarks hold for the interest in the ethnography of speaking for cultural variation and dependency of language and discourse forms.

The dominant mode of linguistics was changed by the various developments in the 1970s. Thus, instead of concentrating on abstract sentence structures, more emphasis was placed on speech acts and real or natural forms of language use and discourse. Attention mostly focused on dialectal and sociolectal variation and the contextual functionality of language and discourse forms as an addition to the interest for universals and abstract language systems of homogenous speech communities. The new developments (dialectology, sociolectal variation and functionality of language and discourse forms) were seen as new modes of studying linguistics.

Although the new approaches developed powerful instruments in language analysis, their social orientation remained undimensional. Language use and discourse were studied as a form of social interaction. Social situations were analysed in terms of class, gender, race, age, occupation or status. However, most of these studies were purely descriptive and a critical dimension was lacking. In terms of interaction and discursive patterns these studies reproduced aspects of social or political power, but these aspects were hardly conceptualized or systematically studied in relation to socio-cultural, socio-economic and historical structures. Many linguists were not aware of the fact that in interpersonal conversation and in institutional text and talk some social members and groups have and exert power over others. The exertion of power

reproduces dominant ideologies controlling the minds, acts and social positions of the typically powerless.

The 1970s was a period rooted in the new discourse-in-the-social context approach to language studies. However, the decade of the 1980s witnessed the emergence of a significant new approach to language studies, viz. that towards a critical linguistics and discourse analysis. In this approach scientific research is not guided by the prevailing academic tradition or current theory. Even the interesting social phenomenon of language use as such does not have primary attention. The critical approach is neither theory-driven nor data-driven, rather it is problem-driven without being a mere form of applied linguistics or discourse analysis. The separation of theory and application, of theory and scholarly practice, and of scholarly practice and social practice is not recognized in the critical approach. Its inspiration is derived from a critical analysis of relevant, structural problems in society and culture. Since many of these problems are themselves linguistic or discursive, that is, expressed in, and enacted, or reproduced or legitimated by talk and text, critical discourse analysis can and should make a significant contribution to the assessment of these problems and, if possible, provide solutions.

The critical approach, immersed in the notion of discourse in society, makes use of a complex cluster of structural relationships differently categorized as *power*, *dominance*, *exploitation*, *manipulation* or *oppression*. This categorization applies to personal, individual interaction and communication. However, more focus is projected towards the group-based, institutional enactment of such structural and historical properties of our societies. As a result, the approach is interested in the role of the state and its various institutions (ministries, agencies, the police, the judiciary, education and research). Other areas of interest include the socio-economic, financial and technological dominance of big business and banks, and the major reproduction force for their power and ideology, viz. the media.

Besides the aforementioned, the critical approach also investigates the group-based and partly institutionalized exertion of power by (ethnic) majorities over minorities, or of men over women.

The reproduction of power, ideology and dominance is observed from macro through micro-structure of social organization and interaction, and is not just sustained and reproduced by physical power, action, work, products or money. It shows and expresses itself, it formulates and permanently produces text and talk, viz. typically in the illocutionary and discursive power modes of laws, regulations, instructions, commands, orders, threats, accusations, interrogations or similar forms of communication affecting the powerless. Thus power is installed, exerted, enacted, legitimated, motivated, defended, excused through text and talk and therefore reproduced structurally and historically.

The task of critical linguistics and discourse analysis is to analyse this power structure showing the role of language and discourse in the development, maintenance and reproduction of that system (Van Dijk, 1987(b)).

Critical linguistics has its origins in Britain (Fairclough, 1992; Fowler, *et al.*, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979; Menz, 1989). Fairclough (1992) has placed the domain of discourse within the larger framework of Critical Language Studies (CLS). He feels that there is a tangible need for a critical orientation because of the social circumstances that we are living in. Since power relations are being exercised implicitly in language, and since language practices are being consciously controlled and inculcated, there is need for a linguistics that describes language practices and relates them to the social and power relations.

Fairclough (1992:8 – 10) characterizes CLS in terms of five theoretical propositions and a framework for critical analysis of discourse as outlined below:

1. Language use, which Fairclough calls *discourse*, shapes and is shaped by society. Discourse is socially determined and its variations can be accounted for by the social situation in which it is used. Language use, therefore, on the one hand has effects on society, while on the other hand society shapes the way that language is used.

2. Discourse assists in constituting and changing knowledge and its objects, social relations, and social identity. This theoretical proposition clearly shows the effects that discourse has on society, that is, how discourse constitutes the social. There are three dimensions of the social which include knowledge, social relations and social identities. These dimensions correspond to Halliday's three functions of language, that is, ideational function which represents and signifies the world and our experience, relational function that constitutes and changes social relations and identical function which constitutes and changes social identities. Any discourse serves the three Hallidayan functions and constitutes or reconstitutes the three dimensions of the social.

3. Discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies. This theoretical proposition therefore shows the effects of society upon discourse. One effect can be seen in the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties of language. The standard variety is valued while the non-standard variety is devalued depending on the power of its users. The term "standard" therefore legitimizes and naturalizes particular valuations which are held as true by language users. The effects of society upon discourse shapes conventions for particular discourse types, such as the medical interview genre. Such discourse conventions are invested and affected with ideology through power. This ideology can be unearthed by

looking at how the ideational, relational and identical meanings are built into such genres. For example, the medical interview tends to be organized in terms of turn-takings or topics. The turns and topics embody particular ideological assumptions about medical knowledge, relations between doctors and patients and their social identities.

4. The shaping of discourse is a stake in power struggles. There is always a covert mechanism of domination. Domination and other discursual practices/conventions may be naturalized. This naturalization is what Gramsci calls hegemony. Naturalization attests the manner and extent to which powerful social forces and groups dominate a society or a particular institution. However, dominant practices/conventions in discourse could be confronted with alternative or oppositional practices that have different valuations of language and are invested with different ideologies.
5. The fifth and final theoretical proposition discussed by Fairclough (1992) asserts that CLS sets out to show the symbiotic relationship between discourse and society in shaping each other. Mainstream language study could be seen as contributing unconsciously to the naturalization effect. The contribution is observed especially in cases where mainstream language study accepts dominant conventions and practices, at face value, as a description of data. Social sciences also contribute to social struggles, thus they have no neutrality since they stand in particular relationships to dominant/dominated groups and forces. The task of CLS is therefore to reawaken the consciousness of groups of people who are dominant in a linguistic way since linguistic domination tends to combine with other forms of dominance. Consciousness is therefore a prerequisite to the development of new

practices/conventions that can contribute to social emancipation or emancipatory discourse practices.

Consciousness as an agent of emancipatory discourse practices has also been hailed by Fowler (1996(b)) as one of the major tasks of critical linguistics. Critical linguistics views representations as mediated and moulded by value systems ingrained in the language used for representation. Therefore the theory challenges common sense/naturalization/hegemony phenomena by positing that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance (Fowler, 1996(b):4). Linguistic analysis is utilized by critical linguistics to unravel or reveal misrepresentation and discrimination in public discourse. The revelation is achieved through critical readings of newspapers, political propaganda, official documents, and regulations among others. An examination of various topics such as sexism, racism, inequality in education, employment, the courts and so on is at the core of critical linguistics. By examining such topics in relation to public discourse the goals of critical linguistics are in general terms defamiliarisation or consciousness-raising (Fowler, 1996(b):5).

One of the major characteristics of CDA is to create political awareness in the minds of readers/speakers and the society as a whole (Kress, 1996; Van Dijk, 1993(b), 1998). Thus the main task of CDA, according to these scholars, is basically political. CDA attempts to unravel the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality arising from it. By doing so it hopes to alter the existing inequitable distribution of economic, cultural and political goods in society and thereby achieve a more equitable social order. Achieving an equitable social order is a transformation process that involves unsettling the existing order and transforming its elements into an arrangement that is less harmful to some and could be beneficial to all members of the society. Therefore,

unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts should take an explicit socio-political stance because a critique of discourse entails a political critique of those responsible for political perversion in the reproduction of dominance and inequality. Critical discourse scholars should also be social and political scientists as well as social critics and activists.

In this section we have shown the historical development of CDA, paying particular attention to its philosophical foundations. We have also outlined the five theoretical positions of CLS as advocated by Fairclough (1992). Finally, it has been argued that the task of Critical Linguistics is broadly political. In the next section we examine the influence of Halliday on CDA.

2.3 HALLIDAYAN MODEL

2.3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this section the contribution of Hallidayan linguistics to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis is examined. This is because, apart from the influence of Marxism (Van Dijk, 1993(b); Hammersley, 1997), Frankfurt critical theory, decisionism and Habermas' universal pragmatics (Hammersley 1997, Menz 1989), Voloshinov and/or Bakhtin (Mesthrie, 2000), whose influence was more on the philosophical grounding as discussed in the previous section, Halliday's functional grammar has played a significant role in the development of CDA in the sense that CDA benefits from his method of analysis. In fact, most, if not all, analytical tools of CDA are borrowed from Halliday with some minor modifications.

2.3.1 HALLIDAYAN FRAMEWORK

The Hallidayan model as used in CDA will be presented as it is expounded by Kress(ed.) (1976), Fowler & Kress (1979), Halliday (1985), Kress (1990), Fowler (1991), Hodge & Kress (1993), Simpson (1993) and Reah (1998).

The basis of Hallidayan linguistics is a very strong notion of function. It is true that language 'performs functions' in a specific practical sense, i.e. being used distinctly to write headlines, to greet, to make a will, chide the children and so on. But, as pointed out by Fowler (1991), what Halliday has in mind is a more global concept of 'function', hypothesizing what, in general terms, language does. Halliday proposes that all language performs simultaneously three functions which he calls 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual'.

In the first place, language serves for the expression of content: it has a representational, or, an ideational function. It is through this function that the speaker or writer embodies in language his experience of the phenomena of the real world; and this includes his experience of the internal world of his own consciousness, his reactions, cognitions, and perceptions, and also his linguistic act of speaking and understanding.

In the second place, language serves what may be called an interpersonal function. Here the speaker is using language as a means of his own intrusion into the speech event; the expression of his comments, his attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and his listener – in particular the communication role that he adopts, of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading, and the like.

There is a third function which is in turn instrumental to these two, whereby language is, as it were, enabled to meet the demands that are made on it. This third function is referred to as "textual" since it is concerned with the creation of text. It is through this function that language makes links with itself and with the

situation; and discourse becomes possible, because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one.

The three functions provide a scheme for classifying linguistic structures according to their communicative roles. The positive consequence for a functional classification from this point of view, is that all the details of syntax or vocabulary are conceived of functionally: not merely as different kinds of structure, but as kinds of structure which are as they are because they fulfill particular functions. It is quite clear that the ideational and interpersonal functions are especially valuable for the purposes of CDA since critical linguistics is particularly concerned with the representation of experience and with the mediation of social relationships and values. Some constructions in these areas that are of particular interest to the critical study of the Press are introduced in the following paragraphs, namely transitivity, material processes, verbalization processes, and relational processes.

2.3.2 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is part of the ideational function of language and is a fundamental and powerful semantic concept in Halliday, an essential tool in the analysis of representation (Fowler 1991:70, Simpson 1993:88). Kress (ed.) (1976:169) states that transitivity is the representation in language of processes, the participants therein, and the circumstantial features associated with them, whereas Simpson (1993:88) asserts that transitivity refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. Transitivity shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them.

The meaning of Halliday's *transitivity* differs from the sense of the term in traditional grammar. Traditionally there is a syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, depending on whether they take an object or not. But this syntactic distinction oversimplifies or neglects some important

differences of meaning between various types of verbs, and, therefore various types of clauses. The differences concern what kind of process the verb designates: *kick* designates a kind of action which has an effect on another entity, *the ball*; *ran* refers to an action which affects only the actor(s). In *Jane is tall*, we find a quite different state of affair encoded, namely, no action but a description of a physical state. *Peter meditates* refers to a mental process, not a physical action.

It emerges that there are many more distinctions of meaning behind transitivity than the simple distinction expressed by transitive versus intransitive. A central insight of Halliday's is that transitivity is the foundation of representation; it is the way the clause is used to analyse events and situations as being of certain types. Transitivity also has the facility to analyse the same event in different ways, a facility which, as Fowler (1991:70-71) shows, is of great interest in newspaper analysis. Since transitivity makes options available, some possibilities are always suppressed, so the choice a speaker makes or the choice made by the discourse indicates that the speaker's point of view is ideologically significant. Newspapers provide abundant examples of the ideological significance of transitivity.

To illustrate how transitivity is reflected in newspapers, Fowler (1991:72-73) picks out three front page headlines culled from three newspapers of 1 July 1986. These newspapers are the *Eastern Daily Press*, the *Sun* and the *Daily Express*.

1. Police constable shot boy from 9 inches – *Eastern Daily Press*.
2. Raid Police constable shot boy from 9 inches – *Sun*
3. Police constable shot boy from 9 inches
 - (a) Robber's son, five, killed in his bed – *Daily Express*

These are prominent reports of the opening of the case against a policeman who was accused of manslaughter of a five-year-old boy as he lay in bed during an armed police raid on his father's home in August 1985. In the three newspapers above, the police constable is the agent who does the action (shot) and the boy is the patient. The location is also indicated. The headlines happen to illustrate in a very clear way the three basic elements in transitivity: a clause is based on a semantic nucleus consisting of an obligatory verb or adjective called "a process" by Halliday although, following case grammar, a predicate. The predicate designates the event or state of affairs described by the clause.

In transitivity, the basic semantic framework for the representation of process is very simple. A process consists potentially of three components (Halliday, 1985; Simpson, 1993):

- i) The process itself, which will be expressed by the VP in a clause;
- ii) The participants involved in the process. These roles are typically realized by NPs in the clause;
- iii) The circumstances associated with the process, normally expressed by adverbials and prepositional phrases.

These components provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on (Halliday, 1985:101). Process can be classified according to whether they represent actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being.

2.3.3 MATERIAL PROCESSES

Material processes are simply processes of doing. Kress (ed.) (1976) calls them action clauses, whereas Reah (1998) refers to them as actional verbs. These processes express the notion that some entity "does" something – which may be

done “to” some other entity (Halliday, 1985:103). Material processes have two inherent participant roles associated with them. The first is the ACTOR, an obligatory element which represents the “doer” of the process expressed by the clause. The second is an optional GOAL which represents the person or entity affected by the process (Simpson, 1993). Halliday (1985) states that the term *goal* implies “directed” at. Another term that has been used for this function is *patient*, meaning one that “suffers” or “undergoes” the process.

Simpson (1993) provides examples to exemplify the notion of Actor, Process and Goal:

| | ACTOR | PROCESS | GOAL |
|---|----------|---------|----------|
| a | John | kicked | the ball |
| b | The lion | sprang | |

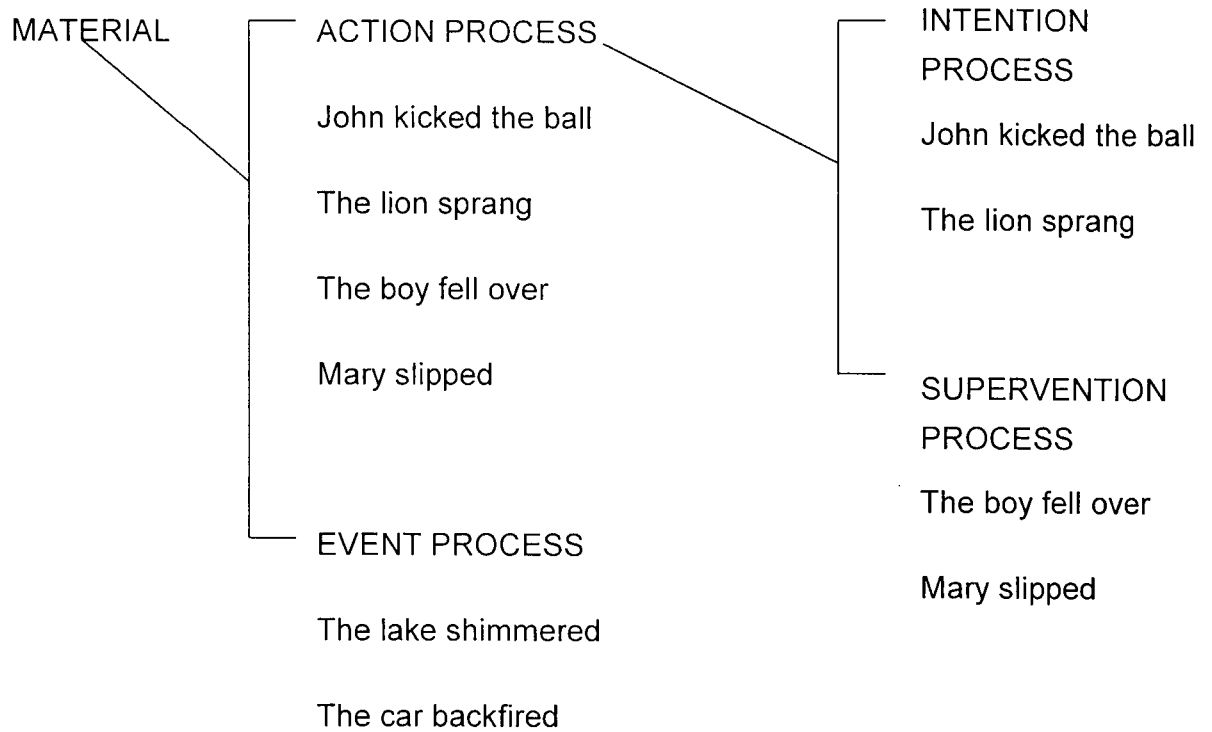
Because a GOAL element is present in (a), we can re-arrange this sentence into a passive form:

| GOAL | PROCESS | ACTOR |
|----------|------------|---------|
| The ball | was kicked | by John |

Although both the original participants are still present in this clause, the GOAL element is placed first and the ACTOR shifts to the end of the sentence.

Material processes can be subdivided on the basis of finer distinctions in meaning. If the process is performed by an animate actor, it is referred to as an *action* process. The term *event* process is reserved for those processes which, by contrast, are performed by an inanimate actor. Action processes may further be subdivided into *intention* processes (where the actor performs the act voluntarily) and *supervention* process (where the process just happens).

A network from this system of material processes can be developed:



This section has examined what material processes are and has shown the relationship that holds between Actor and Goal. In the next section we examine the verbalization process.

2.3.4 VERBALIZATION PROCESSES

These are processes of saying. The participant roles associated with verbalization processes are that of the SAYER (the individual who is speaking) and the TARGET (the addressee to whom the process is directed). To this may be added VERBIAGE (not derogatory but "that which is said").

| | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| SAYER | PROCESS | VERBIAGE | |
| He | said | that ... | |
| SAYER | PROCESS | VERBIAGE | TARGET |
| They | announced | the decision | to me |
| SAYER | PROCESS | TARGET | VERBIAGE |
| John | told | Mary | his life story |

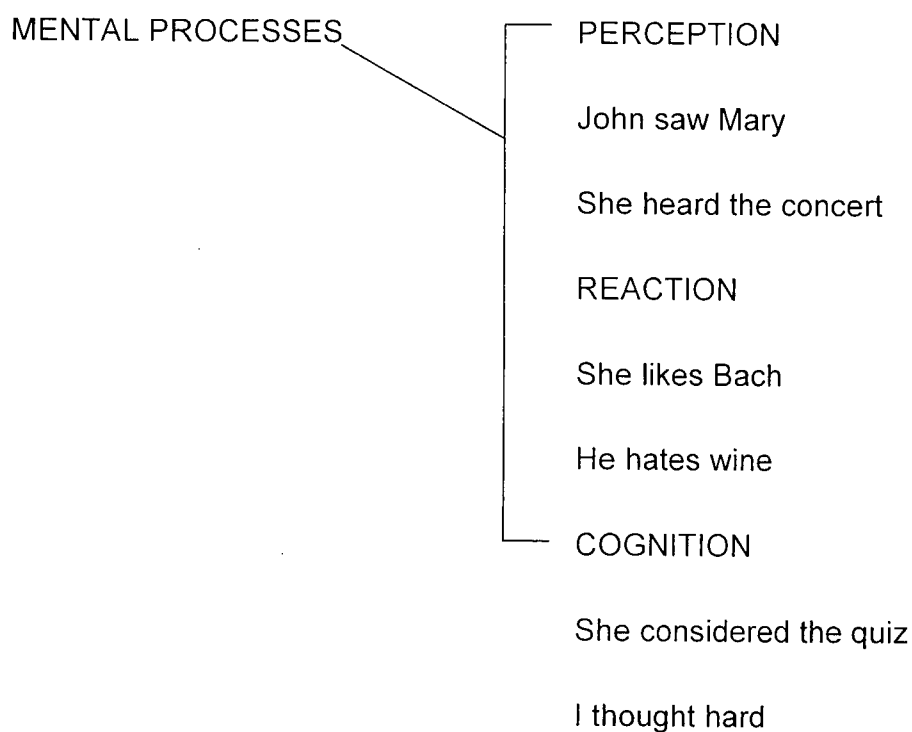
It is important to note that Kress(ed.) (1976) classifies what Simpson (1993) calls verbalization processes as part of mental processes.

2.3.5 MENTAL PROCESSES

According to Simpson (1993) mental processes, called affection processes by Halliday (1985:111), account for the process of sensing. These processes are "internalized" and as such are quite different in quality to the "externalized" process of doing and speaking. Kress (ed.) (1976:164) says that mental processes are characterized by their being associated (i) with different participant functions and (ii) with different circumstantial elements from action clauses.

Kress (ed.) (1976), Halliday (1985) and Simpson (1993) classify mental processes into three main types: (i) perception processes (seeing, hearing, etc.), (ii) processes of cognition (thinking, knowing, understanding, etc.), and (iii) reaction processes (hating, liking, smiling, etc.).

Simpson (1993) and Halliday (1985) observe that there are two inherent participant roles associated with mental processes, which are SENSOR (the conscious being that is perceiving, reacting, feeling, thinking or seeing) and the PHENOMENON (that which is perceived, reacted to, felt, seen or thought about). Examples from Simpson (1993:91) are provided below to show the mental processes:



| SENSOR | PROCESS | PHENOMENON |
|--------|------------|------------|
| John | saw | Mary |
| She | likes | Bach |
| She | considered | the quiz |

| SENSOR | PROCESS | CIRCUMSTANCE |
|--------|---------|--------------|
| I | thought | hard |

2.3.6 RELATIONAL PROCESSES

This category expresses the process of "being". According to Kress (ed.) (1976:167) relational processes are clauses in which the "process" takes the form of a relation between two participating entities, or between one participating entity and an attribute. Both of these two types may have the verb "be", which tends to obscure the difference between them; they are perhaps less closely alike than they look. Simpson (1993) suggests that quite often these processes signal that a relationship exists between two participants, but without suggesting that one participant affects the other in any way.

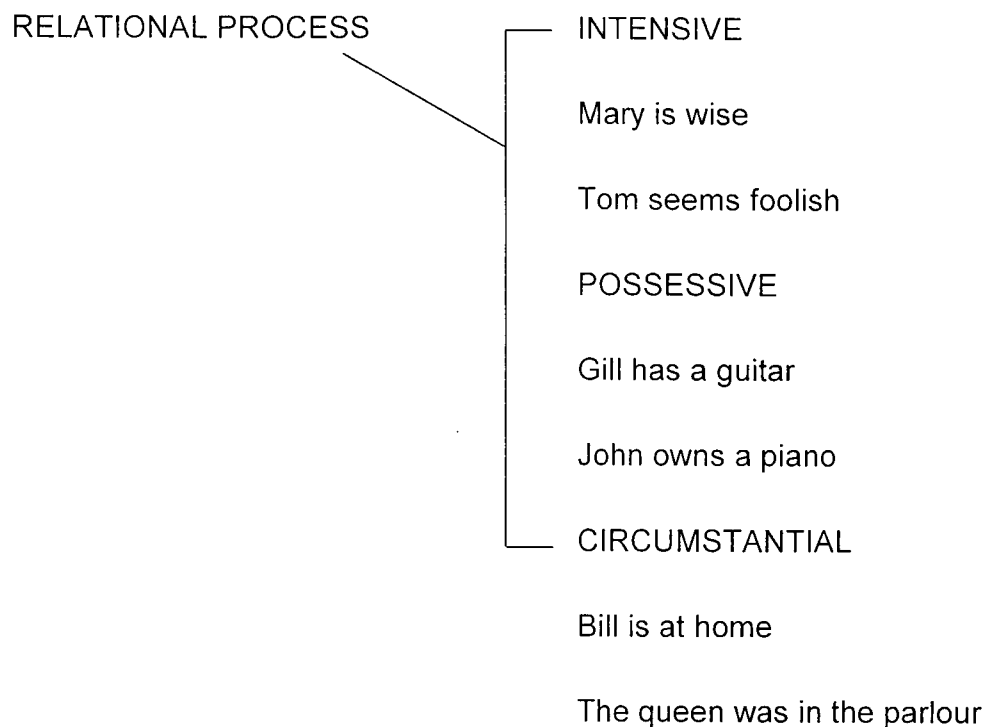
Relational processes may be (a) intensive, expressing an "X is a" relationship,

- b) Possessive, expressing "X has a" relationship; or
- c) Circumstantial, expressing "X is at/of a" relationship.

Each of these comes in two modes:

- (i) Attributive "a" is an attribute of X
- (ii) Identifying "a" is an identity of X.

These examples are adapted from Simpson (1993:92) to show the relational processes:



Reah (1998:79) observes that, by selecting from the range of models (processes), the producer of a text can present the world to the reader with an ideological slant imposed upon it. People or regimes can be presented as actors or recipients of action, and they can be presented in terms of their behaviour or qualities.

After examining the grammar of transitivity and its related processes, viz. relational, material, verbal and mental which form Halliday's major contribution to CDA, a review is now provided of the theoretical aspects of the metaphor.

2.4 THE METAPHOR

2.4.0 INTRODUCTION

The analytic tools for Critical Linguistics have been extensively discussed in the previous sections. While the identification of these tools can be said to be satisfactory, there is one omission that needs attention, namely the role of the metaphor. The significance of the metaphor, in analyzing text and talk, is reflected in the works of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Wilson (1990), Novek (1992), Akioye (1994), Morrison & Love (1996), Obeng (1997), van Dijk (1998) and Thetela (2001).

Currently there are two main approaches to the study of metaphor, namely, the pragmatic and the cognitive perspectives. The main features of the two approaches will be outlined below.

2.4.1 PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVES ON METAPHOR

The study of metaphor from a pragmatic perspective has received detailed attention from Wilson (1990). He observes that metaphors and metaphorical language have a central role to play in political communication. In general, metaphors can assist in the explanation of complex political arguments by reducing such arguments to a metaphorical form. Metaphors may be employed for connotative or emotional purposes in arousing emotions and reinforcing particular perspectives, and they can be used to elicit absurd images which can then be employed for ridiculing one's opponent. Examples (1), (2) and (3) aptly illustrate these points:

1. Inflation runs away with your most cherished plans – not to mention your savings (Mrs Thatcher: Cardiff, 1987).

2. And constantly I seek to look beyond the doors of the White House, beyond officialdom of the national capital, into the hopes and fears of men and women in their own homes (Franklin D. Roosevelt: 14 April, 1938).
3. Custard pie conservatives and slapstick social democrats hurling social abuse (Neil Kennock(*sic*), 1987).

Issues of inflation are easily understood through personification or ontological metaphors. In (1) inflation acts like someone or something which runs away with (steals) your money, and destroys your plans. In (2) Roosevelt makes an emotional plea on a singularly personal level, rejecting the distance of power and status and indicating a concern with the basic and personal concerns of individuals. And, finally, in (3) we have the image of political party members behaving as participants in some classic comedy routine (Wilson, 1990:105).

Wilson (1990) argues that metaphors represent core examples of language use where any intended meaning is normally assumed to be located beyond the surface structure of the sentence/utterance. In this sense metaphors seem prime candidates for pragmatic analysis. In his discussion of the pragmatic approach to metaphor analysis, Wilson (1990) provides an extensive elaboration on the works of Cooper (1986, *Metaphor*), Searle (1979, *Meaning and expression*), Grice (1975, *Logic and conversation*), Davidson (1984, *Inquiries into truth and interpretation*), Sperber & Wilson (1986, *Relevance*) as shown in the following argumentation.

Searle argues that in using metaphors speakers say S is P but mean metaphorically that S is R. This example portrays what Cooper calls the "standard view" of metaphor, where the literal form of an utterance/sentence, which has been employed metaphorically, is assumed in some way to be "perverse" or "defective". For Searle, this defectiveness is the initial stage in the

interpretation of an utterance/sentence as being metaphorical. He states that if a speaker detects that an utterance is defective if taken literally, then, he/she should look for an utterance meaning that differs from sentence meaning. In other words, whenever a speaker observes any perversity there is need to go back to the S term to see which of the many candidates of the values R are likely or even possible properties of R (Wilson, 1990:105 - 6).

There is an interjection from Wilson (1990) on Searle's argumentation. Wilson (1990) posits that metaphors are clearly a pragmatic phenomenon, and that metaphors behave, and may be accounted for, in basically the same manner as other pragmatic phenomena. He rejects the literal/non literal distinction offered by Searle because, deciding what is literal and what is not, is a complicating factor in the analysis of metaphors. Nevertheless, there are certain other basic facts on which almost all agree. Ever since Aristotle's views on metaphor, theories of metaphor have always hinged on the fact that metaphorical language is relational. The relational element in metaphor is attested in the sense that one element is used to elicit or generate some understanding of another element(s).

The relational character in metaphors is supported by early substitution theories where metaphors were understood in terms of available literal paraphrases. Psychological research comes into play in the description of metaphor by suggesting that metaphors may partly be employed to allow us to talk about experiences which cannot be literally described. This psychological view is also called the "inexpressibility thesis".

The "comparison theory" of metaphor, though more complex, is equated with the substitution principle with, in this case, the sentence to be substituted being a literal simile. For example, "that man is a pig", means, "that man is like a pig". However, Searle disagrees with this kind of analysis in the sense that it fails to tell us exactly how an intended metaphorical meaning is computed from a

substituted simile. Simply stated, it informs us that two things can be compared in terms of similarity. The comparison is vacuous in the sense that any two things can be shown to be similar to each other in some way.

Searle rejects the comparison theory and offers an alternative one in which he argues that the work of metaphors is based on the recognition that the meaning of what has been said is in some way defective, and therefore the speaker is directing the hearer to reconsider the sentence/utterance in terms of available knowledge of those things being talked about. Therefore, if someone is told that "Sam's car is a pig", the interpretation is different from that of "Sam is a pig". In order for one to get a correct interpretation one needs, not only the knowledge of what pigs are like, but also what they are like in comparison with specific aspects of the target sentence.

The basis of comparing one element with another, according to Searle, is to gain access to relevant and salient aspects of meaning as intended by the speaker and this can only be achieved by recognizing that the literal meaning is somehow perverse within the specific context of production.

According to Wilson (1990), Grice makes the same observation as Searle does in relation to his (Grice's) concept of "implications" which arise where there has been a gross violation of expected conversational forms. For example, if one says "you're the cream in my coffee", the violation of Grice's maxim of truthfulness may lead the hearer to an interpretation which compares some person with aspects of the role of cream in coffee.

The view formulated by Searle and Grice, which is also referred to as the "standard view", has been heavily criticized by Cooper. Cooper strongly disagrees with Searle and Grice because of their implying that metaphor is in some sense a perverse use of language. It is Cooper's and Davidson's

contention that metaphors are neither perverse nor do they represent some form of meaning beyond the sentence, rather, they are true or false in a normal literal way.

Grice's and Searle's formulations are problematic in Cooper's view because the formulations in terms of the operations of metaphor represent gross violations of the "transparency principle", which indicates that speakers should mean what they say, even if, according to Gricean principles, they also mean something beyond what is said. In Gricean terms any understanding depends on the flouting of the maxim of truthfulness, which according to Cooper implies that the speaker does not therefore mean what he/she said and consequently breaches the "transparency principle". The transparency principle is problematic in the sense that if the speaker must always mean what he/she says it becomes impossible to say anything meaningless, unless meaninglessness is treated as a general semantic phenomenon where what is said is marked simply as false.

The issue of perversity or meaning beyond surface structure need not arise because, as Davidson argues, metaphors mean literally what they say. The Davidsonian approach dismisses the cognitive content of metaphors or the idea that metaphors have a special kind of meaning since metaphors mean simply what they say. Davidson agrees with the principle that by employing a metaphor, the speaker can intend all kinds of meaning to be taken up. What he rejects or denies is that the meaning arises from the meanings of the words themselves. Davidson agrees with Searle and Grice in accepting that metaphor belongs exclusively to the domain of use. Cooper seems to agree with Davidson when he (Cooper) postulates that Searle and Grice's approach is problematic due to their assumption that in metaphor the sentence does not mean what it says but means instead something else, some form of metaphorical meaning (Wilson, 1990:108 – 112).

A number of disparate accounts of metaphor are brought together by Wilson (1990). He posits that there is some underlying principle(s) operating within a communication set-up. There is always an assessment of the meaning of what is said in relation to how far the meaning of what has been said allows the speaker to adhere to this underlying principle(s). Language use at times portrays meaning beyond the surface form of what is said. Therefore, the meaning portrayed is accessed through some variation or extension of Grice's model of conversational interaction.

Wilson notes that the point, particularly with reference to metaphor, is best articulated in the work of Wilson & Sperber who have developed a principle of communication, popularly known as the principle of relevance. The principle of relevance states that what speakers say must be assessed within context in terms of the information provided, relative to the amount of processing required to get at that information. Therefore, a balance should be maintained between the information gained and the amount of effort put in. If a hearer recognizes that a more complex statement has been made where a simpler one would have done the same task, then in order for the principle of relevance to be maintained the hearer must assume that there is some extra pay-off in terms of information which justifies the extra processing effort. A metaphorical example will attest to this:

This room is a pigsty (adapted from Sperber & Wilson, 1986).

On encountering the example above, the hearer will infer/access from general knowledge that pigsties are stereotypically filthy places. The inference suggests that the speaker wants to convey that the room is filthy and untidy. Since the same information could have been conveyed by employing a literal phrase there must be further information available in order to abide by the principle of

relevance. This further information could be that the room is excessively filthy and untidy.

The metaphor in the example just cited is considered to be a fairly standard one and strongly implicated. Complex metaphors generate assumptions where it is unclear which of these the speaker may have intended, for example,

Robert is a bulldozer (from Sperber & Wilson, 1986).

According to Sperber & Wilson the example above generates a wider range of potential implications, with no strong implications necessarily coming to mind. The set of weaker implications is linked to "Robert's persistence, obstinacy, insensitivity and refusal to be deflected".

After discussing the views of various scholars on the notion of metaphor, Wilson (1990) affirms that political metaphors are pragmatic constructs by citing a statement made by Ronald Reagan:

The lady standing in the harbour has never betrayed us once.

It is difficult to decide whether the above statement is metaphorical or not without reference to context. The difficulty arises because at one level the statement might be described as an explicit state of affairs in the real world. Reagan made the statement against the backdrop of the Statue of Liberty. Following Cooper and Davidson on the one hand and Searle and Grice on the other, Reagan's statement could express a semantic truth while at the same time being pragmatically defective. In human terms the statue is not a lady, therefore the issue of betrayal need not arise. However, what Reagan said is necessarily true.

Wilson (1990) segments Reagan's statement into two parts. The first part refers to "the lady standing in the harbour". Several implications can be detected in this part if the general deductive procedures of Sperber & Wilson are used. The assumptions conveyed are as follows:

1. "The lady" refers to the Statue of Liberty.
2. The term "lady" normally refers to animate objects; the statue is inanimate, not animate.
3. Reagan intends the listeners/readers to conceptualize the statue as being like a real person.
4. The Statue of Liberty is a symbolic representation of American values of freedom and liberty.

The metaphorical projection that arises out of the assumptions mentioned above is that the Statue is imbued with an animate persona and has symbolic meaning for the Americans.

The meaning of the second part – "has never betrayed us once" – depends on how the first part is interpreted. There are two possible interpretations: one interpretation indicates that the Statue could be thought of as an animate female persona, and the other is that the Statue of Liberty could be thought of as a specific object. Both interpretations project the statue as symbolic of American values of liberty and justice held by Americans. Reagan's claim, therefore, is that America and Americans have not betrayed their values of freedom, liberty and justice (Wilson, 1990:115 – 117).

There are several fundamental issues that are raised by Wilson (1990) in his argumentation. First, he acknowledges and recognizes the centrality of the metaphor in political communication. Secondly, like Lakoff & Johnson (1980), he acknowledges the role of metaphors in reinforcing ideological positions which he refers to as "particular perspectives". Thirdly, Wilson (1990) raises the issues of the metaphor as a pragmatic concept. He argues that since metaphor falls within the realm of language use, it is appropriate that it be classified as being within the domain of pragmatics. He supports the argumentation by citing extensively from Grice (1975), Searle (1979) and Cooper (1986).

The relevance of Wilson's work for our study cannot be gainsaid. Like Wilson's work our study deals specifically with political communication as reflected in the media during elections. Thus Wilson (1990) will be of great help in identifying metaphors and their role in reinforcing particular perspectives (i.e. ideological inclinations).

2.4.2 COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVES ON THE METAPHOR

A pioneering work on metaphors is Lakoff & Johnson's 1980 book entitled *Metaphors we live by*. According to Steen (1994), Lakoff & Johnson (1980) introduced what has popularly come to be known as the "cognitive turn" in metaphorical studies.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) note that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:3). They further contend that our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (1980:4). In trying to give some idea of what it could mean for a concept to be metaphorical and for such a concept to structure an everyday activity they start with the concept ARGUMENT and the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. According to the two authors this concept is reflected in our everyday language by a wide variety of expressions:

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

He *shot down* all my arguments.

According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980), we don't just talk about arguments in terms of war. We can actually win or lose arguments. We see the person we are arguing with as an opponent. We attack his positions and defend our own. We gain and lose ground. We plan and use strategies. If we find a position indefensible, we abandon it and take a new line of attack. Many of the things we do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war. Though there is no physical battle, there is a verbal one, and the structure of an argument -*attack, defense, counter attack*, etc. – reflects this. It is in this sense that the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is one that we live by in this culture; it structures the actions we perform in arguing (1980:4).

In expounding on the war metaphors the authors assert that the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. It is not that arguments are subspecies of war. Arguments and wars are different kinds of things – verbal discourse and armed conflict – and the actions performed are different kinds of actions. But ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of WAR. The concept is metaphorically structured, and, consequently, the language is metaphorically structured. Moreover, this is the ordinary way of having an argument and talking about one. The normal way to talk about attacking a position is to use words "attack a position". Our conventional ways of talking about arguments

presuppose a metaphor we are hardly ever conscious of. The metaphor is not merely in the words we use – it is in our very concept of an argument. The language of argument is not poetic, fanciful, or rhetorical. It is literal. We talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way – and we act according to the way we conceive things (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:5).

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) also highlight the systematicity of metaphorical concepts by observing that arguments usually follow patterns, that is, there are certain things we typically do and do not do in arguing. The fact that we in part conceptualize arguments in terms of battle systematically influences the shape arguments take and the way we talk about what we do in arguing. Because the metaphorical concept is systematic, the language we use to talk about that aspect of the concept is systematic (1980:7). Lakoff & Johnson (1980) also point out that the expressions from the vocabulary of war form a systematic way of talking about the battling aspects of arguing. It is no accident that these expressions mean what they mean when we use them to talk about arguments. A portion of the conceptual network of battle partially characterizes the concept of an argument, and the language follows suit. Since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:7).

In grounding their argument about metaphorical systematicity, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) provide details on two aspects of this systematicity: highlighting and hiding, aspects also stressed by Biberauer (1996) in reference to AIDS. Biberauer (1996) reacts to Sontag (1977, *Illness as metaphor*, 1988, *AIDS and its metaphors*) and Ross (1988, *Ethics and the language of AIDS*; 1989, *The militarization of disease: do we really want a war on AIDS?*) who view the military metaphor employed in the AIDS context as misleading, wicked, unpleasant and offensive. In her argumentation, Biberauer posits that the military metaphor as

applied in the AIDS context by medical staff and counsellors assists in demystifying the view that AIDS is alarming and overwhelming. Consequently, the military metaphor fulfils several significant functions within the AIDS context thus contributing towards enlightening the frightening subject of AIDS.

The various functions that the military metaphor plays within the AIDS context include: (a) a *structuring* function: that means, the less familiar concept of medicine to the layman is structured in terms of the more familiar concept of *war*. It follows that the disease is viewed as an enemy, the doctor as a military general and medicine as weaponry; (b) an *illuminatory* function in the sense that it shows how the unfamiliar is similar to the familiar enabling lay people to understand new concepts on the basis of old ones; (c) a *compensatory* function is achieved by the military metaphor providing speakers with various ways of representing what they would not otherwise have been able to express, for example when immune cells are compared to body soldiers; and (d) lastly, a *manipulative* function, in the sense that in highlighting certain aspects of a concept, the metaphor at the same time hides other aspects. (Biberauer, 1996:132-139).

The very systematicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another (e.g. comprehending an aspect of arguing in terms of battle) will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept. A metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor. For example, in the midst of a heated argument, when we are intent on attacking our opponents' position and defending our own, we may lose sight of the cooperative aspects of arguing. Someone who is arguing with you can be viewed as giving you his time, a valuable commodity, in an effort towards mutual understanding. When we are pre-occupied with the battle aspects, though, we often lose sight of the cooperative aspects (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:10).

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) also relate the concept of metaphor to ideology. They observe that political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms.

Like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality. In the area of politics and economics, however, metaphors matter more because they constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation (Lakoff & Johnson ,1980:236).

In a nutshell, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) have emphasized that the metaphor is a conceptual structure because it is pervasive in thought. This pervasiveness in thought is actually what gives the metaphor a cognitive structure. In addition to that, the two authors have exemplified ARGUMENT AS WAR metaphors where arguments in everyday life are viewed as war. Further, they have noted in their argumentation that in highlighting one aspect of a concept (through metaphors) obscures or hides other aspects of the concept, and they have shown how this is realized in arguments as well as in political and economic ideologies.

Lakoff & Johnson's work is a broad-based generalization of metaphors from a cognitive point of view. However, it provides useful insights in the analysis of data in our present study. The current study is restricted to a particular genre (politics) and will only analyse metaphors as and when they relate to politics.

Other works that approach the concept of the metaphor from a cognitive perspective are Thetela (2001), Obeng (1997), and Beard (2000).

Thetela (2001), who analysed the South African press reports on the 1998 Southern Africa Development Community's military intervention in Lesotho, examines a distinct group of metaphors which were extensively used in the press – that of morality. This categorization is broadly based on Lakoff's (1996, *The Metaphor System for Morality*) view that our metaphorical system is grounded in our experiential logic of material well-being (e.g. health, happiness, wealth, freedom, etc.). She attempts to characterize three categories of morality metaphors (i.e. moral accounting, purity and health), and examines the logic behind their use, speculating on their role in critique (Thetela, 2001:356).

We shall briefly describe the morality metaphors based on Lakoff (1996) but as presented by Thetela (2001). The first categorization of morality metaphors is the one of moral accounting. Moral accounting metaphors are metaphors based on our conceptualization of moral well-being as wealth, the logic of which is rooted in our everyday experience in which wealth serves as a strong basis on which socio-cultural values are based. We refer, for example, to a *wealth of information* as a positive value, and to *moral bankruptcy* as negative. Moral accounting values rely heavily on the premise that if someone does something good to you, you are morally *in debt* to that person – you *owe* him/her something and it is morally right to honour the debt. In the South African press these values were represented by the lexical register of financial transactions, for example *owe, pay/repay, gain, cost, loss, price* and similar expressions (Thetela, 2001:356).

The second categorization of morality metaphors is the one of moral purity. Moral purity is based on the logic of moral essence: society sees moral purity in terms of purity and cleanliness, whereas immorality “is conceptualized as something disgusting, dirty and impure” (Lakoff, 1996:262, cited in Thetela, 2001). In the South African press, immoral behaviour was conceptualized in terms of human waste (e.g. *excrement, excreta, shit*, etc) and environmental pollution (e.g. *pollution, filthy, mess, dirty, dereliction*, etc.) (Thetela, 2001:357).

The third categorization of morality metaphors is of morality as health. According to Thetela (2001) several critical linguistic analyses have commented on metaphorical representations of social problems as diseases in news reports. It has been argued, for example, that disease metaphors tend to take dominant interests of society as a whole, and contrive expressions of non-dominant interests (strikes, demonstrations, riots) as undermining the health of society *per se* (Fairclough, 1989:120). In the same way as moral purity, the majority of disease metaphors were found in the press, in which dissent was dismissed in disease terms (Thetela, 2001:358).

Thetela (2001) observes that the three categories of morality metaphors are presented with an interesting phenomenon of blame discourses in which each category of reports purports to represent mainstream social values. The morality metaphors appear to manipulate public opinion through appeal to human feelings such as pity, empathy, disgust, anger, outrage and so on. By categorizing the targets of blame as lacking moral values, the metaphors can be seen to breed exclusion practices in which one group is positioned in discourse as deviant and thus a danger to mainstream socio-cultural values (Thetela, 2001:359).

Obeng (1997) concurs with the notion of metaphor as presented by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and by Wilson (1990) and synthesizes their argumentation in relation to Grice's Cooperative Principle. However, Obeng (1997) does not discuss metaphor in isolation, but he sees it as one of the concepts in the general strategy of indirectness in political discourse.

A clear and concise description about the power of metaphors in political language is presented by Beard (2000). He argues that metaphor is deeply embedded in the way we construct the world around us and the way that the world is constructed for us by others. According to Beard (2000) two common sources of metaphor in politics are sport and war, both of which involve physical contests of some sort. Politicians themselves, as well as those who report politics, use these metaphors. Boxing metaphors are particularly common, conveying a sense of toughness and aggression, especially when an election is seen as a fight between two main protagonists who are nearly always male (Beard, 2000:21).

In elucidating how metaphors are manipulated to hide certain realities, Beard (2000) says that in the 1990s dead civilians became *collateral damage* in a form of political language which wanted to hide the horror, while the mass evacuation

(and often murder) of civilians belonging to the other side became *ethnic cleansing* (Beard, 2000:22).

Metaphors from sport and war cannot be viewed as serving the function of rhetorical devices because they exemplify how people ordinarily conceive of politics. Metaphors from sport and war are a strategy used to delude people into believing that negotiation and compromise are forbidden by rules. Since so much language which surrounds political issues is rooted in metaphors of war, contest or sport (even if we are not always consciously aware of these roots) then we have no idea that politics can be anything other than confrontational, that it could in fact involve agreement and consensus. The key metaphors of politics involve concepts of enemies and opponents, winners and losers, they do not suggest that government could be achieved through discussion, cooperation and working together (Beard, 2000:22).

Beard's work is quite illuminating in the sense that, like Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and Wilson (1990), it explains to us how metaphors are (ab)used or (mis)used in reinforcing ideological perspectives. In fact, Beard's exemplification on the metaphors of sport and war holds very true for most of the political discourse that one encounters in the media.

The next section provides an overview of the major themes that have informed the study of CDA over the years.

2.5 LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY

There is a diverse body of literature that deals with ideology from a purely political point of view, literature that would mainly interest scholars and students of political science. However, our main interest does not lie in ideology as analysed by political scientists but rather on the relationship between ideology and language use.

Thompson (1984) traces the history of the term *ideology* from post-revolutionary France through Napoleon to Marx and Engels, as does Vincent (1992). Thompson (1984) asserts that to study ideology is, in some part and in some way, to study language use in the social world. The study of ideology involves the ways in which ideology is reflected in everyday social life, the ways in which the various uses of language intersect with power, nourishing it, sustaining it, enacting it (Thompson, 1984:2). This view is also expressed by Vincent (1992:16), who states that ideologies are bodies of concepts, values and symbols which incorporate conceptions of human nature and thus indicate what is possible or impossible for humans to achieve. Ideologies also incorporate critical reflections on the nature of human interaction and the values which humans ought either to reject or aspire to. Ideologies also expose the social, economic and political life in relation to the needs and interests of human beings. Ideologies claim both to describe and prescribe for humans. The two tendencies are intermingled in ideology. Ideologies are also intended both to legitimate certain activities or arrangements and to incorporate individuals, enabling them to cohere around certain aims.

The occurrence of the term *ideology* in various works is surveyed by Thompson (1984) and he shows that the term is used in two fundamentally different ways. On the one hand, *ideology* is employed by many authors as if it were a purely descriptive term: one speaks of "systems of thought", "systems of belief", of "symbolic practices" which pertain to social action or political projects. This use of the term gives rise to what may be called a neutral conception of ideology. No attempt is made, on the basis of this conception, to distinguish between the kinds of action or projects which ideology animates; ideology is present in every political programme, irrespective of whether the programme is directed towards the preservation or transformation of social order. According to Thompson's (1984) survey there is, however, another sense of ideology which is evident in

the current literature. In the writing of some authors ideology is essentially linked to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power – that is, to the process of maintaining domination. This use of the term expresses what may be called a critical conception of ideology. It preserves the negative connotation which has been conveyed by the term throughout most of its history and it binds the analysis of ideology to the question of critique (Thompson, 1984:4).

While Thompson (1984) provides us with two conceptualisations of ideology, he prefers the second view, that is, the critical conception of ideology. He therefore offers his definition of ideology by stating that to study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning (signification) serves to sustain relations of domination. He further asserts that in order to clarify the nature of such a study, we must provide a cogent analysis of power and domination within the context of an account of the relations between action, institutions and social structure (Thompson, 1984:4).

In discussing the centrality of language in ideological analysis, Thompson (1984) asserts that, while the nature and modalities of ideology have been analysed in different ways, it seems increasingly clear that the study of language must occupy a privileged position in any such analysis. The analysis of ideology is, in a fundamental respect, the study of language in the social world, since it is primarily within language that meaning is mobilized in the interests of particular individuals and groups (Thompson, 1984:73).

In order to show the inherent weaknesses in the current literature as far as the importance of ideology is concerned, Thompson (1984) examines three approaches to the analysis of discourse. The first approach is centred on the work of Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), who, together with other members of the English Language Research Group at the University of Birmingham, have formulated a detailed model of the study of verbal interaction. Secondly, he

examines the writings of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson and others who have been strongly influenced by Garfinkel. Sacks, *et al.* (1974) have investigated the mechanisms by which lay actors produce and order interaction while engaging in the most ordinary conversation. Thirdly, he investigates the approach which has emerged from a group of linguists, sociologists and literacy critics at the University of East Anglia. These scholars who include Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew have sought to develop a "critical linguistics" which is sensitive to the ways in which linguistic forms reflect and reproduce organization of power.

Thompson (1984) highlights the distinctive contributions of these various approaches and identifies some of their principle limitations. His critical appraisal of these approaches is dominated by two over-arching themes. First, in concentrating on the organization of discourse at suprasentential level, these authors have tended to emphasize form and structure at the expense of content. Problems of meaning and its interpretation are raised, but rarely pursued by discourse analysts, whose structural studies are at best a preliminary stage in a more comprehensive interpretative theory. The second theme may be summarized by the claim that, while discourse analysts have been rightly concerned with the relations between linguistic and non-linguistic activity, they have failed to provide a satisfactory account of non-linguistic activity. This failure is evident in the uses, as frequent as they are ill defined, of key concepts such as *power*, *ideology* and *control*. Thompson's (1984:100) hope is that the need to explore the ways in which the analysis of language can be integrated with the study of institutional and structural dimensions of the social world will gain acceptance.

Thompson (1984:101) examines the exchange structure as developed by Sinclair & Coulthard, and says that this model of analysis is essentially a descriptive system, that is, a system which provides a comprehensive and finite means of classifying the constituent elements of discourse. Thompson provides

an overview of classroom discourse by elaborating on lesson, transaction, exchange, move and act (for a clear exposition of these see Sinclair & Coulthard (1975)). He criticizes this model by saying that the primary concern of the approach is to provide an analysis of exchange structure. He further asserts that one must ask just how the relations between the overlapping scales of grammar and discourse are to be specified; and one will see that, in response to such a question, the approach of Sinclair & Coulthard has little to offer. His final criticism concerns the relation between discourse and the dimension of non-linguistic organization, and he concludes that Sinclair and others have very little to say about the non-linguistic organization of discursive situations (Thompson, 1984:106 – 107).

After a critique of the Sinclair & Coulthard model Thompson (1984) turns to the analysis of conversation structure as developed by Sacks *et al.* He observes that Sacks *et al.* avoid some of the limitations which characterize Sinclair & Coulthard's approach. Sacks *et al.* studied the systematic properties of various forms of linguistic interaction. Like Sinclair & Coulthard, Sacks *et al.* have been particularly concerned with the sequential organization of communication, although their approach differs significantly from that of Sinclair & Coulthard. They focus on conversations (telephone) and in their approach they use Garfinkel's ethnomethodology. They examine the features of conversation which include turn-taking, insertion sequences and adjacency pairs, among others (for a detailed analysis of these see Sacks *et al.* 1974). According to Thompson, the problem with this approach is that the notion of *power* is integrated in this analysis. For example, who is more powerful than who, and what are the social positions of the participants?

The next approach that receives attention from Thompson is that of Analysis of Grammatical Structure as formulated by Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew (1979). If Sacks *et al.* can be criticized for neglecting social and contextual considerations,

this cannot be so easily said of Fowler *et al.* These authors have elaborated an approach to the analysis of discourse which aims to explore the links between grammatical structure and the social world (Thompson, 1984:18). In their model they borrow extensively from Halliday's account of grammatical structure and linguistic function. A distinction is made, in their model, between a transactive and non-transactive model and the characteristics of the relational model. Fowler *et al.* show how nominalization, passivization, lexicalization and modality are used to sustain power relations. As Thompson (1984) asserts, by studying the grammatical structure of a language, Fowler *et al.*, say something about the social relations and contexts in which the language is used, that is, about the nature of the society whose language it is.

Thompson (1984) is dissatisfied by the approach of Fowler's *et al.* and offers a critique by observing that their studies of grammatical and syntactic processes such as nominalization, passivization and classification shed light on the ways in which our understanding of the world is affected by the language through which it is understood, and their analysis of modality and speech acts call attention to the fact that language is not free from relations of power. While Fowler *et al.* are right to search for links between language and social life, one may have doubts about the extent to which an understanding of social phenomena can be conveyed by this kind of linguistic approach. The analysis of Fowler's *et al.* frequently presupposes a specific account of relations between, for example, different classes, races or sexes, but they provide no systematic discussion of these relations and no sustained justification of this account. Instead, they tend to assume that, by attending to linguistic processes, one can discern, through the deceptive veils of surface forms, the underlying social reality (Thompson, 1984:124).

Thompson (1984) further argues that meaning cannot only be "read off" from syntax. One needs in addition semantic and pragmatic information in order to

understand the conceptualization of meaning. A scathing attack on Fowler *et al's* work is that their concept of ideology is vaguely defined. Their writings are replete with terms like *agency*, *control domination*, *social structure*, but nowhere are these terms clearly defined and situated within a systematic social theory.

Thompson's critique of discourse analysts and their work is exemplary in the sense that it shows that critical linguists incorporate the term *ideology* in their work without making any effort to define it. However, the limitations that Thompson (1984) enumerates are addressed by Simpson's (1993) work.

Simpson (1993) approaches the definition of ideology by stating that ideology normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. According to Simpson (1993) an ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are stated collectively by social groups. When a certain ideology is the view of a particularly powerful social group it is said to be dominant. These dominant ideologies are mediated through powerful political and social institutions like the government, the law and the medical profession. Our perceptions of these institutions, moreover, will be shaped in part by the specific linguistic practices of the social groups who comprise them. The motivating principle behind the analysis of texts is to explore the value systems and beliefs which reside in texts; to explore, in other words, ideology in language (Simpson, 1993:5).

The central component of the critical linguistic creed, in Simpson's work, is the conviction that language produces ideology. As an integrated form of social behaviour, language will be inevitably and inextricably tied up with the socio-political context in which it functions. Language is not used in a contextless vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse contexts, contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Because language operates within this social dimension it must, of necessity, reflect and,

some would argue, construct ideology. Simpson (1993) sets out the motivation for a critical linguistic analysis in the following way: first of all, dominant ideologies operate as a mechanism for maintaining asymmetrical power relations in society. Secondly, as language can be used by powerful groups to reinforce its dominant ideology, the language needs to be targeted as a specific site of struggle. Thirdly, analysis for the sake of analysis is not sufficient; instead, the analyst makes a committed effort to engage with the discourse with a view to changing it. In other words, by highlighting insidious discursive practices in language these practices can be challenged (Simpson, 1993: 6).

There are also other scholars who have attempted to provide a comprehensive definition of ideology. Woolard (1998:3) defines language ideology as representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in the social world. Silverstein, cited in Woolard (1998:4), defines linguistic ideologies as sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rational justification of perceived language structure and use.

Woolard (1998:5 – 7) singles out four recurring strands or themes in the study of ideology:

1. The first common strand views ideology as ideational or as a conceptualization. Therefore, ideology refers to mental phenomena such as consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs and ideas.
2. A second strand can be seen in cases where ideology is conceptualized as derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position. This second view does not view ideology in isolation but sees it as tied to or dependent on society.



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3. The third strand views ideology as an aspect of power relations, be they social, political, or economic. In this sense *ideology* is used as a tool or a site of struggle to acquire or maintain power.
4. The fourth strand views ideology from a negative perspective. Ideology is therefore described as distortion, illusion, error, mystification or rationalization. These descriptions are derived from the fact that ideology's main task is to maintain power relations.

All the aforementioned authors argued that the notion *ideology* is not an abstraction. Rather, it must be discussed within the context of the social world. It relates to and is part and parcel of human beings living in the world. Another key observation from the argument of these scholars is that the concepts that come into mind when one wants to discuss anything on ideology are power and domination. The next section examines the characteristics and features of an offshoot of ideology popularly known as the ideological square.

2.5.1 POSITIVE SELF-PRESENTATION AND NEGATIVE OTHER-PRESENTATION (IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE)

The concept *ideological square* will be discussed in line with what has been presented by Otkar (2001). Otkar (2001) observes that in addition to linguistic analysis of given discourses, aspects of social identity theory as formulated by social psychologists should be incorporated in exposing the ideologically based contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation underlying the text structure serving as a site of hegemonic struggle.

Social identity theory was originally developed in the mid to the late 1970s by Tajfel and Turner and their associates at the University of Bristol. The theory quickly gained ground and support and received wider acceptance and recognition. It has emerged as very popular in contemporary social psychology.

Social identity theory acknowledges the hierarchical structuring of society into different social groups that stand in power and status relations to one another. Social categories provide members with a social identity, i.e. a definition of who one is and a description and evaluation of what the identity entails. Social identities, therefore, do not only describe members but also prescribe appropriate behaviours for them.

One of the recent developments in social identity theory is the concept of self-categorization. Self-categorization holds that in society people categorize one another to the comparative and normative fit of the categories within a context. The level of social categorization which maximizes within category similarities and between category differences can be used in any particular context. The application of categorizations is determined by people's goals and motivations. The categorization constructs intergroup relations. As a result the categorization of people into groups involves self-concept. Ingroup bias is necessitated by motivation to enhance one's self-esteem through social comparisons. Bias and self-esteem is achieved through a process that makes the ingroup positively distinctive from the outgroup on valued dimensions.

Within intergroup contexts, people construct a contextually appropriate representation of the defining features of each group. In this kind of construction there is a tendency to keep to a minimum intragroup differences but to exaggerate intergroup differences. In any given society, whenever people categorize others as ingroup members they accentuate their similarity to the relevant positive prototype or schema. Thus self-categorization provides ingroup

normative behaviour and self-stereotyping and hence the process underlying group behaviour. It follows therefore that stereotypes about the ingroup tend to be positive while those of the outgroup tend to be negative. Generally, stereotyping justifies or rationalizes existing negative attitudes towards social groups, social conditions in which one group is systematically treated more favourably than another. Stereotypes are therefore incorporated into the ideology of a social group and are reflected in the language of the culture.

In social identity theory the concept *bias* incorporates cognitive and motivational factors. Bias is achieved cognitively if the individual classifies the social world into two distinct social categories that separate the self from the others, i.e. as *us* and *them*. This categorization helps people to define the world by using themselves as the frame of reference. This egocentric framing of the world leads people to define themselves in relation to others. Thus they gain a sense of identity by differentiating themselves from others. Since positive self-esteem emerges from the social categories to which individuals belong, the ingroup is viewed as superior to the outgroup. Social identity theory, therefore, employs the human tendency to categorize people into groups and then offers explanations for the development and retention of ingroup bias. Thus the theory tries to make acceptable explanations on the basis of the human's inclination to foreground the negative stereotypical attributes and characteristics of the outgroup.

According to Otkar (2001) the basic foundation of social identity theory seems to be that the ingroup members will favour their own groups, due to the human's need of positive self-esteem. Generally, people are always inclined towards holding favourable ideas about the groups to which they belong. Therefore, they are always motivated to describe group characteristics positively and emphasize positive traits as typical for their own group, while on the other hand they depict the stereotypical group characteristics negatively and negative traits as typical for the outgroup. The attitudes of holding one group favourably or unfavourably

are determined by ideologies because attitudes represent a problem or social conflict. In general terms ideologies represent problems and conflicts between social groups. The representation creates an intergroup polarization between social groups showing them as representatives involved in a social conflict.

Group polarization arises from people's tendencies to infer from the initial group position what is a socio-culturally valued pole of an attitudinal dimension, and then publicly espouse that pole more strongly to gain approval. Additionally, members of an initially extreme group generate and conform through self-categorization to an ingroup norm that is subjectively polarized to differentiate ingroup from non-ingroup. Ideologically, the polarization schema defined by the opposition between *us* and *them* suggests that the social group constructs an ideological image of themselves and others in such a way that generally *we* are presented positively whereas *they* are represented negatively.

The argumentation above implies that the representation of social arrangements, that is, the things that are considered as "better" and the things that others stand for are associated with these polarized presentation of *us* and *them*. The social arrangements constitute the description of more general values. However, the basic values of each group constitute the criterion for their identity and self-evaluation, as well as their evaluations of other groups. Thus *us* is generally self evaluated as holding better values that are particularly relevant to *us*, whereas *they* are perceived as "bad" in the process of social comparison.

Oktar (2001) notes that the strategy that constructs discourse for ideological communication consists of four moves:

1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about *us*.
2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about *them*.
3. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about *them*.

4. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about *us*.

These four moves constitute the "ideological square" which performs a specific role in the contextual strategy of positive self-presentation and its outgroup counterpart negative other-presentation. These self-presentations are a crucial property of ideology and are said to focus on participants as social groups.

The concept of ideological square is present in political topics (Van Dijk, 1997) since these topics always feature evaluations. Politically and ideologically based opinions and attitudes come into play in the descriptions and references to politicians, public figures and organizations. Evaluations are always polarized. Whereas *we* are democratic, *they* are not, and whereas *our* soldiers, or those who share our cause, are freedom fighters, those of the *others* are terrorists. In the same vein *our* policies and political decisions are always beneficial to the country, whereas those of the *others* are not. The semantics of topics in political discourse are generally biased through positive evaluation of *us* and negative evaluation of *them*. Semantic polarization is observed in the topical de-emphasis (or detopicalization) of *our* bad actions or properties, and *their* good ones, and vice versa. Semantic polarizations give rise to an ideological or political square discussed earlier. The polarization is functional and effective in the political process, e.g. in the competition for voters, support and the struggle for political survival and legitimation (Van Dijk, 1997:28).

The structures and strategies of argumentation are explicit in political talk and text and may organize a political dispute in which opposed standpoints of the political others are systematically attacked and those of the political ingroup defended. Likewise the standpoints of *our* group are represented as altruistic while those of the opponents as egoistic (Van Dijk, 1997:29 – 30).

Syntax also plays a great role in the realization of the ideological square. Syntactic processes such as topicalization may, by fronting a word, draw special attention to such a word in order to emphasize *our* good things and *their* bad ones. Active sentences will associate responsible agency with (topical) syntactic subjects, whereas passive sentences will focus on objects (e.g. victims) of such actions and defocus the responsible agency by putting agents last in prepositional phrases, or leaving it implicit, as in the well known headlines: *Police killed demonstrators vs demonstrators killed by Police vs demonstrators killed*. Thus syntactic structures play the same role as semantic structures in placing more or less emphasis, in focusing or giving more prominence to specific words, phrases or clauses. Highlighting or giving prominence to certain aspects of language semantically or syntactically contributes to corresponding semantic stress on specific meanings which is a function of political interests and allegiances of the speaker or writer (Van Dijk, 1997:34).

Oktar (2001) makes the observation that social reproduction requires both the reproduction of material conditions of social life and the reproduction of symbolic forms such as values, beliefs, attitudes, etc. which are, to some extent, socially shared and which serve to some extent, to shape the actions and attitudes of individual members of a society (Thompson, 1990: 87 cited in Oktar 2001).

This section has provided an extensive discussion and review of the major works that deal with language and ideology in linguistics. Therefore an attempt has been made to define ideology and its offshoot the ideological square. In the next section we review the relationship between language and power, a topic which is directly related to ideology.

2.6 LANGUAGE AND POWER

This section has been entitled *language and power* for analytical convenience. The demarcating line between power and politics is very thin. Power is inextricably linked to politics (Jones & Wareing 1999) and vice versa. This view is also supported by a review and an examination of the various definitions of power and how they relate to language.

Within a critical linguistic framework, as well as in other disciplines, power is thought of as an abstract concept, but one which has an important influence in everyday life. Froman (1992) views power as a function of language. She considers power to be part and parcel of everyone's everyday life, rather than being something out of the ordinary. The realization of power is not discrete. Power is located in the institutions (families, schools, organizations, groups, societies, states, etc.) of which we are members. The manifestations of power in a social set-up exhibit equality/inequality with respect to how any institution or group is ordered or structured. Order entails differences in power. Power in this sense establishes, maintains, resists, and changes order (Froman, 1992:3-4). Furthermore, power is conceptualized as the force in society that gets things done. Therefore, studying it assists in the identification of who controls what, and for whose benefit (Wareing, 1999:10).

The workings of power in society are clearly reflected in politics or political power. There are certain ways in which power and language are related. The relationship is captured from the fact that power is not only often demonstrated through language but it is also actually achieved or done through language. Wareing (1999) foregrounds the fact that language at times serves the interests of dominant social groups, such as politicians, lawyers, owners of international media conglomerates and other influential high profile figures, because the aforementioned groups have the most control over language. Thus, the

oppression of those with less power and less access to the media and the production of written records, can seem natural or even invisible (Wareing, 1999:11). The link between language and domination has also been addressed by Fowler (1985) who defines *power* as the ability of people and institutions to control the behaviour and material lives of others. He asserts that power is obviously a transitive concept entailing an asymmetrical relationship; X is more powerful than/has power over Y.

In their contribution about the relationship between language and power, Kramarae *et al.* (1984) define power as the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others. Kramarae *et al.*'s (1984) definition ties very well with Fowler's notion of asymmetry. Kramarae *et al.* (1984) make a distinction between intentional and unintentional influence. Intentional influence is likely to be achieved through authority, manipulation, persuasion and force. All of these manifestations, except force, can be realized through language.

The perspective on the relationship between language and power (Kramarae *et al.* 1984; Fowler, 1985; Wareing, 1999) is a mirror that helps us to scan and ask questions about the relations among the parts of society with reference to distribution of power in terms of social structure (O'barr, 1984). The understanding of the distribution of power assists us to see how language functions as a major means of expressing, manipulating, and even transforming power relations (O'barr, 1984:260). However, O'barr (1984) is of the opinion that the relationship between language and power is not as simple and as straightforward as it looks, but it helps us to understand that language is both a mirror of society and acts as a major factor that influences, affects and even transforms social relationships.

Critical Discourse Analysis accounts for the relationship between discourse and social power (Van Dijk, 1996). Van Dijk provides a succinct summary of what is

entailed in the concept of power and its relations to other institutions (Van Dijk, 1996:84 – 85):

1. Power is reflected in the relationships that hold between social groups, institutions or organizations.
2. Social power finds its realization in situations where one group controls another group physically or psychologically/mentally. This kind of control limits or restricts the freedom of action of the others, influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies.
3. Distribution of power of a specific group/institution could be limited to a specific domain such as politics, media, law and order, education or corporate business. The distribution and limitation of this power yields different centres of power and creates elite groups that control such centres.
4. Dominance is a form of social power abuse and is legally or morally illegitimate control of one group over another in the interests of the controlling group. Thus dominance leads to social inequality.
5. The mainstay of power is access to valued social resources, such as wealth, jobs, status or preferential public discourse and communication.
6. There is systematic organization and instruction in the realization of social power and dominance. The systematicity creates effective control and reproduction of power.
7. Dominance occurs gradually and is met by more or less resistance by dominated groups.

The preceding section has looked at the effects of power on language and vice versa and how power influences the various situations in our lives. The study of the relationship between language and power is important because it sheds light on the issues of control and domination. Furthermore it shows who benefits in this kind of arrangement. In the next section we review the arena of political linguistics.

2.7 POLITICAL LINGUISTICS

This section examines studies that are of a political nature but analysed within the realm of Critical Discourse Analysis.

An area that has received a lot of attention in critical linguistic studies is that of Political Discourse Analysis. Political Discourse Analysis encompasses both political aspects and a critical approach in the analysis of issues. Within a CDA framework critical political discourse analysis concentrates on the analysis of the reproduction of political power and power abuse or domination through political discourse. Therefore, such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that results from such domination (Van Dijk, 1997). The study and analysis of political discourse is justified on the basis of the fact that most scholars doing political discourse analysis are linguists and discourse analysts. The broader use of discourse analysis in political discourse is advocated since problems in political science can in principle be studied more completely and sometimes more adequately when it is realized that the issues have an important discursive dimension (Van Dijk, 1997:11 – 12).

Political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz. politicians. Politicians are a group of people who are paid for their political activities and who are elected or appointed as the central players in the polity (Van Dijk, 1997:13).

Although politicians are crucial in the study of Political Discourse Analysis it is also necessary to include the recipients of the message, i.e. the people.

Political speeches touch on various topics, and these topics are at the core of political discourse analysis. Politicians involved in election campaigns will, therefore, speak about themselves as candidates, about elections, about voting for them and the policies they intend to implement when elected. They speak about opponents and political enemies and about the bad politics and policies of previous rulers, governments or parliaments. Predicates of the macrostructures of political discourse tend to be future oriented. There is reference to or threats about future developments, announcements or promises about future actions among other things. References to the present tend to be negative and those to the future positive.

There is also a lot of evaluation in topics that are covered in political discourse. Thus descriptions and references to politicians, public figures and organizations and their actions are a function of politically and ideologically based opinions and attitudes. The evaluations are always polarized or contrasted: whereas *we* are democratic, *they* are not, whereas *our* soldiers are freedom fighters, *others* are terrorists. The contrast or polarization is functional and effective in the political process, e.g. in the competition for votes, support and the struggle for political survival and legitimation (Van Dijk, 1997:25 – 28). It has been observed (Van Dijk, 1997) that politicians will tend to emphasize all meanings that are positive about themselves and their own group (nation, party, ideology, etc) and negative about the others. At the same time they hide, mitigate, play down, or leave out implicit information that will give a bad impression about them and a good impression about their opponents.

There are various devices or discursive strategies that are particularly common in political discourse. These devices include the lexicon, syntax, euphemism

(Van Dijk, 1997), and lexico-grammatical features such as pronouns, time adjuncts, collocations and questions (Morrison & Love, 1996).

There are many other works (Morrison & Love, 1996; Obeng, 1997; Flowerdew, 1997) that discuss political topics, and although they are not explicitly done in a theoretical framework of critical political discourse, they contribute to the discussion.

Morrison & Love (1996) examine the structure and content of letters to the Editor (henceforth LEs) in two Zimbabwean magazines, *Moto* and *Parade*, in 1990. The LEs in independently owned magazines provide a site for non-elite writers to engage in alternative discourse to the "celebratory" discourse of the state controlled press (Morrison & Love, 1996:39). Their conclusion is that there is what they call an emergent discourse of "disillusionment". Morrison & Love (1996) examine the corpus of LEs in terms of discourse structure and lexico-grammatical features using critical discourse analysis and computer concordancing to identify features of this alternative discourse. They also trace the hopes and aspirations of the general populace after Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980. During this time the government had made many promises during the liberation struggle. However, several years later after independence the promises remain unfulfilled.

The media in Zimbabwe can be divided into two, that is, the state owned press and the privately owned press. The former represents the view of the state and the ruling elite, thus it takes the top-bottom approach. The latter, represented by *Moto* and *Parade*, represents the view of the general populace. The two papers (*Moto* and *Parade*) contained material which was critical of the historically powerful white community as well as of the nascent state, the policies and practice of government and the lack of critical reporting in the state owned press. The state controlled media portrayed the government as having achieved most

of its goals and at no time did it report that the government was having problems in implementing the major issues after Zimbabwe attained independence (Morrison & Love, 1996).

A justification for the selection of LEs is provided by Morrison & Love (1996) who state that LEs do provide a barometer of the concerns of readers, and a public domain for presenting conflict and controversy. LEs also provide an established site for legitimating the views of an established regular news source.

In their analysis of LEs Morrison & Love (1996) identify lexico-grammatical features which appear to merit close critical analysis. These features include pronouns, time adjuncts, collocations and questions. Particular attention is paid to the use of rhetorical questions, questions and lexical choices, tense markers and metaphors to expound on the discourse of disillusionment on issues such as inflation, uneven development in rural areas and transport problems, which have adversely affected the Zimbabwean population.

The contribution of Obeng (1997) to a better understanding of political discourse is the emphasis he puts on the use of semantic devices. In an aptly entitled paper : "Language and politics : indirectness in political discourse," Obeng (1997:47) shows that politicians avoid candid or obvious statements and instead communicate indirectly. Indirect communication is observed especially when the topic of discourse may be embarrassing. The motivation behind indirectness could be attributed to political interests and political necessity as well as face-saving. Generally, politicians communicate in vague and oblique ways to protect and further their own careers and in the process gain both political and interactional advantage over their opponents. Indirectness is an essential tool that manages verbal conflict and confrontation in political discourse. The strategy of indirectness is realized through evasion, circumlocution, innuendo and metaphor.

Political discourse is characterized by conflicts and synergy, contestations and acquiescence, praise and dispraise, as well as delicate criticism and unmitigated support (Obeng, 1997:53). These characteristics suggest that it is necessary for political scientists to integrate the notion of political indirectness into existing theories of political communication.

The data that Obeng (1997) uses to support his argumentation include speeches, comments or remarks and interviews of political actors (politicians). He then relates the data to Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle and conversational maxims, and demonstrates how political utterances flout the maxims. For example, a politician's message may be conversationally implicate but not explicitly stated. This implies that politicians may not cooperate with other participants. The political actors may opt out of, or violate the maxims in their political actions.

Discursive strategies used in the creation of a mythical discourse is the subject matter of Flowerdew (1997). He critically examines the discourse of the last British governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, in the five years leading up to the change of sovereignty over Hong Kong from Britain to China in 1997. The main issues highlighted in this paper include the free market economy, the freedom of the individual, the rule of law and democracy.

Patten's discourse can be characterized in terms of a myth concerned with ensuring that Britain could withdraw from its last major colony with honour. The paper analyses four discursive strategies used by Patten in promotion of his myth: the transformation of old political genres and the introduction of new ones, presupposition, involvement and lexical structuring and reiteration. As such the paper is presented as a case study in the creation of mythical discourse in the field of politics. Flowerdew (1997) uses critical discourse analysis because it is concerned with issues such as the exercise and distribution of power through

discourse, the dissemination of ideology, and the relations between discourse and social change. He also points out that critical discourse analysis emphasizes the interconnectedness of discourse and social reality and critically examines specific situations where relations of power, dominance and inequality are instantiated in discourse (Flowerdew, 1997:455).

In this section we have explored various aspects of political linguistics. What became clear is that language plays a very important role in politics. An overview has been provided of CDA studies that are of a political nature. Political linguistics and its applications has been discussed within the framework of CDA. In the next section the role of language in the media will be examined.

2.8 LANGUAGE AND THE MEDIA

Kress (1983) observes that the media perform a function which is both ideological and political. On the ideological plane the media constantly processes materials thrown up in social life and in the natural sphere so as to integrate them into consistent ideological systems. This process involves the deletion and classification of events and their restructuring, reclassification, and evaluation in the reports which the media present. In that respect the media do not differ from any individual who is trying to make sense of the world, in accordance with a given ideology or set of ideologies. The media's political effect arises from the fact that they attempt to make sense of the world for others, namely the consumers of media products. In doing so they may attempt to shift readers from adherence to ideological positions, or to cement them more firmly in their allegiance to ideological affiliations. In other words, the media attempt to shape and influence the ideological structure of the society in which they act. Insofar as ideologies are tied into and arise out of social and material practices and give expression and articulation to them, the media clearly have a political effect on social reproduction (Kress, 1983; Oktar, 2001). The political effects exist on

general and specific levels where the media (attempt to) affect the distribution of (political) powers in a given society.

The media are clearly not neutral in representation. Any media organ has a place in the ideological and political structure of a given society which will determine the manner in which events are processed. The consumers are themselves neither neutral nor merely passive. They hold certain ideologies and have a specific place in the structure of a society. In a society where there is a choice of media organs and products, it is likely that they will choose those organs and products whose ideologies are most in line with their own. Consequently the media have a dual political function: on the one hand to structure and process events into ideology unified messages, and, in doing so, to maintain and (if possible) to extend the community or group which is defined and created by being consumers of the products of that medium (Kress, 1983:43).

The events which newspapers mediate are of two kinds. On the one hand are the events of the physical and social experiential world; these have to be classified and reclassified in accordance with the ideological position of the paper. On the other hand there are events which are already processed in this fashion, which have already been assimilated into a certain ideological schema, or which may be direct expressions of the conflict of such positions. These two types of events have to be absorbed into the paper's ideological system and given an evaluation which fits them into their appropriate place. The processing of both types of events is ideological in effect and can be, and most often is, political in intent and effect.

"Ideological trouble spots" (Kress, 1983:44) are likely to occur where events do not readily or do not at all fit into the ideological position of a paper and where a paper's ideological processing of events does not match the ideological position of (some of) its readers. The successful management of both types of

problematic events is essential for the effective maintenance of the community of newspaper readers. Hence the paper's task is to process reality in a manner appropriate to its ideological and political function. The processing happens on two planes: on the social plane, and on the linguistic plane. On the social plane the paper's political function is to establish, alter, and maintain groupings of readers. This process has its analogue on the linguistic plane, in the interpersonal function of language. The interpersonal function deals with the expression of meanings, such as the establishment and maintenance. The grammar of language contains categories and elements which express interpersonal meanings. Included here are modal verbs and adverbs, hesitation phenomena, mental process verbs such as *think*, *seem*, *feel*, tenses, moods. Traditional grammar has long recognized the interpersonal function of many of these elements. On the linguistic level, the primary classification of reality within language (the experiential function of language), the imposition of linguistic categories and processes on events in the natural and social world, is similarly pressed into the service of the interpersonal function. So the experiential function of language is secondary to the interpersonal function which is primary. The effect of this is that the selection and use of lexical and transitivity features are guided by the demands of the interpersonal function.

Hence in analyzing the mediating function of the media these two aspects must be considered: the primary classifications of reality on the one hand, and the modes in which these are presented to the audiences of the media on the other. Language enters into both of these aspects, not only because of the parallel or analogical nature of processes on the social and the linguistic plane, but because ideological systems exist in and are articulated by the categories and processes of a given language. The language provides the categories which are used in the primary and subsequent classifications of an event, and in terms of which that event is mediated to the self and to others. In other words, linguistic and ideological processes do not exist as distinct phenomena, they are

indistinguishable, they are one and the same in substantial terms. The selection and use of linguistic categories and processes in the making of a text are guided by the specific ideological system which the speaker or writer brings into the process of speaking and writing. Any text is therefore an encoding of an ideology. Conversely, to rewrite a text or part of a text (an activity constantly engaged in by the media) is to alter that ideology in specific ways and to express another ideological system, in part or in whole. The presence of a linguistic category or process in a text is a sign of the prior operation of an ideological system, that ideological system in its turn becoming visible through the selection and organization as a system of all the linguistic features present in the text. All the events of the physical and experiential world are subject to ideological processing. The ideology will not always be apparent and its political implication not always obvious. Also, in many cases alternative ideologies are available, in terms of which an event may be mediated. Where important matters are at issue, such alternative mediations are more likely to occur (Kress, 1983:44 – 45).

Oktar (2001) agrees with Kress' (1983) observations. Oktar notes that the media expand greatly the scope for the operation of ideology, because the media enables the symbolic forms to be transmitted to the extended and potentially vast audiences. If ideology is conceived of as ways in which the meaning conveyed by symbolic forms serves to establish and sustain relations of power and domination, then it is clear that mass communication has enormous consequences for the propagation and diffusion of ideological phenomena. The media discourse, then, is a site for the production and diffusion of ideology. For example, according to dominant news values, the media favours stories about negative events because these stories are generally recalled better particularly in the case of outgroup members (*them*). In this framework intergroup (*us vs. them*) perceptions, prejudices and cognitive strategies, along with journalistic news values, contribute to the representation of *us* and *them* as competing social forces in the construction of media discourse. Through the media discourse most

readers, in turn, tend to adopt these representations, construct cognitive models of *us* and *them* and to generalize them with their own beliefs and attitudes. It may be this “symbolic power” of the media that enables us to explain their specific role in the reproduction of ideology. Thus, the media discourse, primarily in terms of struggle for power between competing social forces, is shaped by power relations within the social system. Therefore, the media order of discourse can usefully be examined as the domain of cultural power and hegemony. In this vein, the media discourse provides fertile grounds for an ideologically orientated discourse analysis (Oktar, 2001:320 – 321).

Media discourse has also been extensively discussed by Reah (1998). She observes that newspapers provide a series of snapshots of our life and culture, often from a very specific viewpoint. Reah (1998) looks at the way certain texts present, and to a certain extent, create or at least influence, aspects of our culture and society. Newspapers are artifacts of the commercial and the political world. For example, before the break up of the USSR, the pronouncements of the state newspaper *Pravda* were treated with scepticism by the Western commentators, as *Pravda* was seen as the mouthpiece of the ruling Communist Party. It was assumed that even if the editor of *Pravda* had wanted to oppose the party ideology he would not have been allowed to (Reah, 1998:3).

The selection of items to be reported in the newspaper, as well as the way in which news is presented, all of which affect the way the reader is presented with the world, is highlighted by Geis (1987), Fowler (1991) and Reah (1998). Geis (1987) focuses on how politicians use language to win elections and get others to accept their policies and programs and on how journalists report the suave efforts of politicians. Much of the suave rhetoric of politicians is filtered through the minds of political journalists before it reaches the citizenry, and we can be reasonably sure that this rhetoric does not come out the way it went in. The press plays a significant role in determining the nation's political agenda through

its choices of what issues will be presented to the public, how these issues will be presented and which voices will be heard speaking on these issues. Many political journalists take the view that it is the responsibility to “explain” or “interpret” or “make sense out of” news for the news consuming public, but to do this – to explain political events – is inevitably to impose a particular perspective on news reports (Geis, 1987:vii).

Fowler (1991) presents a similar view when he notes that, because the institutions of news reporting and presentation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle (Fowler, 1991:10). A decision may be made to exclude information because it is felt necessary to conceal that information from the readership or to include information that is seen as in some way beneficial to groups other than the readership – the advertisers, the owners of the paper, the political party the owners of the paper support, for instance. Again, the readers have little or no control over what is or is not being presented, and they may have access to other sources of information against which to judge the content of the newspaper. People who attend public demonstrations often complain afterwards either that a very well-attended demonstration was ignored by the media and therefore, in the eyes of the majority of the population who did not attend, did not happen, or that it was trivialized by the media focusing on one aspect – an incident of unruly behaviour, for example, or the dress of a celebrity who attended the event. People who have been involved in newsworthy events that have been ignored or misrepresented by the newspapers often find themselves wondering what else may be excluded from the coverage or presented in a misleading way, but this may not be an issue that the majority of readers are particularly aware of (Reah, 1998:4-5).

The exclusion practices discussed by Reah (1998) have also been observed by Fowler (1991) who says that real events are subject to conventional processes of

selection: they are not intrinsically newsworthy, but only become "news" when selected for inclusion in news reports. The vast majority of events are not mentioned, and so selection immediately gives us a partial view of the world. Selection is accompanied by transformation, differential treatment in presentation according to numerous political, economic and social factors. The world of the press is not the real world, but a world skewed and judged (Fowler, 1991:11).

The content and presentation of news is often determined by press ownership. Reah (1998:8 – 9) notes that the owner of a newspaper has the power to influence the content of the paper, its political stance and its editorial perspective. The reader of newspapers, then, is not entirely the recipient of new information on recent events. He or she is the recipient of selected information on recent events, and this information may well be presented with an ideological "spin" that makes it very difficult for the reader to make an independent decision on what his/her actual viewpoint of these events actually is.

The concepts of inclusion and selection that have been addressed in the preceding arguments, have also been referred to as media bias in other quarters. The question of media bias has been extensively and adequately investigated and discussed by the University of Glasgow Media Group. According to Reah (1998:10) the problem of bias in the press is not a matter of who or what system is supported. The problem is that the bias exists, and the system through which the press operates seems guaranteed to ensure that bias will continue.

D'allesio & Allen (2000) have investigated media bias in presidential elections in the USA using a meta-analysis approach, i.e. the combination of the results of numerous studies in order to make knowledgeable claims. They have considered gate-keeping bias, which is the preference for selecting stories from one party or the other, coverage bias, which considers the relative amount of coverage each

party receives, and statement bias, which focuses on the favourability of coverage toward one party or the other. On the whole, in their findings, no significant biases were found for the newspaper industry. Bias in news magazines were virtually zero as well. However, meta-analysis of studies of television network news showed small, measurable, but probably insubstantial coverage and statement bias (D'allesio & Allen, 2000:133). It is further pointed out that the question of media bias is not moot in the absence of certain properties of that bias: it must be volitional or willful, it must be influential or else it is irrelevant, it must be threatening to widely held conventions, lest it be dismissed as mere "crackpotism", and it must be sustained rather than an isolated incident. A set of special cases of media bias lies in the arena of electoral politics (D'allesio & Allen, 2000:133 – 134). D'allesio & Allen (2000:137) also argue that in many ways, the area of political process, and particularly presidential election campaigns, provide a fertile ground for the analysis of media bias. However, it is most likely that what D'allesio & Allen are calling media bias is ideological orientation.

Montgomery (1995) has also implicitly investigated the issue of bias. He calls bias the "interested" (Montgomery, 1995:228) character of linguistic representation. He starts by noting that the world is not given to us directly and straightforwardly in experience. In apprehending, comprehending and representing the world we inevitably draw upon linguistic formulations. One might say that because of this we always see it slightly askew. But it is not so much a question of bias that is at stake. What it amounts to is that there is no absolutely and disinterested way of apprehending and representing the world. Language always helps to select, arrange, organize, and evaluate experience, even when we are least conscious of it doing so. In this sense representation is always interested: the words chosen are selected from a determinate set for the situation at hand and have been previously shaped by the community, or by those parts of it to which the speaker belongs (Montgomery, 1995:228).

Caldas-Coulthard (1993) contributes to the debate on media bias by examining how language is used in the news to represent women. She examines in terms of gender relations, the cultural and social concepts of achieved sexual roles and the way newspapers represent oral interaction in the news. She explores the concept of accessed voice, as formulated by Hartley (1982 *Understanding News*), in the representation of speech, in other words, who is given voice and how this voice is reported in the press. According to Caldas-Coulthard (1993), women in general are part of the unaccessed voice group and the small quality of female speech reported in the press is sufficient to demonstrate that their social role has a special or deviant status. Unequal access is evident in what is reported and who speaks, and as a consequence the linguistic code imposes and reinforces attitudes and values on what it represents. If, in the media, women are less heard than men, their contributions less reported, then newspapers continue to encode bias and legitimate assumptions about linguistic behaviour and social asymmetries (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993:196 - 7).

The major aim of analyzing news texts for differences in gender representation by Caldas-Coulthard (1993) is that she hopes to make visible not only the linguistic difference assumed by those who represent interaction, but also the ways newspapers handle men and women in terms of different sets of categories or different stereotypes. This view of gender bias is also shared by Montgomery (1995), who investigates at violent men and crimes against women in tabloid newspapers and says that language choice is manipulated through active/passive structures and transitivity relations to demean women.

According to Caldas-Coulthard (1993) no discourse is impartial, neutral, without a point of view. Thus linguistic production cannot be dissociated from what it represents and reflects. News in quality papers reinforces sexism, i.e., a system in which women and men are not simply differential but unequal. The concern of the critical discourse analyst is to identify, discuss and expose misinterpretations

and discrimination in discourse as a tool for social change. The discourse of the media in general is an instrument of cultural reproduction, highly implicated within the power structures and reflecting values about the world, one of which is male supremacy. Writers in quality papers seem to abide by and be dominated by this ideology. Women are underrepresented in news. They are also described differently; in other words, women are a separate category, generally dissociated from power structures. Men in general are represented speaking in their public or professional roles while women, when speaking, are identified with their private sphere. They are the *mothers, the daughters, the wives, the widows*, (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993:197 – 8). Caldas-Coulthard's (1993) argument may have been appropriately applicable in 1993. However, the situation apparently now has changed and major strides have been made in the representation of women in the press, though the Kenyan media still shows discrimination against women (cf. section 4.5).

Trew (1979(b)) investigates the question of media bias which he calls linguistic variation and ideological differences in newspaper reporting. He gets material from the coverage in the English National Daily Press of the events at the end of the 1977 Notting Hill Carnival, in London. Trew (1979(b)) analyses reports in two newspapers, the *Sun* and the *Morning Star*. There are many differences between these two papers. The *Sun* was then the largest circulation daily in Britain, the *Morning Star* the smallest. The *Morning Star* is the official organ of a political party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, while the *Sun* has no formal relationship with a political party. They are chosen in Trew's study, however, for the contrasts between their treatment of one event, the last hours of the 1977 Notting Hill Carnival (Trew, 1979(b):120).

After a detailed comparison of the news reports in the two contrasting newspapers, and their relation to the editorials in those papers, he examines two processes. One is the transition from news to editorials and the other is the

process, covering some weeks, by which links between a number of specific events, expressed in the editorials, were established. The results of the work on these two papers are considered in a brief comparison with reports in other dailies. Trew (1979(b)) uses the material to try and develop more systematic ways of isolating ideology in discourse, to illustrate further aspects of the linguistic expression of the relations of newspaper and ideologies to social processes, and to show a bit more of the linguistics of ideological processes and ideological conflict (Trew, 1979(b):118).

In the discussion of the language of newspaper reporting the authors above show that there is a lot of favouritism depending on which way one reads the paper. This favouritism is referred to as either *bias* or *ideology*.

In a nutshell this section has portrayed the ideological and political function of the media. The media's role in influencing its readers to accept or believe a particular viewpoint has been shown. The media manipulates its readers to accept a predetermined ideology. All in all it has been shown that all news is slanted or skewed to favour certain social groups. In the next section a political history of elections in Kenya is provided. Further still, the origins of the press in Kenya are discussed.

CHAPTER THREE: KENYA, ELECTIONS AND THE PRESS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to contextualize the study, this chapter outlines a brief history of Kenya and its elections showing how multi-party elections feature in Kenya's history. Since the data for analysis is extracted from the Kenya media, a history of the press in Kenya is explored and the origins of the three selected newspapers is explained.

3.2 POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Kenya attained its independence on 12 December 1963 after a protracted guerrilla war by an organization known as the *Mau Mau*, against the British colonial rule. Jomo Kenyatta was the first president of the country. In the years preceding independence there were two main political parties, namely, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The two parties merged into one, KANU, immediately after independence (Foeken & Dietz, 2000; Ogot, 1995 (b)).

Oginga Odinga, Kenya's first vice president, dissatisfied by KANU's policies, formed an opposition party, the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) in 1966. KPU was banned by the Kenyatta government in 1969 and its leaders put in jail. Hence Kenya become a *de facto* one party state (Ogot, 1995 (a); Ogot, 1995 (b); Wanyande, 1995; Ajulu, 1997; Foeken & Dietz, 2000).

President Kenyatta died in August 1978 and was succeeded by Daniel Arap Moi who had been vice-president for ten years. During Moi's presidency Kenya remained a *de facto* one party state until 1982. In 1982 Oginga Odinga, together with George Anyona, attempted to form an opposition party, the Kenya African

Socialist Alliance (KASA). However, their attempt never materialized, for in June of the same year Parliament amended the constitution, inserting section 2A which recognized KANU as the only political party, thus making Kenya a *de jure* one party state (Ogot, 1995 (a); Ogot 1995 (b)).

Opposition to Moi's rule never waned despite the constitutional amendment. Church leaders and intellectuals challenged Moi, especially with regard to violation of human rights and civil liberties. However, their criticism did not make much impact until 1989.

From 1989 the world's approach to authoritarian regimes in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa had changed. Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* had created a transformation that led to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the break up of the Soviet Union. The authoritarian and communist states in Eastern Europe collapsed. Pro-democracy activists in Africa were watching as the events unfolded. Therefore, the collapse of regimes in Eastern Europe in the 1990s ignited pro-democracy movements in Africa.

The roots of the pro-democracy movement in Kenya could be attributed to veteran politicians, Oginga Odinga, Masinde Muliro, George Anyona and Martin Shikuku, prominent clergymen such as Dr Henry Okullu and the Presbyterian cleric Rev. Timothy Njoya, as well as lawyers and academics. Clergymen started the clamour for multi-party politics in the beginning of 1990s. Politicians, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the Kenyan public followed suit. The pro-democracy movement seemed to have received support from the international donor community who introduced new conditionalities for aid disbursement. The donor community insisted that future financial aid would be pegged to political as well as economic reforms (Ogot, 1995 (b); Rutten, 2000).

In 1990 two former cabinet ministers, Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia, who had earlier been expelled from the ruling party, KANU, expressed their displeasure and disillusionment with the single party system. They also sought support from Oginga Odinga. Thousands of Kenyans who were dissatisfied with Moi's political management supported the two former ministers. The Kanu government was unmoved. From June 1990 the government was on the offensive against pro-democracy activists denouncing them as *traitors, agents of foreign powers, tribalists and anarchists* who were bent on disrupting the rule of law in the country. Matiba and Rubia requested a license to hold a public rally in Nairobi on 7 July 1990 in order to prove to the government that Kenyans were longing for political pluralism. The government rejected their request and the two, together with Raila Odinga (the son of Oginga Odinga) were arrested and detained. However, on the proposed date of the aborted meeting, thousands of people turned up. Police attempted to disperse them and there were widespread riots in Nairobi and its environs (Ogot, 1995 (b)).

It was now apparent that political pluralism had wide support in Kenya, contrary to what KANU was saying. More Kenyans started to speak openly and defiantly against the state. The demand for political reforms had reached a melting point. Oginga Odinga launched another political movement in August 1991. He teamed up with five other veteran politicians, Masinde Muliro, Martin Shikuku, George Nthenge, Philip Gachoka and Ahmed Bamahriz, to form the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). FORD was a pressure group whose main objective was to fight for the restoration of democracy and human rights in Kenya (Ogot, 1995 (b); Ajulu, 1997). The Forum received support from people of all walks of life.

KANU was under so much pressure to introduce political pluralism in the country, that on 3 December 1991 some 3600 KANU delegates, meeting in Nairobi, adopted a recommendation by the KANU Governing Council to ask Parliament to

repeal section 2A of the country's constitution. On 10 December 1991, Parliament passed the constitution amendment repealing section 2A, making Kenya a *de jure* multi-party state (Ogot, 1995 (b); Ajulu, 1997; Rutten, 2000).

With section 2A having been repealed, FORD transformed itself from a pressure group to a political party. Other parties were also formed. Internal differences within FORD caused it to split into two factions. The two factions were later to develop into two separate parties, FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya.

On 29 December 1992 civic, parliamentary and presidential elections were held. Eight political parties participated, including KANU, FORD-Kenya, FORD-Asili, the Democratic Party (DP), the Kenya Social Congress, the Kenya National Democratic Alliance and Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya. Moi emerged the winner of the presidential elections and KANU won a majority of parliamentary seats.

Exactly five years after the 1992 elections, the next elections were held in 1997. Although the 1992 elections had been the first multi-party elections in 26 years (Ajulu, 1997) there were a number of reasons that motivated this study to analyse some aspects of the 1997 elections. First, in 1992 the various parties participated in an election within the framework of a constitution that preserved, in large measure, the structure and powers of the one-party regime (Ogot, 1995 (b)). Apart from the repeal of section 2A in 1992 to allow a multi-party democracy, nothing much had changed. Laws that had been used to gag and muzzle the press were still in existence. There was no press freedom and press freedom had been compromised as Odero (2000:20-21) notes: "Kenya leaders routinely maintained that the government did not censor journalists and that a free press was a deeply cherished value. In reality however a range of subjects were taboo to publish and self-censorship governed the selection and slant of the news if editors were to remain safe."

Secondly, the 1997 polls were held under slightly different circumstances and with more relaxed laws compared to 1992. There were constitutional and legal reforms in 1997, after protracted battle between the citizens, the clergy and the lawyers on the one hand, and the government on the other hand. In order to avert chaos a group of 75 members of parliament from both KANU and the opposition parties decided to take the initiative by forming an Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) which formulated a wide range of constitutional and legal reforms (Foeken & Dietz, 2000; Rutten, 2000).

The major reforms that came out of the IPPG initiative were the expansion of the Electoral Commission by 10 members suggested by opposition parties, and the provision for a coalition government (implying that the president could appoint ministers in his cabinet from opposition parties). Other major changes included the amendment of the Preservation of Public Security Act, the amendment of Sedition laws under the Penal Code and the amendment of The Kenya Broadcasting Act (Mute, 2000). The amendment and repeal of sections of these acts meant that political parties no longer needed to apply for licenses to hold campaign rallies, and the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) was set to give equal airtime to all the parties. The amendments were actually a scoop for journalists since these laws had earlier been used to muzzle and silence the press. Odero (2000:22) paints this picture succinctly when he states: "When the World Press Freedom report of 1997 was published categorizing Kenya as among the countries which did not enjoy full freedom in Africa it was a Johnny come lately report. Much had changed in the media scene and a wharf of freedom was being enjoyed by the print media marketing a new phase of communication revolution which also saw a mushrooming of the alternative press". It is against the backdrop of these changes that had taken place before the 1997 elections that this study is motivated.

There were various registered parties that participated in the 1997 elections. Below a list of the main political parties is provided:

1. Kenya African National Union (KANU)
Presidential candidate: Daniel Arap Moi

2. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, Kenya (FORD-KENYA / FORD-K)
Presidential candidate: Michael Wamalwa Kijana

3. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, Asili (FORD-Asili / FORD-A)
Presidential candidate: Martin Shikuku

4. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People (FORD-People / FORD-P)
Presidential candidate: Kimani wa Nyoike

5. Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)
Presidential candidate: Mwai Kibaki

6. National Development Party of Kenya (NDP)
Presidential candidate: Raila Odinga

7. Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP)
Presidential candidate: Charity Ngilu

8. Kenya Social Congress (KSC)
Presidential candidate: George Anyona

9. Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KENDA)

Presidential candidate: Koigi wa Wamwere

The newspapers' reference to the ruling party as Kanu was clear cut. However, the opposition parties were at times referred to as a group while at other times the newspapers would pick a particular political party. In the next section a history of the press in Kenya is outlined paying particular attention to the three daily newspapers published in Kenya.

3.3 THE PRESS IN KENYA

The development and the growth of the press in Kenya, especially the print media, is closely related to the political, economic and social developments throughout the history of the country (Karanja, 2000). Therefore, it would be appropriate to note that the current history of the print media in Kenya has its roots in the colonial past. During the colonial period the media propagated and enhanced the changes and metamorphoses of the times. Admittedly, it was serving the interests and aspirations of the white community in Kenya (Waweru, 2000).

As in most other African countries, the early Christian missionaries can be credited with introducing the first newspapers in Kenya towards the end of the 19th century. In the course of spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ, the missionaries transcribed, translated and documented in print the oral stories, proverbs and songs of the natives among whom they evangelised (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988; Karanja, 2000).

As the colonialists and their attendant British/European settlers entrenched their sovereignty in Kenya at the beginning of the 20th century, the major and leading newspapers voiced the official view, while at the same time giving prominence to the paramountcy of settler interests over those of indigenous natives and migrant

Indians who had been brought into East Africa to work on the Uganda Railway (Karanja, 2000).

African and Indian publications emerged during the colonial period. The explicit aim of these publications was to express their communities' concern over, and opposition to, policies that were not serving their interests. According to Karanja (2000), the origins of the African and Indian print media gave birth to the culture of a protest press that has been fiercely active at a critical political watershed point in the history of the country. However, in the post-independence era official media organs tended once more, as they had been in the colonial era, to be mostly reflective of the point of view of the ruling elite and least that of the ruled (Karanja, 2000:27).

By 1997 there were three daily newspapers in Kenya, all written in English, namely, the *Daily Nation*, the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times*.

3.3.1 THE DAILY NATION

The *Daily Nation* which commenced as *Taifa-The Nation* was formed in September, 1958 by Charles Hayes' East African Press Exchange (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988). The *Nation*, formed in 1959, grew to be the largest circulating daily in the country.

During its launch it was viewed as the first major newspaper company to identify editorially with the aspirations and interests of African people. However, being foreign owned, and taking into account the impact this had on editorial policies, the paper lacked a well defined concept of what was African about it (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988:28).

Taifa-the Nation, in its bid to expand, came into contact with Michael Curtis. Curtis, a former editor of the leading London newspaper, *Sunday Times*, was the personal secretary to the Aga Khan. Curtis and Hayes reached an agreement in which Hayes was to sell his interests in the newspaper to the Aga Khan who thus acquired the majority share. Abuoga & Mutere (1988) note that it was in this way that foreign interests maintained their continuity and centrality of the press in Kenya. The East African Publishers Limited of Hayes changed overnight to East African Newspapers (Nation series) (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988:29).

When the *Nation* was launched it was an experimental English paper. In due course, it gained popularity for sticking to its stated policy of favouring no single race, religion or party. In fact, it made efforts to foster goodwill and understanding between the different races.

The *Sunday Nation* was launched on March 20, 1960 with Jack Beverly as its editor and barely seven months later the *Daily Nation* was launched under John Bierman as editor.

The aim of the *Daily Nation* in the Aga Khan's own words at the time, was to produce newspapers 'edited and staffed by Africans, containing news of specific interest to Africa and expressing an African point of view to a predominantly African audience' (Odero, 2000:12).

The *Daily Nation* circulation figures four years after its inception averaged between 14,000 and 18,000 copies. By 1968 it had overtaken the *East African Standard* with sales that averaged around 34,000. During its tenth birthday it had a circulation of 46,496 and by its twentyfifth silver jubilee sales had shot up to 135,000. Since then it has hit the 160,000 mark (Odero, 2000; Kadhi, 1993).

The meteoric rise and success of the Nation group of Newspapers can be attributed directly to its technological superiority which saw *Nation* newspapers to be among the first newspapers outside North America to utilise phototypesetting systems. In addition to that, a major scoop in the newspaper's development took place in 1973 when *Nation* shares were offered for the first time on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. A public offer of 1.2 million shares was made available. Currently 10,000 individuals own 55 percent of the shares with His Highness the Aga Khan being the principal shareholder (Odero, 2000).

Odero (2000) asserts that no overview of a newspaper group would be complete without reference to editorial freedom and integrity. He says that a documented *Nation* policy is that the Editor has complete editorial control within the policy guidelines laid down by the Board of the newspaper company. This policy was tested in early 1980s. George Githii was then the Editor-in-Chief and in one of his editorials he launched a scathing attack on the Bohra community who were then celebrating the arrival in Mombasa of their spiritual leader. The community which shares a similar faith with the Ismaili community of the Aga Khan was up in arms. From Paris His Highness the Aga Khan directed Githii to publish an apology, preferably in another editorial. Githii, citing his editorial freedom, refused. At the end of the day he was sacked from the *Nation*. Official policy in the Nation Group of newspapers also affirms support for the elected government and the Constitution. It also states that the *Nation* will not shrink from constructive and objective criticism where such criticism is considered to be well-founded and in the interests of the public at large (Odero, 2000:13, Okello, 2000).

3.3.2 THE EAST AFRICAN STANDARD

An Indian trader, A.M. Jevanjee, launched *The African Standard* in Mombasa in 1902 (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988; Odero, 2000). The newspaper basically catered

for civil servants and businessmen who inhabited the coastal town. In 1905 Jevanjee sold his interests to the partnership of Rudolf E. Meyer and A.G.W. Anderson. As editor Anderson renamed the paper the *East African Standard*. During the early 1900s it became the largest and most influential paper in East Africa.

The *East African Standard* was regarded as a pro-colonial newspaper and was seen as the mouthpiece of white settler interests in Kenya (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988; Odero, 2000). However, the paper succeeded in shedding its racist image when it changed its policies with independence under Lt. Col. Kenneth Bolton.

From inception, the *East African Standard* remained elitist, upmarket and strictly conservative until the late 1970s when it liberalised its editorial policy by identifying more with the nationalistic ideals, hopes and aspirations of the common people. The paper was renamed *The Standard* when it was owned by the UK multinational, London Rhodesia Company (Lonrho) until 1995 when it was finally sold to an 'international investor' who happened to be a member of the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU).

3.3.3 KENYA TIMES

In 1978 Stellascope Ltd of Hilary Ng'weno, an indigenous Kenyan, launched a Sunday paper known as the *Nairobi Times* which was tailored in the tradition of the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Telegraph* of London. In April 1983, *Nairobi Times* was taken over by the ruling party, KANU, and was changed to become a daily called the *Kenya Times* (Abuoga & Mutere, 1998; Karanja, 2000)

Therefore, the Kenya Times Group of newspapers were founded by KANU as party papers in April 1983 when they launched their first daily English paper *Kenya Times*. Days later a Kiswahili daily, *Kenya Leo*, was launched.

Despite the fact that they belonged to the ruling party, the launching of these papers was not smooth sailing. They faced stiff competition from the *Daily Nation* and the *East African Standard*.

In 1987 the ruling party coopted the help of Robert Maxwell of Maxwell Communications to assist the Kenya Times Group as they tried to win readership appeal and to weather stiff competition.

According to Abuoga & Mutere (1988), the Kenya Times Group of Newspapers aspires to pursuing investigative journalism that is not unnecessarily sensational and to be seen as national papers responsive to the aspirations of the country and its people.

Karanja (2000) notes that the launching of the Kenya Times Group of Newspapers attracted considerable public goodwill, coming as it did at a time when there was a need for the Third World to spearhead a New Information Order in which it could report events from its perspective. Although the Kanu group publications attracted some of the country's best journalists from the *Daily Nation*, the *East African Standard* and elsewhere, an incompetent board of directors comprising politicians, over-politicised management as well as political interference saw the paper's acceptability on the market decrease to dismal levels (Karanja, 2000:38).

After the overview provided on the press in Kenya the next chapter concentrates on data analysis, specifically the ideological square.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on how the ideological square, as discussed in section 2.5.1, is manifested in the data from Kenyan newspapers. Although the ideological square has its origins in social identity theory its linguistic manifestations are many and varied. Thus in this chapter it is shown how the ideological square is realized in terms of transitivity as discussed in section 2.3.2 and the stylistics aspects of newspaper reporting.

4.2 THE TRANSITIVITY MODEL

Transitivity (see section 2.3.2) generally refers to how meaning is represented in the clause. It plays a role in showing how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them. Since transitivity is concerned with the transmission of ideas it is considered to fall within the realm of the ideational function of language.

Linguistically, transitivity is concerned with propositional meanings and functions of syntactic elements. The representations that can be attested within a transitivity model are said to signal bias, manipulation and ideology in discourse. Coincidentally, a large amount of social impact of media has to do with how the media selectively represents the states of being, actions, events and situations concerning a given society.

While section 2.3.2 discussed the theoretical orientation of transitivity, this particular section will dwell on its applicability to the data. In this study transitivity analysis is applied to newspaper headlines since they function as opinion manipulators and are thus good candidates for the study of the newspapers'

ideological position (Thetela, 2001). The model is also applied to some selected editorials in the sense that editorials have a prominent function in the expression and construction of public opinion. For this study, only three of the transitivity processes were found in the data and they include material (process of doing) as discussed in section 2.3.3, verbal (process of saying) as discussed in section 2.3.4 and relational (process of being) as discussed in section 2.3.6.

4.2.1 MATERIAL PROCESSES

The headlines of the three newspapers (*Daily Nation*, *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times*) utilize the strategy of material process in their reporting. These are instances where we have the actor (agent), the process and the goal and/or circumstances as exemplified below:

DAILY NATION

1. Seven ex-MPs desert Ford-K (Extract 3).
2. Ford-K loses leading officials (Extract 2).
3. Matiba men fail in party search (Extract 7).
4. Government registers Safina party (Extract 9).
5. Campaign hots up as date nears (Extract 36).
6. Poll violence claims 2 more (Extract 38).

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD

7. Kanyingi, Sifuna defect (Extract 11).
8. (a) Seven MP's defect (Extract 13).
(b) Five more ex-MPs desert Ford-Kenya (Extract 14b).
9. Matiba pals try move on Ford-A (Extract 16).
10. Muite set to quit politics? (Extract 20).
11. Safina is now okayed (Extract 22).

12. Ngilu storms police station (Extract 44).
13. Gema meeting is "planned" (Extract 41).

KENYA TIMES

14. Luo MP's join Raila (Extract 24).
15. Orenge, 4 others quit Ford-K (Extract 25).
16. Kanyingi returns to Kanu (Extract 26).
17. Gema plot backfires (Extract 54).
18. Luos show overwhelming support for Moi (Extract 55).

From the examples above it can be deduced that the ACTOR roles in the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* are occupied mostly by proper nouns (examples 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) and all except one of these proper nouns refer to Opposition members of parliament or to Opposition groupings. On the other hand the *Daily Nation* also makes use of proper nouns in actor roles, but it goes a step further and uses common nouns that do not refer to specific individuals or particular political groupings (examples 1, 4, 5, 6).

The "seven ex-MPs (example 1) who occupy the actor role in the *Daily Nation* are referred to as "seven MP's" in the *East African Standard* (8a). Surprisingly, in the *Kenya Times* they become "8 Luo MP's" (example 14). While in the *Daily Nation* it stated that they desert (process) Ford-K (goal), in the *East African Standard* there is no goal element. However, in the *Kenya Times* the goal element is occupied by a proper noun (Raila). The use of the ethnic tag (Luo) in agent position by the *Kenya Times* seems to prop up the theme of tribalism within Opposition parties. In example 14, the agent role has the ethnic tag *Luo* to refer to a specific ethnic group in Kenya joining (process) another person (goal) from their ethnic group. During the 1997 elections Raila was head of a political party, specifically, the National Development Party (NDP). The purpose of the

headline writer in using "8 Luo MP's" instead of, for instance, "8 MP's" shows his ideological inclination of viewing NDP as a tribal party. In fact, the presence of "Raila" in goal position instead of his party (NDP) foregrounds the theme of tribalism, i.e. Luos are joining another Luo.

The desertions and defections affecting the opposition parties are highlighted by the three newspapers through the strategy of the material process. Thus the actor role Ford-K (example 2) in the *Daily Nation* is assigned a goal position (example 8b, 15) in the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* respectively. Likewise the goal element referred to as "leading officials" (example 2) in the *Daily Nation* are assigned actor roles in the other newspapers but assigned different labels. Thus in the *East African Standard* they are referred to as "Five more ex-MP's (example 8b) whereas, in the *Kenya Times* they are referred to as "Orengo, 4 others" (example 15).

The contrasts in reporting cited above echo certain ideological leanings. It is hypothesized that the independent *Daily Nation* is reporting events more as they occurred. The newspaper identifies the party (Ford-K) and assigns it an actor role and then through a process (loses) it just informs us that the party has lost leading officials without identifying who they are. In the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* the calibre and influence of the people defecting is highlighted and that is why they are assigned actor roles. Their being referred to as "Five ex-MPs and "Orengo, 4 others" is significant indeed. A party that loses five ex-MPs must indeed be in trouble. Orengo is named because he was a senior member of Ford-K, that is, the Vice-Chairman. It is as if the newspapers are telling us that if such senior people can quit a party then the chances of the party's survival are minimal. Furthermore, considering that a general election was in the offing it would be very difficult for such a party to garner votes from the electorate.

The general concept of transitivity through the material process is also used to discredit events surrounding opposition groups or their leaders. The discrediting is observed in examples 12 and 17 in the *East African Standard* and *Kenya Times* respectively. In example 12 Ngilu, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, is assigned the agent role and presented as actively responsible for the process (storm) affecting a goal element (police station), whereas in 17 Gema, an ethnic grouping, is assigned actor role in a process (backfires). There is no goal element in this example.

As Simpson (1993:109) observes, in material processes lexical choices are just as strong an indicator of the respective political stances adopted by newspapers. A number of words are used which have affective connotations and most of these carry conventionally negative evaluations of the activity to which they refer. Therefore, the negative evaluation is attested in examples 12 and 17 where Ngilu (one of the presidential candidates) is said to have stormed a police station, i.e. carrying a process, whereas in 17 the actor's event is said to have backfired. The two processes (storm, backfire) are normally interpreted unfavourably in most contexts. Thus the actors in the examples are evaluated negatively in the processes that they perform. The preference of an abstract happening such as "backfires" has a very powerful evaluative function. The choice of verbs such as "storm" and "backfire" in the *East African Standard* and *Kenya Times* respectively do not necessarily tell us about concrete events, but about the writers' interpretation and evaluation of events, as portrayed in the respective headlines.

Thetela (2001) has synthesized the role of syntactic transformations in material processes. She observes that while transitivity roles are semantic in nature, they can also be impacted upon by syntactic transformations. While syntactic transformations do not necessarily affect the type of process, they can bring other dimensions of meaning to the discourse. The impact of syntactic

transformations in our data is observed in examples 11 and 13 found exclusively in the *East African Standard*. The two headlines are passive constructions in which the patient ("Safina" and "Gema meeting") are in subject or thematic position. The verb structures "is now okayed" and "is planned" of the two headlines have a feature of agency, thus we could ask "who by", thus "who okayed Safina" and "who planned the Gema meeting". The identities of the agents are not revealed. Rather they are concealed in the headlines, thus placing the prominence of the message on the patient and the action suffered.

If we contrast example 11 of the *East African Standard* and example 4 of the *Daily Nation* we can actually determine as to why the identity is concealed in 11. In the independent *Daily Nation* the identity of the actor is revealed, that is, it is the government that registered (process) Safina party (goal or patient). The role of the government in the registration of Safina party is downplayed by the editor of the pro-government *East African Standard*. The government only registered the party after a lot of pressure from local and international democrats. Therefore, in concealing the identity of the agent the editor does not portray the government as responding to pressure or being under siege. He is thus protecting the government and by extension the ruling party.

From the foregoing discussion, we can say that the *Daily Nation* assigns actor roles to individuals in the opposition, highlighting their moves. In the process the paper does not evaluate the actors negatively. Furthermore, the theme of tribalism is not trumped up as in the other dailies. The *East African Standard* and *Kenya Times* apply material processes to discredit the opposition as tribalists, as parties that are losing senior members and as violent (storm). The *East African Standard* protects the government by concealing it as an actor in a situation where the actor role would be viewed negatively or unfavourably.

The material processes are also replicated in the editorials of the three dailies as shown below:

DAILY NATION

19. The reason we are saying this is that so far not a single opposition presidential aspirant, for example, has taken on President Moi and Kanu on the current manifesto and the previous one and pointed out the difference between them. Conversely, Kanu does not bother to point out what it promised in its 1992 election manifesto and what it achieved. November 20th, 1997.
20. The phase when public coffers were looted to fund elections and buy victory is over. December 19th, 1997,
21. Kanu candidates have been preaching the gospel of continuity while those from the opposition have been trying to sell the idea of change. December 29, 1997.

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD

22. Kenya's business community endorsed its commitment to a peaceful election and political future. December 7th, 1997.

KENYA TIMES

23. The delegates meeting will be reinforcing KANU's credentials as a democratic apparatus that has managed to withstand the onslaught by a tribal-based opposition. November 7th, 1997.

24. [...] some churches have been preaching against KANU, the ruling party, and urging voters to vote for certain opposition parties. November 18th, 1997.
25. Democratic party supporters also engaged in a fray with Paul Muite's Safina in Nyeri District [...] December 9th, 1997.
26. [...] irate Ford Kenya supporters subjected the Ford Asili presidential candidate Martin Shikuku to a heckling episode that degenerated into physical combat. December 9th, 1997.

From the examples cited above there are glaring differences in reporting between the *Daily Nation* on the one hand and the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* on the other. The contrasting styles of reporting in the editorials through material process could be attributed to each newspaper's ideology.

The *Daily Nation* uses material processes to contrast the ruling party and a combined opposition in terms of their policies in examples 19 and 21. Thus in example 19 the paper uses material processes to fault the two parties by showing that none is selling its policies to the electorate. The contrasts in example 21 are meant to highlight the mainstay of the two political parties. Thus Kanu candidates (ACTORS) are actors in a process (have been preaching) to achieve a certain goal (continuity), while the opposition also occupies an actor position in a process (sell) that aims to achieve a goal (change). However, in example 20 a material process is applied which seems to highlight the paper's objectivity. The objectivity is attested due to the fact that the sentence is in the passive. Thus Kanu's identity is concealed.

As opposed to the *Daily Nation*, the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* apply material processes to highlight the positive traits and qualities of the ruling

party, Kanu, and to show the negative qualities of various opposition parties in examples 22, 23, 25 and 26.

“The delegates meeting” in example 23 is the actor/event and it foregrounds Kanu’s positive credentials through the process (will be reinforcing). It is worthwhile to note that the process enhances Kanu’s positive image as a democratic party. It is as if the process is saying if *we* (Kanu) are democratic, *they* – the others (opposition) are not. The positive image portrayal can also be observed in example 22 of the *East African Standard*. The ACTOR role in the example is occupied by a group referred to as the “Kenyan’s business community” who are engaged in a process (endorsing) to a certain goal (its commitment to a peaceful election and political future). Reading through the editorial one cannot fail to notice that the people referred to as “Kenya’s business community” were attending a Kanu luncheon. Thus the statement in the editorial suggests that it is only Kanu that can assure Kenyans a peaceful election and a political future the *others* (opposition) may not.

Material processes are also used by the *Kenya Times* to seek and attract sympathy for the ruling party in example 24. In this example the churches are presented as participants (agents/actors) in a process (have been preaching against) affecting Kanu (the goal/target). In this case Kanu is presented as a victim suffering the action of the churches. In other words, Kanu is the affected participant. The material process in this case is intended to pit one participant (the church) against another (Kanu) that the reader will sympathize with Kanu. The process also establishes an ideological square of *they vs us*. *They* (the churches) are against *us* (Kanu) and therefore they are for the opposition as exhibited in the last part of the example.

Examples 25 and 26 portray and stereotype opposition parties as a group of people who revel in violence. The Democratic Party and Ford Kenya supporters

are active participants in processes (engaged, subjected) that affect other participants negatively. Through the processes, the editor creates conflict among opposition parties where they are fighting amongst themselves. These examples also fit very well within one of the moves of ideological square where there is emphasis on information that is "negative" about *them* (the opposition).

4.2.2 VERBALIZATION PROCESSES

Verbal processes can be attested in the following examples:

DAILY NATION

27. Raila speaks of opposition plan (Extract 6).
28. Election losers cry foul (Extract 10)

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD

29. Kanyingi tells Moi I'm sorry (Extract 15).

KENYA TIMES

30. Pull out, Ngilu told by mother (Extract 30).

The SAYER role in all the newspapers is occupied by proper nouns referring either to opposition parties members or to the ruling party (Kanu) members, except in example 28 in the *Daily Nation* where the Sayer role is occupied by a common noun, *election losers*. All in all, the question that arises is how verbal processes are realized and what ideology they want to portray.

The *Daily Nation* in example 27 assigns Raila (an opposition leader) the Sayer role and is said to speak (process) of opposition plan (target). However in example 28 the Sayers are not identified but they are generally referred to as "election losers" who are crying (process) foul (verbiage).

In the *East African Standard* (example 29) Kanyingi occupies the Sayer role in the sense that he is pleading (tells-process) for forgiveness from Moi (target). In example 29 the choice of naming Moi (Target) as opposed to the institution of the presidency appears to give a human face to institutional discourse. The naming of Moi also exhibits power relations in the sense that Moi's might is portrayed and that is why he has the power to forgive Kanyingi.

A conflict is created between Ngilu and her mother in example 30, of the *Kenya Times* where Ngilu's mother (Sayer) is telling her to pull out of the presidential race. The editor, in invoking the authority of Ngilu's mother, uses emotionalization strategies to sway the reader to believe that Ngilu should actually withdraw from the presidential race. In fact this strategy (of emotionalization) is tied up with an imperative form (pull out) of a mother giving an order to a daughter.

From the application of verbal processes in the headlines of the three newspapers it is clear that the *East African Standard* shows Kanu's might as represented by the power of the president to forgive. The *Kenya Times* utilizes the voice of Ngilu's mother to convince her to withdraw from the presidential race. The paper is thus campaigning for Moi. However, no such cases are attested in the *Daily Nation*. There were no examples of verbalization processes in editorials.

4.2.3 RELATIONAL PROCESSES

The following are examples of relational processes extracted from the data:

DAILY NATION

31. Once again, it's time to decide (Extract 39).

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD

32. You're lost (Extract 19).
33. Raila at Moi's rally (Extract 42).

KENYA TIMES

34. President: Kanu [is] formidable (Extract 52).
35. Safina's anti-Moi crusade (Extract 57).

From the examples cited above it can be deduced that all three newspapers make use of relational processes. The *Daily Nation* (example 31) uses its relational process to explain a major happening in the Kenyan political scene, i.e. to refer to casting of votes the day elections are being held. The *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* utilize the same process to assign either positive attributes to the ruling party or negative attributes to the opposition.

The editor of the *East African Standard* uses a relational process in example 32 to express an opinion about opposition MPs. Thus, "you" (CARRIER) refers to opposition MPs and through a contracted form of the verb *are* (process) they are assigned an attribute (lost) to imply that they have no sense of direction. Though this headline can be credited to statements made by other MPs to refer to Orenge and others, the fact that the editor uses bold upper case letters tends to portray the statement as the newspaper's standpoint. On its part *Kenya Times* uses a relational process to assign Kanu positive attributes. Positive identification of Kanu is seen in example 34 where Kanu (CARRIER) is placed as a major participant in the clause and assigned a positive attribute (formidable). Note that due to the contracted syntax of headlines, the verb "is" in square

brackets was absent in the original. The formidability of Kanu is emphasized intentionally by means of a relational process, by the editor, to enhance the view that opposition parties are engaged in futile attempts to acquire power. The editor suggests that there is no party that can beat Kanu in the elections.

Circumstantial relational processes are observed in example 33 of the *East African Standard* and in example 35 of the *Kenya Times*. In example 33 Raila, an opposition leader, is placed as a major participant (CARRIER) in a circumstantial relational process to show that he attended the ruling party's rally referred to as "Moi's rally" in the text. The headline is meant to confuse the readers and make them believe that Raila has joined the ruling party. In fact, reading the rest of the article makes one realize that the headline is misleading because at no time whatsoever is it reported that Raila was at the rally.

Kenya Times, in example 35, uses a circumstantial relational process to portray Safina (an opposition party) as having negative identifying qualities. It is a party that is against Moi and by extension against the ruling party.

We can conclude that the *Daily Nation* utilizes a relational process to report about an important event happening in the country's history. The *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* utilize the same process to portray the ruling party positively while portraying the opposition negatively.

Relational processes can also be attested in the editorials of the three Kenyan newspapers:

DAILY NATION

36. We think it is folly for anyone to refuse to register as a voter, claiming that the election has already been stolen and then threaten to disrupt it. It is

folly also to claim that a poll has been rigged and not to show how this has happened [...] November 16th, 1997.

37. The view from across the political aisle is simply that Kanu has been in power for the past 34 years and what is there to show for it? [...] Public hospitals that are always in need of drugs [...] An economy that is not growing fast to create jobs and, hence rising unemployment. December 29th, 1997.

KENYA TIMES

38. Opposition parties have now become purely tribal. November 15th, 1997.
39. [...] the president has no equal in mastery of local politics [...] above all, he is humble, God-fearing and very human. November 21, 1997.
40. [...] the Social Democratic Party [...] has been in the news for no any other reason but the confrontational path it has chosen to conduct its campaign business. December 9th, 1997.
41. A vote for the only truly national political party, KANU, is the best way to nurture democracy and elevate the Kenyan nation to a new level. December 11th, 1997.

Relational processes are only attested in the *Kenya Times* and the *Daily Nation*.

The *Daily Nation* in examples 36 and 37 does not spare Kanu or the opposition from vilification. Thus in 36 the *Daily Nation* hits out at the opposition for claiming that the poll has been rigged without providing evidence and in 37 Kanu is vilified for mismanaging the economy.

The *Kenya Times* utilizes the relational process to propagate an ideological square, viz. positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. The latter

is used for opposition parties while the former is used for Kanu. This process can be observed in examples 38, 39, 40 and 41. In 38 the opposition is represented as the carrier or a major participant in a process (have now become) that has a negative attribute (tribal). The same case applies in example 40 where one of the opposition parties, Social Democratic Party, is a carrier or participant that is assigned identifying qualities of violence, such as "confrontational path". In *Kenya Times* the editor successfully utilizes the relational process to emphasize information that is negative about *them* and *their* bad qualities (opposition and SDP) which is one of the key moves of the ideological square.

Examples 39 and 41 provide a very positive image of the ruling party. In 39 the president of the ruling party is positioned as a major participant and assigned positive attributes and identifying qualities. Therefore, "he is humble", "God fearing" and "has no equal" as far as mastery of politics is concerned. Example 41 also gives prominence to the positive values of Kanu. In fact voting for Kanu (carrier) is (process) equated with nurturing democracy (attribute). The representational process in these cases emphasizes information that is good about *us* (*our president*) and *our positive values* (nurturing democracy).

The representational processes (material, verbalization, relational) so far discussed have unveiled some systematic patterns in the reporting of the three newspapers. All the processes indicate that the two pro-government papers (*Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard*) are in their style more sympathetic to Kanu, while the independent *Daily Nation* displays objectivity in its reporting.

4.3 SOCIAL GROUPS

Following Oktar's (2001) argumentation of social groups, our data exhibits two types of social groups, namely, KANU and the Opposition. These two social

groups are polarized or contrasted in the Kenyan Media. The *Kenya Times* and *East African Standard* presents or views KANU as the ingroup, while the Opposition is viewed as the outgroup; the *Daily Nation* at one time views Kanu as the ingroup and the opposition as the outgroup, while at other times it represents the Opposition as the ingroup and KANU as the outgroup. A few examples from the newspapers' editorials will suffice to show how the construction is realized.

KENYA TIMES

42. KANU delegates meeting after a similar conference last month will provide a forum to point out the way forward for the party which has held us together for the last 34 years. Friday, November 7th 1997.
43. Critics are now mum after realizing that the party whose standing the opposition has desperately been trying to tarnish internationally is one solid mass grouping with serious agenda for this country. Friday, November 7th 1997.
44. KANU leaders meet at Kasarani today as a united group that is serious about its work commitment and leadership vision – a party with no time for trivialities and untouched by senseless wrangles. Friday, November 7th 1997.
45. [...] maintain their unwavering support for the party, which is the only one with a national outlook and accommodates the interests of all Kenyans. Friday, November 7, 1997.

46. Indeed for the last one and a half years some churches have been preaching against KANU, the ruling party, and urging voters to vote for certain opposition parties. November 18th, 1997.
47. President Moi has many human qualities which mark him out among his political rivals, colleagues and contemporaries, both in Kenya and other parts of the world. He is kind, generous, forgiving, patient, tolerant, accessible and outgoing. November 21st, 1997.
48. Above all, he is humble, God-fearing and very human. These qualities add up to a sound and stable character full of self-discipline, the kind of discipline few leaders of our time can command. November 21st, 1997.
49. Beginning Saturday, the Social Democratic Party – the party that wants to give Kenya the first ever woman president – has been in the news for no other reason but the confrontational path it has chosen to conduct its campaign business. December 9th, 1997.
50. KANU, the only national political party in Kenya, has already bagged six parliamentary seats and a huge number of local authority seats ahead of December 29 general election, sending out the message to the numerous Opposition parties that the Kenyan electorate favours KANU to see the country into the next millennium. December 11th, 1997.
51. [...] to vote for President Moi, the national party chairman whose leadership has ensured peace and tranquility at a time when other countries in the region are going through untold hardship. December 11th, 1997.

52. KANU has the duty to teach the fledging Opposition parties the importance of national unity and the need to conduct their election campaigns in a civilized and peaceful manner. December 11th, 1997.
53. A vote for the only truly national political party, KANU is the best way to nurture democracy and elevate the Kenyan nation to a new level. December 11th, 1997.

THE EAST AFRICAN STANDARD

54. It is our hope that the registered parties hitherto described as radical and often prone to violent confrontation with authorities, will now act responsibly and in a mature manner, lest we backtrack just when a crucial event in our history is approaching. November 27th, 1997.
55. The "national appeal" condition is important because we are looking for a president of Kenya – to lead the 42 tribes across eight provinces which means any candidate with a record of playing to the tribe and partially will lose the race. December 4th, 1997.

In all the examples (42 – 55) cited above, KANU, the ruling party, is constructed positively by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard*. Kanu's positive attributes, qualities and values are given due prominence or highlighted. Thus its record of holding the country and the people of Kenya together for close to three decades is emphasized in 42. Kanu is portrayed as a party that is intact and united and has the interests of the country at heart, for example in 43 it is referred to as "one solid mass grouping with a serious agenda for this country". Its seriousness is further enhanced in 44 where it is observed that it "has no time for trivialities and is untouched by senseless wrangles". This statement in itself

suggests that the other parties (read opposition) are involved in senseless wrangles.

The party's national outlook is foregrounded in 45 "which is the only one with a national outlook", in 50 "the only national political party in Kenya," in 52 the only party that knows the "importance of national unity", in 53 "the only truly national political party," and in 55 as the national party with "national appeal". The use of the word "*only*" in these excerpts, of course, suggests that other parties do not have a national outlook. The other parties are also presented and seen as playing to the tribe in 55.

The President, who is also the chairman of Kanu, is given exaggerative descriptions. Thus in 47 "he is kind, generous, forgiving, patient, tolerant, accessible and outgoing," and in 48 "he is humble [and] God-fearing". The president is also evaluated positively in comparison with external statesmen in 47, 48 and 51. His leadership in 51 is said to "have ensured peace and tranquility". Assigning positive values to President Moi through over-lexicalization tends to agree very well with the ideological square where *our* (Kanu) good qualities are emphasized while *their* (opposition) good qualities are de-emphasized.

The *Others* (opposition) are negatively evaluated in the excerpts. For example in 49 the Social Democratic Party is outrightly condemned as "confrontational" while in 54 the editor plays on Safina's past to depict it as a party that is "radical and often prone to violent confrontation". Thus *their* (opposition) bad actions are emphasized to achieve the overall strategy of negative other presentation.

From the foregoing discussion it can be argued that the two newspapers construct Kanu as an entity or a social group with very positive values. The construction creates positive stereotypes about the party and its leader which the

reader is persuaded to believe. Elsewhere the opposition is assigned negative stereotypes in accordance with the ideologies underlying the newspapers' policies.

The *Daily Nation* differs greatly from the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* in its construction of social groups:

56. But then even though Kanu is a political party it would not be very good to have its leader, who is also the Head of State, called something other than President. Now come the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1991, other parties could not have their leaders titled president, but Kanu's leader retained the prestigious title. Even after Attorney-General Amos Wako did say that Kanu would have to change, this was not to happen yet. November 9th, 1997.
57. The people who are planning to disrupt the poll argue that it is pre-rigged or it will be rigged. We would like to challenge these people to come out clearly and expose the various ways that have been put in place as a vote-cheating mechanism [...] It is folly also to claim that a poll has been rigged and not to show how this happened [...] November 16th, 1997.
58. Our view is that Kenyans should be told what the platform of the opposition parties are. It is these platforms that should tell Kenyans where Kanu has failed, why it failed and how the opposition party or parties that gets to power will address and redress these failures. November 20th, 1997.
59. The question is not out of the ordinary because on the three issues of nepotism, tribalism and sectionalism, for example, President Moi must face the fact that their existence, 34 years after independence, indicates

that his and the Kenyatta administrations are culpable. December 14th, 1997.

60. Even the presidential campaigns are hardly visible. It is obviously tough going for many hopefuls, and even the usually well-heeled Kanu has landed on hard times. The explanation is not hard to isolate – the easy-come, easy-go money most Kanu candidates acquired illegally by looting public coffers is no more. December 19th, 1997.
61. The view from across the political aisle is simply that Kanu has been in power for the past 34 years and what is there is (*sic*) to show for it? A collapsing infrastructure best seen in decaying roads. Public hospitals that are always in need of drugs. High-level corruption that threatens to permeate every pore of society. Decaying towns where slums mushroom and garbage mounds grow. An economy that is not growing fast enough to create jobs and, hence rising unemployment. December 29th, 1997.

The *Daily Nation* evaluates both social groups (Kanu and the Opposition) in a negative light. For example in 56 Kanu is depicted as a party that flouts the law or has no respect for the rule of law. It flouts the law by calling its leader “president” which is against the Constitution of Kenya. Further still, in 59 Kanu is evaluated negatively as a party that promotes tribalism, nepotism and sectionalism. Kanu's corrupt nature is articulated in examples 60 and 61. In the former, members of the party are said to be looters of public funds. That is the reason why the money used previously in elections is described as “easy-come, easy-go”. In the last excerpt (61) Kanu's reign is evaluated by the things that the party has not achieved. The underachievement is highlighted clearly when it is stated that despite its 34 years in power Kenya is still suffering from a collapsed infrastructure, lack of drugs, corruption and a poor state of the economy. The negative values attributed to Kanu are meant to disparage the party.

The Opposition are also not spared from negative evaluation. The pre-poll rigging allegations in 57 were actually made by the opposition. The editor is therefore challenging the opposition to provide tangible evidence instead of making wild allegations that cannot be proved. Example 58 is a scathing attack on the opposition by the editor. In fact, the editorial suggests that the opposition have no agenda, and that is why they are being challenged to state what their platforms are.

From the foregoing discussion of the Ideological Square it can be concluded that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* are heavily biased or ideologically inclined towards Kanu because they outline *only* the positive values of the party (*our good qualities*) while outlining the negative attributes of the opposition (*their bad qualities*). The *Daily Nation*, on the other hand, presents itself as more independent or balanced in its reporting because it does not favour either the ruling party or the opposition, but it points out the ills of the two opposing groups.

4.4 REFERENCES

References have a very powerful evaluative function in the media, which is consistent with the ideological square. References in newspaper reporting are discussed within the general concepts of narrative models (Fowler, 1991; Thetela, 2001) and intertextuality and consensus (Bakhtin, 1981; Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1991; Thetela, 2001; Stibbe & Ross, 1997). Narrative models are centralized through "cueing", that is, the process which implies a model of register or dialect or mode can be assigned to a text even on the basis of some very small segment(s) within its total language. Intertextuality refers to situations where news texts have a special value of incorporating linguistic elements of

various kinds from one text type to another or from one socially situated discourse type to another.

In the data, references can be attested in extracts 19 and 22 from the *East African Standard*.

62. Kibaki, Raila tell "Orengo Six"[...] Extract 19.

The phrase "Orengo Six" as it appears in the headline in example 62 refers to James Orengo and five other members of parliament, who are all in the Opposition, and were behind the formation of a political wing known as the African National Convention. The purpose behind the use of this phrase is to discredit the six members of parliament and to portray them negatively. The phrase has its origin in the British Press. The phrase is a corruption of the phrase "Birmingham Six", a term used by the media in Britain to refer to Irish Republican Army (IRA) dissidents (as they were then called) who had been incarcerated in British jails. The "Birmingham Six" were seen by the British media as terrorists who were out to disrupt law and order in Northern Ireland through massive bombing and other illegal methods. Therefore by equating the Orengo group with the "Birmingham Six" the writer intends to point them out as dissidents who are bent on disrupting law and order. The term is also meant to sway the readers to detest the Orengo group.

The whole of extract 22 revolves around the events surrounding the registration of Safina as a political party. There are negative undertones in the way the report is relayed. The negative undertones are realized through reference to "whites" as exemplified below:

63. And barely two hours after registration was announced, hundreds of *whites* taking lunch in a Naivasha hotel broke into celebrations. The

excited group had heard the news on the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation 1 p.m. bulletin. They said it was the only party they had been waiting for. *East African Standard*, Thursday, November 27th, 1997. Extract 22.

Reference to whites, in the above extract, intends to show Safina as a party that belongs to whites. The party is European based and has no room for Africans. A "whites only" party may not go down well with the majority of the electorate because it reminds Kenyans or revives mental images of colonial subjugation under the British colonial rule. The writer is therefore making a plea indirectly to the readers to reject the Safina party because it will bring back new colonialism/colonial rule.

4.5 REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Women are represented in a very demeaning way in the headline news of the *Kenya Times* and the editorials of the *East African Standard*. The portrayal or representation of women in this particular manner serves an ideological function and ties up with the concept of the ideological square. The examples below show how women are represented:

64. The distressed *mother* of Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential aspirant Charity Kaluki Ngilu wants her *daughter* to withdraw from the race. Extract 30.
65. The *elderly lady*, who was speaking at Mrs. Ngilu's birthplace, said she has raised her *daughter* from birth [...] Extract 30.
66. The *widow* of Pastor Aaron Kasyoki, who died sometime back, Mrs. Kasyoki and her husband were staunch followers of African Inland Church [...] Extract 30.

67. The *widow* said she recently summoned her *daughter* [...] Extract 30.
68. Local sources said the *old lady* is unhappy about her *daughter* [...] Extract 30.
69. The *lady from Tetu*, a late arrival at the presidential relay, is a doubtful quantity as a political leader. *East African Standard* Editorial, December 15th, 1997.
70. We have heard a *woman candidate* telling her audience [...] *East African Standard* Editorial, December 6th, 1997.

The theme of denigrating women is highlighted in the above excerpts. Thus in 64 – 68 of the *Kenya Times*, Ngilu's mother, Mrs. Esther Kasyoki, is variously referred to as the *mother of*, *the elderly lady*, *the widow of*, *the widow*, *the old lady*, while Charity Ngilu is mostly referred to as the *daughter*. This shows us the reporters' ideology about women, namely that women cannot stand on their own as independent individuals or entities, but are rather either the *daughter of*, *the wife of*, *the mother of*, or they are given other labels such as the *old lady*, *the elderly lady*. Although these labels may be used positively they tend to make women lose their identity and remain anonymous.

In the editorials of the *East African Standard*, examples 69 and 70, Professor Wangari Maathai and Mrs Charity Ngilu are not referred to by name. Rather they are given labels such as *the lady from Tetu* and a *woman candidate* respectively. The use of these labels tends to portray them as insignificant.

The representation of women as outlined above seems to agree with what Fowler (1991) observes, that marital and family relationships are often

gratuitously foregrounded in the representation of women. Their public identity is felt to depend on their marital and kin relationships (Fowler, 1991:101 – 102). Caldas-Coulthard (1993) also makes the same observation when she argues that newspapers treat women in terms of stereotypes. She insists that women are underrepresented in news. They are also described differently; in other words, women are a separate category generally dissociated from power structures. Women are always identified with in their private sphere. They are the mothers, the daughters, the widows (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993:197 – 8). Reah (1998) agrees with this stereotypical assertion about women. She argues that the naming or labelling strategies adopted to refer to women makes them anonymous beings.

4.6 STYLE OF REPORTING IN THE PRESS

Fowler (1991) maintains that a newspaper is an institution and a reader is a person. The characteristic mode of an institution is print, and its typical “utterances” include memoranda, reports and manuals. A person’s characteristic mode is speech, and their typical utterance is conversation. Between the two modes there is an exclusive distinction of physical medium, and a difference of communicative context. Socioculturally, the two modes mean different things: print connoting formality and authority, speech suggesting informality and solidarity. These are basic dimensions of the discursive gap. The difference between the two modes is not absolute, thus assisting the newspapers to narrow the gap between the writers and the readers. Narrowing of the gap is possible because the actual substantive differences in linguistic structure (syntax, vocabulary, etc) are relative regardless of the distinction between print and speech (Fowler, 1991:57 – 59).

The newspapers, in their reporting, are known to adopt a certain style, known as the oral mode or public idiom. Fowler (1991) provides an adequate description of

the oral mode in the press by observing that the basic task of the writer is to word institutional statements in a style that is appropriate to interpersonal communication. The wording has to do with the fact that the reader is an individual and has to be addressed as such. The main purpose for the wording is not only stylistic, but also ideological because institutional concepts have to be translated into personal thoughts. The aim of such a process is to help narrow the gap between bureaucratic and personal discourse. Once the gap is narrowed the newspaper achieves a discursive norm which entails a neutral language embodying normal values. The discursive norm is a variety of styles in which the newspaper accommodates a range of similar voices that accompany the diversity of topics and formats within each day's edition. Narrowing the discursive gap promotes oral models within the printed text, giving an illusion of conversation in which common sense is spoken about matters on which there is consensus (Fowler, 1991:47).

The transformation of an event into a finished news item is considered to be a very fundamental aspect of media work. It entails the way and the manner in which an item is coded by the media into a particular language form. Since each newspaper has a specific organizational framework, sense of news and readership there is a tendency for each paper to develop a regular and characteristic mode of address. Thompson & De Klerk (2000) have shown how this characteristic mode of address is realized. They investigated the conventions and differences that exist across the genre of editorial columns in magazines in conveying ideologies. Their investigations were restricted to three South African magazines, *Your Family*, a family oriented publication, *Cosmopolitan*, a women's interest magazine, and *Financial Mail*, a business/finance magazine.

The editor in *Your Family* establishes and maintains a personal relationship with the reader through the use of various devices, such as informal lexical choices

(*mom*). There is also a high prevalence of 2nd person pronouns (*as you cast your mind back*) that brings the reader into active participation in the conversation like report. The editor also uses the diminutive form (*Debbie*) of her first name as a sign-off and the handwriting is feminine. The strategy makes the column appear as a personalized note and implies that the editor and the reader are close enough to be on a first name basis. The magazine promotes the ideology of *mother* as self-sacrificing through nominalizations and agentless passives (*the straightening of the collar, the lovingly prepared sandwiches*).

The *Cosmopolitan* editor utilizes typography and rhetorical questions (*THINK IT'S EASY to write?*) to establish a phatic communion with the reader. The deletion of the agent functions as a strategy that captures the reader and places her in a relaxed and informal mood. The editor also projects her worldview and emotions through the usage of the 1st person pronoun and asides (*Yuk!*) to show her own feelings towards the subject. The conversational mode in this magazine is realized through informal lexical choices (*I mean*) and slang vocabulary (*skunky*). The use of rhetorical questions (*What's on your mind?*) incorporates the reader into participation in the text.

The *Financial Mail* uses specialist vocabulary (*creditor, consortium, shareholder*) to suggest that the reader shares the editor's knowledge. The passive (*I am always being asked...*) disguises the origin of the opinion being presented. The editor uses a relatively high number of nominalizations (*belief, criticism, attempt*) to remove agency.

The analysis revealed that each magazine's editorial had a recognizably different style that met the magazines' style and fulfilled the need to identify with certain readers. Therefore, the same topic, sources and inferential structures will appear differently even in papers with a similar outlook, because the different rhetorics of address will have an important effect in inflecting the original item. The particular

mode of address adopted by the newspaper is determined by the readership that it intends to address. The language chosen therefore will be the newspaper's own version of the language of the readership to whom it is addressed. Particular attention is therefore grounded in its version of rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audience shares and which thus forms the basics of the reciprocity of the producer/reader. The form of address that is different for each news outlet is referred to as the public idiom of the media.

The idiom of a newspaper is not necessarily an objective rendering of the speech of its readership. The centrality of the idiom is "reciprocity" between writers and readers. Reciprocity in this case implies that there is the negotiation of a style with which the targeted readers feel comfortable and that allows writers the bond of flexibility. The oral mode or the public idiom is infested with ideological consequences. First, it permits the unnoticed expression of familiar thoughts, and secondly it helps in the construction of an assumption of consensus which is central to the ideological practice of newspapers. Consensus as an ideological notion assumes that the interests of a group or an institution are undivided and held in common. Therefore, the group shares the same values, beliefs and interests.

According to Fowler (1991) newspapers adopt a conversational style because they construct an illusion of informality, familiarity and friendliness. However, conversation has an ideological function which is to naturalize the terms in which reality is represented, and the categories that these terms represent. Conversation implies co-operation, agreement, symmetry of power and knowledge between participants. It follows therefore that if one addresses someone in a conversational mode, one is assuming, unconsciously, agreement between the two of you concerning the basic reference points to which the conversation is anchored. In this sense conversation incorporates a commonly

held worldview, a shared subjective reality that is taken for granted and does not have to be proved.

Conversation, according to Berger & Luckmann, cited in Fowler (1991), is an important element that projects reality-maintenance. Thus a conversational apparatus assists an individual in his/her everyday life to maintain, modify and reconstruct his/her subjective reality. However, in a conversation, part of reality maintenance is implicit, not explicit. Conversation for a greater part does not define the world, rather it takes place against a taken for granted world. Most of everyday conversation maintains a subjective reality. Conversational apparatus maintains reality by talking through various elements of experience and allocating them a definite place in the world.

The oral model in newspaper writing/reporting is triggered by devices such as slang words, syntactic contractions and fragmented layout. There are certain features of language which may be used to make a printed medium suggest the presence of speech, and they include:

- i. Register: Lexis or vocabulary tends towards the informal, colloquial, slang, idioms, clichés, proverbs and catchwords. They are all used to cue the illusion of the oral mode.
- ii. Naming and address: First names ("Charles"), diminutives ("Di") and nicknames ("Rambo Ronnie", "Hurricane") are all used to connote informality and intimacy of face-to-face discourse.
- iii. Syntax and Morphology: Contractions of auxiliaries and negatives is a standard cue to oral mode. By using such forms reports try to sound chatty and user friendly, for example, "he'll", "don't", etc.

- iv. Elisions: Short or incomplete sentences are a very important technique in the press, for example, "The BBC asked him. Nobody stopped him. Why not?"

4.6.1 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Rhetorical questions are a feature of conversational style. This is because the manner in which they are presented in texts indicate features of speech. They are presented as if the writer (editor) is talking or having a conversation with the reader(s). The conversational nature of the rhetorical question is succinctly captured by Geis (1987) who posits that conversational reports take the form of representations of adjacency pairs since that is the structure of most conversations. However, there are certain cases in which monological written/speech activity is represented dyadically in newspaper reporting. The monological activity is often thought to be parasitic on dialogical or conversational activities. The most obvious case of monological activity that is parasitic on dialogical activity is the rhetorical question. Rhetorical questions and their implied answers are monological routine. They are parasitic on the question-answer pairs of conversation and have varied functions. Writers/speakers who avoid stating the obvious make use of rhetorical questions. Further still, these questions are preferred by newspaper writers in order to avoid giving a defense for what the writer wishes to assert (Geis, 1987:117).

The dialogic nature of these questions is captured by Morrison & Love (1996:57) when they observe that "the dialogic nature of questions would suggest it is important to discuss to whom they are explicitly or implicitly addressed. Most of the questions can be classified as rhetorical, assuming an answer either from the context or from the shared experience of the readership". Thompson & de Klerk (2002:112) make the same observation when they state that "the use of

rhetorical questions draws the reader into participating in the text, as if in dialogue, setting up an implicit response”.

In the data rhetorical questions are found exclusively in the editorials of the *Daily Nation* and the *Kenya Times*.

The function of these questions is purely evaluative, in other words, they are evaluating the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the ruling party/government of the day or the opposition parties as exemplified below:

71. But has anyone taken the commission’s warning seriously? Can we expect politicians to rise above tribal fiefdoms and address issues instead? Can we expect all those in the political arena to resist the temptation of playing up to tribal galleries in the name of wooing voters? *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, November 18, 1997.
72. Is the five-year term he now seeks enough to right the accumulated ills of 34 years? *Sunday Nation*, December 14, 1997.
73. Surely, is it feasible for every one of those tribes to produce a president come polling day? *Kenya Times*, Saturday, November 15, 1997.
74. Had the opposition come to power would the country not have experienced the ugly schisms which are the order of the day in opposition parties? (*Kenya*) *Sunday Times*, December 14, 1997.
75. Can such wrangling leaders assure Kenyans of unity and political stability? (*Kenya*) *Sunday Times*, December 14, 1997.

The *Daily Nation* in its use of rhetorical questions assesses the efficacy of the Electoral Commission, politicians (in general) as well as the President. Therefore, in example 71 the editor is casting doubt on the effectiveness and efficiency of the Electoral Commission in combating the electoral violence that has rocked parts of the country. The expected answer of the rhetorical question is *No*, that is, no one has taken the commission's warning seriously. Considering that the rhetorical question comes immediately after a statement saying that the Electoral Commission has warned of stiff penalties for any manner of electoral offences, the editor is suggesting that the Commission should go further than just giving warnings, rather it should take appropriate action.

The second and third rhetorical questions in 71 seem to cast doubt as to whether Kenyan politicians can rise above tribal politics and instead address issues that are beneficial to all Kenyans. The question is also an indirect attack on Kenyan politicians because they rely heavily on tribal bigotry. By asking these questions the editor is challenging the politicians to rise above tribal politics. He is also challenging them not to whip up tribal emotions when they are soliciting for votes.

The rhetorical question in 72 through the eyes of the editor requires a negative answer. In other words, there is no way a five-year term can right the ills accumulated for 34 years. The rhetorical question therefore serves to project a negative evaluation of the performance of the President for all the years that he has been at the helm. The editor is suggesting that if the President has not righted the wrongs that have been prevalent for the last 34 years then there is nothing he will do in the next five years. Instead, he may keep on entrenching what has been happening during his rule. In other words, he will continue perpetuating the proliferation of tribalism, nepotism and sectionalism.

The *Kenya Times*, through the use of rhetorical questions, vilifies opposition parties. The reader is expected to give a negative answer to the rhetorical question in 73. The editor, through the question, is harping on the fact that it is impossible and impractical to elect a president on tribal basis. In asking the question the editor is trying to convince Kenyans to elect a president regardless of his/her tribal origin. In other words, one's tribe should not be a criterion for presidency. The rhetorical question is in fact meant to indicate negative evaluation of opposition parties because earlier in the editorial it is stated that "Opposition parties have now become purely tribal".

Elsewhere (74 and 75) in the (*Kenya*) *Sunday Times*, opposition parties' ineffectiveness to rule the country is highlighted. The editor expects the readership to answer in the affirmative in 74 and in the negative in 75. The editor is questioning the credibility of opposition parties to run the country. If they cannot attain unity in their parties, then how can they be expected to unite and govern the country? Considering that the editorial is written from a ruling party's perspective the editor seems to be engaging the readers in a dialogue telling them that it is only the ruling party that can be entrusted with the leadership of the country. The ruling party is united and one that stands for the unity of the country, unlike other parties that are fragmented.

In conclusion we can note that on the issue of tribalism and tribal politics the *Daily Nation* addresses politicians generally without reference to any political party. On the other hand, in the *Kenya Times* tribalism is equated with opposition parties. It follows therefore that the *Kenya Times* is sympathetic to the ruling party while the *Daily Nation* cannot be said to be sympathetic to any party because it faults KANU in 72 and the opposition in 71.

4.6.2 NAMING AND ADDRESS

The way and manner in which participants are named or addressed in newspaper texts could denote a feature of face-to-face discourse or spoken interaction or what Fairclough (1995(b)) refers to as conversationalization. In discussing the concept of naming we shall use the examples below that are derived from the *Kenya Times* editorials.

76. It still beats all Kenyans what happened to *Jim* but of course keen observers will point out that the steep descent began when Orengo quit debating in Parliament and started associating with people of questionable political, academic and social backgrounds [...] On Sunday, we heard news that our *Jim* was at it again [...] Come on *Jim*, is it because you thought you could hang on to Parliament [...] As a lawyer you must of course have heard during the course of your studies what is called mandate [...] Now *Jim* be a good boy [...] Even your foreign masters are against violence, *Jim*. Or have they not told you so?

Kenya Times, Wednesday, November 12, 1997

77. Say it again and again, without fear, Mr Wamalwa. You will also be remembered for your sincerity.

Kenya Times, Friday, November 21, 1997

The editorial from which example 76 is extracted from talks at length about the Ugenya Member of Parliament, Mr James Orengo, who also happens to be an opposition legislator. Throughout most of the editorial Mr Orengo is referred to by the diminutive form of *James*, that is *Jim*. The intention of the editor in using the diminutive form is not just to connote the informality, friendship and intimacy of face-to-face discourse. Rather the form, *Jim*, is used to berate and belittle the opposition legislator. The newspaper does not regard Orengo with high esteem.

The editorial also consists of features of speech which are realized in dialogue form. The readers feel as if the editor is engaging Orengo in some form of conversation in such phrases as, "come on Jim", "Now Jim be a good boy", "our Jim", etc. Reah (1998) has pointed out the negative effects of using the word *boy* when referring to adults. The use of the word *boy* in reference to Orengo implies an adult to child relationship and when the word is used by one adult (editor) to another (Orengo) it is deeply offensive. The word demeans and reduces Orengo to the status of a child.

Another feature of dialogue can be observed in example 77. The structure of the sentence indicates that the editor is talking to Mr Wamalwa. The repetition of "again" is an encouragement to Wamalwa to keep on saying positive things about the president. It is important to note that although Mr Wamalwa is a leader of an opposition party he is being praised by the ruling party newspaper only because he is saying something positive about the president.

4.6.3 SYNTACTIC CONTRACTIONS

The editorials of the three newspapers employ syntactic contractions (contracted verbs) which are a feature of conversational style or spoken mode to establish a rapport with the readers as shown below:

78. Ngilu *doesn't* understand her real source of trouble. *Kenya Times*, November, 15,1997

79. *It's* peace, not war that voters want. *Sunday Standard*, December 7, 1997.

80. If on the other hand, five years down the line, some politicians *haven't* learnt the lesson, they *won't* until they are made to pay the price [...] *Daily Nation*, November, 18, 1997.

This chapter has exemplified how the transitivity model realized in material, verbalization and relational processes applies to the data. It has vividly emerged that transitivity has been utilized by the newspapers to perpetuate their respective ideologies. In addition to transitivity, attention was also given to the realization of social groups which is a key feature of the ideological square. It has been observed that all the newspapers create and construct two social groups and contrast them in terms of the features that they have or do not have. Other aspects that were given attention include the use of references, rhetorical questions, representation of women and the oral mode, which are considered generally to be stylistic features. It can be concluded that all of these aspects (transitivity, social groups and stylistics) have shown that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* are ideologically inclined towards Kanu while the *Daily Nation* shows systematic objectivity in its reporting.

CHAPTER FIVE: LEXICAL CHOICES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Lexical choices can be a very powerful tool in influencing people's thoughts in the way they conceptualize events that occur in day-to-day life. The media is a perfect example of how an entity can influence or manipulate people's perceptions about a particular event through the use of words. The power of words in altering reality is captured succinctly by Bork (1970), cited in Sornig (1989:96), who says that words can be used as instruments of power and deception, but it is never the words themselves that should be dubbed evil and poisonous. The responsibility for any damage that might have been done by using certain means of expression still lies with the users, those who, not being able to alter reality, try, through interpretative strategies, to change its reception and recognition by their interlocutors.

In our data (the Kenyan Media) lexical items are used by the reporters to achieve their desired goals of either disparaging or supporting a particular political party. This support is not always overt, but often covertly portrayed in the way journalists use certain words in their reporting. Van Dijk (1997) has shown the biased nature of words when he observes that lexical items may be selected not only because of the official criteria of decorum, but also because they effectively emphasize or de-emphasize political attitudes and opinions, garner support, manipulate public opinion, manufacture political consent or legitimate political power (Van Dijk 1997:25). Reah (1998) agrees with Van Dijk when it is stated that word choice is a powerful tool for establishing an ideological stance. The beliefs and prejudices of a society can be reinforced by language use that supports an existing belief system. The use of belittling, demeaning or derogatory terms towards a disadvantaged group can help to promote the belief that the group itself is to blame for its disadvantage.

The three main word classes prevalent in the Kenyan Media which are 'very crucial in the construction of meaning' (Fowler, 1991:84) and ideology are adjectives, nouns and verbs.

5.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives exhibit some form of hidden bias in language so that it is almost impossible to think of adjectives in common usage that do not bring to mind some biased meaning (Bolinger, 1980:75-76). Adjectives, as seen in the Kenyan media, serve three main functions: (i) Adjectives indicating violence; (ii) Adjectives depicting the ruling party and the President as popular, and (iii) pejorative adjectives describing either the ruling party or the opposition.

5.2.1 ADJECTIVES INDICATING VIOLENCE

Adjectives indicating violence are a dominant feature in our data and a large number of them are pegged on either opposition parties or their supporters as exemplified below:

1. The *frenzied* mob, said to be allied to Mrs. Mwendwa's arch-rival in tomorrow's Kanu nominations [...] Extract 8.
2. The incident occurred at a Matatu terminus as *rowdy* youths reportedly [...] Extract 8.
3. Mr. Mbela, on a meet-the-people tour, encountered the *rowdy* young men [...] Extract 8.
4. Mr. Kimani wa Nyoike [...] was at pains to explain to the *unruly* mob the legal imbroglio he is entangled [...] Extract 23.

5. a) In Nairobi, presidential candidate Wamalwa's meet-the-people tour of the city ended in a fiasco when his motorcade was stoned by *rowdy* youths chanting Pro-Kenneth Matiba slogans. Extract 43.

b) [...] had its windscreen smashed as the *rowdy* mob [...] Extract 43.
6. Mulinge who was accompanied by several Kanu civic aspirants from the constituency, tried in vain to calm down the *rowdy* crowd at Mitaboni market. Extract 43.
7. Wamalwa, Mulinge flee *hostile* crowds. Extract 43.
8. GENERAL ELECTIONS campaigns took an ugly turn yesterday as violence marred several meetings forcing Ford-Kenya's Kijana Wamwalwa and Minister Jackson Mulinge to flee *angry* mobs. Extract 43.
9. But by 4.35 pm the town was echoing 'kobole kobole' (the DP fist salute) from the *frenzied* cries of mostly *drunken* men. Extract 54.
10. Clenching the DP salute, a *rowdy* mob demanded that Prof. Maathai bring Mr. Kibaki before them [...] Extract 54.
11. LIBERAL Party's Professor Wangari Muta Maathai yesterday received a *rude* reception in Ol Kalou town after a *highly charged* crowd rejected her bid [...] Extract 54.
12. [...] whose *frenzied* chanting resembled victory marches by football supporters. Extract 55.
13. In Bobasi, the Kanu candidate for the seat, Chris Obure, narrowly escaped the wrath of *rowdy* Safina youths who stormed his rally armed with crude weapons. Extract 45.

14. Elsewhere, *rowdy* Ford-Kenya supporters blocked the busy Eldoret-Bungoma road, pulled out bewildered passengers from vehicles, roughed them up and ordered that they flash the party two finger salute. Extract 45.
15. The Bungoma highway incident started when *disorderly* Ford-Kenya youths attempted to disrupt a Kanu campaign rally. Extract 45.

The *Daily Nation* in examples 2 and 3 vilifies the supporters of the ruling party (Kanu) by referring to them as *rowdy*. The *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Times* makes use of the same lexical item to highlight the negative attributes of opposition party supporters, in examples 5, 6, 10, 13, 14. The selection of the lexical item *rowdy* is driven by the urge of the newspapers to express certain political opinions. *The New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *rowdy* as “noisy and disorderly”. In fact, this definition foregrounds the theme of violence that is associated with the youth in the broad political divide.

Elsewhere (examples 7, 8, 11, 15) the followers of opposition parties are described in adjectives that help to sustain the image of violence. Words are chosen by the reporter to make the reader believe and internalize the image being portrayed. A detailed reading of the news items just cited shows that the *angry mobs* and *hostile crowds* refer to pro-Kenneth Matiba and Social Democratic Party supporters who are all in the opposition. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *hostile* as unfriendly and antagonistic, while *angry* is defined as having a strong feeling of or showing annoyance, displeasure or hostility. In his choice of lexis the reporter therefore stereotypes the supporters of political parties. The stereotyping can also be observed in example 11 where the same group of people is referred to as a *highly charged* crowd which gives one of the presidential candidates a *rude* welcome, and in example 15 where

they are referred to as *disorderly* Ford-Kenya youths. This labelling suggests that they could engage in violence at any time.

The negative attributes assigned to opposition parties' and Kanu's supporters is also captured through the use of psychopathological language (Geis, 1987:61) realized through the adjective *frenzied* in the *Kenya Times* (examples 9 and 12) and in the *Daily Nation* (example 1). Example 9 is used with reference to opposition party supporters who had attended an opposition rally, while example 12 refers to Raila's, National Development Party, supporters. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *frenzied* as wildly excited or uncontrolled. The use of the adjective therefore portrays the supporters in 9 and 12 as wildly excited and uncontrollable.

The *Kenya Times* (example 4) equates Ford-People supporters with an *unruly* mob. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *unruly* as 'disorderly and disruptive and not amenable to discipline or control'. The choice of this specific lexical item by the reporter is meant to emphasize that Ford People supporters are disorderly and disruptive and therefore undisciplined. They are presented to the reader as people who have actually run out of control and are intent on causing trouble or violence.

Reference to groups of people using value-laden labels (Geis, 1987) such as *rowdy*, *unruly*, *frenzied*, *angry*, *hostile*, *disorderly*, *highly charged*, etc. is a classic example of categorization as discussed by Fowler (1991). Fowler (1991) observes that we manage the world, make sense of it, by categorizing phenomena, including people. Having established a person as an example of a type, our relationship with that person is simplified: we think about the person in terms of the qualities which we attribute to the category already pre-existing in our minds. Insofar as we regard the category of that person as displaying strong predictable attributes or behaviour, the category may harden into a stereotype, an extremely simplified mental model which fails to see individual features, but

only the values that are believed to be appropriate to the type. This is a basic ideological process at work. A socially constructed model of the world is projected onto the objects of perception and cognition, so that essentially the things we see and think about are constructed according to a scheme of values, not entities directly perceived (Fowler 1991:92). Beard (2000:7) uses the term *labelling* to refer to categorization. He asserts that the label which you attach to yourself, or the label that is attached to you, or both, is very significant in politics. In addition to being convenient forms of quick reference to journalists and commentators, labels often say a great deal about the ideological values of those who use them (Beard 2000:7). Reah (1998:123) also states that the naming strategies adopted by a text can have a direct effect on the ideological slant of the text. A further aspect of word choice is the way in which groups are described. Description can appear as a part of the naming strategy. Therefore, closely linked to naming are the attributes and qualities that groups or individual members of groups are credited (or discredited) with when they are discussed in newspaper texts (Reah 1998:61-62).

In the preceding section it has been shown how Kanu and opposition parties' supporters are constructed and presented to the reader by the three newspapers. The supporters' negative values are given more emphasis than the positive attributes depending on the ideological leanings of the paper. From the foregoing discussion of 'violence-adjectives' it can be deduced and has been shown that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* are sympathetic to the ruling party, Kanu, while the *Daily Nation* is sympathetic to the opposition.

5.2.2 ADJECTIVES INDICATING POSITIVE VALUES

Positive adjectives are used by the reporters in both the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* to glorify the President and the ruling party, Kanu. Thus, in example 16 below, the President is positively described:

16. The most *visionary* and *pragmatic* among the contenders. Extract 29.

The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *visionary* (especially of a person) as thinking about or planning the future with imagination or wisdom. *Pragmatic* is defined as dealing with things sensibly and realistically in a way that is based on practical rather than theoretical considerations. From these definitions it follows that the reader, through Mr Mwau's words, is swayed to believe that Moi is wise and practical. These words are an exaggerative description of Moi's capabilities and tend to suggest that other leaders (contenders) are not as pragmatic and as visionary as Moi.

The popularity of the ruling party, Kanu, is exhibited by the numerous applications of positive adjectives as exemplified below:

17. Speaking at a presidential function and *wildly* cheered by the crowd [...] Extract 31.
18. When he indicated his intention to defect to KANU, and was urged on amid *deafening* cheers [...] Extract 31.
19. The *mammoth* crowd [...] Extract 31.
20. Said Mr. Mungai to *deafening* applause [...] Extract 31.
21. The president asked the electorate to reject any parliamentary or civic candidate championing *narrow* ethnic interests. Extract 31.

22. President Moi said [...] had been used as a launching ground for *destructive* ethnic clashes. Extract 31.
23. KANU was poised to win with an *overwhelming* majority. Extract 31.
24. The *capacity* crowd assured [...] Extract 31.
25. While President Moi was addressing a *well-attended* rally [...] Extract 42.
26. By a show of hands the *cheering* crowd pledged [...] Extract 42.
27. A *large* crowd welcomed him [...] Extract 42.
28. Where he was received by thousands of *jubilant* wananchi. Extract 47.
29. By a *massive* show of hands [...] Extract 47.
30. President Moi, leading a *huge* crowd of *jubilant* supporters. Extract 48.
31. Addressing one of the *largest* political rallies in Kisumu [...] Extract 55.
32. A *jovial* and *confident* Moi [...] Extract 55.
33. The head of state told *jubilant* KANU supporters [...] Extract 55.
34. He said to *deafening* applause [...] Extract 55.
35. Addressing thousands of *jubilant* wananchi [...] Extract 55.

The idea that the electorate is happy with the ruling party and the President is conveyed by the *Kenya Times* through adjectives that are put into use to describe the response of the populace in meetings that the President is in attendance. This can be attested in the news item reporting the defection of Mungai from an opposition party to the ruling party where it is reported that he was *wildly* cheered (example 17), whereas in example 26 the people present in a presidential rally are described as the *cheering* crowd. Satisfaction and

contentment with the ruling party is also enhanced in examples 18, 20 and 34 where the response to Mungai's address (about his defection) is referred to as either *deafening* applause or cheers. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *deafening* as 'of a noise so loud to make it impossible to hear anything'. The adjective, therefore, tends to indicate that the populace is overjoyed and overwhelmed by Mungai's act of rejoining the ruling party.

The people's joy is further emphasized by the *Kenya Times* in examples 30, 33 and 35 where the supporters are said to be *jubilant*. *Jubilant* is defined by the *New Oxford English Dictionary* as 'feeling or expressing great happiness and triumph'. The function of this adjective is to sway the reader into believing that being in Kanu is a great joy and that Kanu is headed for victory in the forthcoming elections.

Apart from expressing joy, adjectives are also used to suggest that Kanu has a very huge, strong, large and popular support base. It is a party that has mass following. The popularity is exhibited by a number of adjectives describing the size of the crowd attending the party's meetings. The people attending a presidential function are referred to as the *mammoth* crowd in example 19 and a *capacity* crowd in 24 by the *Kenya Times*, a *large* crowd in 27 by the *East African Standard* and a *huge* crowd in 30 by *Kenya Times*. All these adjectives belong to the same semantic field. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *capacity* as 'fully occupying the available area or space', *huge* is defined as 'extremely large, enormous'. In using the adjectives the reporter is further emphasizing the large following that Kanu has and the popularity that the President enjoys and the reporter is also implicitly suggesting that the opposition does not have this kind of support.

To add to this, Moi's rallies are positively described in the *East African Standard* as in example 25 where the rally is referred to as *well-attended*. The reporter(s) also utilizes superlatives to show that none of the other parties can match Kanu

when it comes to political rallies. That is why in the *Kenya Times* (example 31) the rally is described as one of the *largest* political rallies. By implication opposition parties' rallies are poorly attended and are not as large as Kanu's. Support for Moi's address is seen in the *East African Standard* in example 29 – a *massive* show of hands. The dictionary defines *massive* as exceptionally large, thus the show of hands which support Moi are exceptionally large, emphasizing that the people present are many.

In the *Kenya Times* in examples 21 and 22, the reporter, through Moi's words, portrays Kanu as a national party and takes swipes at the opposition. The statements by the President urging the citizens not to engage in *narrow* ethnic interests and *destructive* ethnic clashes attests to all this. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *narrow* as “(of a person's attitude or beliefs) limited in range and lacking willingness to appreciate alternative views”. The President's words are therefore used to portray the Opposition as a group of people with attitudes or beliefs limited in range and lacking willingness to appreciate alternative views. In other words, they are myopic. This is definitely not a palatable description at all. It tends to show the inflexibility of the Opposition in accommodating views which are different from theirs.

Moi is also confident of winning the presidency as shown in the *Kenya Times* in his description as *jovial* and *confident* in 32. *Jovial* is described as cheerful and friendly, whereas *confident* is described as feeling or showing confidence in oneself or one's abilities or qualities. The lexical item *overwhelming* in 23 is another indication that Kanu is poised to win the elections without threat from any quarters. *Overwhelming* is defined as very great in amount, very strong. When this word is applied with reference to Kanu's win it suggests that the party will scoop the highest number of votes cast.

5.2.3 PEJORATIVE ADJECTIVES

There are several words found in the extracts which are used solely to provide a pejorative description of the Opposition. These words are found exclusively in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* respectively. One of these words is the adjective *tribal*. Consider the following:

36. Ford Kenya suffered its worst blow yesterday when eight Luo outgoing Members of Parliament abandoned it to cluster in Raila Odinga *tribal* fortress [...] Extract 24.
37. The move dealt a severe blow to Wamalwa Kijana's presidential bid and reduced the two parties into *tribal* alliances [...] Extract 24.
38. Allied to the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEMA) *tribal* association. Extract 28.
39. Mr. Karume is widely acknowledged as the GEMA *tribal* leader [...] Extract 28.
40. Mr. Mungai urged Kenyans to elect President Moi for another five-year term [...] unlike other presidential contenders, who had been reduced to *tribal* leaders.
41. There is a split ahead of this morning's *tribal* opposition meeting [...] Extract 53.
42. The once formidable socio-political and economic *tribal* block [...] Extract 53.

The adjective *tribal* is used in the above excerpts when referring to opposition parties, leaders or meetings. The nature of the Opposition as a tribal outfit is

further reaffirmed in the editorials of the two newspapers. A few examples from the editorials will suffice to show this:

43. The delegates meeting will be reinforcing KANU's credentials as a democratic-apparatus that has managed to withstand the onslaught by a *tribal-based opposition* ... *Kenya Times*, November 7th.
44. Simply because they are parochial *tribal parties*, vehicles designed to serve *tribal* rather than national aspirations and interests. *Kenya Times*, November 8th.
45. The truth has come out strongly at last. Opposition parties have now become *tribal*. *Kenya Times*, November 15th.
46. These defections, therefore confirm, the *tribal* nature of local politics.
The East African Standard, November 13th.
47. Wangari (Maathai) [...] has become a *tribal* power broker. *The East African Standard*, December 15th.

From the foregoing examples it can be attested that the confirmation of the Opposition as involved in tribal politics is total.

The adjective *tribal* is defined by the *New Oxford English Dictionary* as derogatory, characterized by a tendency to form groups or by strong group loyalty. The word is therefore used to show dislike, to disparage and derogate the Opposition. Krishnamurthy (1996) has expounded on the pejorative use of the word *tribal* when he observes that language not only affords us a means of understanding a language and its users, but might also cause us to unwittingly adopt their attitudes and opinions. The English word *tribal* clearly has pejorative connotations, and if certain groups of people continue to use it and apply it only to certain groups of human beings, then those who use it are merely recycling

the prejudices that the English-speaking culture has developed with regard to those groups (Krishnamurthy 1996:147).

The example below also shows a pejorative description of an opposition presidential candidate:

48. Arriving atop his dark *green Vogue Range Rover*, the Ford Kenya aspirant was received by a faithful army [...] Extract 48.

Although the italicized adjectival phrase might be seen as a positive description, in this particular example, it is used pejoratively to show the ostentious living of one of the presidential candidates. It is as if the reporter is insinuating that if the Ford Kenya aspirant is elected he might end up using state resources to fund his affluent and expensive lifestyle.

5.3 NOUNS

Nouns, just like adjectives, display bias in the way they are used, either overtly or covertly. Most of the bias found in nouns is contextual (Bolinger, 1980:77). Nouns are an important part of lexical choices that have been employed variously by the newspapers to promote a certain ideological view. The nouns selected from our data exhibit a particular political leaning. They are either discrediting one political party or glorifying the other.

Sometimes it is very difficult to separate or delink nouns from the adjectives that qualify them. Most adjectives described earlier under the label "adjectives indicating violence" qualify either the noun *mob(s)* or *youth(s)* or *crowd(s)*. However, it is of significance to find out how these nouns are used independently without reference to adjectives, although it is common practice to discuss nouns with adjective qualification.

The noun *mob*, in example 1, occurs in the *Daily Nation* and refers to Kanu supporters allied to Mr Nyenze. This lexical item is applied negatively in the

sense that the *mob* is depicted as fighting amongst themselves. In the *East African Standard*, example 5b, the noun is used with reference to pro-Matiba and Social Democratic Party (SDP) supporters and just as in example 1 it does not say anything positive about the people it refers to. In the *Kenya Times*, example 10, *mob* is used with direct reference to Democratic Party (DP) supporters who are portrayed as a bunch of rowdy people. Considering that the *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *mob* as 'a large crowd of people, especially one that is disorderly and intent on causing trouble', the reporters are trying to convince the reader(s) to see the various political party supporters as trouble-makers.

The noun *youth*, just like *mob*, refers to political party supporters. This noun is very dominant in the extracts:

49. The apparently drunken *youth* [...] Extract 23.
50. [...] as rowdy *youths* reportedly [...] Extract 8.
51. However, *youths* supporting Mr. Kihoro raided the local DP offices [...] Extract 34.
52. *Youths* chanting NDP slogans started stopping motorists and stoning those who did not stop. Extract 37.
53. NDP *youths* fail in bid to disrupt Kanu meeting. Extract 42.
54. [...] when his motorcade was stoned by rowdy *youths* chanting pro-Kenneth Matiba slogans[...] Extract 43.
55. The SDP *youths* pounced on Kanu supporters[...] Extract 43.

In the *Kenya Times*, example 49, *youth* refers to Ford People followers, in the *Daily Nation*, example 50, it refers to Kanu supporters. In example 51 (*Daily Nation*) the same noun is reserved for Democratic Party supporters. *Youths* in

the *East African Standard* refer to NDP supporters (example 53), pro-Kenneth Matiba supporters (example 54) and to SDP supporters (example 55).

After enumerating the various instances in which the lexical item *youth(s)* occur(s) it is of utmost importance to observe that in all these instances the youths are not associated with positive values but with violence. For example, in 50, the youths are reported to have hurled stones and heckled an opponent. In 51, Democratic Party supporters (*youths*) are said to have raided the local Democratic Party offices and destroyed nomination papers. Worse still, in example 52 National Development Party supporters are alleged to have stoned motorists. All these examples (50, 51, 52) from the *Daily Nation* create a negative representation of the youths. In the *East African Standard* pro-Kenneth Matiba supporters and Social Democratic Party supporters are reported to have stoned Wamalwa's motorcade and attacked Kanu supporters in examples 54 and 55. The *Kenya Times* in example 49 creates the image of *youths* as drunk.

By assigning 'youths' negative values such as violence, the reporters of the three newspapers intend to portray political party supporters as an immature group of people who do not cherish democratic ideals and as a group which does not accommodate alternative views. The lexical choices influence public opinion (Van Dijk, 1997) to view the supporters as a people who revel in violence. Thus political party supporters are established as an example of a type (Fowler 1991), that is, youths who are violent. The readers think about them in terms of the qualities attributed to them by the reporter. Consequently, readers form a stereotype and fail to see the positive features in them (Fowler 1991; 1996(a)).

The use of nouns in discrediting the opposition parties and their leaders can also be attested in the following examples:

56. *Row over opposition presidential candidate. Extract 28.*

57. FORD-K, NDP in POLL ROW. Extract 49.
58. A ROW is brewing between Ford Kenya and the National Development Party of Kenya (NDP) [...] Extract 49.
59. SAFINA and a *plethora* of oppositionists against KANU and President Moi have planned an aggressive propaganda [...] Extract 57.
60. GEMA *PLOT* backfires. Extract 54.

The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines *row* as a fierce quarrel or dispute. Thus the application of this word in the *East African Standard* in examples 56, 57 and 58 is a manoeuver to discredit the opposition parties by presenting them to the reader as parties embroiled in fierce quarrels and disputes. The quarrels and disputes tend to fragment the parties, thus reducing their chances of participating in the elections as a united front. *Plethora* is defined by the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* as an oversupply, glut or excess. Thus in example 59 the *East African Standard* constructs oppositionists in a very negative light as an excess on the political scene. *Plot* is defined by the *New Oxford English Dictionary* as a plan made in secret by a group of people to do something illegal and harmful. The use of the noun *plot* in example 60 emphasizes that the GEMA group is illegal and can cause untold damage.

The fragmentation and disunity among opposition parties and candidates is highlighted by the *East African Standard* through the noun phrase italicized below:

61. He said there were *major differences* during the Saturday Kikuyu leaders meeting [...] Extract 21.

The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines *major* as important, large, serious, significant, whereas, *difference* is defined as a disagreement, quarrel or dispute. The use of the phrase therefore suggests that there is serious

disagreement and dispute among opposition leaders. It also emphasizes that opposition unity is quite elusive.

Nouns are also utilized by the *Kenya Times* to glorify the President and by extension the ruling party as in:

62. The KANU National Chairman who is also his *mentor* and *benefactor*.
Extract 26.

The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines *mentor* as an experienced and trusted adviser while *benefactor* is defined as a person who gives support (especially financial) to a person or cause. By implication Moi is classified as an experienced and trusted adviser who always gives support to those who need it.

The editorials of the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* contain pejorative nouns that indicate their anti-opposition stance:

63. But this is nothing to worry about as Prof. Maathai largely remains a *nonentity* as far as the presidential race is concerned. *Kenya Times*, December 18th.
64. The measure primarily affects the Safina party of *white conservationist* Richard Leakey and *dissident nationalist* Koigi Wa Wamwere. *The East African Standard*, November 27th.

Nonentity is defined by the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* as a person or thing of no importance. Thus Prof Maathai, who is a presidential candidate, is dismissed in example 63 as a person of no consequence or importance as far as the presidential elections are concerned. In example 64, Koigi Wa Wamwere and Richard Leakey are also described negatively through the use of the noun phrases *national dissident* and *white conservationist*. The word *dissident* is defined by the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* as disagreeing, especially with

an established government or system. The noun phrase *white conservationist* suggests that Leakey is a colonialist.

The descriptions as provided by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* are a derogation of the members of the opposition.

5.4 VERBS

Just like adjectives and nouns, verbs also serve the purpose of ideological entrenchment into the readers' mind. They create and construct a view that is the newspaper's own standpoint. Our data shows the role of verbs in propagating a newspapers' ideology.

The opposition parties are constructed by the *Kenya Times* as entities embroiled in problems and difficulties as can be attested in the following excerpt:

65. Mr. Kimani wa Nyoike, the Ford People secretary general heartily received Kanyingi to the Opposition but was at great pains to explain the legal imbroglio he is *entangled* in [...] Extract 23.

The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines *entangled* as to get caught in a snare or among obstacles. Therefore, the purpose of the verb is to discredit an opposition party by suggesting that it is bedevilled by obstacles.

The unsuitability of some parties is also enhanced by the *Kenya Times* through verbs especially when the parties are abandoned by their most faithful adherents:

66. Ford-K *ditched* as poll looms. Extract 24.

67. Ford Kenya suffered another major setback when five more MPs *ditched* it [...] Extract 25.

The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *ditch* as “end a relationship with someone pre-emptorily”. The MPs have therefore ended a relationship with the party, and since elections are approaching it is unlikely that the party will make any gains towards the elections.

Dictatorial or forceful tendencies among opposition parties’ leaders is also highlighted by the *Kenya Times* through the use of verbs:

68. Kenneth Matiba [...] hit the wall [...] in his [...] futile attempt to *wrest* control of Ford Asili from the Martin Shikuku Camp. Extract 27.

Wrest is defined by the *New Oxford English Dictionary* as “take (something, especially power or control), from someone or something else after considerable effort or difficulty”. This verb shows that there are struggles emerging among oppositionists.

The misfortunes of some opposition parties are brought to the fore through the use of verbs by the *East African Standard*, for example:

69. Elsewhere, confusion continued to *dog* former MPs affiliated to the Matiba faction of FORD-ASILI. Extract 17.

The dictionary defines *dog* as “to cause continuous trouble”. Thus the application of the verb is meant to discredit the MPs as people who are languishing in a lot of confusion.

Verbs are also used by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* to further the papers own ideology that the Opposition is amenable to violence and revels in it:

70. Matiba supporters *heckled* Nyoike throughout his speech. Extract 11.

71. Instead, Orengo and five other outgoing MPs announced the formation of a political wing within the NCEC to start campaigns to *disrupt* the elections. Extract 18 (a).

The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *heckle* as "interrupt (a public speaker) with derisive or aggressive comments or abuse". The application of the verb indicates that the opposition supporters are disrespectful to their leaders. The verb *disrupt* is defined by the *New Oxford English Dictionary* as "interrupt (an event or activity or process) by causing a disturbance or problem". The verb therefore affirms the newspaper's (*Kenya Times*) ideology that opposition MPs are trouble makers.

Other verbs are attested below:

72. *Beleaguered* Kenneth Matiba yesterday hit the wall on a legal technicality in his spirited but futile attempt to wrest control of Ford Asili. Extract 27.
73. The Government yesterday *succumbed* to demands to register Safina, making it the 26th official party. Extract 9.

Example 72, from *Kenya Times*, displays an anti-opposition stance. The *New Oxford English Dictionary* defines *beleaguer* as "lay siege to or put in a very difficult situation", thus Matiba is seen to be in a very difficult situation in his attempts to wrest control of Ford Asili.

The presence of the verb *succumb* in the *Daily Nation* in example 73 portrays the government as helpless. *Succumb* is defined by the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* as "fail to resist". Thus the government had no choice but to register Safina.

It is possible to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the function of lexis in the three newspapers. The *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* utilize adjectives to evaluate the opposition parties and their supporters negatively.

Thus more emphasis is placed on their negative traits, through adjectives. In this sense the opposition parties are presented to the reader as hostile, violent and tribal. Whenever adjectives are used positively, they are reserved for the description of the ruling party and its followers. Positive values and traits are in this case assigned to the President, the party and the supporters. The *Daily Nation* evaluates the ruling party supporters negatively by representing them as hostile and violent. It is therefore apparent that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* are ideologically inclined towards the ruling party while the *Daily Nation* is inclined towards the opposition.

Nouns also display the same pattern as adjectives. The *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* utilize nouns to discredit the opposition. The *Daily Nation* exhibits some form of balanced reporting in the sense that the nouns present are used negatively to refer to either the opposition or the ruling party.

Verbs as found in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* follow the same pattern as nouns and adjectives. The two papers in their use of verbs foreground the problems that seem to be bedeviling the opposition parties. The *Daily Nation* uses a verb to castigate the government and portray it as helpless. All in all the three parts of speech show that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* propagate the ruling party ideology while the *Daily Nation* shows some smattering of opposition ideology. The fact that the *Daily Nation* also hits out at the opposition, though, suggests that it is difficult to link it totally with the opposition.

CHAPTER SIX: METAPHORS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In section 2.4.2 a discussion was provided on the cognitive perspectives of the metaphor. The cognitive approach pays particular attention on the presence of metaphor in language, thought, and action. Human thought processes are largely metaphorical. In the cognitive approach metaphorical expressions are inextricably linked systematically to concepts. The linkage provides an insight into the metaphorical nature of human activities and assists to define everyday reality.

The dominant and recurrent cognitive metaphors in our data fall into ten main categories which include, (i) war, (ii) boxing, (iii) military, (iv) human characteristics, (v) meteorological, (vi) sport (vii) food, (viii) cloth, (ix) road and (x) gambling.

6.2 METAPHORS OF WAR

Metaphors of war are a very common feature in political discourse, especially during elections. In political discourse, politics and elections are often conceptualized in terms of war. Thus elections are viewed as a war between two combatants who may either win or lose.

In our data metaphors of war are plenty and abound. This can be attested in the following examples:

1. The defections rekindle memories of the sustained *battle* for supremacy of Ford-K last year. Extract 3.
2. President Moi leads the ruling party Kanu into the electoral *battle* slated for December 29. Extract 32.

3. Among the constituencies is Kinangop where former Nairobi Mayor Steve Mwangi was *fighting* for the Kanu ticket [...] Extract 34.
4. The Democratic Party had as of yesterday not nominated its candidate for Nyeri Town, where a former detainee and political exile, Mr. Wanyiri Kihoro, is *battling* for the seat with former provincial Commissioner [...] Extract 34.
5. Meanwhile, the SDP *onslaught* suffered a blow when two splinter groups started *fighting* over the Machakos branch leadership. Extract 30.
6. Parties *fight* for IPK votes. Extract 49.
7. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate Mrs. Charity Ngilu took the *battle* to the Kikuyu heartland [...] Extract 53.
8. Dr Wafula told reporters that he had nominated former Magarini MP, Mr. Katana Nzai, to *defend* his seat on a DP ticket. Extract 51.
9. National Development Party (NDP) presidential candidate is equally *fighting* to get support from Kenneth Matiba. Extract 56.

Examples 1 – 4 are derived from the *Daily Nation* whereas 5 - 9 are extracted from the *Kenya Times*. There is a major contrast in the way these two newspapers utilize the war metaphor. The *Daily Nation* in its reporting shows that both Kanu and the opposition parties are engaged in a kind of battle to solicit votes and win the elections. For instance, in example 1 the jostling between two members of the opposition Ford-K is highlighted. The same case applies to example 4 where two opposition MPs (from the Democratic Party) are struggling to be nominated to contest the elections. However, in examples 2 and 3, it is Kanu's struggle that is highlighted through the war metaphor. In example 2 President Moi is presented as a leader who is leading his troops in a war

(elections) whereas in 3 two members from the ruling party are depicted as engaged in a struggle to get the party nominations.

There is a certain systematic way in which the *Kenya Times* uses the war metaphor. This metaphor is applied to describe the practices associated with opposition parties only. Thus in 5 it is the Social Democratic party splinter groups that are involved in squabbles, while in 6 it is Ford-K and National Development Party that are squabbling amongst themselves to win favour with the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK). The National Development Party presidential candidate is portrayed in 9 as a person who is struggling to get support. In example 7 the Social Democratic Party presidential candidate is involved in a war to acquire votes from the Kikuyus. The Democratic Party candidate Mr. Katana Ndzai, in example 8, emerges as a person under siege and that is why the metaphor "defend" is used in relation to his contesting the elections.

From this argumentation it appears that the *Daily Nation* does not favour one party over the other. This can be attributed to the fact that its application of the war metaphor shows the goings-on in all the parties. The same cannot be said for the *Kenya Times*. One important thing to note is that in the *Kenya Times* Kanu is excluded from its reporting. These exclusion practices indicate the ideological inclination of the reporter. In fact, by this act of exclusion the reporter is supporting Kanu by showing that the party is not engaged in the acrimony that seems to bedevil the other parties. In both papers election is conceptualized as a power struggle but in *Kenya Times*, it is a power struggle that engulfs the Opposition.

As Novek (1992) observes, war metaphors entail notions of helplessness and inevitability. Thus from a *Kenya Times* perspective, opposition parties are helpless in their quest for leadership. The use of war metaphors in both papers distorts the nature of elections.

6.3 BOXING METAPHORS

Boxing metaphors fall within the main repertoire of war metaphors. However, an attempt has been made to distinguish them from “proper” war metaphors discussed earlier for analytic convenience.

Beard (2000) has observed the prevalence of boxing metaphors in political discourse. These metaphors are said to convey aggression and toughness in political communication. The data from the Kenyan print media reveals a large number of boxing metaphors as exemplified below:

10. Ford Kenya yesterday suffered another *blow* within 48 hours when it lost five more outgoing MPs to an undisclosed party. Extract 40.
11. They said the defections were a big *blow* to Ford-K as they had eroded the party's support[...] Extract 5.
12. Ford Kenya suffered its worst *blow* yesterday when eight Luo outgoing Members of Parliament abandoned it [...] Extract 24.
13. The move dealt a severe *blow* to Wamalwa Kijana [...] Extract 24.
14. Meanwhile, the SDP onslaught suffered a *blow* when two splinter groups started fighting over the Machakos branch leadership. Extract 30.
15. But an NDP aspirant for the seat, Mr. Daniel Mwatata warned that the imposition of candidates would deal the party a major *blow*. Extract 49.

Examples 10 and 11 are derived from the *Daily Nation* while the others are derived from the *Kenya Times*. While both newspapers use the boxing metaphor “blow” to show the waning support of Ford-Kenya (an opposition party), *Kenya Times* goes a step further and applies the metaphor to show that the Social

Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Development Party (NDP) respectively are not spared from the difficulties.

The defection of Members of Parliament from Ford-Kenya is compared to *suffering a blow* in a boxing contest in examples 10, 11, 12. A blow is sometimes fatal to an opponent in a boxing match. In examples 14 and 15 it is the SDP and NDP who are said to suffer a blow.

Beard (2000) remarks that boxing metaphors are used in politics to show toughness and aggression. Beard's sentiments are applicable to the metaphors so far displayed because opposition parties are presented as entities that suffered setbacks because the ruling party is too "tough", too "aggressive", for the "weak" opposition parties. In fact, the boxing metaphors that are attested in our data are intended to convey the loss that the opposition parties are facing. Both newspapers, through the use of boxing metaphors, emphasize the problems that seem to plague opposition parties.

6.4 MILITARY METAPHORS

Military metaphors fall within the general category of war metaphors. However, this section has been titled military metaphors because metaphors that are realized in typical military contexts and use typically military language will be analysed. These metaphors are given below:

16. In a press conference at Chester House, the five said they would disclose the party on which they will *defend* their seats within 48 hours. Extract 4.
17. DIE-HARD KANU man Simon Kuria Kanyingi yesterday made a dramatic *about-turn* and defected to the newly-registered but *embattled* Opposition Ford People Party. Extract 23.
18. The man who once proclaimed he was ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of President Daniel arap Moi's prolonged years was on the *counter-*

attack yesterday, claiming that the Government had done nothing for the development of Limuru Constituency. Extract 23.

19. Immediately (*sic*) Mr. Kibaki finished he convened a “*war-council*” at a nearby hotel before leading his *troops* for Thika and parts of Eastern Province on a campaign trail. Extract 48.
20. Arriving atop his dark green Vogue Range Rover, the Ford Kenya aspirant was received by a faithful *army* [...] Extract 48.
21. *Casualties* include six Cabinet Ministers and about 20 Assistant Ministers who *fell* by the wayside [...] Extract 51.
22. [...] Mrs. Agnes Ndeti were among the latest *casualties* in the party's repeat nominations. Extract 51.
23. *Forward ever Kanu soldiers*. *Kenya Times* editorial, Friday, November 7

The *Daily Nation* in its reporting (example 16) portrays the members of Parliament from an opposition party as individuals under siege or threat, thus the use of military metaphor, *defend*. Their participation in the elections is seen as a defense from an attack.

The *Kenya Times* makes extensive use of military metaphors in examples 17 – 21. In 17 and 18 Kuria Kanyingi is presented to the reader as a person who is untrustworthy and under siege or attack. *About turn* is a military command that indicates the reversal of a position. The use of this metaphor to explain the defection of Kanyingi is to show that the members of the opposition parties cannot be trusted in any political dealings. *Counter-attack* further indicates that Kanyingi is in a losing position because he was the one who was attacked first. You only counter-attack when you have already been attacked.

The *Kenya Times* in 19 and 20 provides a negative evaluation of two presidential candidates, Mwai Kibaki and Wamalwa Kijana respectively. Kibaki is negatively evaluated as a person who is always intent on fighting and that is why he convenes a *war council* and leads his *troops*. This suggests that he is leading a body of soldiers. The same evaluation is given for Wamalwa through the use of the word *army*. In fact, this suggests that Wamalwa has a large body of people literally armed for war and under military command.

The *Kenya Times* reporter downplays the loss suffered by Kanu Ministers and Assistant Ministers in examples 21 and 22 by referring to them as *casualties*, thus likening them to people injured or killed in a war or an accident.

In fact, in example 21 the metaphor *fell* downplays the loss of Kanu MPs in party in likening them as people who succumbed to an attack in a battle and died.

The *Kenya Times* editorial of November 7th portrays Kanu supporters positively by encouraging them to move forward and referring to them as *soldiers*. The reference to them as soldiers tends to suggest that they are diligent workers for a cause.

While the *Daily Nation* provides one military metaphor to evaluate the Opposition negatively there are numerous of military metaphors in the *Kenya Times*. This leaves no doubt as to the ideological inclination of the paper. Further still, the *Kenya Times* downplays the loss of its stalwarts in party nominations.

6.5 HUMAN CHARACTERISTICS METAPHORS

These are metaphors in which entities that are not human are assigned human values. In other words, non-human things are perceived as human. The metaphors are discussed within the general label of personification or ontological metaphors by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). There are various metaphors of this kind in the Kenyan print media that relate to the 1997 General Elections. The

metaphors are generally used to refer to parties, speech, country, etc. as exemplified below:

24. Mr Sifuna who defected to Ford-K [...] described Ford-A as a *dead* party [...] Extract 1.
25. At 37 years of age, the ruling party Kanu is the *oldest* [...] The 11 day old Economic Independence party [...] is the *youngest*. Extract 33.
26. Youths supporting Mr. Kihoro raided the local DP offices and destroyed nomination papers to *cripple* the repeat. Extract 34.
27. In Machakos, President Moi cautioned the Kamba community against following SDP *blindly*, as the party leaders were not honest in fronting Mrs. Ngilu. Extract 36.
28. He told Kamba leaders to *bury* their differences and face the elections united. Extract 36.
29. The bumpy ride in the opposition left him a lonely man since it was the wrong place and his *divorce* from Kanu and President Moi was the greatest miscalculation in his life, Mr Kanyingi said. Extract 26.
30. In Nairobi, the Embakasi branch has threatened to *cripple* the party operations ahead of December 29 elections. Extract 50.
31. Official leader of the Opposition Michael Wamalwa Kijana at the weekend threatened that Parliament would be *paralysed* by the opposition if the Government did not rescind its move [...] Extract 12.
32. He was forced to *abort* the meeting when the crowd shouted him down. Extract 43.

Ford Asili party (FA) is assigned the human characteristic of death, in the *Daily Nation*, through the words of a Member of Parliament, Lawrence Sifuna, who has defected from it, in example 24.

The metaphor of age in the *Daily Nation* as seen in example 25 is a positive attribute to Kanu. *Oldest* is used in the example to indicate Kanu's seniority. *Old* goes with other characteristics like wisdom, experience and trustworthiness. *Youngest* is used to indicate the immaturity of the Economic Independence Party. *Young* refers to someone in an early stage of life, growth or development. *Young* is also associated with such characteristics as being a novice, adventurous and amateurish. The two parties are therefore contrasted using the age metaphor.

The *Daily Nation* depicts Democratic Party supporters as inhuman and destructive in example 26. This is vividly brought out through the use of the metaphor *to cripple*. *To cripple*, according to the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, is to hurt or wound (a person) so that the use of one or more limbs is made difficult or impossible.

The *Daily Nation* through the words of President Moi in example 27, shows the folly of opposition politics, specifically the Social Democratic Party. This is attested when the President makes a passionate plea to Kamba leaders not to follow SDP *blindly*. Elsewhere, in example 28, President Moi uses the *burial* metaphor as an appeal to the Kamba community to forget their differences and acrimonious relationship.

The *Kenya Times* also makes use of human characteristic metaphors to show the folly of opposition politics. In example 29 Kanyingi is quoted as using the metaphor *divorce* to indicate that those defecting from the ruling party are doing the wrong thing. The intention of the reporter in quoting Kanyingi using the metaphor suffices to show that Kanu is a good party and those who defect (divorce) from it always suffer. *To cripple*, as used in example 30, serves the

purpose of showing that members of the National Development Party led by Raila Odinga are intent on causing damage.

The *East African Standard* in its use of human characteristic metaphors in examples 31 and 32 denigrates opposition parties. Thus, in 31, the opposition is seen as destructive because of its intention to *paralyse* parliament. The metaphor *abort* as it appears in example 32 portrays SDP supporters as violent, unruly and unlawful. According to the Constitution of Kenya abortion is illegal and unlawful, therefore by implication SDP supporters are portrayed as an unlawful mob.

6.6 METEOROLOGICAL METAPHORS

There is a high prevalence of meteorological metaphors in the Kenyan Print Media prior to the 1997 general elections. The presence of these metaphors serves to highlight certain significant issues which include losses and problems in opposition parties; the violent nature of the opposition; positive portrayal of Kanu, misfortunes in Kanu and the political situation in Kenya. The examples below suffice to show this.

33. They said the defections were a *big blow* to Ford-K as they had *eroded* the party's support in Nyanza province and other parts of the country. Extract 5.
34. About an hour before the end of the acrimonious seven-hour meeting [...] half of the leaders *stormed* out of the hall [...] Extract 7.
35. The leaders demanded that he leaves the meeting and some of them *stormed* out when he left. Extract 7.
36. In Migori town, Tom Onyango, the outgoing Nyatike MP and Mr David Oyao *stormed* the party offices along the Migori-Kisii road [...] Extract 50.

37. President Moi said his priority was to see Nyanza Province emerge victorious [...] and was equally pleased with the favourable *wind of change* in favour of the ruling party. Extract 55.
38. More independent opinion polls released yesterday indicated *surging* popularity for President Moi and Kanu, with predictions of a *landslide* victory for both in tomorrow's general election. Extract 58.
39. Significantly, this year's election will be held in a remarkably changed *atmosphere* from that of 1992. Technically at least the political *climate* is now marginally more tolerant than five years ago [...] Extract 14a.
40. As the *storm clouds* gather for the party, immediate former Kisauni MP Professor Rashid Mzee, did not reassure his party bosses when he hinted he could also move. Extract 14b.
41. Democratic Party Chairman Mwai Kibaki welcomed the registration but insisted it would not create any *political ripples* [...] Extract 22.
42. Presidential candidate Charity Ngilu yesterday *stormed* Kisii police station in protest for allegedly being denied access to the clash-torn Gucha-Trans Mara districts [...] Extract 44.

The *Daily Nation* makes use of meteorological metaphors in examples 33, 34 and 35 to show the losses and problems that engulf opposition parties. The metaphor *eroded* in example 33, which is attributed to defecting MPs, foregrounds the fact that the defections from Ford-K are making it lose support and popularity among the electorate.

The *storm* metaphor in examples 34 and 35 presents some of the opposition leaders as entities who cannot reach consensus. They are people who are filled with anger. We can deduce that there are sharp differences among the various

opposing MPs and that is why their walking out of the meeting is compared to a storm.

The *Kenya Times* in its reporting utilizes the storm metaphor to depict an NDP member of parliament as violent, rough and destructive in example 36. Apart from negative portrayal of the opposition, the *Kenya Times* assigns the ruling party Kanu accolades as exhibited in examples 37 and 38. Thus in reporting President Moi's statement the weather metaphor of "wind" is applied to show that Kanu is a party that is benefiting from a people's change of attitude.

Wind refers to a natural moving current of air, therefore, its use indicates that Kanu is gaining popularity and the electorate will vote in its favour. It is important to note that this metaphor - *wind of change* - became very popular after an important speech by a former British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, before Parliament in Cape Town in the 1960s. However, this metaphor gained currency in Kenya after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the crumbling of Communism in Eastern Europe.

Kanu's popularity is patently declared in example 38 through the employment of the metaphor *surge*. *Surge* refers to a sudden powerful movement of or like a wave. This metaphor is an indication of a sudden powerful movement of Kanu's and Moi's popularity.

The *East African Standard*, just like the *Kenya Times*, makes use of the *storm* metaphor to evaluate the opposition negatively. This can be attested in examples 40 and 42. Example 40 foregrounds the problems that Ford-K is enmeshed in through the weather metaphor of *storm clouds*. In meteorological terms *storm clouds* refer to the dark clouds which may bring a violent weather condition with strong wind, rain and often lightening. It therefore follows that the application of this metaphor in reference to Ford-K tends to indicate that its problems are gathering and sooner or later it may be bedeviled by insurmountable hurdles which it cannot clear. Example 42 presents one of the presidential candidates,

Charity Ngilu, as a person who has no respect for law and order through her act of "storming" a police station.

The intention of the reporter in quoting the DP presidential candidate who uses a weather metaphor *ripples* in example 41 is to bring to the fore the antagonistic relationship between various opposition parties. *Ripples* means to (cause to) move in small waves. The use of the metaphor, through Kibaki, intends to show the registration of Safina as insignificant because it will not have any great impact (cause ripples) in the Kenyan political scene. It is important to see how one opposition party is juxtaposed or pitted against another. Mwai Kibaki of the Democratic Party is hitting out at the registration of another party (Safina).

Other meteorological metaphors used by the *East African Standard* seem to explain the political situation in Kenya prior to the 1997 general elections. Thus in example 39 the italicised metaphors tend to show that the political situation in 1997 is fairer than it was in 1992. The situation (*atmosphere*) and circumstances (*climate*) of the general elections are more appealing than they were in previous elections.

From the foregoing discussion we can conclude that the *Kenya Times* is unequivocal in its support for Kanu while the other two papers implicitly support Kanu by harping on the difficulties facing opposition parties.

6.7 SPORTS METAPHORS

The domain of electoral politics is replete with sports metaphors where the participants (candidates) are viewed as involved in a competition. Our data reveals a high prevalence of sports metaphors:

43. Mr Nyoike said his party comprises members of the Ford-A faction allied to Matiba and that he would step down as a presidential candidate if Mr Matiba decided to join the *race*. Extract 1.

44. The confidential source said Nyoike "has shrugged off the pressure and is more determined to complete the presidential *race*. Extract 17.
45. [...] John Haron Mwau, yesterday opted out of the *race* for presidency and parliament [...] Extract 29.
46. The distressed mother of Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential aspirant Charity Kaluki Ngilu wants her daughter to withdraw from the *race*. Extract 30.
47. Even after she agreed at one stage, to step down from the *race*, I still hear about her travelling throughout the country [...] Extract 30.
48. Eight cleared for the main *race*. Extract 32.
49. Those missing from the *race* in which they participated in 1992 [...] Extract 32.
50. Mr John Haron Mwau of Pick bowed out of the *race*. Extract 32.
51. 15 cleared for presidency *race*. Extract 33.
52. [...] Those now officially in the *race* [...] Extract 33.
53. This is the most crowded presidential *race* in independent Kenya. Extract 33.
54. This year, the *race* for the presidency has attracted 15 candidates, [...] Extract 35.
55. Also in the *race* are [...] Extract 35.
56. He said presidential *race* was crowded [...] Extract 40.
57. We want Matiba in the *race*! Extract 43.

In the examples given above (43 – 57) the Kenyan presidential elections are conceptualized as a race. The presidential candidates are presented to the reader as competing athletes in a race.

The *race* metaphor is used in examples 48, 51, 53, 54 and 56 to show that democracy thrives and is vibrant in Kenya.

In some of the examples the number of candidates cleared to contest the presidency is emphasized to show that no one is barred from elections.

Other examples of sports metaphors are provided below:

58. Going into the *contest* for the first time are [...] Extract 32.
59. Campaign *hots up* as date nears. Extract 36.
60. President Moi has set the *ball rolling* when he arrived at the venue at exactly 9am. Extract 48.
61. [...] In an *exercise* described by political pundits as one of the fairest and most democratic to have emerged in any local political *contest* in the multi-party era. Extract 51.
62. President Moi said some political parties were just trying to learn the *game* [...] Extract 52.
63. *Pace hots up* as Chesoni names the day. Extract 14a.

The *Daily Nation* in example 58 presents some of the opposition presidential candidates as amateurs and novices, and that is why they are said to be participating in the elections (contest) for the first time.

The metaphor of sport - *pace hots up* - as used in examples 59 and 63 is an indication of the intensification of election campaigns. That implies that the contestants are increasing the rate or speed in a race (campaigns).

The *Kenya Times* is outright in support of President Moi and the ruling party Kanu as exemplified in 60, 61 and 62. The metaphor of football (example 60) portrays Moi as a candidate who is organized, composed and far ahead of his rivals. Normally, in soccer the captain is the person who sets the ball rolling. Thus Moi is equated with a captain to show his mastery of organizational skills. In example 61, Kanu nominations which are compared to a *contest* (race) are described positively through the use of superlatives such as “fairest and most democratic”.

The *game* metaphor in example 62 as used by President Moi, is a device that the reporter uses to pour vitriol on other presidential candidates. Through this metaphor other political parties are portrayed as amateurs in sports (game), that is, politics.

6.8 FOOD METAPHORS

Food metaphors serve as a tool to derogate and denigrate the opposition parties. It is important to note that these metaphors are only found in *Kenya Times* as shown below:

64. The Opposition *crave* for the presidency intensified yesterday [...] Extract 28.
65. Prof Maathai described what she termed *unbridled greed* among GEMA tribes [...] Extract 54.
66. President Daniel arap Moi yesterday *electrified* Kisumu town on the second day of his campaign trail in Nyanza and made *mince meat* of his challengers [...] Extract 55.
67. The polls indicate that Kanu [...] will scoop a majority of the seats leaving only *crumbs* for the opposition. Extract 58.

The food metaphor *crave* as used in example 64 (mis)represents the opposition parties as entities that are so obsessed with the presidency that they could go to any lengths to acquire it. They are portrayed as a group of people who have a very strong, almost uncontrollable, desire for the presidency.

Uncontrolled desire is a very negative attribute when applied to a group of people. Another metaphor related to *crave* is *unbridled greed* found in example 65. The reporter, through the words of Prof Maathai, uses this metaphor to derogate the GEMA tribes. These tribes are presented as people who have or who show an excessive appetite for ruling the country. This puts them in a situation where the reader views them as egocentric.

Example 66, *mince meat* is a metaphor designed to show that President Moi will utterly defeat his challengers or opponents because he enjoys massive and popular support from the electorate. Example 67 emphasizes the same message found in example 66. The metaphor *crumbs* enhances that the opposition have a zero chance of capturing the presidency. In other words they will secure very few seats in the elections.

6.9 CLOTH METAPHOR

The cloth metaphor is found in only one instance in the *Kenya Times*:

68. Ngilu maintained that the majority of the male opposition presidential candidates were *worn out* and could not make any impact in the present Kenyan politics. Extract 28.

In the excerpt above male opposition candidates are compared by Ngilu to worn out clothes. Such clothes are no longer usable and are of no value to the user because they are not appealing. Through the metaphor of clothes the reporter through Ngilu's words suggests that the candidates are of no value to the

country. Therefore, they have no business in contesting the presidency because they have nothing new to offer. By reporting Ngilu's words, the reporter is implicitly telling the reader that the candidates are past their sell-by date.

6.10 ROAD METAPHORS

The road metaphors found in our data, *Kenya Times* (example 69) and *East African Standard* (example 70), are outlined below.

69. The *bumpy ride* in the Opposition left him a lonely man since it was the wrong place [...] Extract 26.

70. He said Kenyans should not gamble with their lives by voting for parties which had no proven *track record*. Extract 47.

In 69 being in the Opposition is compared to travelling on a road that has many bumps or is uneven thus creating discomfort. The use of the road metaphor indicates that there are many difficulties (bumps) and problems in the opposition camp. The metaphor, therefore, implicitly tells the reader that Kanu is free from all the difficulties, thus, it is an even road.

The *track record* metaphor in example 70 is used by President Moi as an appeal to the electorate to ignore parties whose past performance or achievements cannot be assessed or proven, leaving only Kanu as the party whose past performances can be proven.

6.11 GAMBLING METAPHORS

Gambling metaphors are only found in the *East African Standard* as shown below:

71. He cautioned the Luo community against *gambling* with their lives [...] Extract 46.

72. He said Kenyans should not *gamble* with their lives by voting for parties which had no proven track record. Extract 47.

The reporter reports President Moi's words. In fact, these reports suggest that belonging to or voting for parties other than Kanu would be a form of gambling. The President uses these metaphors as a plea to the Luos and Kenyans in general not to vote for the opposition. Voting for the opposition is therefore compared to engaging in a gambling game where the loss can be enormous.

In the discussion on metaphors, the *Daily Nation* emerges as a newspaper that does not favour one particular party. At times it uses metaphors to say positive or negative things about the ruling party, at other times it utilizes metaphors to say positive or negative things about opposition parties. Therefore it is clear that the newspaper is balanced in its reporting. The *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* metaphors are only used to show the antagonisms and negative traits affecting the opposition parties, but the same metaphors portray the ruling party positively. It then becomes clear that the two newspapers are biased towards Kanu.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate the ideological workings in newspapers with specific reference to the Kenyan situation. Ideologies are manifested in newspapers through different angles or points of view. In the course of the analysis of the corpus/data, ideological leanings have been unveiled. The end result shows that the *Daily Nation* emerges as a more fair, balanced, objective and independent newspaper in its reporting. In other words, it is not aligned to a particular political party and it does not perpetuate a specific party's ideology. The same cannot be said of the other two papers. The analysis has revealed that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* propagate and perpetuate the ideology of the ruling party, Kanu. For all intents and purposes the two newspapers function as the mouthpieces of the ruling party. Thus it can be said that they are biased towards a specific political party and their distrust for other parties is quite evident. In summary, it can be posited that the newspapers convey and portray conflicting ideological positions.

The study has also found that the conflicting ideological positions attested in the newspapers are conveyed through certain linguistic devices such as lexis, metaphors and syntactic patterns.

The potent power of metaphors in the workings of ideology was observed by, for example, Fairclough (1995(b)) when he stated that "metaphorical applications of discourses are socially motivated, different metaphors may correspond to different interests and perspectives, and may have different ideological loadings" (1995(b): 94). Metaphors from different source domains have been applied effectively in the data to portray different ideological positions held by the *Daily*

Nation on the one hand, and by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* on the other.

Metaphors from the source domain of war are utilized by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* to create an ideology of conflict among the various opposition parties. In other words, these parties are presented to the reader as warring factions. The same metaphors in the same newspapers create an ideology of aggressiveness and toughness for the ruling party. The party is both tough and aggressive against the opposition. The *Daily Nation* shows both the ruling party and the opposition as battling amongst or within themselves.

The *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* negatively evaluate the opposition parties through the use of military metaphors. However, when these metaphors are applied with reference to the ruling party they are meant to downplay the party's loss. The *Daily Nation* also makes use of the military metaphor to evaluate the opposition. While these metaphors have an evaluative function in all the papers, there is a striking difference in the sense that the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* have more of these metaphors than the *Daily Nation*.

Boxing metaphors in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* frame opposition parties as entities that are on the receiving end, i.e. they are victims of boxing metaphors (*blow*, etc). The victimization is not meant to sway the reader to sympathize with them, rather the intention of the reporter is to ideologically show their defeat.

Kanu is assigned positive accolades through human characteristic metaphors by the *Daily Nation*. Personification metaphors as observed in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* denigrate the opposition and their followers.

Metaphors from the weather domain highlight the problems bedevilling opposition parties both in the *Daily Nation* and the *Kenya Times*. However, the latter also highlights the positive traits of Kanu and its leader, Moi.

The *Daily Nation* generally metaphorises elections as a race between competing/contending participants, while the *Kenya Times* heaps praise on Moi through sports metaphors.

Food, cloth and gambling metaphors which are exclusively found in the *Kenya Times* and road metaphors (in *Kenya Times* and *East African Standard*) create a negative image for the opposition.

The choice of lexis establishes and maintains the ideological stance of a newspaper. The *Daily Nation* establishes and maintains the perception of Kanu supporters as rowdy, while the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* do the same for the followers of opposition parties. The choice of lexis forces the reader to see the supporters predominantly in that light (as violent). The stereotypical construction of youths as violent ingrains certain perceptions in the mind of the reader and his/her otherwise perception is blurred. The blurring of presentation is ideological in terms of perception and cognition and it says more about the ideological values of the reporters.

The "ethnic/tribal ideology" of opposition politics is propagated by the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* through adjectives. The fact that the adjectives are only used with reference to the opposition is an ideological strategy to show that Kanu is not tribal but embraces all ethnic groups and Kenyan unity. The reader is therefore swayed and influenced to adopt the attitude of the papers of viewing other parties derogatorily as tribal. Adjectives in the two newspapers create positive images for Moi and Kanu but, by being silent

on other leaders and parties, imply that they (parties and leaders) cannot or do not match Moi and the party in terms of these qualities.

Nouns project an ideological view that is evaluative in nature. In the *Daily Nation* both opposition and ruling party supporters are presented to the reader as trouble makers. The *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* apply the particular feature of speech to create and sustain stereotypes of opposition party's supporters as trouble makers, disorderly and violent. At the same time, in order to fit with the ideological patterns of the two newspapers, the President is glorified through the application of the chosen nouns.

Verbs in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* aid in the construction of an ideology of a "problem-ridden" opposition affected by desertions and defections. The *Daily Nation* employs certain verbs to portray the government and by extension the ruling party as helpless.

Representational practices have ideological effects and can assist in the realization of contrasting discourses. Representation, in this study, realized through the process of transitivity, helps to sustain bias, manipulation and ideology. Material processes, which are a form of representation, indicate the newspapers' political stances or ideologies.

In the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* the process evaluates the opposition negatively through the processes (ACTOR/ACTIONS) that they carry out or perform. The same newspapers portray an ideology that favours the ruling party. The *Daily Nation* contrasts the ruling party and a combined opposition through material processes. It faults both sides of the political divide by pointing out their weaknesses.

Verbalization processes in the *Kenya Times* help to sustain an ideology of Kanu and the President as powerful entities. Likewise, in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard*, relational processes create an ideology of positivity for Kanu while creating a negative one for the opposition. The *Daily Nation* steers away from evaluation and applies the process to explain about a major event in the Kenyan political scene, i.e. the day elections are held.

Other forms of representation, such as naming, references and representation of women, as they appear in the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard*, serve as a portrayal of the opposition and their members in a negative light.

Ideologically, the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* construct Kanu as a social group that has aspects of a national party while the opposition is constructed as a social group that is disintegrating. The *Daily Nation*, in its construction of the two social groups, does not favour either of them. Instead, it points out the weaknesses of the two groups' policies. Simultaneously, the rhetorical questions found in the data evaluate the two social groups. The *Daily Nation* provides an evaluation of the electoral commission, the President and politicians in general, while the *Kenya Times* effectively uses rhetorical questions to cast doubt on the credibility of the opposition showing their ineffectiveness if they were to rule the country.

From the foregoing discussion of metaphors, lexical choices and representational processes or practices it is evident that language can be manipulated and misused to serve some ideological motivation. In doing so language reinforces ideologies. In essence language in the Kenyan media is used in a very subtle manner to influence, control or persuade the readers to believe and accept the newspapers' standpoint.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study focused on the analysis of texts using a critical discourse analysis framework. However, no attempt was made towards analysis of text reception by audiences. The texts analysed postulated ideological effects without taking into consideration how the texts are actually received by audiences. It would make an interesting study if a similar analysis were undertaken with reference to reader responses/audience reception. However, such a study should not be carried out while neglecting text analysis. The two approaches are complementary, in other words, text analysis needs to be complemented by analysis of text reception.

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SUMMARY

This research examines and analyses the reportage, in the Kenyan print media, of the run-up to the 1997 general elections. The analysis aimed at the identification and explanation of how ideology is realized and conveyed in the language use of newspapers. Consequently, more emphasis was placed on how ideological discourse is constructed, thus bringing to the fore the relation between discourse and ideology. Through the analysis of selected headlines and editorial articles in the three Kenyan newspapers (*Daily Nation*, *East African Standard* and *Kenya Times*) it became evident that certain linguistic choices played a fundamental role in the propagation and perpetuation of implicit and dominant ideologies. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework to analyse various discursive patterns such as metaphors, lexis, transitivity etc., it has emerged that there are certain ideological differences that are conveyed either tacitly or overtly in newspaper reporting.

The study comprises of seven chapters.

Chapter one is an introduction to the study. The chapter highlights the problem under investigation paying particular attention to the objectives intended to be achieved, the justification, hypotheses and the method used.

A description of the theory used in data analysis is provided in chapter two. The basic tenets of CDA as an analytical framework are outlined. Emphasis is also placed on certain aspects of Functional Grammar which have an influence on Critical Linguistics. There is also a discussion on the pragmatic and cognitive approaches to the study of metaphor. Lastly, the major themes that have informed the study of CDA such as language and ideology, language and power, political linguistics and language and the media are addressed.

Chapter three explores the political background of Kenya after independence and prior to the 1997 general election. The historical development of the three Kenyan newspapers is also situated within this chapter.

The concept of ideological square and its varied manifestations in the data through syntactic, semantic and stylistic means is the subject matter of chapter four.

Chapter five embodies the role of lexical choices in projecting an ideology. The role of adjectives, verbs and nouns in determining newspapers' ideological positions as attested in the data is covered in this chapter.

The role and function of various cognitive metaphors as realized in the data are accounted for in chapter six.

Chapter seven consists of conclusions and recommendations. A synthesis of the findings in data analysis and the recommendations emanating therefrom is provided.

KEYWORDS: IDEOLOGY, IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE, CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, LEXICAL CHOICES, TRANSITIVITY, METAPHORS, NEWSPAPER REPORTING.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing ondersoek en ontleed die verslaggewing in die Keniaanse gedrukte media tydens die aanloop tot die algemene verkiesing in 1997. Die analise het die identifisering en verduideliking van hoe ideologie realiseer en in die taalgebruik van koerante oorgedra word, ten doel. Gevolglik is meer klem gelê op hoe ideologiese diskoers gekonstrueer word, en is die verwantskap tussen diskoers en ideologie na vore gebring. Aan die hand van 'n analise van geselekteerde hoofopskrifte en redaksionele artikels in die drie Keniaanse koerante (*Daily Nation*, *East African Standard* en *Kenya Times*), het dit duidelik geword dat sekere linguistiese keuses 'n fundamentele rol speel in die verspreiding en instandhouding van implisiete en dominante ideologieë. Deur die gebruik van Kritiese Diskoersanalise as 'n raamwerk om die verskillende diskursiewe patrone soos metafore, leksikake keuses, oordraagbaarheid, ensovoorts te analiseer, het dit na vore gekom dat daar sekere ideologiese verskille is wat of eksplisiet of implisiet in koerantberiggewing oorgedra word.

Die studie bestaan uit sewe hoofstukke.

Hoofstuk 1 dien as 'n inleiding tot die studie. Die hoofstuk bring die probleem wat ondersoek word na vore deur spesifiek aandag te verleen aan die doelwitte wat daarmee bereik wil word, die regverdiging, hipoteses en die metode wat gebruik is.

'n Beskrywing van die teorie wat in die data-analise gebruik is, word in hoofstuk 2 verskaf. Die basiese beginsels van Kritiese Diskoersanalise as 'n analitiese raamwerk word uitgestippel. Klem word ook geplaas op sekere aspekte van Funktionele Grammatika wat 'n invloed op Kritiese Linguistiek het. Daar is ook 'n bespreking van die pragmatiese en kognitiewe benaderings tot die studie van die metafoor. In die laaste instansie word die hooftemas van die studie van Kritiese

Diskoersanalise, soos byvoorbeeld taal en ideologie, taal en mag, politieke linguistiek en taal en die media aangespreek.

Hoofstuk 3 verken die politieke agtergrond van Kenia, na onafhanklikheid en voor die algemene verkiesing van 1997. Die historiese ontwikkeling van die drie Keniaanse koerante word ook in hierdie hoofstuk aangetref.

Die konsep van die ideologiese vierkant en die gevarieerde manifestasies daarvan in die data deur sintaktiese, semantiese en stilistiese middele, is die onderwerp onder bespreking in hoofstuk 4.

Hoofstuk 5 omvat die rol van leksikale keuses by die projektering van 'n ideologie. Die rol van adjektiewe, werkwoorde en naamwoorde by die bepaling van koerante se ideologiese posisies, soos bevestig in die data, word in die hoofstuk gedek.

Die rol en funksie van verskeie kognitiewe metafore, soos dit voorkom in die data, word in hoofstuk 6 verantwoord.

Hoofstuk 7 bestaan uit gevolgtrekkings en aanbevelings. 'n Sintese van die bevindinge in die data-analise en die aanbevelings voortspruitend daaruit word verskaf.

SLEUTELWOORDE: IDEOLOGIE, IDEOLOGIESE VIERKANT, KRITIESE DISKOERSANALISE, LEKSIKALE KEUSES, OORDRAAGBAARHEID, METAFORE, KOERANTBERIGGEWING.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

HEADLINE ARTICLES FOR NOVEMBER 1997

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Daily Nation | Extracts 1-10 |
| East African Standard | Extracts 11-22 |
| Kenya Times | Extracts 23-31 |

HEADLINE ARTICLES FOR DECEMBER 1997

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Daily Nation | Extracts 32-39 |
| East African Standard | Extracts 40-47 |
| Kenya Times | Extracts 48-58 |

New defections as poll looms

Kanyingi and Sifuna defect

By NATION Team
Politicians continued shifting alliances yesterday in preparation for the General Election, with MP Lawrence Sifuna quitting Ford Asili for Ford Kenya and former Kiambu Kanu chairman Kuria Kanyingi defecting to Ford People.

Mr Kanyingi, once a staunch supporter of Kanu and President Moi, in the Opposition-dominated Central Province, said he fully supports Kiambu MP Kenneth Matiba.

Mr Kanyingi, who recently resigned as the Limuru Kanu sub-branch chairman, announced his defection at a public rally at Kamirithu, Limuru.

Mr Kanyingi, who was applauded by the crowd, was received by Ford People Secretary-General Kimani wa Nyoyoke.

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FROM PAGE 1

He said he had joined Ford People because he believed "Mr Matiba is its chairman and has many supporters".

He accused Kanu of making many false promises to the people of Limuru.

Mr Nyoyoke said he had registered Ford People after the registrar-general twice declined to register the Matiba group and he feared the group would be left without a political party.

Mr Nyoyoke said his party comprises members of the Ford-A faction allied to Mr Matiba and that he would step down as a presidential candidate if Mr Matiba decided to join the race.

Mr Matiba is not registered as a voter and has disowned Ford People.

Mr Sifuna, who defected to Ford-K with Bungoma Mayor Augustine Tella and party member Zaina Watako, described Ford-A as a dead party which had no presidential candidate after Mr Matiba's failure to register as a voter.

The Kandiyo MP accused Mr Matiba of lacking direction.

The MP was received by Ford-K national Chairman Kijana Wamalwa during an impromptu rally in the Bungoma Bus Park. Mr

Wamalwa said that the defection was timely and marked the end of Ford-A in Western Province.

Mr Wamalwa, who was accompanied by MPs Mukhisa Kiliyi, Saulo Ilusolo, John Mungyasi, party Secretary-General Gitobu Imanyara and Mr Jackson Kibor, predicted his party's victory in the coming General Election.

Mr Wamalwa said that after last week's Kanu special delegates' meeting, it was clear the ruling party was not ready to appoint any of the current Luhya ministers to the post of Vice-President as previously promised. He asked the Luhya community to vote for Ford-K, where one of their own is a presidential candidate.

"Luhya should not accept to be used as a political tool on the promise that they will be given the vice-presidency or presidency after the year 2000 and yet they have got their own son who could make it now if supported fully," he said.

Mr Sifuna is the second Ford Asili MP to defect in a week. Fellow legislator Chris Kamuyu also decamped from the party but moved to Kanu.

South Imenti MP Kiraitu Murungi, who defected from Ford-K to the Democratic Party just over a week ago. He said his move was "an adoption of emerging political realities".

Meanwhile, Kanu Secretary-General Joseph Kamotho at the weekend predicted that Parliament will be dissolved tomorrow.

"I am asking you to turn up in large numbers and vote for Kanu when the elections are called. This will be very soon as Parliament will be dissolved next Tuesday!"

Mr Kamotho, who was speaking at the Gikindu CPK Church, Malthioya, Muranga District.

Mr Kamotho sought to dispel rumours that the General Elections would not be held this year. He said the rumours were aimed at distracting Kenyans' attention from the polls.

He termed an excuse rather than a reason the Opposition leaders' demand for constitutional reforms before the elections.

He claimed the Opposition was threatening to boycott the polls after realising they would not dislodge Kanu.

Q Fafi MP Ibrahim Salati (Kanu) has appealed to the Electoral Commission to call the elections before Muslims start observing the holy month of Ramadhan on December 31.

Alternatively, the elections should be held after January 29 next year to avoid inconveniencing Muslims, the MP said, adding: "Muslims attach great importance to Ramadhan."

See picture Page Four

All clear for Election '97

But Opposition feels betrayed

By NATION Team
President Moi's surprise decision yesterday to dissolve Parliament effectively started the countdown to the General Election.

But it also provoked angry reactions, with some Opposi-

tion MPs calling it a betrayal of the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group spirit while others welcomed it as timely.

The Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr Francis ole Kaparo, meanwhile said he would issue writs "any time now for the Electoral Commission to begin the process of filling the vacant constituencies seats".

In the reactions, Kenya Social

Congress Chairman George Anyona, who was the IPPG secretary, was concerned that the element of secrecy surrounding the election date suggested it could be used as a political weapon.

"I hope this is the last time that Parliament is dissolved by the Executive at its own whim," he told a press conference at Parliament Buildings.

Presidential candidate Raila Odunga said the move was yet an-

other indication that the powers of the President needed to be limited.

"We would like to see Parliament regulating itself within the law and not one that is dissolved at the whim of an individual," said the National Development Party leader, adding "the whole IPPG was nothing but a cosmetic sham".

The Minister for Public Works, Prof Jonathan Ngeno, said the dis-

solution was long overdue and now was the time for leaders to go out and educate the electorate on the IPPG deal.

Mr Ng'eno, Kanu's MP for Bureti, said the Seventh Parliament should be credited with the initiation of reforms and should not be discredited as having failed.

Gachoka-MP Norman Nyagah

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FROM PAGE 1

called the dissolution "premature and undemocratic" as the House still had some business pending.

Mr Farah Maalim, the outgoing Member of Parliament for Lagdera, said it was a clear indication that the IPPG deal was fake and was aimed at hoodwinking Kenyans as "some of us are still denied registration as Salim and the President can still arbitrarily dissolve Parliament".

Mr Maalim said it was completely unacceptable to dissolve Parliament just when seasonal papers were being discussed to see to the implementation of the IPPG package.

Mr Anyona suggested that a Government of national unity be formed after the poll as no single party would emerge the outright winner.

Asked whether or not he thought there was enough time between now and the elections for the IPPG reforms to take root, he said: "Not as much time as we would have liked or had we followed through the IPPG process and let Parliament run its full term."

Mr Anyona said he had intended to table a motion this week seeking to extend the life of the Seventh Parliament and the establishment of a government of

national unity. Copies distributed to the Press indicated the support of 72 MPs from across the political divide.

Kisumu Town MP Job Omino said the powers of the President still made it difficult for the Electoral Commission, the Judiciary and Parliament to operate independently "hence the pulling of the rug from under the feet of those who negotiated the IPPG deal".

Mr Stephen Ndicho of Juja said Ford Asili MPs would hold a meeting to decide which party they would move to.

Mr Ndicho was referring to the protracted wrangle which has seen Mr Martin Shikuku remain with Ford Asili and a new party called Ford People being registered.

Outgoing Member of Parliament for Ntanyiri Maoka Moore said the IPPG deal had proved a big scam and "all I can ask the electorate is to vote out all the Opposition members who were compromised by being party to the IPPG".

Mr Murungi, of Imenti South, said he was unhappy about the dissolution as it once again showed that Kanu was not a party to be trusted.

"The spirit of the IPPG has been thoroughly destroyed by President Moi and I do hope that Kenyans will come out in full

force to reject Kanu and Moi at the elections," said Mr Murungi, who was in the House on a Ford ticket but recently defected to the Democratic Party.

Prof Ouma Muga of Rangwe said it was unfortunate that the country would go to the elections without genuine reforms.

Prof Muga added that "despite, great promises and arrangements, nothing has been done to save Lake Victoria and the heavy flash-points of violence in this country are definitely worrying".

Mr Apili Wawire of Lugari said he was ready for the elections as it was time to go for a fresh mandate from the people.

Migori's Owinu Acholla said President Moi should have waited for the House to adjourn before dissolving Parliament. However, he said he would defend his seat on an NDP ticket.

Mr Paul Ngei, who recently lost a leg to diabetes, said: "I am glad it has been dissolved because I can now come back as an MP for Kangundo on a Kanu ticket!"

NDP Secretary-General Charles Maranga said his party's candidates to send in their applications for nominations with Sh4,000 for civic candidates and Sh10,000 for parliamentary candidates.

A notice in the precincts of Parliament asked "all the immediate former members to clear their pi-

geon holes before they leave for their rural haunts".

Mr Dennis Akumu of Nyakach said the speed with which the dissolution was carried out showed a sinister motive.

In Embu town, Mr Nyagah said members were supposed to deliberate on the administrative reform Bill today. (The Bill which regulates the conduct of elections was actually passed by Kanu MPs on Thursday in just 10 minutes after the Opposition staged a walkout in protest against the taking over of the watchdog Public Accounts and Public Investments committees).

"What is the rush for? There was no harm in waiting for only two days, this shows that President Moi is not committed to reforms!" the legislator said.

Mr Nyagah said the move was a

stab in the back of the Opposition and said President Moi should bear the blame if there was blood shed in the country.

The MP asked his Opposition colleagues to urgently meet to decide the next course of action.

A number of leaders in Kericho welcomed the dissolution, saying it was long overdue.

Machakos Kanu Chairman Mulu Mutisya welcomed the decision, saying it gave Kenyans an opportunity to elect fresh leaders to lead them into the next century.

But the Machakos Social Democratic Party branch, through former Councillor John Masi, said the President Moi acted in a cowardly manner.

However, immediate former Councillor Titus Tui and Machakos Town Mayor Donald Muti welcomed the dissolution.

Seven ex-MPs desert Ford-K

Speaker declares all seats vacant

Moments after the Speaker of the National Assembly declared all parliamentary seats vacant yesterday, Ford Kenya lost seven of its outgoing MPs to the National Development Party in the continuing shifting of political alliances ahead of the General Election.

Five of the former Nyanza Province legislators announced their defection at a press conference at Parliament Buildings in Nairobi.

They are Mr Joshua Ojode (Ndihiwi), Mr Owino Ochola (Mitori), Mr Dennis Akumu (Nyslach), Dr Valentine Omolo Opere (Mbiti) and Mr Job Omino (Kisumu Town). They were joined by Mr Ochieng Mbeo (Mshare, Nairobi).

In Kisumu, Dr Othuru Odinga, elder brother of outgoing Langata legislator and NDP leader Raila Odinga, announced he had left Ford-K for NDP and asked his colleagues, "who are still in the room, to follow suit."

The defections bring to eight the number of outgoing Ford-K MPs who have left the party. Last week Mr Kiraitu Murungi, of Imenti South, quit FORD-K for the Democratic Party.

Last weekend, Ford-K was itself the beneficiary of a defection when outgoing Kanduyi MP Lawrence Siluna of Ford-Asili announced that he would defend his seat on a Ford-K ticket.

The defections leave Ford-K with only nine of 18 outgoing MPs from Luo-Nyanza who may seek re-election on its ticket. Two others — Dr Oki Ooko Ombaka and Mrs Phoebe Asijo (Karschuonyo) — have announced their retire-

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ment from politics.

Ford-K, with 31 seats in Parliament, enjoyed the title of Official Opposition party.

The defections rekindle memories of the 1992 election for supremacy of Ford-K last year between Mr Odinga and Mr Kijana Wamalwa and the subsequent splitting of the party into two factions.

At their press conference yesterday, the six former legislators said they defected due to pressure from their constituents.

They also cited the so-called "Ndihiwi Declaration" of January 1 during which a number of Luo legislators resolved to support Mr Odinga in his bid for the presidency.

One other outgoing Ford-K MP, Mr Tom Onyango (Nyalike), who was expected to join his colleagues in decamping to NDP, did not turn up. Those present were however, emphatic that he had already joined the ranks of NDP.

The MPs defecting in Nairobi also accused Ford-K chairman Wamalwa of failing to promote democracy within the party. They said he continued to maintain close associations with individuals whose names had been adversely mentioned in corrupt deals.

Mr Achola cited Mr Wamalwa's letter to the South African Government absolving businessman Ketan Somani of blame in the questionable deal mentioned by the parliamentary Public Accounts Committee, which Mr Wamalwa chaired.

He also accused Mr Wamalwa of using his position as PAC chairman to hoodwink the committee into recommending that businessman Karimhesh Pailni be refunded Sh2.1 billion by the Government.

"We have been waiting for this time with a lot of anxiety and expectation. We would have formally crossed on January 1 when NDP was launched but we chose not to do so to avoid subjecting

our supporters to the rigours of by-elections," Mr Ojode said.

He added: "Our supporters are in NDP, they want us to join them there and that is what we have done. There is nothing we can do. Our options are as limited as those of somebody in Baringo (President Moi's home district) choosing between Kanu and the Opposition."

Dr Opere was more candid. "My supporters told me point blank that they wanted to re-elect me but I was in the wrong party. They said they would only vote for me if I abandoned Ford-K and joined NDP."

Mr Omino, who announced he would run in the newly-created Kisumu Town West constituency, said he was an NDP fourth member. "I am not defecting, I crossed that bridge long ago. I am in NDP because I was there when it was formed."

Asked why the NDP national officials were not there to receive them, Mr Akumu replied: "You journalists are suffering from the Kanu mentality where defection is not complete if the national officials, including the President, are not there to receive you."

The group appealed to NDP supporters to avoid acts of hoodlumism and political thuggery during the electioneering period. House Speaker Francis Kiriro's announcement declaring all parliamentary seats vacant effectively gave the Electoral Commission the greenlight to set an election timetable.

He said the 210 writs of summons asking the commission to supply new MPs by his signature were forwarded to Chairman Justice Juma Othman (Rid) Zaccchaeus Chesoni yesterday morning.

The new Parliament will have an additional 22 elected MPs.

The commission now has to appoint electoral officials in each electoral area within the next 10 days.

Meanwhile, Mr Kaparo said he would not resign to vie for Laikipia East seat he held before the 1992 elections.

Ford-K loses leading officials

By KARIUKI WAIHENYA

Kenya yesterday suffered another blow within 48 hours as it lost five more outgoing MPs to an undisclosed party.

The party's first Vice-chairman, Mr Orengo (Ugenya) who has been on some issues with party chairman Wamalwa Kijana resigned from his post along with Information and Publicity Secretary Otieno Mak'Otanya, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs Mr Karan, (Nyanjo), Dr K'Opio (Kasipul) and Aloo Ogeka (Mudoi).

At a press conference at Chesoni House, the five said they had left the party on which they would defend their seats "with vigour."

K'Opio was absent from the conference but Mr Orengo said he was part of the group. He, however, appended his signature to the statement.

This brings to 13 the number of outgoing MPs who have recently defected from Ford-K.

Yesterday, Mr Orengo who issued a statement on behalf of his colleagues, said their move arose from differences between them and the section of the Ford-K leadership regarding the principles and philosophy of the party which he said had been compromised.

The participation of a section of the party in the IPPG talks was criticised by the party or any organs and in our view, the package of reforms in essence a contrivance initiated by the party to extend its tenure," he said.

Orengo said the appointment of members of the electoral commission by a section of the party ignored "vital sensitive issues of the party including the interests of the region which Ford-K to be enabled to win appointments to the commission."

Wamalwa puts on a brave face

By ERIC SHIMOLI

Ford-Kenya yesterday downplayed the defections and resignations of its top officials and MPs and said it expects to receive high profile names from areas such as Kisii, Maasailand, Coastal and North Eastern provinces.

The party's chairman, Kilian Wamalwa, said their exit, regrettable as it is, has how paved the way for Ford-Kenya to go into the election as a united party, speaking with one voice, a party members who believe in one voice.

Mr Wamalwa did not give names of the expected defectors. He said Ford-Kenya was gaining ground in KILIM, because of the efforts of former legislators Henry Obonyo and Ferdinand Obure, and in the North Rift districts due to the national co-ordinator, Mr Jackson Kilborn. The party is also becoming strong in Western Province (Kaduha, Kericho, Mandi, Lamu and Kilifi) and Nairobi (Nairobi North and parts of Eastern provinces).

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Mr Wamalwa was addressing a news conference on the resignation of Bill Ombui (Nairobi), chairman, Janet Orengo (Ugariya), publicity secretary, Olucho Mak'Onyango (Alago, Usonga), assistant secretary for international affairs.

Otieno Karah (Nyando), Mr Otieno K'Opiyo (Kasipui/Kabondo) and Mr Aloo Ogeka (Muhoroti). The resignations brought to 11 the number of MPs who have defected from the party since the dissolution of parliament last Monday.

Mr Wamalwa said he had received letters of resignation from Mr Orengo and Mr Mak'Onyango, which had been accepted, but those of Mr Karah, Mr K'Opiyo and Mr Mak'Onyango are yet to be received.

He said an obsession with mass defection was inconsistent with Ford-K policies on responsible leadership.

He said those departing from the party had not attended party organs for a long time and do not know party policies and programmes.

He said Ford-K was being targeted for attack "because the party and its presidential candidate have shown signs of winning this election" (Mr Wamalwa is the presidential candidate).

He said Ford-Asili presidential candidate Martin Shikuku was old enough to be his father and asked the former Buleire MP to stop personalised attacks against him.

Said Mr Wamalwa: "Mr Shikuku should understand that the trend all over the world now is for people to go for young leaders as shown by the election of Mr Tony Blair as British Prime Minister and Bill Clinton as the American President."

Earlier yesterday, Ford-Kenya activists asked Mr Wamalwa to convene an urgent meeting to discuss the desertion of the 13 MPs. Adds Patrick Maxoyo in Mombasa.

They said the defections were a blow to Ford-K as they had eroded the party's support in Nyanza Province and other parts of the country.

The activists were led by Mr Moses Oduka, Ms Goldliver Were and Alfred Okumu.

"Ford-K should not be reduced to a Luhya party following the defection of most of its ex-MPs and the party should instead continue to woo its supporters following the defections," Mr Oduka said.

The MPs who have defected were Messrs Joshua Ojode (Ndiwa), Mr Dennis Akumu (Nyakach), Dr Valentine Omolo Opend (Mbilal), Mr Job Omino (Kisumu town), Mr Ochieng Mbea (Mathare) and Mr Kitaitu Munugi.

The lobby group officials asked ex-Kanuu MPs from Western Province not to undermine the popularity of Ford-K in the area.

Ex-Kanuu MPs from Western Province should follow the example of their colleagues from Nyanza, who have discovered that they cannot regain their seats unless they join NDP, he said.

Raila speaks of Opposition plan

By MAGUTA KIMEMIA

Presidential candidate Raila Odinga yesterday confirmed that opposition leaders were consulting to come up with a strategy to ensure victory in the elections.

Without giving details, he said the consultations included possibility of agreeing on a single opposition presidential candidate to take on President Moi, reducing the number of contestants for the presidency and the need for one opposition party to field parliamentary and civic candidates where they enjoyed comparative advantage over the others.

"We are not just talking about presidential candidates but also about parliamentary and civic candidates. We feel it is not necessary to duplicate candidates in areas where we think one political party has clear advantages over the other."

There is no need to divide the Opposition," Mr Odinga said.

Odinga was addressing the near Kenyatta Market where he received about 100 calls from Kiibera, Nairobi, who defected from Ford-Asili to the National Development Party.

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The NDP leader said a technical team comprising members of various opposition parties had been involved in the consultations, which also cover the issue of how the parties would share certain portfolios after the elections.

"We believe these elections are winnable. The Kanu Government thinks they can rig them by dividing opposition votes. But we think that we can consolidate our votes and come out the winners."

Asked whether he was optimistic the Opposition could agree to unite after failing to do so for the last five years, Mr Odinga said it was possible now because there was an election.

"Different political parties have different ideologies but it is possible to unite over issues that are of common interest. We did not have elections five years ago but we are now facing elections," he said.

The consultations, he added, involved only serious leaders of political leaders and not those who had eaten ugali or those who had entered the race as spoilers.

"We are not talking about all opposition political parties. There

are some opposition leaders who have completely been compromised. Some of them, in all intents and purposes, are agents of Kanu.

"We have very little to do with such candidates. We are talking about serious leaders who want a change for the better," Mr Odinga said.

Asked if he was ready to step down for any other candidate agreed upon by the opposition, Mr Odinga said: "It is premature to talk about stepping down by any candidate. If it were not possible, there would be no need for those consultations. So we will cross the bridge when we reach it."

"At the moment, we are very open and we will agree to work with any other party provided it is for change."

"We do not want to remove Moi and replace him with another Moi. We have not been struggling for a change of guard at State House but for fundamental change which will benefit the people of this country."

On Monday, a source which did not want to be identified, said the opposition was holding "serious talks to come up with a plan before the General Elections to remove President Moi from power".

The defectors said they were not ready to heed calls by Ford-K chairman Kenneth Mbatia to burn their voter's cards or to boycott the elections.

Mr Odinga accused Electoral Commission Chairman Justo (rd) Zachaeus Chege of unilaterally calling off a meeting of leaders of political parties scheduled for last week to discuss the media should treat their campaigns. He accused the commission chairman of refusing to convene the meeting.

All parties should be allocated equal air time by the State media on a daily basis, between now and election time, Mr Odinga said.

The issue of financing opposition campaigns, he said, had not been discussed. President Moi and Kanu candidates, he claims were still using vehicles belonging to the Government and parastatals in their campaigns.

Police, he added, were still harassing people contrary to the spirit of the contentious Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group package.

He claimed that 10 of his supporters were locked up for days in Kuria District last week for displaying his party symbols and slogans when a Kanu officer was passing by.

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Matiba men fail in party search

By OLIVER MUSEMBI and MAGUTA KIMEMIA
Sharp differences emerged at a meeting of former Ford-Asili MPs and councillors allied to Mr Kenneth Matiba over which party they should support in the General Election.

They couldn't agree whether to decamp to Mrs Charity Ngilu's Social Democratic Party, Mr Kimani wa Nyoike's Ford People or Mr Mwai Kibaki's Democratic Party of Kenya.

There were disagreements among the seven former MPs in attendance, with some of them — Mr Stephen Ndichu, Mr George Nyanja, Mr Philip Gitonga and Mr Kapwiri Gitau — being accused of having convened the meeting "with [closed minds] and

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a hidden agenda".

Other ex-MPs at the meeting included Mr John Michuki, Mr Robert Mungai and former Ministers Maina Wanjigi, Nduati Karuki, George Mwigigi and Mwangi Thuo.

Former Githunguri MP Njehu Gatabaki told the leaders not to support Mr Kibaki's presidential bid while former Makuyu MP Robert Mungai said the Kikuyu community should support Mrs Ngilu so that she could defeat President Moi in a run-off because none of the Opposition candidates could remove the Head of State in the first round.

Some of the nearly 300 leaders, mainly prospective candidates for parliamentary and civic seats, claimed the former MPs wanted to seek their support in convincing the electorate to join Ford-P, to elect Mr Kibaki as president and to prevail on Mr Nyoike to step down as Ford-P's presidential candidate.

About an hour before the end of the acrimonious seven-hour meeting at the Jogoo Kimakia Hotel, Thika, half of the leaders stormed out of the hall after Mr Ndichu — who was said to have already indicated he would join the SDP — said he belonged to no party.

The leaders demanded that he leave the meeting and some of them stormed out when he left.

Those left indoors said they were not unanimous on four resolutions read to them as having been agreed upon.

The resolutions were:
□ All former Ford-A leaders had joined Ford-P.

□ They would take part in the elections.

□ There will be no presidential candidate until after nominations when he would be agreed on with the other Opposition parties.

□ They are not obliged to support only a Kikuyu parliamentary candidate.

Also at the meeting were Mr Nyoike and Ford-A activists Beth Mugo, Nginyo Kariuki and former Kiambu civic leader Ndung'u Njenga.

The convenors excluded the Press and supporters of other Opposition parties, saying it was an in-house meeting for pro-Matiba former MPs and councillors.

Juja parliamentary aspirant Tony Gachoka told the Kikuyus to support Mrs Ngilu "because this time we do not have a strong presidential candidate."

The injured man was taken to hospital by some of his colleagues at the matatu terminus.

Three injured in party campaigns

By HATION TAAM
At least three people were injured over the past two days in sporadic violence as campaigns for Kanu nominations, scheduled for tomorrow, intensified.

In Kitui, a man was critically injured and his vehicle burnt when a mob attacked Cabinet Minister Nyiva Mwendwa's convoy during a campaign tour in Kitui West Constituency on Monday evening.

The frenzied mob, said to be al-

lied to Mrs Mwendwa's arch-rival in tomorrow's Kanu nominations for the Kitui West parliamentary seat, Mr Francis Nyenze, had earlier forced the minister to flee after they accosted her and threw stones at her vehicle.

The minister's security men fired in the air to scare off the mob before she drove off at high speed.

A short while later, one of Mrs Mwendwa's supporters in the convoy, Mr Michael Kitivo, drove by the scene unaware of the inci-

dent. The mob attacked him with kicks and blows, leaving him unconscious.

The group then torched his Peugeot saloon, KAT 798G, reducing it to a shell.

Kakcanj trading centre in Kabati Division, where the incident occurred at 7 pm, seemed to be under a curfew after the attack, with the mob and the residents deserting the centre. Mr Kitivo was taken to Kitui District Hospital yesterday morning by good Sa-

maritans.

The mob was apparently re-vengeing an earlier attack on Mr Nyenze, whose vehicle was destroyed by Mrs Mwendwa's supporters in the Kanyangi area.

Yesterday, Mrs Mwendwa went to Kitui Police Station and demanded that the police boss, Mr David Saina, provide her with anti-riot squad during her

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campaigns.

Mr Saina urged the minister and Mr Nyenze to restrain their supporters from engaging in violence. He said the Minister and Mr Nyenze would be required to record statements over violence in the area.

In Mombasa, a man was seriously injured yesterday when an unknown assailant slashed him with a panga during a rally organised by the former envoy to Saudi Arabia, Mr Said Hemed, at Kongowea.

The incident occurred at a matatu terminus as rowdy youths reportedly supporting Mr Emmanuel Karisa Maitiho heckled the Hemed group.

An eyewitness said a man wielding a panga attacked another from behind, slashing him twice in the head before threatening others and escaping.

On seeing what had happened, the youths hurled stones at the fleeing assailant, who disappeared into an alley.

This temporarily disrupted the Hemed campaign rally as people scattered in different directions, not knowing what was going on as the youth pursuing the assailant shouted: "Ameual Ameual" (He has killed! He has killed!)

The injured man was taken to hospital by some of his colleagues at the matatu terminus.

Speaking at the rally, Mr Hemed accused Mr Maitiho of using "unnorthodox" means to not only disrupt his meetings but also start violence.

"What kind of a leader is Mr Maitiho who does not respect the freedom of others?" he asked, and added that Mr Maitiho's actions were against the policies of Kanu.

He claimed that Mr Maitiho planned to defect to the Democratic Party of Kenya upon losing in this week's Kanu nominations, "because he is not a true [Kanu] party supporter".

The ex-envoy dismissed claims by his opponent that he had once claimed he would "buy Africans

like sacks of charcoal".

Meanwhile in TaLa-Taveta, Cabinet Minister Darius Mbela on Monday restrained his supporters from "working on" rowdy youths during a campaign rally at Wasinyi-Masumbeni in Wundanyi Constituency.

Mr Mbela, on a meet-the-people tour, encountered the rowdy young men when he stopped at the village to address people.

Three of the youths confronted Mr Mbela and grumbled that he had done nothing for the people of Mbale and should leave.

They threatened to stone the minister's vehicles if he did not leave immediately.

Mr Mbela's supporters confronted the hecklers and tried to eject them but the minister restrained them.

Mr Mbela expressed his disappointment over the incident, saying he wanted free and fair party nominations devoid of violence.

He said that although his posters in Mbale and Wundanyi trading centre had been torn by his adversaries, he would not retaliate.

"We are not going to retaliate or exchange insults or succumb to our arch rival's insults, which may turn an otherwise peaceful poll violent," he said.

In Siaya, a section of Kanu supporters in Ugenya Constituency yesterday fought after a rival group accused the other of having hoarded civic nomination papers.

Mr Raphael Ouma, the secretary in the sub-branch office, was injured by a group that accused him of having hoarded the forms.

In Busia, Kanu youths supporting Assistant Minister Moody Awori yesterday disrupted a meeting of his Samia Constituency rival, Dr Julia Ojiambo, forcing her to end her speech at Sio Port trading centre. Dr Ojiambo later recorded a statement at the local police station.

Earlier, Dr Ojiambo and other Kanu aspirants had rejected a proposal by the Funyula Kanu sub-branch to have nominations at sub-location centres instead of the designated polling stations.

Govt registers Safina party

By CHIEGE GACHAMBA
The Government yesterday succumbed to demands to register Safina, making it the 26th official political party.

Its senior founder members later described the registration as a "pleasant surprise although belated, and a big victory for Kenya and democracy". But they also condemned "the unconstitutional and undemocratic processes that occasioned the delay".

They claimed the decision to register the party came from State House, and was "intended to divide the opposition. It confirms what we have said all along — that it is not the registrar of societies, Mr Omeri Mbugo or (Attorney-General Mr Amos) Wako who decides whether to register a party or not. It is (President Moi)".

Mr Mbugo had earlier moved into his Sheria House offices and at 12.40 noon signed the certificate, number 18399, after being directed by Mr Wako to "register Safina forthwith".

The Safina leaders said their paramount objective was "not to seek power for its own sake but to build a better Kenya, in a deliberate and constructive way".

Reading a statement to the Press at Chester House, Nairobi, Safina secretary-general Richard Leakey said the party supported the work of the

National Convention Executive Council, NCEC, and that "the reform of the Constitution has to be the top priority".

They said the full inner Safina party caucus was scheduled to meet last night and this morning to decide whether the party would participate in the December 29 poll. They plan a press conference today at 3.30 pm.

Mr Leakey said the party was calling on people of "calibre, integrity and commitment to national issues, right from grassroots level" to join Safina.

"The 1997 election will not be free and fair despite the eleven-hour registration. And until the full package of reforms is complete, we do not believe alternatives to Kanu

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can compete. Kanu has been preparing for the elections for the last five years, while the opposition was locked out," the Safina leader said.

He said the party was committed to accountability and transparency and called for checks and balances, guarantees for fundamental human rights, opportunities for a government of national unity or coalition, justice for all and proper policies on public health, education, land, unemployment and corruption control.

Party chairman Muturi Kigano thanked the party's "local supporters, the international community and the Press for their patience, tolerance and maturity and for exerting pressure on the Government to register the party".

Also present at the conference were outgoing legislators Paul Muite and Farah Maalim Mohammed and founder member Khalif Khalifa.

The Safina team, accompanied by party lawyer Kathurima M'Inoti, had earlier met Mr Wako and Mr Mbugo at the AG's Chambers and were told that their appeal to the AG on registration had suc-

ceeded.

Mr Wako tried to explain to journalists why the Government had reversed its earlier decision.

The reasons given then were that the registrar suspected that the party intended to or was likely to be used for "purposes prejudicial to or incompatible with peace, welfare or good order in Kenya". He also said that the name Safina was undesirable.

Mr Wako said yesterday "the registrar (then) had in his possession reports on individuals connected or associated with Safina which formed the basis of his decision".

"I take the point that the particulars of these allegations were neither communicated to the said persons nor were they given an opportunity to defend themselves."

By registering Safina, Mr Wako said, he was "giving the said individuals the benefit of doubt over the allegations" contained in those reports. He also appealed to Safina to abide by the constitution of the party and the country.

Mr Wako said that he had, while taking the decision to register Safina, "taken into account the overriding national interest that the constitutional multi-party

democratic state should function well and thrive in Kenya, that the fundamental freedoms and rights — including the freedom of association — should be enhanced, that the rule of law should be preserved and that the forthcoming elections should be free and fair and those who want to participate should be accorded a reasonable opportunity to do so."

Mr Wako denied that State House had anything to do with the decision to register Safina.

Asked why he had not also registered the Islamic Party of Kenya, Mr Wako said it had a case pending in the High Court.

IPK founder member Sheikh Balala later gave the Government 48 hours to decide on their case or face unspecified action.

Several people congratulated Safina on its registration. Among them was the Ford-Kenya second-vice-chairman, Prof Rashid Mzee, who said he would this morning declare on which party he is to contest the election.

The news was received in Mr Muite's Kikuyu Constituency with jubilation. The outgoing Kikuyu Town Council chairman, Mr Paul Munyua, immediately announced his defection from Ford-Asili to Safina.

Election losers Very foul

By SUNDAY NATION Team
Hundreds of Kanu leaders and their supporters jammed the Kenyatta International Conference Centre yesterday to complain about irregularities in the party's nominations.

Not content with lodging their complaints with party headquarters, most of them, or telephoned, the *Sunday Nation* tried to publicise the fact that they had petitioned the Appeals Tribunal.

Many of those interviewed by the *Sunday Nation* complained that the officers giving their complaints at KICC appeared to treat them casually and did not bother to explain why they were expected to pay Sh10,000 to the tribunal.

The *Sunday Nation* also received telephone calls from various parts of the country complaining about irregularities in vote-counting.

Most complaints focused on rigging in various ways, including violence, intimidation, bribery, importation of voters and poor supervision.

Poor preparation, including the absence of presiding officers in some centres, was also cited as having resulted in an unfair poll.

Among those complaining were the immediate former MP for Jkolomani, Mr Benjamin Magwaga, former Kigumo MP John K. Mwasura, former City mayor Steve Mwangi and former Marok South MP Samson Ole Tojok.

One-time Assistant Minister Julia Ojiambo and Nairobi Kanu Chairman Daniel Kongo were also there.

A loser in the Kiharu poll, Mr Peter

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Murigi Njirwa, who was accompanied by the deputy returning officer, claims the returning officer refused to accept the results of eight polling stations.

All candidates with appeals were required to pay Sh10,000. Civic candidates were referred to the sub-branch, where appeal tribunals had been set up to give them a hearing.

The party's National Executive Officer, Mr Geoffrey Kathurima said the tribunal would try to speed up the hearings to beat the December 7 deadline, when the Electoral Commission said all nominations by all parties must be complete.

The 10-member tribunal appointed on Friday is chaired by former Cabinet Minister Jeterma Nyagah and is sitting at the yatta International Conference Centre's VIP lounge.

The party's Mvita sub-branch said there would be no repeat nominations in the sub-branch and asked those who lost during the nominations to co-operate with the winners to ensure Kanu wins.

Kanu's national elections coordinator Njorge Mungai said repeat nominations will take place in Saku, Juja, Mbite, Laikipia West, Kandara, Ndia, Rungu Sub-location, Kenji Sub-location and Ngeruwa Sub-location tomorrow.

A repeat will also be held in the Keuwa, Kisesee, Sio Kisinga and Makili stations in Yatta.

The Nairobi nomination flopped after headquarters failed to send returning officers to oversee the exercise.

Most centres opened late and anxious voters were kept waiting for hours.

Consequently, scores of voters went away, impatient over the delays. There will be fresh voting tomorrow.

The nominations in Isiolo Central Division will also be repeated in four polling centers tomorrow.

The returning officer for Ilmorog Constituency, Mr Das Tari, said after holding a meeting with the four parliamentary candidates those who had not participated in the nominations owing to heavy rains and inaccessible roads will have a chance to do so tomorrow.

The Centres are Ng'orima, Karabare, Mulango, Eremet.

Kanyingi, Sifuna defect

Standard Correspondents

FORMER Kanu Kiambu Branch Chairman Kuria Kanyingi has taken refuge in the newly-registered FORD-People party.

He announced his defection during a public meeting marred by supporters of Kenneth Matiba at Kamirithu Trading Centre, Limuru yesterday.

Kanyingi who was received by FORD-People presidential candidate Kimani wa Nyoike announced he would seek the Limuru Parliamentary seat on a FORD-People ticket. The current MP is FORD-Asili member George Nyanja.

In Bungoma, Kanduyi MP Lawrence Sifuna and Bungoma Mayor Augustine Tela of FORD-Asili defected to FORD-Kenya.

A former chairman of the defunct Youth for Kanu '92 publicity committee Sadique Ahmed Hersi and Councillor Zaina Watakin (FORD-Asili) of Bungoma Municipal Council also moved to Wamalwa Kijana's FORD-Kenya party.

They were received by FORD-Kenya National Co-ordinator Jackson Kibor as party

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supremo Wamalwa watched during an impromptu rally at Bungoma public bus park yesterday.

At Kamirithu, FORD-Asili's Matiba sympathisers refused to allow Kanyingi to discuss Nyanja at the meeting.

"I will seek parliamentary elections for the Limuru seat on a FORD-People ticket" announced Kanyingi.

Kanyingi castigated Kanu bigwigs, saying they had tried to down-play his contributions as Kanu boss in Kiambu by slighting him. "From today, nobody

should associate me with Kanu", declared Kanyingi.

Matiba's supporters heckled Nyoike throughout his speech forcing him to cut his speech short. Nyoike excused himself saying he was shortly to attend a National Executive Council (NEC) meeting at Galundu.

The Kamirithu affair lasted only an hour unlike other political meetings which run until 6 p.m.

The Matiba supporters also forced Nyoike to confess he was not prepared for the presidency this year and that he was only "warming" the FORD-People

presidential seat for Matiba should he be registered as voter and decide to run for the top seat.

"I was not ready for the presidency this year. I am only holding fort for Matiba should he be registered and seek the presidential seat".

Matiba supporters told Nyoike FORD-People did not exist in Limuru.

Earlier, Nyoike had told the *E.A Standard* from his Athi River home FORD-People is now ready for a run-off election with President Moi. Nyoike who was nominated for the top seat by FORD-People on Thursday said it was most unlikely for any presidential candidate to garner the 25 per cent vote support in five provinces.

He also predicted FORD-People would be the main challenger to Kanu and hence the party to watch for a run-off.

The Bungoma rally at which Sifuna defected was also addressed by MPs Mukhisa Kituyi (Kimilili), John Munyasia (Sirisia), Saul Busolo (Webuye), party Secretary-General Gitobu Imanyara and Kipkorir arap Menjo among others.

Stronghold

The defectors said they had crossed to FORD-Kenya to join the Luhya community in supporting Wamalwa's bid for the presidency. They said Bungoma was a FORD-Kenya stronghold.

Sifuna claimed he had survived an election petition filed by former agricultural assistant minister Joseph Khaoya because it was discovered he would defect to FORD-Kenya.

He challenged the Luhya community to support what he termed as Wamalwa's historic bid for the top seat if they expected to rise above the poverty line.

The MP warned other Opposition parties not to field candidates in Bungoma and Trans Nzoia district, since they would not be allowed to operate in the area even if they were successful.

Wamalwa warned Kanu not to underrate his candidature. Accepting the fact that he was not wealthy, the FORD-Kenya chief said he did not need money to qualify for the presidency.

Poll clock ticking as President dissolves House

COUNTDOWN TO ELECTION

By Winnie Koross and George Munji

THE General Election countdown started in earnest yesterday with the dissolution of Parliament.

The Seventh Parliament was dissolved yesterday morning in an announcement from State House, Nairobi by President Moi.

The dissolution was received with mixed feelings by Members of Parliament, with some supporting it and others expressing their disappointment.

After the announcement, President Moi said those wishing to seek parliamentary seats are free to campaign anywhere in the country.

He told parliamentary aspirants to campaign anywhere they wished without fear (See story page 3).

The announcement came as an anti-climax because Parliament was officially scheduled to adjourn on Wednesday afternoon. The Wednesday date was reached after a meeting of the Sessional

Committee composed of both Kanu and Opposition MPs, which was chaired by Vice-President Professor George Saitoti.

If it were adjourned *sine die* in accordance to the tradition, members would have had a chance to debate on a motion of adjournment.

President Moi acted in accordance to section 59 (2) of the constitution, which gives him powers to dissolve the House.

In a brief statement, the President said Parliament had completed its business.

He said the programme for the General Election to elect new MPs for the Eighth Parliament will be announced according to the law.

Local Government Minister Francis Lotodo also announced he had dissolved all the local council authorities under his ministry.

The Seventh Parliament has been historic, having brought what many Opposition and ruling party Kanu MPs have described as "greater freedom and democracy in Kenya."

Laws

It will be remembered for abolishing detention without trial, sedition laws and reducing the powers of the administration and amending the Chiefs Act, with most of their powers now vested in the police which has been made more independent.

The Seventh Parliament also changed the constitution to allow the President room to form a government of national unity or coalition.

It cut the President's powers to nominate the 12 MPs, who will now be nominated by their political parties and appointed by the President.

It made the Electoral Commis-

sion independent from the Office of the President. Its freedom and operations can only be enhanced by Parliament.

The commission will by law have 21 members. Its chairman and his vice must be people qualified to be appointed judges of the High Court or Court of Appeal, or people who have served in those positions.

Signals indicate that the General Election date is likely to be announced this week.

Last week President Moi told

that

Kanu delegates at the party's special National Delegates Congress at the Moi International Sports Centre, Kasarani, that the election date was just around the corner. "It is just in the air. You can smell it," he said.

Official Leader of the Opposition Michael Wamalwa Kijana at the weekend threatened that Parliament would be paralysed by the Opposition if the Government did not rescind its move to take over the Public Accounts Committee and the Public Investments Committee of the House.

Last week, Opposition MPs walked out of the House in protest after the government voted to dominate the two committees.

Parliament was also facing a motion from Kuitu Masaba MP George Anyona, seeking that the House lives its full term until January 25.

He announced at the weekend that he had garnered the support of 70 MPs from both sides of the House regarding the motion.

SEVEN MPs DEFECT

Standard Reporter and Correspondents
DEFLECTIONS came thick and fast yesterday as seven former FORD-Kenya Members of Parliament decamped to Party and a dozen councillors also switched parties.

Six of the ex-MPs, who attended a Press conference at Parliament Buildings, Nairobi, claimed that Raila's brother, Oburu Oginga (Bondo) and Tom Onyango (Nyaike), who were not present, had also quit FORD-Kenya for NDP.

In Migori, six FORD-Kenya councillors also defected to NDP as election fever picked up momentum in the run-up to the General Election.

Officials

And in Kakamega, six immediate former FORD-Asili councillors and 10 party officials defected to FORD-Kenya.

The MPs who defected at Parliament are: Joshua Ojode (Njirwa), Achola Owino (Migori), Valentine Opere (Mbita), Job Omino (Kisumu Town), Dennis Akumu (Nyakach), and Ochieng Mbeo (Mathare). The first FORD-Kenya MP to defect, a week ago,

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was Kiraitu Murungi (Mmenti South) who went to Nwai Kibaki's Democratic Party of Kenya.

The MPs were not received by any party official. They said they had defected to NDP "because of pressure" from their constituents. They said their constituents defected from FORD-Kenya soon after NDP was re-launched.

Ojode said the former MPs had met last January 1 in his constituency and had passed a declaration that they would defect to NDP soon after Parliament was dissolved.

Kanu

Ojode, who claimed he is the party's director of elections, said NDP expected three other MPs to defect including one from Kanu.

They said they did not want to subject their constituents to unnecessary by-elections and had resolved to wait until yesterday. "Our constituents want us to be in NDP. There's nothing we can do just as the people in (President Moi's home district of) Baringo are in Kanu," Ojode added.

The six ex-MPs were quick to add, however, that they did not fear the forthcoming elections.

They said they had left FORD-Kenya because of alleged corruption, lack of transparency and

internal democracy. The ex-MPs criticised the surprise dissolution of Parliament by the President on Monday, saying it made a mockery of the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) reforms package.

"What are IPPG stalwarts in Nyanza going to do after being ditched in the dissolving of Parliament," Omino posed.

The MPs also castigated FORD-Kenya First Vice-Chairman James Orengo for allegedly advocating violent means to remove President Moi if he wins the forthcoming election.

They said NDP would participate in elections and would only use constitutional means to remove President Moi from power.

They said NDP would conduct itself peacefully and appealed to other parties to avoid violence.

The defecting Migori councillors were led by their mayor, Zedeekiah Osumba.

The six councillors were Samuel Odoyo (Nyasare), Charles Ambuko (Milimani), Walter Oyaro (Oruba), Okumu Athiga (South Kanyamkago) and Anyuongi Mikwa (Suna East). They said they had joined NDP on realising that the Odinga-led party "is the only one that can bring total democracy to Kenya".

They also attacked Orengo for his defiant stand against the

holding of the General Election this year. The former Kakamega councillors who quit FORD-Asili for Wamalwa Kijana's FORD-Kenya were Tomia Shisia, (Kabrus North), Luke Nalianyi (Kivaywa), Timothy Sembeya (Likuyani), Julius Odera (Chekalini), Okello Muya (Lumakanda) and Fred Malala (South Wanga).

Boost

They said they had defected to boost Wamalwa's bid for the presidency. They appealed to FORD-Asili Secretary-General Martin Shikuku to rescind his decision of vying for the presidential seat and instead support Wamalwa to win it.

The civic leaders were received to the new Opposition party by FORD-K Malava sub-branch chairman Soita Shitanda in Kakamega town.

Soita said the sub-branch had already finalised plans for the elections and predicted the party would sweep all seats in Western Province.

Elsewhere, former Cabinet Minister Burudi Nabwera declared he would deliver Lugari and Malava parliamentary seats to FORD-K.

Nabwera also urged the Government to ensure security was beefed up to avoid a repeat of ethnic clashes which affected the 1992 General Elections and left up to a thousand people killed and tens of thousands uprooted.

Pace hots up as Chesoni names the day Kenyans choose leaders on December 29

IT'S official. The General Election will be held on Monday, December 29 — the same date as 1992.

Political parties wishing to participate in the elections must nominate their parliamentary and civic candidates by December 7.

Making the announcement yesterday, Electoral Commission Chairman Justice (Rtd) Zachariah Chesoni said presidential candidates would be required to present their nomination papers to returning officers on December 3 and 4.

Significantly, this year's election will be held in a remarkably changed atmosphere from that of 1992.

Technically at least, the political climate is now marginally more tolerant than five years ago, following the new spirit of dialogue achieved through the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group's reform agenda.

Crucial

Another crucial aspect of this year's poll is the amendment to the Presidential and National Assemblies regulations to have two days for nominations.

Previously nomination was limited to just five hours — between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. on the day.

Under those circumstances at the 1992 nominations, Opposition candidates in supposed Kanu strongholds found themselves in all sorts of problems when their papers were either snatched from them or the candidates themselves were "hijacked", rendering them unable to present their papers.

Addressing an international news conference at County Hall, Nairobi, Chesoni said parliamentary and civic candidates would be required to present their nomination papers to returning officers in their constituencies on December 8 and 9.

December 29, Chesoni said will be declared a public holiday to enable all eligible Kenyans to cast their votes.

On the question of displaced victims of the recent Coast clashes, Chesoni said the commission would consult political parties on how best to handle the issue of Kenyans who might now be denied a chance to vote.

He said every Kenyan had the right to vote.

He told civil servants to keep away from the electoral process. Those who got involved risked severe action, he warned.

Chesoni said that not all parties had presented their symbols, but "they still have time" to do so. He advised aspirants to avoid a last-minute rush by not waiting until the last nomination day. Chesoni said presentation of nomination papers will be done between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.

He said he had announced the date in accordance with section 13 of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act.

In deciding the election date Chesoni said the commission had considered several things, among them, the need to allow candidates and political parties to prepare for the election.

Political parties, he said, will have 23 days in which to carry out their nominations. Candidates will have 20 days instead of 14 for their campaigns.

The commission also considered that announcing the election date would reduce economic uncertainty and at the same time induce more investment for increased employment opportunities.

He said it was imperative that elections are held without compromising religious, educational and parental interests.

Chesoni, who cautioned against election offences, said the new legislation mandates the commission to prosecute anybody who committed an election offence.

He reminded political parties, candidates and their supporters that the electoral code of conduct was now in place.

The code forbids use or threat of violence, disruption of rallies, carrying of weapons and use of foul language, among other things.

"Political party officials and candidates are by law required to ensure observance of the code by their supporters," he added.

The new law, the commission said, empowers an electoral officer to order a police officer to effect an arrest.

Five more ex-MPs desert FORD-Kenya

ANOTHER five FORD-Kenya Members of Parliament deserted the party yesterday.

James Orenge, Olicno Kopyio, Olicno Mak' Onyango, Clarkson Karan and Oloo Ogeka bring to 13 the number of MPs who have deserted Kijana Wamalwa in two days. As the storm clouds gather for the party, immediate former Kisauni MP Professor Rashid Mzee, did not reassure his party bosses when he said his could also move.

Prof. Mzee said only the unregistered Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) could decide on which party ticket he could defend the seat.

On Tuesday Dennis Akumu, Valentine Opcer, Orwa Ojole, Juab Omimo, Ochieng Mbco, Owino Achula and Tom Onyango crossed over to the National Development Party led by Raila Odinga from Wamalwa's Party.

Wamalwa could not be reached for comment but Secretary General Gitobu Imanyara dismissed the defections as inconsequential adding those abandoning Wamalwa had identified with Raila Odinga's National Development Party for a long time.

The latest deserters were however, emphatic they will not join Raila Odinga's NDP as did the seven who deserted Wamalwa on Tuesday.

Orenge said the five MPs will soon announce their next move.

"We shall not orient ourselves on a tribal basis. We are not joining the NDP as is being rumoured. This is not the issue at the moment. We shall soon announce

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our next move", the former Ugenya MP and Wamalwa's First Vice chairman said.

Kopyio was former MP for Kasipul Kabondo and FORD-Kenya Deputy Secretary General. Mak' Onyango represented Alego Usonga in the dissolved parliament and was party secretary for information and publicity.

Karan was MP for Nyando and the party Assistant Secretary for International affairs while Ogeka was former MP for Muhoroni and FORD-Kenya Kisumu branch chairman.

Differences

Yesterday, Orenge who read the press statement on behalf of the others cited 'fundamental differences between us and a section of the party leadership' as reasons for abandoning the former official leader of the opposition Wamalwa. They accused Wamalwa of conducting party affairs in an unprincipled manner and making decisions that ridiculed the party.

The MPs said participation of FORD-Kenya in the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) had not been sanctioned by the party.

The MPs claimed the envisaged Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (which FORD-K has endorsed) will be manipulated to create safe enclaves for Kenyans who have oppressed the masses.

The MPs termed as superfluous the appointment of the new commissioners in the expanded Elec-

toral Commission saying the appointment came too late for the new-comers to have any effect on the electoral process.

Prof. Mzee said he cannot decide to defend the seat on a FORD-Kenya ticket.

"That decision rests with IPK. As soon as IPK makes the decision on which party ticket I should run, I will oblige," said the academic turned politician.

The five MPs who defected yesterday said they will continue supporting the National Convention Executive Council and its objectives. They accused former colleagues who abandoned the NCEC of pursuing narrow short-term interests.

A former Masaba Kitutu Member of Parliament Olicno Momanyi abandoned Kanu yesterday and joined the Social Democratic Party. Momanyi ditched Kanu in a bid to recapture the seat he lost to outgoing MP George Anyona.

Momanyi announced his defection and candidature for Kitutu Masaba seat in Nairobi in the presence of SDP Secretary-General Appollo Njonjo and activist Boro Gathuo.

Meanwhile the former Members of Parliament who defected from FORD-Kenya to the National Development Party have been accused of promoting tribalism.

The Luo MPs who defected to NDP are only interested in strengthening a tribal political party based in Luoland, said Nairobi Kanu planning committee chairman Nicholas Gor.

After 72 hours in the Opposition

KANYINGI TELLS MOI I'M SORRY

Standard Correspondent

FORMER Kiambu Kanu chairman Kuria Kanyingi who defected to the Opposition barely three days ago, has re-defected to Kanu.

"Abandoning Kanu and President Moi is like deserting one's father," an apologetic Kanyingi said in a statement announcing his surprise about-turn.

He pleaded with President Moi to forgive him for what he called "the embarrassment" he had caused him, and asked the people of Limuru to understand the predicament he had gone through.

"After a lot of soul-searching, my statement that only Kanu blood flows through my veins still stands, hence my decision," he said in his statement yesterday. "Like the biblical prodigal son, I have come back home."

Only last Sunday, the combative politician was spitting fire at Kanu. He declared at a public rally in Limuru: "From today, nobody should associate me with Kanu!"

Torment

At the rally, he castigated Kanu bigwigs whom, he said, had tried to down-play his contributions as Kanu boss in Kiambu by slighting him.

But in his Press release, titled "72 hours in the Opposition too long for me" Kanyingi said his defection to FORD-People last Monday was the result of the "frustration and torment" he suffered from "a certain group" who down-played his work, first as a Kanu chairman and secondly as an activist. The former Kanu

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mover-and-shaker said within a few hours of his defection, he had found himself lonely in the Opposition, and he realised his defection had been a mistake.

He said after being President Moi's friend and serving in Kanu, the years he had been vilified and hounded by the unidentified group had left him a devastated and confused man.

"After being pushed to the wall, I first withdrew from the chairman-ship of Limuru Kanu sub-branch and eventually defected to the Opposition," he noted. "Within those few hours, I did a lot of soul-searching and found myself very lonely within the Opposition."

"I realised I was in the wrong place and that abandoning Kanu and President Moi is like deserting one's father," Kanyingi said.

He pledged his support for any Kanu candidate contesting the Limuru seat and said he would expend his resources and energies to garner votes for President Moi and Kanu. He, however, would not be running for any elective posts. He would just remain a Kanu life member "for the love I have for Moi and the party".

After defecting to FORD-People at a public rally last Sunday and announcing that he would contest the Limuru parliamentary seat.

He added: "I would like to go on record when I say that the years I have remaining in this world could, with my consent, be added to President Moi's so that he can live to rule longer."

Efforts to get a comment from Kanu secretary-general Joseph Kamotho regarding Kanyingi's re-defection were unfruitful.

MATIBA PALS TRY MOVE ON FORD-A

Standard Correspondent and KNA

FORD-ASILI officials of the Kenneth Matiba faction yesterday tried to get their former chairman reinstated as party boss by the Government.

They suggested the two party factions dissolve themselves and then advise the Attorney-General to revert to the 1992 status quo in which Matiba was elected Chairman and Martin Shikuku Secretary-General.

But A-G Amos Wako told the two factions to sort out their differences without involving the Government.

The Matiba faction officials, led by vice-chairman Stephen Musila and branch officials Ngengi Muigai and Beth Mugo, had held an hour-long consultation with Wako.

The A-G, however, stressed to them that Matiba remained sus-

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pending as FORD-Asili chairman pending a decision by the party's national delegates congress.

Wako said the Government had nothing to do with the party's leadership wrangles, which he blamed squarely on members of the two factions who, he said, refuse to discuss issues.

Wako, briefing the Press after the consultation, pointed out that the Registrar-General had no legal powers to change the

registration of already-registered political parties.

Dr Musila agreed he had applied for registration of the new party, but maintained he was allegedly misled into doing so by faction secretary-general Kimani wa Nyoike who is now FORD-People presidential candidate.

The Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous) Amendment Act which became law last Friday provides for those dissatisfied with registration of any party to chal-

lenge the registration in court, he said.

Wako, accompanied by Registrar General Paul Omondi-Mbago, said the Government had registered FORD-People after receiving an application signed by Dr Musila on behalf of Matiba and faction Secretary-General Kimani wa Nyoike. Shikuku now heads the other FORD-A faction and intends to seek the presidency through it in the December 29 General Election.

The A-G said Matiba and Shikuku were responsible for the mess in the party and not the Government.

"This party has been faced with numerous wrangles. Although one faction conducted elections twice, they were not binding to the other faction," he said.

Wako said Matiba had not followed the proper procedures in conducting the two elections and also ignored an order to attend an arbitration as directed by the High Court.

He said Government had not struck out Matiba's name from the position of FORD-Asili Chairman because George Nihenge had taken the position in an acting capacity.

He lamented that the FORD-Asili constitution gave several party organs powers to make sweeping decisions, including one suspending the chairman.

Raila's offer to Matiba

RAILA Odinga intends to offer "partyless" former FORD-Asili chairman Kenneth Matiba "a slice of the cake" if National Democratic Party of Kenya comes to power.

Raila made the pledge yesterday when he received scores of FORD-Asili defectors into his party at Nairobi's Golf Course

Standard Reporter
and Correspondent

Estate. Elsewhere, confusion continued to dog former MPs affiliated to the Matiba faction of FORD-Asili. A number of them asked Kimani wa Nyoike to let Mwai Kibaki be their presiden-

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tial choice. A close aide of Nyoike disclosed that the former FORD-Asili MPs were pressurising him (Nyoike) to unofficially denounce his presidential ambitions in favour of a bloc Kikuyu vote for Democratic Party of Kenya Chairman Kibaki.

The outgoing MPs reportedly want to run for their old seats on a FORD-People ticket but campaign for Kibaki as their presidential candidate.

The confidential source said

Nyoike "has shrugged off the pressure and is more determined to complete the presidential race."

The outgoing MPs told Nyoike to shelve his presidential ambitions as a condition for them to join FORD-People.

And their spokesman, outgoing Limuru MP George Nyanja, said they were ready to participate in the December 29 General Election despite calls by Matiba that they should boycott the polls.

"Matiba is still our leader but we are going for the elections," said Nyanja in an interview.

"Although we are still members of Matiba's FORD-Asili faction, we have an alternative party to join for the elections," he added without specifically mentioning FORD-People as that "alternative".

Nyanja, speaking at FORD-People offices at Ufungamano House, Nairobi, said all outgoing FORD-Asili MPs and new parliamentary and civic aspirants who support Matiba will on Saturday converge at Blue Posts Hotel, Thika, to map out their "political way forward".

Join

Nyoike could not be reached for comment but he is on record as saying all former FORD-Asili MPs "will join FORD-People."

In his function, NDP presidential candidate Raila said his party sympathised with Matiba for being unable to participate in the coming election and promised to mind his welfare should NDP win.

The Kanu Government, having known that Matiba is popular have deliberately denied him a chance to participate in the elec-

tion," Raila claimed.

He claimed that FORD-Asili Secretary-General Martin Shikuku had denied Matiba an opportunity to contest as a presidential candidate.

He said this time round, the Opposition had the tactics of ousting Moi and Kanu from power. He bragged that by January next year, there will be an Opposition government.

Disgust

He lashed at those calling for the boycott of elections saying that doing so would help Kanu romp back to power.

He expressed disgust at those fanning Kenyans to go to the bush over constitutional amendments saying that we do not need bloodshed in our country.

"We should be democratic and peaceful in our search for the second liberation. We do not need violence and bloodshed", said Raila.

Mvita parliamentary aspirant Ahmed Bahmariz who also attended the function claimed that Raila deserved to be awarded a presidential position since his late father Jaramogi left power to Kenyatta.

"The late Kenyatta who made a landmark in the rule of this country was awarded power by Jaramogi and it is only wise for Kenyans to award his son Raila the same", said Bahmariz amidst cheers.

Among those who attended the function was the outgoing Ndhwa MP Orwa Ojode and Amdillahi Yussuf, an aspirant for Mandera East parliamentary seat on NDP ticket.

ORENGO, 5 MPs OUT OF POLLS

By Peter Muriigi

OUTGOING Ugenya MP James Orengo and his National Convention Executive Council allies will not participate in the next elections under the recently enacted laws

Instead, Orengo and five other outgoing MPs announced the formation of a political wing within the NCEC to start campaigns to disrupt the elections.

The new mass movement is called the African National Convention (ANC) its main objective is to make political decisions and execute them. It will be launched soon, its leaders identified and programmes of action released.

Flawed

Orengo and other outgoing MPs allied to the NCEC have never recognised the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) reform package which they have dismissed as flawed and inadequate.

They have said the IPPG package and subsequent Bills were a fraud against the interests and rights of the people.

All pro-democracy forces are invited in the new mass movement but outgoing MPs identifying with the ANC must be ready to fore-go their parliamentary seats until "comprehensive and genuine reforms are in place," said the Orengo group. Should

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the December 29 elections be held, said the ANC group, they will lobby Kenyans not to recognise the incoming government and seek invalidation of the poll-results.

Those with Orengo at the Chester House press conference were outgoing MPs Otieno Kopyio (Kasipul Kabondo), Otieno Mak'Onyango (Alego Usonga), Gacuru Karenga (Kandara), Aloo Ogeka (Muhoroni) and Kamau Icharia (Kiambaa).

"We are happy to announce the formation and establishment of the African National Convention - a political movement and platform which will work with other pro-democracy forces in the pursuit of the objectives and aspirations of the second liberation," said Orengo who read the statement on behalf of the others.

Achieve

Orengo said although the objectives of the NCEC and its parent body, the National Convention Assembly included comprehensive and genuine constitutional and political reforms and good governance, the two institutions could not achieve much because they are not political bodies.

"The ANC will take executive political decisions," announced Orengo.

Orengo said the ANC is not a political party but a mass movement to pursue the reform agenda. "All former MPs and political parties are invited in the movement," he said.

Karenga was blunt that the ANC is the political wing of the NCEC.

Added Kopyio: "The necessity for this (ANC) is to make political decisions and execute them."

Mak'Onyango said the ANC will be the politicians' constituency within the NCEC.

"You need a constituency to be in the NCEC," said former Ford-Kenya MP who has however decamped from the party together with Orengo.

Kopyio said the question of participating in the coming elections does not arise for those identifying with the ANC.

Vet Kanyingi first — Moi

PRESIDENT Moi yesterday said former Kianibu Kanu chairman Kuria Kanyingi could be an Opposition spy in the ruling party. He said Kanyingi, who recently defected to the Opposition and swiftly re-defected to Kanu, would be re-admitted to Kanu's mainstream affairs only after intense vetting and if he satisfied the party that he is genuine. "We do not know why he went to the Opposition and

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came back to Kanu after 72 hours," the Kanu National Chairman said. "He must be vetted and satisfy us of being genuine before being admitted back to mainstream Kanu."

The Kanu leader said chances were that Kanyingi (who was present at the occasion) had been sent by the Opposition to spy on Kanu for them.

Kanyingi defected to FORD-People on Sunday November 9 vowing he would never again have anything to do with Kanu. But by last Thursday he had re-defected amid a shower of apologies.

The Kanu leader, addressing a party delegation from Limuru at Kenyatta International Conference Centre, Nairobi, said the party needed "steady and serious people, not turn-coats".

The party National Chairman was receiving former Limuru MP, Samuel N Mwaura, who sources said is set to contest the seat on a Kanu ticket. Moi said he would not allow turn-coats to dent Kanu's image and appealed to Limuru people to fully support Kanu and its candidates during the December 29 General Election.

The President also changed Kanu nominations date from November 26 to 27 and told Limuru people to vote for Mwaura "since he has shown

commitment to KANU and development of the country." Mwaura was until his defection secretary of Democratic Party of Kenya Limuru sub-branch. He was MP from 1988 to 1992.

"We shall not allow that kind of attitude from leaders. We need steady leaders," he said in reference to Kanyingi's defection and re-defection.

While rejoining Kanu Kanyingi apologised profusely to President Moi and said that he regretted his action.

Kanyingi pleaded with the Kanu Chairman to forgive him for what he described as embarrassment to him and asked the people of Limuru to understand the predicament he had undergone.

"After soul-searching, my (previous) statement that only Kanu blood flows through my veins still stands hence my decision," he said adding that "like the prodigal son, I have come back home."

President Moi appealed to Kenyans to be committed as commitment was a virtue of patriots. He said hatred, disunity and tribalism were ingredients of destruction.

He said Kanu was not to blame for the deteriorating provision of services to Nairobi residents or the decaying infrastructure.

Kibaki, Raila tell 'Orengo Six' YOU'RE LOST

Standard Correspondents
OPPOSITION presidential candidates Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga yesterday dismissed James Orengo's newly formed African National Convention mass movement as "a mistake and dark dead-end".

Kibaki invited the former FORD-Kenya First Vice-Chairman to join his Democratic Party of Kenya.

Raila said his National Development Party was against a boycott of the December 29 General Election as advocated by the Orengo group.

Raila wondered how pro-boycott leaders would be in a position to know if the polls were rigged if they did not take part.

"If we go by what a section of leaders want and boycott the elections," the NDP Chairman said in a telephone interview from Kisumu, "we will not be in a position to pin Kanu down over election rigging."

He said, however, Kenyans had the democratic and constitutional
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Describing the looming General Election as a "golden chance" to remove Kanu from power, the DP Chairman said the opportunity must not be squandered by Opposition politicians embarking on anti-polls agenda at this late stage.

He asked Kenyans to ignore all renewed mass campaigns against

the elections.

"Orengo is my friend. He is free to do what he wants. But this time he is mistaken. The elections should not be boycotted," said Kibaki at a Press conference where he received to DP outgoing Nairobi mayor Dick Waweru who defected from Ford-Asili (see story, Page 6).

Kibaki said Kanu would not be allowed into an Opposition coalition government if DP won the election.

"We want a government of national unity by all main Opposition parties," he said during the Waweru defection. "Kanu is too 'soiled' to be in that government."

Orengo, who is outgoing Ugenya MP, and five other former legislators allied to the constitutional reforms lobby group National Convention Executive Council, announced on Thursday the formation of the ANC. Its

main objective is to campaign against the December 29 poll.

The other outgoing MPs were Otieno Kopyio, Otieno Mak'Onyango, Aloo Ogeka, Gacuru Kareng'e and Kamau Icharia.

Kibaki said of the ANC initiative: "We are being led into the dark. We should go where there is light and that can only be found with the elections".

Wonderful

Kibaki, nevertheless, described Orengo as "a wonderful person full of ability and energy".

Welcoming Waweru, Kibaki said DP was "assured" of winning the elections and he would form a coalition with the main Opposition parties:

"An Opposition Government of National Unity will not accommodate Kanu," said Kibaki.

Kibaki supported a proposal by another FORD-Asili defector,

Samuel Ndung'u, that voters should avoid the 1992 "three-piece election" method where Matiba's supporters cast their votes in blind faith for the FORD-Asili presidential, parliamentary and civic candidates.

"We should go for individuals who can deliver. We should vote for individuals across the parties," said Kibaki.

He said voters should elect a president who does not support and encourage corruption.

"We need a president who will not support corrupt public servants. If the head of government condones corruption, the vice prospers," he pointed out, adding the head of state should have the necessary courage and determination to sack corrupt civil servants immediately.

● Former constitutional affairs assistant minister Zablon Olang described as cowardice Orengo's anti-general election campaign.

MUITE SET TO QUIT POLITICS?



Ex-MP backs Ngilu party

By Peter Murigi
OUTGOING Kikuyu MP Paul Muite will not defend his seat unless Safina is registered.

Muite said he is not ready personally "as a matter of principle" to join any other party.

He, however, said he would back presidential aspirant Charity Kaluki Ngilu and her Social Democratic Party in the Decem-

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ber 29 General Election.

His constituents "blessed" Kabira Muniu (who was present as Muite made his disclosure) to defend the seat on an SDP ticket "to lock Kanu out of Kikuyu".

But as Muite announced his stand, FORD-Kenya National Chairman Wamalwa Kijana was claiming in Kitale that Muite and another Safina activist, Farah Mohammed, were back in FORD-Kenya following the Government's non-registration of Safina. (See Story, Page 14).

Muite now becomes the seventh outgoing MP to officially announce he will not participate in the coming December 29 elections under recently enacted reformed laws.

The other six are former FORD-Kenya MPs James Orengo who was also party First Vice-Chairman, Otieno Mak'Onyango, Otieno Kopyio, Aloo Ogeka and former FORD-Asili MPs Gacuru wa Kareng'e and Kamau Icharia.

The decision on Muite was reached after a day-long meeting at a Nairobi hotel between the former MP and 133 grass-roots

leaders representing all seven sub-locations of Kikuyu division, Kiambu District.

The people of Kikuyu said the looming elections could not be free and fair without the registration of Safina.

They then gave their go-ahead to Kabira Muniu to defend the Kikuyu seat on Ngilu's SDP.

"We, the people of Kikuyu constituency, being strong supporters of Safina party, have today resolved to ask Muite not to contest the forthcoming parliamentary elections unless Safina is registered as a political party," said the constituents in a statement read by Walter Mungai.

Painful

They said they will continue respecting Muite as their "unparalleled leader" despite election of another MP. They also expect a future MP to cooperate with Muite.

The constituents described their decision over Muite as "painful" but said they would not allow the former legislator — whom they said they "are very proud of" — to join any other party.

"We have said we do not want Muite in any other party except Safina," Mungai added.

Muite, who was the only MP elected on FORD-Kenya in Central Province, was non-committal on what he would do should Safina's pending appeal succeed and the party be registered.

Attorney-General Amos Wako has agreed to preside over Safina's appeal hearing on Tuesday.

The "Orengo Six" have announced the formation of the African National Convention mass movement under which they plan to campaign against the holding of December's elections.

Muite's constituents said it would be betrayal and a sign of lack of commitment to Safina and principle should Muite seek re-election on another party.

Matiba MPs join FORD-People

By Peter Murigi

OUTGOING Ford-Asili MPs loyal to Kenneth Matiba will defend their seats on Ford-People ticket before deciding which presidential candidate to support.

Former Gilhunguri MP Njehu Gatabaki said the MPs had agreed they will seek parliamentary nominations on Ford-People ticket but they are yet to agree whether to support the party's presidential candidate Kimani Wa Nyoike.

"We have agreed to join Ford-People but we shall decide which presidential candidate to support after the nominations", said Gatabaki over the phone.

Former Lari MP Philip Giiitonga confirmed that this was agreed at Thika.

He said: "I am in FORD-People and that is

what we agreed. We shall announce whom to back for presidential vote at a later date," he said.

Gatabaki said whether Matiba likes it or not, FORD-People is his own former Ford-Asili faction.

He said there were major differences during the Saturday Kikuyu leaders meeting at Thika between those supporting presidential candidates Mwai Kibaki and Charly Ngilu.

"We did not agree on whom to support. There were heated debates and differences on the matter".

Gatabaki said FORD-People will field a candidate in Juja to face Nducho who has deserted FORD-Asili for Ngilu's SDP. He said he quit FORD-Asili after sharp differences at the Thika meeting.

The former MPs who attended the Thika meeting included Gatabaki, Stephen Nducho, Kamukuru Gitau, Robert Mungai, John Michuki who is already in Ford-People and Gitonga.

Others were George Nyanja and former Minister Maina Wanjigi, Nduati Kariuki and Mwangi Thuo.

Gatabaki welcomed the decision by outgoing Kikuyu MP Paul Muite not to defend

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his seat unless Safina is registered.

He said Muite's explanation is understandable since the lawyer has also ensured Kanu does not grab the seat by blessing an opposition candidate from Ngilu's SDP.

Gatabaki said boycotting the elections will ensure Kanu takes all parliamentary seats and return Kenya to a single party state.

SAFINA IS NOW OKAYED

IPK still out as Govt registers more parties

SAFINA was yesterday finally registered as a political party.

This brings to 26 the number of registered parties in Kenya.

The move by the Government was welcomed by a cross-section of Kenyans and spokesmen from other political parties.

FORD-Kenya hailed the registration and appealed to Attorney-General Amos Wako to drop all criminal cases against Kenya National Democratic Alliance presidential candidate Koigi wa Wamwere to allow

him participate in next month's general election.

The party's Secretary-General Gitobu Imanyara in a statement said this will allow the electorate to judge the former MP.

Democratic Party Chairman Mwai Kibaki welcomed registration but insisted it would not create any politicalripples. "It is too late for Safina to make any political impact," he said. He added that DP has

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managed to garner support among the majority of Kenyan voters.

Kibaki was talking to reporters after addressing hundreds of DP supporters who braved heavy rains to welcome him to Thika and parts of Maragua District.

Release Political Prisoners lobby group national co-ordinator Kiama Wangai said the registration of Safina was long overdue.

He said he would run for the Juja

parliamentary seat on Safina ticket.

And Safina's Secretary-General Richard Leakey told an international news conference the three-year delay in the party's registration had "clearly been a tactic by the Government to wrong-foot the pro-democracy movement" (see separate story).

Motive

Announcing Safina's registration, Wako defended the Government against the ulterior motive accusations, arguing the exercise had to take "the normal course".

Just before Wako's announcement of the registration of Safina, a terse statement issued from the Office of the President said the Government had allowed the registration of all political parties whose applications were pending with the Registrar of Societies.

But as to the fate of unregistered Islamic Party of Kenya, Wako told an international news conference in his office there was an IPK case pending in court and his office could not review the matter.

He said following the refusal by the Registrar of Societies to register IPK, their interim officials

and thrive in Kenya.

He further said he had also taken into account the fact that the fundamental freedoms and rights including freedom of association should be enhanced and that the rule of law should be preserved and that the forthcoming general election should be free and fair and those who wanted to participate should be accorded a reasonable opportunity to do so.

He consequently declared to their applause Safina officials that their appeal succeeded and expressed his trust that the leader of the newly-registered political party would follow the letter and spirit of the constitution and the laws of Kenya and their own constitution in their activities.

were dissatisfied with the decision and appealed to him. He said after perusing the appeal, he upheld the Registrar's decision and the matter was referred to the High Court.

Wako, who addressed the press in the presence of Safina interim officials Messrs Richard Leakey, Paul Muite and Muturi Kigano among others, denied that international pressure on the registration of Safina compelled the Government to change its hard line policy on the issue.

And barely two hours after the registration was announced, hundreds of whites taking lunch in a Naivasha hotel broke into celebrations.

The excited group had heard the news on the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation 1 p.m. bulletin. They said it was the only party they had been waiting for.

Without going into detail, the A-G said the Registrar of Societies had in his possession reports on individuals connected or associated with Safina which formed the basis of his decision to reject the registration of the party.

"I take the point that the particulars of these allegations (pertaining to matters of the country's security) were neither communicated to the said persons nor were they given an opportunity to defend themselves," he said.

Saying he had decided to give the unnamed individuals within Safina the benefit of doubt over the allegations against them, Wako stated that in doing so, he had taken into account the overriding national interest that the constitutional multi-party democratic state should function well

general election.

Wako said politics had played no role in overturning Mbago's decision against the registration of Safina. He said he allowed Safina's appeal on "purely" legal grounds including their complaint that they were not afforded an opportunity to defend themselves against subversive accusations levelled against some of their members.

The A-G denied a suggestion of any particular role President Moi might have played in the Safina issue saying the head of state believed in the rule of law and had nothing to do in the affairs of Safina.

He, however, conceded to having contacted the President about his decision to have Safina registered.

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 Once KANU 'damu' man now Ford-P 'damu'

KANYINGI IN ABOUT-TURN

By PAUL MUHOHO
 at Kamirithu

DIE-HARD KANU man Simon Kuria Kanyingi yesterday made a dramatic about-turn and defected to the newly-registered but embattled Opposition

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 Ford People party.

The man, who once vowed that KANU blood flowed in his veins, was a contrast of himself when he glorified Mr Kenneth Stanley Njindo Matiba — who has personally disowned Ford People, saying: "I respect Matiba from head to toe."

Mr Kanyingi stunned a public rally at Kamirithu shopping centre, just outside Limuru town, when he announced: "You have previously known me as the Kiambu KANU branch chairman. Lately, I have been the Limuru KANU sub-branch chairman. Recently, I declared that I was merely an ordinary KANU member."

"From today, never associate me with KANU. I belong to Ford People. I will seek the Limuru parliamentary seat on Ford-People ticket," the diminutive but combative politician said amid a thunderous applause.

Mr Kimani Wanyoike, the Ford People secretary-general, heartily received Mr Kanyingi to the Opposition but was at great pains to explain to an unruly mob the legal imbroglio he is entangled in with Mr Matiba.

The apparently drunken youth demanded to know

whether Mr Matiba was the legitimate Ford People chairman. Wanyoike said Mr Matiba was the registered helmsman but due to recent wrangles over the party's registration, the seat had been left vacant until Mr Matiba could be persuaded to take up the post.

In his characteristic fiery stance, Mr Kanyingi said he had squandered a fortune and made many enemies in his support of the ruling party and the Government only for some "political minions and hirelings" to be used to humiliate and vilify him.

"What evil did I ever commit to warrant character assassination? In 1992 I was the Limuru parliamentary candidate on a KANU ticket. You did well to reject me. I am now appealing to Limuru people to reject KANU and vote for one Simon Peter Kuria Kanyingi," he told a cheering crowd.

The man who once proclaimed he was ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of President Daniel arap Moi's prolonged years was on the counter-attack yesterday, claiming that the Government had done nothing for the development of Limuru Constituency.

Mr Kanyingi said: "I have personally assisted churches financially, and assisted the construction of schools and roads. Which money has the Government brought to help you? In

Ndeja, I have always donated foodstuffs to famine-stricken families. Who else comes to your rescue? Then a clique of personalities springs from nowhere to vilify me. I'm diminutive in stature, for that is nature, but I am the same Kanyingi."

He fumed that early this year, the group of impostors and self-styled opportunists, including the Managing Director of the Kenya Power and Lighting Company, Mr Samuel Gichuru, attended a meeting at Kamirithu and made promises that the Government would embark on a rural electrification scheme covering the entire constituency.

Mr Kanyingi said the unfulfilled promises were part of a scheme to discredit him and malign his development record.

The former Kiambu KANU boss claimed that prominent Nairobi businessman Manga Mugwe had declined an offer to contest the Limuru parliamentary seat on a KANU ticket. "Manga is a very mature person. He is very good," he said of his political nemesis.

Mr Kanyingi asserted that Mr Mugwe had hinted at assisting the ruling party "while negotiating for a fortune worth Sh70 million in tenders with the Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation".

He dismissed former Limuru MP Samwel Mwaura — whom

Mr Kanyingi said he groomed for the seat — as a nonstarter for reelection.

After asking the huge crowd in Gikuyu to laugh to their fill, Mr Kanyingi posed: "Nu utoi itiga ni Kanyingi Mwaura ndangithuguna Bunge? Kai ariganitirvotaiindi ithe?" (Who doesn't know that were it not for Kanyingi, Mr Mwaura could never have gone for a short call in Parliament? Has he forgotten that I was his political mentor?)

Mr Kanyingi said that Mr Mwaura should have been content with being a personnel manager with a private firm instead of indulging in politics he knew little about.

Welcoming Mr Wanyoike to address the crowd, Mr Kanyingi said the former Kinangop MP was now jobless after being harassed by the Government.

Mr Wanyoike said his party had taken off and would participate in the impending General Election despite inadequate constitutional reforms.

"The struggle continues. We can only effectively participate in the liberalisation struggle from within the system," he said.

Ford People had opened offices at Nairobi's Ufungamano House where civil and parliamentary candidates could obtain nomination papers, he added.

He pointed out that Ford People would have preferred Mr Matiba to take a shot at the

presidency during the elections, but due to the complications surrounding the chairmanship, it had been decided that the post be reserved for the Kiharu MP until he was persuaded "back home".

Mr Wanyoike claimed that the former Ford Asili Matiba faction had transformed itself to Ford People and only awaited Mr Matiba's decision to take up the helmsmanship.

He said the party had assigned policy-makers covering all sectors of the economy in readiness to form the next government.

The former MP predicted that President Moi would not garner the 25 per cent vote in five provinces, since Nairobi, Central, Eastern and Nyanza provinces were Opposition strongholds.

Mr Wanyoike, who was repeatedly interrupted by the unruly mob of youths, took a few minutes to explain that Mr Matiba was still the registered chairman of Ford People.

But he was forced to plead patience when they demanded to be assured that Mr Matiba would contest the presidency and visit Kamirithu soon.

After Mr Wanyoike's address, several Nairobi Ford Asili councillors were allowed to "greet" the people and demonstrate Ford People's three-finger salute.

They explained that the middle finger represented the father, the ring finger stood for mother while the smallest finger was for the child-representing the family.

But the youths could not be deterred in their quest for "something small" from Mr Wanyoike and his entourage who had to be whisked to their waiting vehicle which drove off at top speed.

They then turned on Mr Kanyingi demanding to know when Mr Matiba and Koigi wa Wamwere would visit the area. He was equally whisked away to his vehicle.

Earlier, uncertainty swept Kamirithu when rumours circulated about the real intentions of the meeting. Some people speculated that Mr Kanyingi would be humiliated by some hirelings after announcing his defection.

But Mr Kanyingi said he could not be cowed by empty threats from whatever quarter.

EXTRACT 24

Kenya Times, Wednesday, November 12, 1997

8 LUO MPs JOIN RAILA

FORD Kenya suffered its worst blow yesterday when eight Luo outgoing Members of Parliament abandoned it to cluster in Raila Odinga's tribal fortress — the National Development Party of Kenya (NDP).

The move dealt a severe blow to Wamalwa Kijana's presidential bid and reduced the two parties into tribal alliances both in Luo-Nyanza, and Trans Nzoia area, predominantly Bukusu.

Political observers, at the same time, predicted sharp divisions in the various Opposition parties, saying most of them would break into ethnic bodies, hence make it difficult

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for any of the presidential hopefuls in the Opposition to garner a simple majority win.

The eight who defected yesterday were Raila's brother, Dr Oburu Odinga who represented Bondo Constituency in the Seventh Parliament, Joshua Orwa Ojode (Ndhiwa), Omollo Opere (Mbita), Dennis Akumu (Nyakach), Ochieng Mbeo (Mathare), Joab Omino (Kisumu Town), Aloo Ogeka (Muhoroni) and Tom Onyango (Nyatike). Dr Oburu and Onyango, however, did not attend the Press conference at Parliament Buildings but had their names listed among the eight defectors.

The MPs said "lack of internal democracy and corruption" were the reasons behind their move to ditch the Ford Kenya.

The defections comes on the heels of that of last week of the immediate former MP for Imenti South Kiraitu Murungu who quit the party for the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP).

Mr Akumu, a veteran trade unionist, said that they did not defect earlier because they did not want to subject their constituents to costly by-election exercises. "We also had a meeting on January 1, during which our constituents told us to support NDP, although we were in Parliament on Ford Kenya ticket," he said.

Mr Ojode, who is also the NDP director of elections, said

one more outgoing MP would defect to the party from Ford Kenya, and claimed further that two others from KANU have expressed interest to defend their seats on NDP tickets.

Of the eight, Mbeo, Omino and Opere will seek re-election in new constituencies. Mbeo will fight it out in the newly-created Kasarani, while Omino will try his luck in Kisumu Town West Constituency. Opere on his part has moved to the newly-created Gwassi constituency.

The defectors also took a swipe at the Ford Kenya's First Vice-Chairman, Mr James Orengo, on his calls for armed warfare as a means of removing President Moi and KANU Government from power.

"We are a peaceful party who believe in peaceful transition and that is why we would like to dissociate ourselves from the remarks attributed to Mr Orengo. He should bear the blame for his talks solely," said Ojode.

The group also said they were not part of a scheme to boycott the impending General Election.

"We would like to appeal to everybody not to even think of or contemplate boycotting the elections. The lessons from Zambia and Cameroon should be a good warning for us," noted Akumu.

On the fate of Orengo and the immediate former Kasipul Kabondo MP, Otieno K'Opiyo,

Mr Omino quipped: "I am not my brother's keeper." The former MP said Orengo and K'Opiyo will have to carry their own cross.

The analysts said more defections are expected as the aspirants both KANU and the Opposition jostle for bases in the various registered parties.

Members of the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) and the unregistered Safina party are reportedly locked in negotiations with the Social Democratic Party (SDP) to run for parliamentary seats on the party's ticket.

Sources within the NCEC and Safina party indicated that should the party (Safina) fail to

be registered before the elections are called then its members would seek party sponsorship on SDP.

Dr Richard Leakey, former Kikuyu MP Paul Muite and his Ugenya counterpart James Orengo are reportedly eyeing the SDP as the next political vehicle.

Others expected to join them include Otieno K'Opiyo (Kasipul Kabondo) and Otieno Karan (Nyando), among the remaining Luo Ford Kenya MPs but not at good terms with the party chairman Kijana Wamalwa.

Mrs Phoebe Asiyo (Karachuonyo) remains non-aligned though she had indicated that she might not seek re-election.

Kenya Times, Thursday, November 13, 1997

Orengo, 4 others quit Ford-K

FORD KENYA suffered another major setback when five more of the party's outgoing MPs including First National Vice-Chairman, Mr James Orengo, yesterday ditched it in search of new parties.

A total of 14 of the party's ex-MPs have since Tuesday decamped to other parties, the main beneficiary being Raila Odinga's National Development

Party (NDP) which acquired eight of them.

The party had held some 31 seats in the House which made it the official opposition party, and its chairman, Kijana Wamalwa, the Official Leader of Opposition in the House.

The MPs who have so far defected from Ford Kenya to NDP include Joshua Orwa

Ojode (Ndhiwa), Owino Achola (Migori), Dennis Akumu (Nyakachi), Valentine Opre (Mbita), Job Omimo (Kisumu Town), Ochieng Mbeo (Mathare), Dr Oburu Odinga (Bondo), Tom Onyango (Nyatike), Kiraitu Murungi (Imenti South).

Those who abandoned the party yesterday to yet unknown parties are James Orengo

(Ugenya), Otieno Mak Onyango (Alego Usonga), Otieno Karan (Nyando), Aloo Ogeka (Muhoroni) and Otieno K Opiyo (Kasipul Kabondo).

The party, on the other hand, only boasts of one recent defector from equally troubled Ford Asili party, Mr Lawrence Sifuna (Kanduyi).

"We have today rendered
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our resignation as office-bearers of Ford Kenya with immediate effect and we are satisfied that the action is both legitimate and justified, the former five MPs told a Press conference at Chester House.

They cited fundamental differences between them and a section of the party leadership regarding objectives, principles, and philosophy which they claimed had been eroded and compromised to the extent the party cannot champion for the aspiration of Kenyans.

Mr K Opiyo, who did not attend the conference, was said to have sent an apology to the effect.

The five said their decision to join another party should not be viewed as tribal but remained noncommittal on the speculation that they were set to join the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Political observers have predicted sharp divisions in the various Opposition parties and contend that the parties' supporters would disintegrate

into ethnic blocs.

The five defecting Luo members who are linked to the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) are reportedly locked in negotiations with the SDP to defend their seats on the party ticket.

During their Press conference yesterday the ex-MPs maintained their support for the NCEC which they said was total and unwavering.

They said Ford Kenya party affairs were unprincipled and decision-making by some top officials subjected the party to ridicule and contempt, saying that their contributions were ignored.

Meanwhile, 18 outgoing Ford Kenya councillors in Homa Bay yesterday defected to the National Development Party of Kenya (NDP).

Led by the former County Council Chairman, Councillor Jane Were and former Mayor Hesbon Nyawinda, the councillors accused Ford Kenya leader Kijana Wamalwa of concentrating his efforts in his own district.

Kenya Times, Friday, November 14, 1997

KANYINGI RETURNS TO KANU

A 72-HOUR "opposition blood-transfusion" proved incompatible on Simon Kuria Kanyingi and yesterday like the biblical prodigal son, the combative politician returned remorsefully to the ruling party, KANU.

Mr Kanyingi made a swift exit from Opposition Ford People and apologised profusely to President Daniel arap Moi — the KANU National Chairman who is also his mentor and benefactor.

In yet another dramatic twist to Opposition politics, fiery city

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politician David Mwanje, former Embakasi MP, shifted gears and abandoned KANU for the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP).

Mr Kanyingi, who once vowed that KANU blood flowed in his veins, said his 72-hour defection was meaningless and dropped his quest to seek the Limuru parliamentary seat in the December 29 General Election.

The bumpyside in the Opposition left him a lonely man since it was the wrong place and his divorce from KANU and President Moi was the greatest miscalculation in his life, Mr Kanyingi said.

By PAUL MUHOHO and GERRY ODUOR

politician David Mwanje, former Embakasi MP, shifted gears and abandoned KANU for the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP).

Mr Kanyingi, who once

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Said he: "After being frustrated and tormented by a certain group for quite some time, I had reached a point of no return. After being in KANU for a very long time and a friend of President Moi, who has helped me immensely, the vilification and hounding by the group left me a very devastated and confused man."

Mr Kanyingi proclaimed that he was ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of President Moi's prolonged years since the Head of State was his symbolic "father" who had taken him from far.

He said he stuck with KANU during the first multi-party General Election in 1992 and vied for the Limuru parliamentary seat when most politicians in Central Province made a beeline for the Opposition.

"During that time, it was almost taboo to associate with KANU in Central Province. I risked my life and limb for KANU and President Moi," he said.

After being pushed to the wall by the clique, Mr Kanyingi said, he first dropped his chairmanship of the Kiambu KANU branch, then the chairmanship of the Limuru KANU sub-branch and finally opted to remain an ordinary KANU member.

Mr Kanyingi said within the 72 hours he was in the Opposition, he made a great deal of soul-searching and discovered he was in the wrong place.

"My stand that KANU blood flows in my veins still stands. It still does, hence my decision, like the prodigal son, to come back home," he stressed.

Mr Kanyingi apologised to the Head of State "for any embarrassment I may have caused him".

He went on: "I pledge to support any KANU candidate who will vie in Limuru. I will also use my resources and energy to garner votes for President Moi and KANU. As for elective posts, I will not be seeking any and I will remain a KANU life member because of the love I have for President Moi and the ruling party KANU. I appeal to all the people of Limuru to understand the predicament that I had found myself in."

Mr Kanyingi stunned a public rally at Kamirithu, just outside Limuru town, on Sunday, when he announced his divorce

with KANU and opted to get into a marriage of convenience with the newly registered but embattled Ford People.

He glorified Mr Kenneth Matiba — who has rejected the Ford People chairmanship — saying: "I respect Matiba from head to toe."

In his characteristic fiery stance, Mr Kanyingi said he had squandered a fortune and made a myriad enemies for his unequalled support for KANU and the Government only for some "political minions and hirelings" to be used to humiliate and vilify him.

He posed then: "What evil did I ever commit to warrant character assassination? In 1992, I was the Limuru parliamentary candidate on a KANU ticket. You did well to reject me. I am now appealing to you to reject KANU and vote for Simon Peter Kuria Kanyingi."

Mr Kanyingi had claimed the Government had done nothing for the development of Limuru constituency and said he had financed many projects from his personal coffers, including feeding Ndeiya famine victims.

A remorseful Kanyingi said yesterday he had tried to adjust his life and that of his family in the Opposition but realised it was too cold, harsh and inhospitable.

Meanwhile...

Kenya Times, Saturday, November 15, 1997

A-G TO MATIBA: FORD-P LEGAL

By CHARLES KERICH

BELEAGUERED Kenneth Matiba yesterday ~~hit the wall~~ on a legal technicality in his spirited but futile attempt to wrest control of Ford Asili from the Martin Shikuku camp. Attorney-General Amos Wako told Mr Matiba's emis-

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saries that the Registrar-General had no legal powers to change registration of already registered political parties.

Mr Matiba was told with finality that the Statute Law (Repeals and Miscellaneous Amendment) Act, which came into force last Friday provided that those dissatisfied with registration of any political party to challenge the action in court.

Mr Wako held a lengthy meeting with Mr Matiba's allies — Mr Stephen Musila, Mrs Beth Mugo and Mr Ngengi Muigoi at his Sheria House office in Nairobi.

The three, during a meeting attended by Registrar-General Omondi Mbago briefed the Attorney-General on the developments regarding the recent registration of Ford People on October 3.

Mr Wako explained to the trio that Ford People was registered after the Matiba faction instructed the Muhoru Kagiri and Wamae law firm to write to the Registrar-General to "facilitate the separation of the two factions — Mr Matiba's faction and Mr Shikuku's faction into two distinct political parties".

The letter from the law firm, dated July 2, was copied to Mr Matiba and Mr Kimani Wanyoike.

Mr Wako said Ford People was registered transparently after the certified application was submitted to the Registrar-General.

Mr Wako pointed out that the wrangles in Ford Asili had resulted in several elections and numerous court injunctions which had made it difficult for the Registrar-General to decide on the matter.

According to Mr Mbago's letter dated October 3, the following officials were listed as the Ford People leaders — Mr Kenneth Matiba (chairman), Mr Stephen Musila (vice-chairman), Mr Kimani Wanyoike (secretary-general), Agathe Muthoni

Mbogo (national women's leader), Mr Luyai Luyai (organisation secretary) and Mr Francis Wanyange (deputy organising secretary).

Subsequently, Mr Mbago wrote to the Shikuku faction and confirmed the following as the Ford Asili officials — Mr George Nthenge (acting chairman), Mr Martin Shikuku (secretary-general), Mr Isaac Dahir (acting treasurer), Mr Chris Gibagini (acting assistant treasurer) and Mr Wanguhu Ng'ang'a (acting national organising secretary).

But Mr Shikuku and his group swiftly denounced Ford People and rejected the positions, saying they remained in Ford Asili.

Former Ford Asili MPs allied to Mr Matiba — who then was out of the country — maintained they were no longer in the party since their chairman had opted for Ford People.

They were John Michuki, Gacuru wa Karcnge, Stephen Ndicho, Robert Mungai, George Nyanja, Kamau Icharia, Henry Ruhia, Philip Gitonga, Kamuiru Gitau and Njehu Gatabaki.

Five days after Ford People was sanctioned to operate as an opposition political party, the Matiba camp called for its deregistration and denounced Kimani Wanyoike for making a solo move without consultations.

Row over Opposition presidential candidate

NGILU OPPOSES GEMA FACTOR

THE Opposition ~~crave~~ for the presidency intensified yesterday with an aspirant Mrs Charity Ngilu urging the electorate to ~~lock out~~ anybody ~~eyeing~~ the seat allied to the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEMA) tribal association.

She said the Gema ~~are~~ were selfish and tribalistic and should not be given a chance to occupy the seat of the

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presidency.

In a separate development, Opposition leaders rejected the call by a section of their colleagues to settle for a single presidential candidate. They dismissed the move as a crude attempt that debases democracy.

In another development, the Ngilu campaign managers from Ukambani yesterday took exception to a remark by DP's Njenga Karume, that the Kambas were their cousins, saying that the remark was aimed at hoodwinking the community into apolitical marriage.

A spokesman, Mr Davidson Musau wondered: "Since when did the Kambas become cousins of the Kikuyu? The fact that we are bantus does not make us cousins. Moreover, they call us cousins when there is an election coming and when the polls is over, they circle themselves with the GEMA necklace."

Mr Karume had been reported as saying that the Kikuyu would approach their cousins in Ukambani for a political alliance.

"Mr Karume is widely acknowledged as the GEMA tribal leader, grouping the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru in an association has continued to exploit for political expediency," he said.

Ford Asili presidential candidate, Martin Shikuku, dismissed as untenable the belated plans to field a single Opposition presidential candidate for the December 29 polls.

He condemned tribal groupings, especially by the GEMA group and branded them tribalists, noting that self-centred interests had worked against unity of the Opposition since the advent of multi-partyism.

Mr Shikuku said during an interview that an attempt by Raila Odinga to revive or create an impression of an Opposition unity was a mere publicity gimmick.

"Raila was simply speaking aloud to the media. He is not serious and he knows it," the former Butere legislator said.

Ford Kenya deputy executive director, Oyangi Mbaja, said Opposition unity talks have all along failed and noted that Raila was not a man to be trusted in any political dealing.

He said it was Raila's unbridled ambition for power that caused the split of Ford Kenya and eventually saw some MPs showing dissent to the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) reforms agenda.

Yesterday Raila in an interesting turn said he was not ready to step aside for any of the Opposition presidential candidates.

He said he would not betray his supporters by stepping down for anybody and instead accused the *Daily Nation* of fabricating stories about him.

He maintained the story which sparked the controversy over the single presidential candidate was "wrongly attributed to me".

"All Opposition parties have endorsed their respective presidential candidates whom they believe can unseat KANU and President Moi. Who then can agree to step down now? he posed. (See separate stories elsewhere).

Addressing a campaign rally in Meru, Mrs Ngilu urged the electorate to vote out any leaders allied to Gema and to

male Opposition presidential contenders to step aside for her.

She said she would instead offer the rivals, including Mwai Kibaki, Kenneth Matiba and Kijana Wamalwa, jobs in her political set-up as advisers.

Ngilu maintained that the majority of the male Opposition presidential candidates were ~~worn-out~~ and could not make any impact in the present Kenyan politics.

Mrs Ngilu was speaking at Makutano Shopping Centre in Meru town accompanied by former Kisumu Rural Member of Parliament Prof Anyang' Nyong'o.

She noted Gema leaders made the resolution for the top seat at a meeting in Nyeri recently and wondered where the Kamba, Luos, Maasais, Kalenjins and other tribes would go in such circumstances.

She said her message was that of a united nation which recognised all ethnic groups and called on the electorate to give her the chance to separate the "bulls" who she said were permanently dividing the opposition to the advantage of KANU.

Mrs Ngilu noted that Mr Kibaki started serving the Cabinet at the age of 27, while Matiba and Wamalwa were over 50 years and thus they had no business seeking further leadership opportunities.

Prof Nyong'o on his part claimed that the elections had been rigged in advance but said his party — Social Democratic Party (SDP) sponsoring Ngilu had recruited youths to counter any rigging.

He at the same time attacked the *Kenya Times* and the *East African Standard* for writing "unfounded" stories about him.

He further charged that almost all the reporters and correspondents of *Kenya Times* were employees of Special Branch and thus earned double salaries from both the paper and the Government.

He threatened them with dire consequences, saying that sooner they would pay dearly in taxes when investigations which he claimed were under way to the effect were completed.

EXTRACT 29

Kenya Times, Saturday, November 22, 1997

MWAU OPTS OUT FOR MOI

By ALEX RIITHI

THE Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK) boss, John Harun Mwau, yesterday opted out of the race for presidency and Parliament and urged Kenyans to rally their support behind President Moi to enable him complete his term of office "as he was the most visionary and pragmatic among the contenders".

Mr Mwau, who contested the presidency during the last General Election, said: "My advice is that this being the last term of office for President Moi, five years is not a long time. Let us support his presidency for the next five years to enable us to pull together in order that whoever takes over from him after the end of this term, will be a person capable of running this country. The PICK boss said he was disillusioned by the peculiar and rather intriguing type of leadership Kenyans seem to require.

He said in a statement that he was shocked, astonished, flabbergasted, embarrassed and tongue-tied when the crowd at Uhuru Park last weekend cheered, clapped and applauded to unpalatable statements by leaders.

He said if what was being applauded at Uhuru Park is what Kenyans wanted in leadership, then it could not carry the nation to the next millennium, and that what Kenyans needed were honest leaders genuinely committed in supporting the presidency and the Government to succeed.

Mr Mwau said the crop of leaders opposing President Moi had tended to seek leadership based on name-calling, defamation, jealousy, selfishness, character maligning, greed, personal aggrandisement and threats, which, he said, he was unable to practice.

He said owing to this and the fact that the elites tended to remain passive and non-committal, accepting any results that came their way, his type of poli-

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tics was doomed to fail.

Mr Mwau said his type of politics was based on pragmatism, straight forwardness and facts, and that Kenyans appeared to relish on the opposite.

He said: "To avoid wasting time in futile exercise that is obviously misunderstood, I find it necessary not to vie for any political office both parliamentary and presidential and I also find it equally not to run for any other political office."

He said the hordes of leaders who had mushroomed to challenge President Moi were fragmented and were propagating selfishness and self-centred interests which will not give birth to a democratic society but can only lead to anarchy.

Mr Mwau said though he was not ruling out that there could be another Kenyan from the 30 million who could lead the nation, but at the moment it is only President Moi who stood out because the others have not proved that they have ideas, innovation, enterprise and the will to serve the people, and not their tribes.

He said: "There is an old adage that says it is wrong to jump from the frying pan into the fire. We need these five years to recompose and bring out the best from within and among us so as to give this country's leadership to the most deserving."

The leader said there was need to divorce from the culture of lies that we have developed, as cheating is the surest and fastest way to hell.

Mr Mwau thanked and apologised to those who have been supporting his political undertakings.

Kenya Times, Monday, November 24, 1997

PULL OUT, NGILU TOLD BY MOTHER

By BEN MITUKAA at
Tuvilani, Mbooni

THE distressed mother of Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential aspirant Charity Kaluki Ngilu wants her daughter to withdraw from the race.

Speaking yesterday in an interview at Tuvilani Ebenezer Church in Mbooni, Makueni District, Mrs Esther Kasyoki said she wanted her daughter to withdraw from the race "because I know she cannot meet the challenges of such an office".

She declared in Kikamba: "Nimulavije na akaemia (I have told her but she has refused)". The elderly lady, who was speaking at Mrs Ngilu's birthplace, said she had raised her daughter from birth and was, therefore, best placed to determine her ability.

"She is my daughter and I don't think there is anyone who can determine her abilities better than myself," said Mrs Kasyoki. She said she had expressed her misgivings to her daughter each time she went to her Tuvilani home because she believed that Mrs Ngilu's ambition to lead Kenya would ruin her.

"Ever since I thought up the subject she has been avoiding me," said Mrs Kasyoki. "Even after she agreed, at one stage, to step down from the race, I still hear about her travelling throughout the country seeking the seat." Mrs Kasyoki said she had on one occasion sent former Nairobi Deputy Mayor Ali Mwanzi to her daughter to try and talk to her out of her "wild dream". Asked why she had sent the former civic leader, a Page 2 - Col. 1

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senior KANU official in Nairobi, Mrs Kasyoki said she trusted him with the mission because he and Mrs Ngilu had grown up together and had been playmates. They attended Mbooni Intermediate School together, she said.

Mrs Ngilu's distressed mother said she had in fact asked her daughter to, instead, throw her support behind one of the other presidential candidates, because he was her son-in-law. She did not reveal the name of the candidate, but sources said one of the presidential aspirants is married to a woman from Mrs Ngilu's family.

Apparently, Mrs Kasyoki believes that it is bad taste for her daughter to oppose her in-law. The widow of Pastor Aaron Kasyoki, who died some time back, Mrs Kasyoki and her husband were staunch followers of the African Inland Church (AIC) before they crossed over to the Ebenezer Church where she is held in high regard.

The widow said she recently summoned her daughter to a family meeting and asked her to think seriously about what she was planning to do before she could enter the race. Local sources said the old lady is unhappy about her daughter's confrontational politics and has asked her to be content for the moment with the Kiui Central parliamentary seat in her husband's constituency.

But Mrs Ngilu is said to have snubbed her mother, saying she would not listen to anyone who asked her to abandon her presidential ambitions. Local sources said the aspirant's reaction has left her mother and family baffled and perturbed. One local person said he fears that if Mrs Ngilu does not take her mother's advice seriously she may be cursed and her chances of falling impressively in the presidential election later this year may be eroded.

Meanwhile, the SDP onslaught suffered a blow when two splinter groups started fighting over the Machakos branch leadership. The SDP national chairman, Dr Apollo Njonjo, tried to mediate between the two rival groups at the weekend in vain and two separate offices have since been established in Machakos town.

One group claims that Mrs Ngilu has not refunded to it the money they spent to hire offices. This group made up of former Democratic Party (DP) officials has been accused of using the office near the Machakos bus park like their personal property.

Apparently sensing trouble, Mrs Ngilu opened another office at her bakery which is situated about 500 metres away from the old office. The wrangling in the SDP's Machakos branch started in earnest after the immediate former MP for Kangundo, Mr Joseph Mulusya, called for the lynching of parliamentary candidates he alleged were KANU spies.

He made the inflammatory remarks at a rally held at the Kenyatta Stadium in Machakos town. The politicians Mulusya alleges to be KANU spies are a former senior civil servant, Mr Kioko wa Luka, a former Machakos MP, Mr Onesmus Kikuyu and a Mr D. S. Mbindya. They intend to be nominated for the Kangundo and Machakos parliamentary seats.

Kenya Times, Tuesday, November 25, 1997

Ex-MP Mungai backs Moi, to defect to KANU

FORMER Molo Member of Parliament, Mr Njenga Mungai, yesterday threw his weight behind President Daniel arap Moi for the presidency in the December 29 elections and also hinted that he was considering to decamp from Ford Asili to the ruling party.

Speaking at a presidential function at Elburgon and wildly

By MARTIN MASAI and PPS

cheered by the crowd, Mr Mungai said President Moi was best suited to oversee the political reforms.

He electrified the crowd when he indicated his intention to defect to KANU, and was urged on amid deafening cheers

of Jogoo, Jogoo, the symbol of the ruling party. The mammoth crowd had gathered to witness the presentation of title deeds by the President to those who had been relocated to the area.

Mr Mungai urged Kenyans to elect President Moi for another five-year term, saying that the President championed national interests unlike other presidential contenders, who

had been reduced to tribal leaders.

Said Mr Mungai to deafening applause: "I want to assure you all that I will not back opposition politics for the sake of it and especially now that it is apparent that they are doomed to fail."

Mr Mungai decried the poli-

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tics of division, piloted by tribal chauvinism, saying that tribal politics had brought suffering to local people in the past.

He lauded President Moi's efforts in unifying the people of Kenya.

Addressing the gathering, the President asked the electorate to reject any parliamentary or civic candidate championing narrow ethnic interests. President Moi pointed out that Kenya was a cosmopolitan society, adding that diversity should not be exploited by some unscrupulous politicians for their own benefit.

President Moi especially singled out the Rift Valley Province as an area with diverse ethnic groups living together, and told those seeking votes in the province not to pollute that co-existence by whipping up tribal feelings.

President Moi who is also the KANU national chairman, particularly said those seeking nomination on the party ticket must project national interests at all times.

President Moi said it was absurd that Molo area had been used as a launching ground for destructive ethnic clashes and told wananchi to lock out the perpetrators of this retrogressive behaviour this time round.

He warned those out to use

the electioneering period as an excuse to cause chaos that they will face the full force of the law.

Noting that he was aware that others were even planning to engage in cattle thefts to instigate clashes, President Moi said all security apparatus were in place and would bring the criminals to book.

President Moi emphasised that no one had a right to deprive others of their lives.

On the flare-ups in the Trans Mara District, President Moi said appropriate measures had been instituted to contain the situation.

He said the Government was aware of those behind the skirmishes, saying that it was closing in on them and said they would be arrested irrespective of their status. President Moi told residents of the Rift Valley Province to be unanimous in their resolve to develop the area.

He especially cautioned those who immigrated into the province from other provinces against adopting ideologies from their places of origin that were unworkable in the area.

He asked them to team up with fellow Kenyans in the province to tackle and find solutions to the problems of the area with a view to enhancing development.

President Moi once again told Kenyans to vote for him and other KANU candidates during

the forthcoming General Election.

He pointed out that KANU's track record was unrivalled, as the party which led the country to independence and has steered national aspirations successfully for the last 34 years.

President Moi took issue with the Ford Kenya secretary-general Gitobu Imanyara for claiming his party was the only one which won seats in all the provinces in the 1992 poll, during a recent television programme.

The President said even KANU won seats in all the provinces including Nyanza.

President Moi observed that as the party with the best manifesto, KANU was posed to win with overwhelming majority.

President Moi, however, cautioned the electorate to elect people with integrity and cited cases where people had been elected to leadership positions only to use them to grab public utility land.

In this connection President Moi directed District Commissioners to ensure that no plot was issued out without scrutiny.

He said even after that scrutineering exercise had been done, enough land should be set aside for public use.

President Moi pointed out that it was in this regard that he

issued title deeds to 858 people who were relocated from the Olunguruone catchment area to Elburgon.

He said the decision to relocate the beneficiaries was done in their best interests and criticised an Opposition activist, Mr Kamau Kuria, for opposing the move.

He said it was unfortunate that Mr Kuria even wanted to stop the issuance of the title deeds by a court injunction.

Other leaders and the wananchi in the area were unanimous that they would vote for KANU during the poll.

By show of the KANU one finger salute, the capacity crowd assured President Moi of KANU victory in the General Election in the Molo area and Nakuru District at large.

Present at the function were Assistant Minister Willy Kamuren, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement Mutuma Kathurima, Nakuru KANU chairman Raphael Korir, Commissioner of Lands, Mr Wilson Gachanja, the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner Mohammed Yusuf Haji and the Rift Valley Provincial Forest Officer, Mr John Rotich.

Light cleared of main race

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ectoral Com- yesterday President Moi in challengers st in the most race for the cy in inde- Kenya's his-

ers who presented — Mr Koigi Wam- Prof Wangari failed to meet the and may re-present before the com- icy with the other to have been nomi- tious parties. nations which took ty Hall precipitated snarl-ups as traffic from Harambee Ave- sunty Hall is situated streets. There were noisy processions in is by candidates and rs. bers complained that n disturbed by the sic that blared from mounted on top of

leared by the com- ceaded by Mr Samu- re Mr Mwai Kibaki, Waiyaki, Mr Raila

Odinga, Mrs Charity Kaluki Ngilu, Mr Kimani wa Nyoike, Mr George Anyona and Mr Michael Kijana Wamalwa. President Moi leads the ruling party Kanu into the electoral battle slated for December 29. Mr Kibaki leads the Democratic Party (DP), Dr Waiyaki the United Patriotic Party (UPP) and Mr Odinga the National Development Party of Kenya (NDP).

Mrs Ngilu is the standard-bearer for the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Mr Nyoike heads Ford-People, Mr Anyona the Kenya Social Congress (KSC) and Mr Wamalwa Ford-Kenya respectively. The list of presidential candidates is expected to grow today when, among others, Mr Martin Shikuku of Ford-Asili, Mr Geof-

frey M'Mwireria of the Green African Party and, Mr Omondi Oludhe of the newly-launched Economic Independence Party are expected to present themselves for nominations this morning.

As we went to Press it was not clear who between Prof Katama Mwangi and Dr Chibule wa Tsuna would present himself for nomination on the Kenya National Congress ticket.

Those missing from the race in

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which they participated in 1992 are Mr Kenneth Matiba, the runner-up five years ago, who disqualified himself when he failed to register. The other is the late Jararangi Oginga Odinga who died in 1994. He ran on a Ford-K ticket.

Mr John Harun Mwaui of PICK was out of the race last week and was, on Tuesday appointed the director of the new Kenya Anti-Corruption Authority.

President Moi goes into what his supporters are calling the second round for he will be seeking his last term in office. If he wins and completes the five-year term, he will have done 42 years in politics.

Going into the contest for the first time are Mrs Ngilu, Mr Nyoike, Dr Waiyaki and Mr Odinga. Mr Kibaki finished third

in 1992 while Mr Anyona and Dr Tsuma finished at the bottom of the table.

Prof Maathai (Liberal Party) and Mr Koigi wa Wamwere (Kenya National Democratic Alliance) had their nominations deferred because of irregularities on the papers bearing the signatures of the 1,000 supporters backing their applications.

Mr Kivuitu found that the papers which carry the mandatory 1,000 signatures for supporters were wrongly filled.

Mr Koigi had 27 out of the 40 sheets correctly filled with each carrying 25 signatures as required by law. He is expected to bring the balance of 13 sheets today.

Prof Maathai had 30 sheets correct and 10 wrong.

She later raised an issue that some of the voters cards had mistakes and this would spill over into actual elections as they such cards would be invalidated

15 cleared for presidency race

Seven of the candidates were yesterday cleared to run for presidency bringing the total number of those now officially in the race for the post to 15.

This is the most crowded presidential election in the history of independent Kenya.

Mrs Charity Kaluki Ngilu and Prof Wangari Maathai are the first women ever to vie for the highest political office in the land.

Two of the aspirants, Mr H.N. Manonde of the Democratic Assistance Party and Mr Mwangi N. Gige of the Kenya Socialist Party, did not meet the requirements for nomination.

A 17-year-old aspirant, the ruling party, Kanu, is the oldest and its leader, President Moi, the longest serving politician in Kenya's history.

The presidential candidates are Mr Moi (Kanu), Mr Stephen Omondi Oludhe (Economic Independence Party), Mr Michael Kibaki (Democratic Party of Kenya), Mr Waiyaki (UPP), Mr Odinga (NDP), Mrs Ngilu (SDP), Prof Maathai (Liberal Party), Mr Koigi wa Wamwere (KNDP), Mr Anyona (KSC), Mr Mwangi (KSP) and Mr Shikuku (Ford-Asili).

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2 candidates fail to get nominated

FROM PAGE 1

malwa Kijana (Ford-Kenya), Dr Munyua Waiyaki (United Patriotic Party of Kenya), Mr Raila Odinga (National Development of Kenya), Mrs Ngilu, (Social Democratic Party), Mr George Anyona (Kenya Social Congress), Mr Kimani wa Nyoike (Ford-People), Prof Maathai (Liberal Party of Kenya), Mr Koigi Wamwere (Kenda), Mr David Waweru Ng'ethe (Ummia Patriotic Party of Kenya), Mr Joseph Martin Shikuku (Ford-Asili), Mr Godfrey M'Mwireria (Green African Party), Prof Kalam Mwangi (Kenya National Congress) and Mr Oludhe (Economic Independence Party).

Unlike on Thursday, when demonstrations caused traffic chaos in city streets, yesterday's exercise was calm, save for the crowds around County Hall, where the nominations were held.

However, there was drama inside the hall when Mr Oludhe could not get the mandatory 1,000 signatures of supporters. He had to go out and seek 25 more supporters.

Mr Nyongia part lectured the 21-person commission "for demanding far too many documents from the aspirants". He told commission Chairman Samuel Kivuitu and his team that he was with the late Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana's founder) for his nomination and did not witness such bureaucracy.

Mr Nyongia presented himself before the commission with virtually no documents, save for an old identity card. He asked the commissioners to give him Sh5,000 for his nomination fee, forgetting that one does not need to pay for the exercise.

Most candidates and their supporters said they found the commissioners warm, ready to listen and patient.

Party disarray on nominations

By NATION Team

parliamentary and civic candidates present their nomination papers to the Electoral Commission's returning officers this morning, a number of parties remain undecided over the candidates to sponsor in a number of constituencies.

Among the constituencies in question, where former Nairobi Mayor Steve Mwangi is contesting for the Kanu ticket with Mr Stephen Mburu Kinyanjui in the repeat poll on Friday.

However, the repeat nominations were marked by confusion and disorganisation.

In many polling centres, no vote took place owing to the late arrival of returning officers and nomination papers. At many stations, presiding officers failed to show up as they were still waiting for nomination papers at constituency headquarters.

Kanu headquarters yesterday finally announced the nomination of Mr Mwangi.

In Machakos Town, the district security committee intervened after sharp disagreements gripped the repeat Kanu nominations.

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The immediate former area MP, Mr Alphonse Musyoki, and the returning officer, Mr Mburu Mutabi, were forced to take refuge at the Machakos police station after rowdy supporters of Mr Wilson Masila Mwema accused them of conspiring to rig the elections.

Mr Musyoki and Mr Mwema ended up at the office of the district criminal investigations officer, where they bitterly accused each other of flouting election rules.

Mr Masila was finally declared the nominee by Kanu headquarters.

The Democratic Party had as of yesterday morning not nominated its candidate for Nyeri Town, where a former detainee and political exile, Mr Wanyiri Kihoro, is contesting for the seat with former provincial commissioner Isaiah Mathenge.

During the initial nominations last week, Mr Kihoro had beaten Mr Mathenge by nearly 1,000 votes, but, after an appeal, the exercise was supposed to be repeated. However, youths supporting Mr Kihoro raided the local DP offices and destroyed nomination papers to force the repeat.

A repeat ordered for Saturday and then Sunday was rendered impossible by youths who blockaded the Nyeri DP offices.

In Nairobi's Kasarani constituency, the National Development Party (NDP) of Mr Raila Odinga was yesterday stuck in an acrimo-

nious wrangle between the MP, Mr Ochieng Mwangi, and Chris Bichange, who won the Kasarani seat.

Mr Odinga had nominated Mr Mbeo but decided to give Mr Bichange by allowing for queue-voting.

Last evening, Mr Bichange claiming that the polling in his favour and demanding party headquarters issue a certificate.

In Migori, the direction of former MP Ochieng by NDP headquarters about protests from opponents.

In Ford Kenya, a number of candidates who took part in nominations on Saturday shocked to find that the secretary-general, Mr Imanyara, had already issued rivals with nomination certificates.

Dr Caleb Wangia (Luo) and Mr Rogers Wamukoy tungu said they had been out in the November 29 elections.

The nominations, though were flawed by irregularities through party headquarters declared Dr Newton Kundu (Kisumu) and Dr Charles Ochieng (Marungu) the winners.

The two said they appealed the party's election tribunal repeat, which was allowed before the nominations had repeated, party Secretary-General Githobu Imanyara issued a letter winners with certificate of clearance.

Kanu bags five without sweat

By EMMAN OMARI

Kanu was yesterday assured of five parliamentary seats after the Opposition failed to present challengers in their constituencies.

With campaigns proper for the December 29 elections starting today, Cabinet Minister William Ntimama (Narok North), Mr Kipkalia Kones (Bomet), Mr Robert Kochalle (Laisamis), newcomers Mr Charles Kirui (Belgut) and Mr Samuel Rotich (Kipkelion) have gone through unopposed.

However, for the first time in his 40 years in politics, President Moi will be opposed for the Baringo Central parliamentary seat by

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Raila Odinga of the National Development Party.

Others are Mr Martin Joseph Shikuku (Ford-Asili), Dr Munyua Waiyaki (United Patriotic Party), Mr George Anyona (Kenya Social Congress), Mr Kimani wa Nyoi (Ford-People), Prof Wangari Maathai (Liberal Party of Kenya), Mr Koigi Wamwere (Kenda) and Mr David Waweru Ng'ethe (Umma).

Also in the race are Mr Godfrey Kabiria M'Werereria (Green African Party), Prof Katama Mkangi (Kenya National Congress) and Mr Stephen Omondi Oluothe (Economic Independence Party).

Close to 1,000 parliamentary candidates from some 26 registered political parties will vie for

seats in 210 constituencies around the country.

The generally smooth nomination was, however, marred by a few violent incidents. Former Cabinet Minister Peter Castro Aringo (National Development Party) was charged in a Kakamega court with robbery with violence.

Mr Aringo and party youths were arrested on Monday in Alego-Usonga Constituency, Siaya District, where he had gone to present his papers for nomination.

The youths reportedly beat up administration policemen and snatched a gun from them.

The Kakamega magistrate ordered that Mr Aringo be escorted

to his constituency under police guard to present his nomination papers.

Reports from Siaya said Mrs Rosemary Aringo presented the nomination papers which were accepted by the returning officer.

Many former Kanu staff defected to other parties after failing to get nominated. They included former nominated MP J. T. Towett, who will run for the Likiep seat on a Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK) ticket.

Former Kiambu Kanu boss N. Kanyingi, who once stood for public when he declared his blood was Kanu, will contest Limuru on a Ford-Asili ticket.

Poll violence claims 2 more

Police fire to scatter crowd

By NATION Team
Campaign violence between Kanu and Opposition supporters in Nyanza Province yesterday left two people dead and scores injured.

Police fired in the air and used tear gas in Homa Bay to separate Kanu and National Development Party supporters who clashed following a rally by Kanu presidential candidate Daniel arap Moi.

The dead included two Satina and Kenya Social Congress campaign managers in Kisii.

This brings to seven the number of people killed in election violence since campaigns started on

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November 15.

Safina's Richard Manyange and KSC's Salim Geino Boy were reportedly ambushed by Kanu supporters in separate incidents in Kisii.

Police in Kisii confirmed that Mr Manyange, who was the campaign manager for the Bobasi Safina parliamentary candidate, Mr Stephen Manyang, was ambushed and stabbed to death by supporters of a challenger.

Mr Manoti went to Kisii Police Station and protested the killing. He accused the Kanu candidate of resorting to violence after sensing defeat.

Mr Manoti said the incident took place in the Nyivitu area when a group singing and chanting Kisii slogans attacked Mr Manyang.

Mr Boy was stabbed to death when supporters of the Gekomu civic candidate for Kanu and those of the Kenya Social Congress candidate met late in the night.

Police confirmed yesterday that several people had been arrested. Mr Manoti had earlier protested against what he described as harassment by the provincial administration.

He said 500 in Sameta Division had arrested his supporters and locked them at the Sameta headquarters for the past two days.

The bodies were taken to the Kisii District mortuary.

In the Homa Bay incident, two people were seriously injured while scores received minor injuries. Two bars and a hair salon were damaged and stocks of unknown value stolen.

Kinshas near the bus park were harshly closed by commuters for their lives.

One person was hit by an axe near the stadium while the second was slashed with a panga near the bus stage.

Tension had been high all

morning and youths wearing NDP T-shirts could be seen at various points consulting.

The vehicle of an NDP parliamentary candidate made rounds in the town as Mr Moi's meeting went on.

Trouble started a few minutes after Mr Moi's rally ended. NDP supporters marching and chanting in the town's streets confronted Kanu supporters coming from the rally at the stadium.

The President had left the venue for the Homa Bay airstrip when the chaos started.

The NDP supporters chased their rivals and one person believed to be a Kanu supporter was hit on the shoulder with an axe.

The NDP youths were then confronted near the bus park and one was slashed in the arm with a panga.

The enraged NDP supporters invaded Lakeide Bar, which they alleged is owned by a Kanu sympathiser and local politician. They also looted the adjacent New Brothers Bar and Meti-Meti hair salon.

Three policemen on patrol shot in the air to disperse the crowds but were forced to ask for reinforcements to quell the violence. More shots were fired as the situation deteriorated.

Homa Bay police later said no arrests had been made.

During the rally, Mr Moi asked the Electoral Commission and the police to act decisively and stem increasing cases of political violence.

Normally he returned to the town at the time we went to press.

A week ago, violence also broke out in Kisumu town moments after President Moi addressed another campaign rally. Rowdy NDP, Kanu and Social Democratic Party youths clashed.

In Kisumu, police yesterday used tear gas to disperse Kanu supporters protesting the killing of a civic candidate.

Police said Mr Oyere Kanuku was gunned down on Thursday night by unknown assailants as he left a bar.

Once again, it's time to decide

By NATION Team
Kenyans finally go to the polls this morning to elect their presidential, parliamentary and civic representatives after a controversial and sometimes violent build-up over the year.

Yesterday, religious leaders and the Electoral Commission urged voters to turn out in large numbers and peacefully accept the outcome of the balloting.

Candidates made last-ditch attempts at rallies to convince voters that they were worthy choices. Kanu's Daniel arap Moi had one in Naivasha. Raila Odinga and Wamalwa Kijana were in West-

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FROM PAGE 1

ern, Mwai Kibaki was in Nairobi and Charity Ngilu in Kitui.

In Kiambu, candidates commandeered matatus and other public vehicles, creating transport hitches (See stories inside).

Police Commissioner Duncan Wachira assured the public of security today and announced that comprehensive arrangements were in place to ensure no-one disrupted the exercise or prevented anyone from voting.

"We will enforce the law firmly and impartially," he said at a press conference in Nairobi.

Electoral Commission Chairman Samuel Kiwiri, Catholic Archbishop Raphael Ndingi Mwana Nzeki and retired Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu were among many other voices which appealed for peace and acceptance of the results for the sake of stability.

Some nine million registered voters will be trooping into 12,754 polling stations around the country where 883 parliamentary and 8,466 civic candidates from a variety of political parties are seeking mandates to lead Kenyans into the next millennium.

A total of 23 political parties out of the 28 registered have fielded parliamentary and civic candidates in the 210 constituencies and 2,955 wards. The polling sta-

tions will be open between 6am and 6pm.

Fifteen political parties sponsored presidential candidates in today's poll. Leading contenders include Kanu's Daniel arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki (DP), Michael Kijana Wamalwa (Ford-K), Charity Ngilu (SDP) and Raila Odinga (NDP).

Yesterday, the Electoral Commission boss appealed for maturity of conduct and announced that all election materials and staff had reached the various elections points.

"Let us cast our votes peacefully. Let the world witness peaceful and cultured Kenyans vote in unison and with serenity," Mr Kiwiri said.

Bishop Okullu asked Kenyans to accept the results of the poll to avoid trouble.

He said change was a process and Kenyans should not expect it to take effect within a day.

"As in sports, a good politician is he who accepts defeat. We are on the way to reforms, [they] will not come today or tomorrow, but [they] will come," Dr Okullu told the *Nation* in a telephone interview from his Kisumu residence. Catholic Archbishop John Njenga of Mombasa said that today's poll winner must move swiftly to overhaul the Constitution so that the country is ruled by law and not by an individual.

Addressing journalists before

Mass at the Holy Ghost Cathedral the clergyman said that, in future, no-one, including the President, should be above the law.

"Let us not show rigging at random. Let us not cry wolf unnecessarily. Those who lose must accept defeat so that we avoid plunging the country into violence which could lead to civil war."

Other churches in Mombasa prayed for peace to prevail. At the Africa Inland Church (AIC) in Tudor, Pastor Jimmy Mwikya reminded Kenyans that, despite the fact that they belonged to different parties, they still remained Kenyans and their parties were secondary.

In Nairobi, Archbishop Ndingi condemned incidents of violence that had rocked the country since electioneering proper started three weeks ago.

But he advised the electorate to fully participate in today's election and choose wisely leaders who have their welfare at heart.

Addressing a congregation at Nairobi's Holy Family Minor Basilica, the primate advised the electorate against accepting bribes or selling their votes to unscrupulous politicians.

He said those who would win justly in the elections would be accepted by the electorate. "But if one rigs the election, the truth will come out one day."

MOI'S PLEA FOR PEACE

National Unity

'Election will be a test of nation's integrity and maturity'

PRESIDENT Moi yesterday appealed to Kenyans to elect him for his last term as Head of State.

He said when he leaves office he would like to be remembered as having united Kenyans. He cautioned voters to elect leaders with the interest of the nation at heart. President Moi was addressing Kenyans and members of the diplomatic corps at Nyayo National Stadium to mark this year's Jamhuri Day celebrations.

By Martin Mutua

He said the presidential race was crowded with 15 aspirants and this was an indication that democracy was at work.

He caused laughter when he said he wished his 14 other opponents in the presidential race good luck

in their attempt at the highest office in the land. He said while he was asking the electorate to endorse him as President for his final term, the 14 others will have a chance to seek the country's top seat in future elections.

"If old is gold, then that is the reason you should vote for me," he said. He said the December 29 General Election will be a test of the country's maturity and integrity.

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rity as a nation.

He said the elections are crucial to the stability of the nation, adding that the world will be watching to see how Kenya will manage the elections.

The colourful Jamhuri Day celebrations were marked with the trooping of the colour by the 15th battalion of the Kenya Army.

Present during the occasion were Vice-President George Saitoti, Chief of the General Staff Daudi Tonje, Head of the Catholic Church in Kenya Archbishop Ndingi Mwana Nzeki and Archbishop David Gitari of the Church of the Province of Kenya.

In his address, President Moi said over the years Kenyans have built a strong and united nation despite having faced many challenges which have been overcome through courage and determination.

Vision

He said nation building was not a process that could be completed within a single generation, adding that it was the vision of freedom fighters to see a united nation free from nepotism, sectionalism and tribalism.

He noted that the spirit of the freedom struggle which had been consolidated during the past 34 years must continue to guide Kenyans as they prepare for the challenges of the next millennium.

He said real freedom must be founded on responsibility to oneself, one's people and one's nation. "Real freedom can only flourish where speech is used in peace and not to tear where the citizens direct their efforts towards building the nation and not destroying it," he added.

He cautioned that responsibility cannot be handled by the Government alone and urged all leaders, political parties and wannabes to uphold peace and ensure free and fair elections are attained.

President Moi urged Kenyans to reject people who fail to put the interests of the nation above their own during the elections.

Maathai says presidential candidates for tomorrow talks

GEMA MEETING IS PLANNED

By a Correspondent

ALL Opposition presidential aspirants from Gema community are expected to meet tomorrow at Ol Kalou, Nyandarua District to pick a single candidate.

This was said yesterday by the Liberal Party of Kenya presidential candidate Prof Wangari Maathai.

Consequently, the presidential hopeful, has suspended her campaign meetings until tomorrow.

During a meet-the-people tour of Murang'a yesterday, Prof Maathai said she had offered to step down for whoever is picked at Ol Kalou.

She said she had written to Democratic Party (led by Mwai Kibaki), Green Party (Godfrey Kabirira M'wera), FORD-People (Kimani wa Nyoike), Kenda (Koigi wa Mwere), UMMA Patriotic Party of Kenya (David Waweru Ng'ethe) and United Patriotic Party of Kenya (Dr Munyua Waiyaki) inviting their presidential candidates for tomorrow's meeting.

Kenda leader, Koigi wa Mwere has dismissed those calling for such a meeting as "politically bankrupt". Speaking to the press on Saturday, he said candidates should appeal to voters as "Kenyans and not as Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas and Kambas."

Split

Maathai recalled her efforts to unite the Opposition back in 1992 saying she has not given up. She predicted that the Opposition will fail again unless they united.

She said she would be engaging in double standards if she continued seeking presidential votes while at the same time she solicited for votes.

During the tour that took her to Murang'a town, Khatia, Githambo, Kangema and Kiriri trading centres, Maathai said the Gema community had a total of 3.5 million votes which could remove Kanu if they were not split among the seven.

Addressing another rally at Othaya town, Nyeri Prof Maathai said Gema people had asked her

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Defeat

The presidential hopeful said the Gema people were feeling that their votes will be spoiled by the large number of candidates.

"They can see defeat coming and therefore they are just using me to deliver the message," she stated.

Referring to Koigi's reaction, she said it is alright for some leaders to brand her as a tribalist since the Luo, Kamba, Kamatus and Luhyas have a single presidential candidate each.

"It is okay for people like Koigi to say I am a tribalist but why should the Gema people agreed to be divided while other tribes are united?" she asked.

Noting that no single Opposition presidential candidate is poised to garner majority votes in east Kenya, Maathai said that was elders from the community had decided to gather the seven candidates in a bid to pick on a single candidate.

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to bring together all the seven presidential candidates from Gematribe in Ol Kalou town. She did not, however, elaborate when and how she was given the mandate to convene the meeting.

She said she would be a hypocrite if she kept on campaigning for presidency while at the same time calling for unity of the Opposition presidential candidates.

"Since I got this message, I have not been campaigning otherwise I will be a hypocrite," she said.

She said none of the candidates had responded to the invitation by yesterday.

RAILA AT MOI'S RALLY

NDP youths fail in bid to disrupt Kanu meeting

Issues

Opposition party leaders are not addressing pertinent issues, they only dwell on personalities which is a pity. The electorate should be told what each party's manifesto stands for," he said.

By a show of hands, the cheering crowd pledged they would support Kanu during the December 29 General Election.

President Moi said he was satisfied by the support he had witnessed during his two days in Kisumu.

He said Kanu's manifesto was clear about the policies it wished to implement when it returns to power for another five year term after the elections.

Kanu vice-chairman and Kisumu Rural Parliamentary candidate Ndolo Ayah issued a state-

ment in which he criticised Raila's attitude and conduct before the President. Ayah said Raila's behaviour was despicable and bordered on breach of the Electoral code of conduct of the elections. President Moi said Nyanza people should emerge in the coming general elections victorious through the Kanu party.

At the meeting, Kisumu Kanu sub-branch chairman Ogonda Osir and outgoing Kisumu Mayor Lawrence Oile shook hands after the President asked them to do so to end their hostilities.

The president told the two to work as a team and boost Kanu's image in Kisumu.

The President also ordered Nyanza PC Wilson Chepkwony to post a DO to Lamhwe division in Suba District.

Saying challenges were enor-

mous for Kenyans in future, the President said small parties in the opposition with tribal inclinations cannot make Kenya surmount its problems.

He said Kenya needed dedicated leaders capable of serving the wamanchi instead of themselves.

On the floods that have hit parts of Kisumu and South Nyanza districts, the President said 1500 bags of relief food have been sent to Ahero and Kanu.

Standard Reporter and Correspondents

anxious town dwellers loudly discussed the major "happening" in the Victoria lakeside town.

While President Moi was addressing a well attended Kanu rally at Kenyatta Sports

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KISUMU came alive yesterday as three presidential candidates hit the town separately and addressed campaign rallies at different venues around the same time.

The town was awash with song and dance as supporters praised their candidates. "Is it Moi, Ngilu or Raila?"

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Ground from around 10.30 a.m. to noon, Social Democratic Party's Charity Ngilu was addressing another rally at Kondele market a kilometre away.

Raila Odinga and his supporters caused a stir when they made an appearance at Kenyatta Sports Ground, venue of President Moi's meeting.

Raila's convoy, followed by a group of youthful supporters of his National Development Party of Kenya, made its way towards State Lodge then towards Nyalenda slums.

The Raila youths however, failed to disrupt Kanu's function which succeeded with President Moi dismissing them as "mere kids who have no direction."

He proceeded with his speech amid shouts of "Jogoo... Jogoo" from the crowd which was anxious to reassure him of their support.

Meanwhile, more drama unfolded when Charity Ngilu's convoy from Kondele attempted to make its way towards the same sportsground at 11.45 a.m. but was repulsed by security personnel.

The convoy then made its way towards Ahero running into Raila's convoy at Moi Stadium junction. Raila was headed for Kisumu town from Nyalenda. Scores of rival supporters clashed but no one was injured.

At the same time, Kanu supporters wearing party T-shirts had lined the Ahero roadside waiting for President Moi but were caught

up in the fighting. Some were forced to take off the T-shirts and flash the NDP salute.

Kanu had set the mood on Tuesday by playing loud music in the streets in convoys of huge lorries urging people to turn up in large numbers and welcome President Moi when he arrived in the town from Kakamega.

In his speech, President Moi urged politicians to stop personalising issues and instead tell Kenyans what they will do if elected.

He also dared rival party candidates to state what they will do if elected president.

"Moi is not the issue here. The issue, if you ask me, is how we shall rid our country of poverty.

VIOLENCE HITS CAMPAIGNS

Wamalwa, Mulinge flee from hostile crowds

By Standard Reporter and Correspondents

GENERAL Election campaigns took an ugly turn yesterday as violence marred several meetings forcing FORD-Kenya's Kijana Wamalwa and Minister Jackson Mulinge to flee angry mobs.

In Nairobi, presidential candidate Wamalwa's meet-the-people tour of the city ended in a fiasco when his motorcade was stoned by rowdy youths chanting pro-Kenneth Matiba slogans at the country bus station, popularly known as "Machakos Airport".

And in Machakos Health Minister Mulinge, the outgoing Kathiani MP, was forced to cut short a campaign rally in his constituency after a crowd charged at him and threatened to unleash violence.

He was forced to abort the meeting when the crowd, carrying placards in support of Social Democratic Party presidential aspirant Charity Ngilu, shouted him down.

Wamalwa, who was accompanied by his party's Nairobi branch chairman, Ferdinand Wanyonyi, arrived at the bus station in a convoy of cars at 1 p.m. to a hostile reception. He was jeered

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From Page 1

by the mob as he was being introduced ready to address the crowd. "No reforms, no elections!" shouted the crowd. "We want Matiba in the office!"

As the crowd surged towards the dais, Wamalwa's security team was overwhelmed prompting one of them to quickly grab the microphone which Wamalwa was about to use. The besieged Wamalwa and his entourage sped off in the ensuing commotion.

One of the vehicles in the convoy, a Nissan Urvan, KAJ 714L, had its windscreen smashed as the rowdy mob pelted the retreating campaign team with stones while shouting:

"Sisi tunataka watu wakuchota, si watu wa maneno tupu! (We want politicians who dish out money, not empty words)!"

After the dramatic escape, Wamalwa addressed another rally at Shauri Moyo shopping centre where he blamed Kanu for corruption.

Annoyed

"This culture of kitu kidogo (cash handouts) was created by Kanu and we shall stamp it out should we take over the government," said Wamalwa who was visibly annoyed.

Wamalwa later visited Huruma and Mathare where a recent cholera outbreak claimed over 20 victims. He accused the government of neglecting the plight of slum residents.

Mulinge, who was accompanied by several Kanu civic aspirants from the constituency, tried in vain to calm down the rowdy crowd at Mitaboni market.

The youths pounced on Kanu supporters snatching their caps which they set on fire.

Mulinge left the meeting amid boos and heckling from hundreds of youths who shouted: "Ishia, ishia! (Get lost... go away!)"

Meanwhile, police in Mwingi were last night interrogating several suspects over violence which broke out between local SDP and Kanu supporters.

And in Kitui three people were seriously injured when SDP and Kanu youths clashed.

NGILU STORMS POLICE STATION

Standard Correspondent

PRESIDENTIAL candidate Charity Ngilu yesterday stormed Kisumu police station in protest for allegedly being denied access to the clash-torn Gucha-Trans Mara districts boundary.

The SDP candidate and her campaign convoy had been blocked from travelling to Bobasi constituency by a team of GSU personnel, regular and administration policemen at Mogonga trading centre.

There was a near punch-up between Ngilu's bodyguards and the security men at Mogonga when she confronted Nyanmache District Officer Daniel Cheruiyot at the roadblock.

She stormed the Kisumu police station at around 3 p.m. and marched straight to the office of the station commander, Lawrence Macharia. She demanded that the officer record a statement about her being barred from Gucha District.

Reprimanded

Ngilu had vowed to tour the area despite a Thursday presidential directive that the area was a security operation zone and all politicians not resident there should keep off. She went to Kenyanya trading centre in Gucha District before going to Nyanmache in Bobasi constituency where the police had erected a roadblock at Mogonga.

Ngilu reprimanded the police station boss who told her to discuss the matter with either the Gucha police boss or local police division commander.

It was then that Ngilu who was accompanied by all her parliamentary and civic seat

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From Page 1

aspirants in Gushii protested that the police were not helping in the democratisation process.

By the time she walked back to her vehicle at the station her supporters had thronged the compound, prompting local police division commander Gilbert Manyara to order his officers to ask Ngilu's followers to leave the police compound.

The crowd then gathered about 10 metres from the police station with Ngilu trying to address them. It was then the police hurled teargas canisters at the crowd.

One of Ngilu's bodyguards and some of her supporters were injured in the stampede. Some of her supporters then started throwing stones at the police. This resulted in running battles in the town. Ngilu later told her supporters she would ensure there was democracy in the country.

Journalists attempted in vain to get a comment from the police since the chaotic incident left the police compound in a tense atmosphere.

Earlier, Mwai Kibaki's bodyguards had confronted three senior police officers at a campaign rally at Gusii Stadium.

The policemen had arrived at the stadium to find Kibaki completing his speech.

One of the policemen moved close to Kibaki and enquired whether the DP boss had obtained a permit for the meeting. Kibaki retorted: "You are behind the political trends in this country! We do not require any permit!"

It was then that Kibaki's bodyguards moved to the scene and started protesting saying the recent constitutional reforms had already scrapped such laws. The crowd then started shouting "We will lynch them now! Down with Kanu and its police!"

Addressing his supporters, Kibaki said Thursday's decision by President Moi to declare Kisumu, Luo and Maasai boundary areas a security operation zone closed to non-resident politicians was unfair to other political parties.

The presidential aspirant said when DP forms the next government there will be room for coalition government.

Campaign violence alarms EC as...

'BIG 5' ARE SUMMONED

CBS-LIBRAR

Standard Reporters and Correspondents

FIVE mainstream political parties will today appear before the Electoral Commission (EC) over their alleged involvement in campaign violence.

But even as EC Chairman Samwel Kivuitu summoned the five parties, reports of campaign violence which so far has claimed five lives and left scores wounded continued to trickle into our Election Desk.

Individual politicians, parties and election monitoring groups condemned the violence all round.

Kivuitu yesterday ordered Kanu, Democratic Party of Kenya (DP), FORD-Kenya, National Development Party of Kenya (NDP) and Social Democratic Party (SDP) to appear before him without fail at County Hall from 10 am.

In Bobasi, the Kanu candidate for the seat, Chris Oburo, narrowly escaped the wrath of rowdy Safina youths who stoned his rally armed with crude weapons.

Rowdy

Elsewhere, rowdy FORD-Kenya supporters blocked the busy Eldoret-Bungoma road, pulled out bewildered passengers from vehicles, roughed them up and ordered that they flash the party two-finger salute before being let through.

In Rangwe, scores of people were seriously injured when Kanu and NDP youths clashed at a rally in East Kagan location. Trouble

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started when Rangwe NDP candidate, Dr Shem Ochiuon, led about 20 youths to a rally organised by Rangwe Kanu parliamentary candidate Mrs Phelgona Okundi.

Youths armed with axes, pangas, spears and chanting "Tinga Tinga", started beating everyone on sight as a vicious duel ensued.

Scores of people sustained deep cuts on the head. Those treated at a Homa Bay hospital and discharged included Molly Otieno, George Adika, Patrick Alila and Morris Owino. The assailants also roughed up a Kenya News Agency journalist Richard Osewe.

Mrs Okundi's bodyguards later recorded a statement at the Homa Bay Police Station.

The Bungoma highway incident started when disorderly FORD-Kenya youths attempted to disrupt a Kanu campaign rally addressed by Eldoret North Kanu parliamentary candidate William Ruto and his Lugari counterpart Cyrus Jirungo.

Slogans

The Opposition supporters heckled speaker after speaker during the Kanu meeting, chanting FORD-Kenya slogans and waving party chairman and presidential candidate Kijana Wama-lwa's portraits.

The rowdy mob later blocked the road, forcing passengers in public service vehicles to flash the FORD-Kenya salute before being allowed to pass.

A matatu was stoned after some of the passengers defied an order from the youths to flash the two finger salute. No passenger was injured during the 5 pm incident at Huruma market in Usisi Gishu district.

The mob dispersed after police officers on patrol intervened and dispersed the crowd.

Police headquarters last night in a press statement said within the last eight days, 108 cases of campaign related violence have occurred countrywide.

Kivuitu said the EC would consider what action would be taken against an unnamed party against which complaints have been made by NDP and SDP.

Cruelty

"It is essential that we meet them since the remaining days are crucial to the sovereignty of Kenya," he told the media during the daily press briefing at County Hall.

He said the commission had only invited senior officials of the five political parties to attend the meeting. Kivuitu asked the Commission's critics and sceptics to ask themselves what they had done to avoid, stop, discourage or condemn violence.

Last week, the commission named the five parties as those whose supporters were involved in violent activities during the on-going campaigns for presidential, parliamentary and civic elections.

MOI'S PLEA FOR PEACE

By Alfayo Otiemo
PRESIDENT Moi yesterday made a passionate appeal for peace during the elections.

He decried the widespread wave of campaign violence and asked the police and the Electoral Commission to take action against those involved.

Various acts of campaign violence continued to occur in various parts of the country, with two people reported dead and several others injured in clashes between rival party supporters.

President Moi referred to a recent incident in East Kugon location, Rangwe constituency in which Opposition party youths injured Kanu parliamentary candidate Mrs Philegona Okundi and burnt her vehicle.

President Moi was addressing a mammoth rally at the Honia Bay Stadium, condemned the beating of Mrs Okundi by youths, terming the act "uncultured".

"Hata unanunika mama, wewe unawunnuke wa wapi?, Mwanamme ni mtu mwenye kaulinda watoto na mama." (You even injure a woman, what kind of a man are you. A man is charged with the responsibility of protecting children and their mothers," he said. The Kanu national chairman said those involved in acts of

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violence during campaigns were yet to understand the essence of democracy, adding that democracy provided for freedom of movement and of speech.

He cautioned the Luo community against gambling with their lives and urged Luo to change their political tone, cautioning: "Hijuanu pigo karona na maisha yenu." (Don't gamble with your lives.) The President told Luo to be visionary and build a firm foundation.

He urged the community to forge unity with other communities, adding that it was because of the unity between the late Tom Mbayi, Jaramogi Odinga Oginga, Masinde Muliro, Jomo Kenyatta and Ronald Ngala that the struggle for independence was won.

He appealed to Luos in the former South Nyanza to vote for Kanu candidates for development. He called on losers in the Kanu nominations to join hands with the victors and campaign for the party.

Later in Nandi, President Moi pledged to continue with major constitutional reforms if he is re-elected, reports Matthews Nanyi. He said the Kanu Government would also implement various changes in the education, agriculture and health sectors to boost economic growth.

He said Kanu was going into the General Election with a vision which would lead the country into

the next millennium. He was addressing a campaign rally at Nandi Hills Golf Club in Tinderet constituency, Nandi district.

President Moi's plea for peace came in the wake of campaign violence in various parts of the country. In Gekonu Ward in Nyaribari Chache Constituency, a 20-year-old supporter of a Kenya Social Congress (KSC) candidate was stabbed to death, adds Willice Ochieng.

The late S Getuno was cornered together with a colleague by a band of youths at around 7 p.m.

His colleague, Lawrence Mong'are, was severely injured on the head and other parts of the body when the rivals pounced on them with pangas, sticks and Somali swords.

Mong'are who was treated at a local hospital and later discharged, said: "The late Getuno and I had gone to buy cigarettes from a local shop and as we were walking back home, we met with youths who claimed we were rebels who should be dealt with accordingly".

The incident occurred at around 7 pm. Policemen later arrested two suspects.

A chief campaign manager of an Opposition candidate was yesterday brutally killed in Guetha district in election violence, adds Evans Nyakundi.

The victim, Richard Manyange, chief campaigner of Bobasi Safina

candidate Stephen Mauti, had his head chopped off when his supporters clashed with some youths. Kisi, OCPD Gilbert Manyara confirmed the death and said several people have been arrested in connection with the incident.

A member of Mukhoni Litungu Band, Peterson Sidui Lucheli was seriously injured after he was attacked by an Opposition party's youths at Mahira market in Malava constituency, reports Michael Ng'asasa.

Mukhoni Litungu Band is aligned to Minister Joshua Angatia's campaign factions. And in Lugari, several people were seriously injured after rival supporters clashed at Mwamba market, adds Isalili Lucheli.

Kanu parliamentary candidate Cyrus Jirungo's motorcade was stoned while his security team's attempts to repulse the Opposition supporters' attack flopped. The injured included Kanu supporters Joshua Kiprotich and James Kemboi and an unidentified FORD-Kenya supporter.

FORD-Kenya Lugari parliamentary candidate Simon Watuanda Washiko was forced to cut off his speech and flee as his supporters engaged in fierce running battles with other youths.

Tension had reigned at the market from as early as 9 am as youths chanted their party slogans in preparation for their campaign rallies at Mwamba market. SDP candidate Florence Machayo's addressed a handful of people who were at the market. Jirungo had addressed his supporters at Mwamba Primary School while Machayo's meeting was hijacked by FORD-K supporters.

Jirungo told his supporters to shun violence and to avoid retaliating when attacked. Lugari DO Samson Omweno condemned the incident and urged the people to carry out peaceful campaigns.

Scores of people were injured on Christmas eve as NDP supporters clashed with Kanu supporters in Masack Primary School in Mt. Elgon District, adds Chris Wanjala.

The supporters engaged in a heated argument which led to a fist fight that lasted for over ten minutes.

In Kathiani, SDP parliamentary aspirant Peter Kandi was yesterday ejected from his campaign rally by rowdy youths, reports Wambui Kavila.

Kandi who is seeking to oust Health Minister General (rtd) Jackson Mwangi, was heckled and booed at Ithani market.

The situation turned ugly when supporters of the two parties engaged in fist fights, prematurely ending the campaign rally.

In Homa Bay, gunshots and tear gas explosions echoed over the town as a rowdy NDP mob engaged anti-rival police in running battles, adds Jack Nduri.

Trouble started after the stone throwing mob attacked Kanu supporters. Several people sustained

serious injuries as the stone throwing mob chanting "Tinga Tinga", the NDP slogan, harassed motorists and looted property.

President calls for unity

WHY I NEED YOUR VOTE

Standard Correspondent and PPS

PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi has made a passionate appeal to all Kenyans to vote for him today as president, considering his long dedicated service to the people.

The President said yesterday he was making the appeal so that he continues rendering similar services and consolidate the past record of achievement for the next five years.

He said Kenyans should not gamble with their lives by voting for parties which had no proven track record.

President Moi was addressing a campaign rally at Sulmac in Naivasha where he was received by thousands of jubilant wana-nchi.

By a massive show of hands, they promised to vote for him and Kanu parliamentary and civic candidates today.

Essential

The President at the same time called on all nurses who are on strike to go back to work by January 1, next year.

The President said when he talked about his people, he meant the entire Kenyan population.

He said it was sad that other Opposition leaders used the terminology to mean their tribes, adding that they could not be entrusted to safeguard the interests of the entire Kenyan population.

President Moi reiterated that Kanu government would start indigenous financial enterprises to provide loans to up-and-coming business people.

President Moi once again said Kanu was heading to victory having already garnered 14 parliamentary seats unopposed.

He called on Kenyans to join the winning party and identify themselves with this victory.

The President reminded the multi-ethnic community in Rift Valley Province to speak with one voice on matters affecting their welfare and to live in harmony.

He asked them to vote for Kanu because it was a party that had the welfare of all communities at heart.

The President said Kanu was committed to the maintenance of peace as a prerequisite to investment and job opportunities.

Those present included the Kanu parliamentary candidate for Naivasha, Dr George Gicheru Ngutiri and Kanu civic candidates.

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suffering of patients.

On matters related to the General Election, President Moi said he was unhappy that the Electoral Commission had not taken any action after a Kanu supporter was killed in Kisumu by Opposition party sympathisers.

He also observed that the Commission had not taken action against the National Development Party official who attacked Mrs Philegona Okundi, who is vying for the Rangwe parliamentary seat on a Kanu ticket, noting that the attackers had also destroyed her car.

Pointing out that Kanu was against violence, President Moi spoke against vote seekers who rely on their tribes instead of approaching the electorate all over the Republic.

Song, dance as 9 cleared for presidency

By TOM OSANJO

NINE candidates were yesterday declared validly nominated to vie for the presidency as their cheering supporters chanted slogans during the nine-hour peaceful and ecstatic nominations ceremony at Nairobi's County Hall.

The candidates were escorted by enthusiastic supporters who broke into song and dance immediately and after

their favourite candidates filed their nomination papers with the Electoral Commission. It was a battle as the throngs of rival party members engaged in a contest to bid to find out who could sing, shout and heckle the loudest. But for Kenda candidate Koigi wa Wamwere, it proved a

sad day when the commissioners turned down his candidacy due to irregularities in his nomination papers. He walked out of the hall a dejected man. However, the commissioners who were not having the time to give him another chance to rearrange his papers for presentation today. Those declared validly

nominated were the KANU chairman, President Daniel arap Moi, Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) chairman Mwai Kibaki, Social Democratic Party (SDP) candidate Charity Kaluki Ngilu, United Patriotic Party of Kenya chairman, Dr Munyua Waiyaki, National Development Party (NDP) of Kenya leader Raila Odinga, Ford Kenya chairman Michael Kijana Wamalwa, Kenya Social Congress chairman George Moseli Anyona, Ford People secretary-general Kimani wa Nyoike and Liberal Party candidate, Professor Wangari Maathai.

Missing in action was self-proclaimed people's watchman Martin Joseph Shikuku who is the secretary-general of Ford Asili and Kenya National Congress chairman, Dr Chibule wa Tsuma.

President Moi had set the ball rolling when he arrived at the venue at exactly 9 am.

After presenting his papers to the newly-appointed Electoral Commission chairman, Mr Samuel Kiwitu, President Moi spent a few moments

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FORD-K, NDP IN POLL ROW

Parties fight for IPK votes

By WYCLIFFE MUDAMBI and ODHIAMBO JOSEPH

A ROW is brewing between Ford Kenya and the National Development Party of Kenya (NDP) over which of them should be supported by the unregistered Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) in Coast Province during the December 29 Gen-

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eral Election.

And at the same time, NDP supporters and prospective parliamentary candidates yesterday vowed to campaign against the party, saying that the party leader, Mr Raila Odinga, had imposed a defector, Prof Rashid Mzee on Kisauni constituents after abandoning Ford Kenya recently.

After the defection of the outgoing MP who was Ford Kenya's second vice-chairman, Mr Odinga said there would be no nominations in Kisauni thus diffusing any nominations in the constituency.

But an NDP aspirant for the seat, Mr Daniel Mwatata warned that the imposition of candidates would deal the party a major blow.

Ford-K officials from Mombasa branch were embroiled in a dispute over which constituencies in the province should field IPK-aligned candidates and those to be left for the party.

The Ford-K officials maintained that the pact between the party and IPK reached in 1992 still stood and that the two parties would co-operate in nominating candidates, both civic and parliamentary in Coast Province.

The party's national coordinator Jackson Kibor and Sheikh Jamali of IPK spent a better part of yesterday morning trying to reconcile rivals of Ford Kenya and IPK groups from Kisauni, Mvita and Changamwe constituencies at the party's Oginga Odinga House headquarters over how to apportion the seats.

Prof Mzee is said to have been supported by the IPK to clinch the seat in 1992, but when he defected to NDP last week, sources said, he moved with a section of the unregistered party's support.

The Ford-K top officials expected to meet and deliberate on the matter yesterday. The party's chairman and presidential candidate Michael Kijana Wamalwa was due to chair the meeting and release the party's position to the effect.

But in Mombasa, NDP aspirants said they had used a lot of money for campaigns only to be told that Prof Mzee had been nominated unopposed.

Some civic aspirants said they had been forced to step down in favour of IPK-sponsored candidates under the Ford-K banner in 1992 and said they would not succumb to such tricks this time round.

Two civic aspirants, Mrs Noris Auma Ndege and Joseph Onyango who had set their eyes on the Kongowea and Kizingu wards seats respectively, said that the setting aside of 15 seats for IPK candidates by the NDP was a betrayal by Mr Odinga and party officials.

In his reaction to Prof Mzee's nomination, Mr Mwatata posed: "Why should I be told to step down for him (Prof Mzee) at first when we were both in Ford-K and again now in NDP. Why can't we be allowed to seek the mandate from the members?"

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talking to the commissioners reminding them on the need to have free and fair polls. He then wished them well in their duties as he left.

The presidential contest unfolded right before commissioners when President Moi and his Democratic Party opponent, Mr Mwai Kibaki, met face to face. However, for those who were cheering for a showdown it never was, as the two exchanged greetings and a few pleasantries before each went his way — President Moi to the streets to join his supporters — and Mr Kibaki to face the commissioners.

President Moi, leading a huge crowd of jubilant supporters, walked from County Hall down Parliament Road as the supporters chanted "jogoo". The entourage snaked its way along City Hall Way right into Kenyatta International Conference Centre grounds where the support hit fever pitch.

Mr Kibaki was escorted by his secretary-general Mr Joseph Munyua and a former Minister for Tourism Mr George Muhoho, immediately he finished he convened a "council" at a nearby hotel before leading his troops for Thika and parts of Eastern Province on a campaign trail.

At 11.30 am, Mr Raila arrived at the venue in style. A crowd of whistling and singing youths preceded the motorcade that moved at a snail's pace because of the crowd present. Also in the team was a single outrider on a motorcycle with one passenger riding with him.

Raila was escorted into the hall by his deputy, Prof Geoffrey Maloiy, his wife Betty and lawyer Kauma Musili. Also present was the secretary-general Dr Charles Muranga.

Mrs Ngilu, in her party, was accompanied by her mother, husband, daughter and son.

Prof Maathai had a day she will never forget after the commissioners found that some of the voter's cards supporting her candidacy were not having the polling station numbers. After serious consultations she was later cleared, for an obvious sigh of relief.

Mr George Moseli Anyona, a known stickler to rules, had a ready answer to the lack of supporters to carry him to the venue. According to him, the country had been treated to a lot of senseless shoublings and it was his duty to return the country to normalcy. The commissioners wished him luck in his tough assignment.

A few minutes before 4 pm, Christopher Michael Kijana Wamalwa arrived with a bang. Arriving at his dark green Vogue Range Rover, the Ford Kenya aspirant was received by a faithful group singing a Bukusu circumcision song *Anba Mutalin* (Catch the Italian).

Trouble brewing in NDP over corruption charges

REBELLION is building up in the National Development Party following threats of election boycotts in the wake of the controversial nomination process by the party.

In Migori, parliamentary aspirants for Nyatike constituency traded blows at the party offices after failing to agree on who emerged the winner in the nominations.

However, efforts to get comments from the NDP national office were fruitless as the party officials decided to talk.

In Nairobi, the Embakasi branch has threatened to suspend the party operations ahead of December 29 elections should the party leader Raila Odinga insist

By TOM RACHUONYO in Migori and JIM ONYANGO in Nairobi

on hand-picking and imposing candidates on the electorate.

Survey reports from a number of nomination centres countrywide revealed of alarming activities where the party's national executive committee members charged with the responsibility of nominations were openly selling nomination certificates to clear party members.

Cases of open bribery and irregularities marred the NDP nominations exercise in various centres countrywide, with the members crying foul and saying that

bribery was in violation to the party manifesto and nomination rules and regulations filed with the Electoral Commission of Kenya.

Corruption, bribery and outright rigging were cited by the numerous frustrated NDP aspirants who claimed that the clearance certificates for civic were being bought for Sh4,000 while those of parliamentary were acquired at Sh10,000.

In Migori town, Tom Onyango, the outgoing Nyatike MP and Mt David Oyao, sitting at the party offices along the Migori-Kisumu road next to BP Petrol Station with their supporters, accusing the nominees

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election co-ordinator, Mr Abel Omburo, of attempting to influence the results.

In a heated exchange of words with the party officials and members at the office that saw members of the Press bundled out of the offices, Mr Oyango vowed that if he was not cleared as the winner, then NDP would remain a doomed party in Migori.

But his rival, Mr Oyao, accused him of splashing money and attempting to bribe the returning officer to declare him the winner.

At that point, Mr Onyango immediately engaged his political opponent in a push-up.

And after the brief but vicious battle, the candidates rallied forces and pursued the *Kenya Times* journalist threatening to discipline him for filing the story.

On two occasions, NDP supporters have snatched the

telephone receiver and disconnected the line as we were monitoring our reporter from Migori.

In Nairobi, NDP Embakasi branch accused the party's top officials of using the nomination process to raise funds for themselves. The branch officials said this was against the party's nominations rules and regulations and that it was corruption, and a direct infringement on the rights of the electorate.

The branch secretary, Mr Richard Hingos, said some party officials had enriched themselves after demanding Sh4,000 from civic and Sh10,000 from parliamentary aspirants who failed during the party nominations in order to clear them for the December 29 General Election.

He warned the party leader against imposing Mr Sam Sigei who had been trounced in the nominations. He said the branch will not accept repeat of the nomination exercise in Embakasi Constituency.

MORE KANU GIANTS FALL

By WYCLIFFE MUDAMBI

PARLIAMENTARY and civic nominations for the ruling party KANU closed yesterday after a gruelling and in many cases bruising near two weeks exercise.

Casualties include six Cabinet Ministers and about 20 Assistant Ministers who fell by the wayside in an exercise described by political pundits as one of the fairest and most democratic to have emerged in any local political contest in the multi-party era.

The close of KANU's nominations has also witnessed an avalanche of defections from the party ranks which, however, observers say will do little to dampen the party's preparations for the General Election.

In Mombasa, the controversial political Emmanuel Karisa Maitia and Bahari's outgoing Member of Parliament, Mr Safari Mumba announced their defection from KANU to the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP).

Meanwhile, KANU National Chairman President Daniel arap Moi yesterday confirmed the nomination of a former Assistant Minister Grace Ogot as KANU's flag bearer in Gem Constituency. The chairman also announced results of 17 other constituencies where repeat nominations had been conducted.

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Kenya's first woman Cabinet Minister Nyiva Mwendwa, her Information and Broadcasting colleague Johnstone Makau and an Assistant Minister for Education, Mrs Agnes Ndeti, were among the latest casualties in the party's repeat nominations.

Other ministers who failed in their bid to secure the party's nomination for the General Election are Philip Masinde (Labour), Protus Momanyi (Tourism and Wildlife), Jonathan Ng'eno (Public Works and Housing) and John Koech (Office of the President).

According to a press statement from KANU headquarters yesterday evening the following are the party's parliamentary nominees in constituencies where results were withheld awaiting clarification. Mr Paul Sang (Buret), Japheth Shamalla (Shinyalu), David Sankori (Kajiado Central), Phillip Singaru (Kajiado South), Otiato Ochola (Mbita) and James Koskei in Kuresoi Constituency.

Others are Mohamed Dahir Wayrah (Ijara), Phillip Muchiri (Kasarani), Steve Mwangi (Kinango), Mucma Masila (Machakos Town), Erick Morogo (Rongai), Mutua Kihu (Gatundu North), Mrs Marere Wamwachi (Mombasa), William Morogo (Mogotio), Sulaiman Kamolleh (Matuga), George Mwakata (Kibwezi), Fredrick Kalulu (Mbooni) and Khamis Khamis (Majengo Ward).

In Runyenjes Constituency, Co-operative Development Minister Kamwathi Munyi trounced his closest rival Becky Kaari to win the party's nomination. The Minister polled 7,163 against Kaari's 1,707.

Mr Makau, the outgoing Mbooni MP emerged third losing to Fredrick Kalulu who had 9,373 against the Minister's 4,117. Second was John Mativo who got 6,027. Mr Kalulu is a former assistant minister.

In Kibwezi Constituency, Mrs Ndeti, finished a distant fourth during nominations won by George Mkwata with 3,206. The Assistant Minister managed 1,001.

Following the nominations surprises, two Assistant Ministers, Gideon Mutiso and Mohamed Galgalo defected to the opposition. Mr Galgalo was an Assistant Minister for Commerce and Industry while Mr Mutiso was in the Home Affairs and National Heritage Ministry.

In Mombasa, Maitia and Mumba who addressed a press conference at the Mombasa branch DP's office showed reporters their nominations certificates which they said they will present to the Electoral Commission today.

They were received by the DP national vice-chairman, Dr Sammy Wafula who claimed that another unsuccessful KANU aspirant for Likoni, Mr Sulaiman Shakombo, among others, had also joined the opposition party and had been cleared to contest the Likoni seat.

Mr Maitia, who lost his nomination bid to Hemed Said Hemed charged that he decided to abandon the ruling party after his calls for a repeat nominations was ignored.

Dr Wafula told reporters that he had nominated former Mombasa MP, Mr Katana Ndzai, to defend his seat on DP ticket. However, Mr Ndzai was not present at the press conference.

Kenya Times, Monday, December 15, 1997

President: KANU formidable

PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi said yesterday that KANU remained the most popular party having fielded 210 parliamentary candidates in all parts of the country.

The President noted that other individual parties had less than half or a negligible number of candidates when compared to KANU.

He further noted that KANU had already secured 11 seats where its candidates were unopposed during the nominations adding that the Central Baringo seat was a safe seat for KANU.

By BEN MITUKAA and PPS

President Daniel arap Moi yesterday said the Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate, Mrs Chariy Kaluki Ngilu, was out to spoil KANU votes in Ukanbani.

President Moi said Mrs Ngilu was planted by the opposition to deny the ruling party KANU outright victory in Eastern Province but added that she was not a threat.

Addressing a public rally at Katangi Primary School in Katangi Division in Machakos,

the President said Mrs Ngilu will ultimately lose her presidential bid and that she might not make it as a Member of Parliament in her Kitui Central Constituency.

President Moi wondered how the opposition expected to win the December 29 polls when they had not sponsored candidates in all the 210 constituencies.

The Head of State said KANU had distinguished itself as a popular party and reiterated that its victory was imminent.

The President said KANU made a headstart and any serious

analyst can conclude that it was headed for victory. President Moi said some political parties were just trying to learn the game and likened them to toddlers learning to crawl.

President Moi said KANU was a formidable and unbeatable force and told the Kambas not to be lured to quit the party, saying it will form the next government.

The President told Kambas that KANU was committed to alleviate poverty, water shortage and will soon inaugurate a Sh1 billion Mwingi Kiambere Water Project.

He said KANU give priority to infrastructural development, including roads and scoffed at claims by opposition that Ukanbani was marginalised as far as development was concerned.

The President scoffed at a proposal by DP to scrap all the four newly created Kamba districts if it won the presidency, saying that the creation of the new districts was initiated to bring administrative services closer to people.

Present during the occasion
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were Ministers Gen (ret) Jackson Mulinge, Kalenzo Musyoka, Johnstone Makau and Assistant Minister Colonel (ret) Ronald Kilutu, Kilume MP Tony Ndilenge and the Eastern Provincial Commissioner, Mr Francis Baya. Others were Baringo KANU executive officer, Mr Hosea Kiplagat and the Machakos KANU chairman Mr Mulu Mutisya.

Earlier, the President attended a church service at the Katangi Catholic Church of Our Lady of Assumption. The mass was officiated by Machakos Catholic Bishop Urbanus Kioko and Father John Makewa.

Later the President donated an ambulance to the church. In a gesture of humility, a vehicle in the presidential motorcade was used to rescue a woman in labour pains who was rushed to Kitui District Hospital.

On graft, President Moi told the anti-corruption unit to swing into action and curb the vice. He criticised the opposition for championing the blocking of for-

ign aid to Kenya and later blaming the action on KANU Government.

President Moi told Kamba KANU parliamentarians and civic leaders including Mr Makau, MP Peter Kavisi and Alphonse Musyoki to stay in KANU and strengthen it (KANU).

Addressing the second rally in Thika, President Moi emphasised that no individual was more important than the country.

He pointed out that leaders will come and go but the nation will remain as the single most important entity.

President Moi reminded leaders and wannanchi that Kenya was their motherland and that whatever they did should be for the good of the country.

He said he was saddened by the fact that those who should be well versed with the history of the country acted to the contrary by engaging in unpatriotic practices.

During the successful Thika campaign, groups of the SDP supporters waving Ngilu's campaign posters attempted to

disrupt the Presidential function but were smothered by the huge crowd that had turned out to receive President Moi and his entourage.

The SDP supporters who also displayed their party T-shirts danced and chanted anti-Moi slogans in a bid to provoke a confrontation between them and the KANU supporters.

Quick action by the KANU candidates in the area averted a would-be bloody showdown when they called on the KANU youth to maintain total calm and avoid confrontation. This is the third time Ngilu's supporters have attempted to disrupt a KANU function after her failed bid to disrupt a KANU luncheon at a Nairobi hotel two weeks ago.

The President took issue with people who claim to champion democratic ideals yet at the same time they engaged in undemocratic practices like violence to achieve their political aims.

President Moi said his persistent calls for peace should not be mistaken for weaknesses, adding that he would not like

Kenya to be plunged into chaos like many other African countries.

President Moi asked KANU youths to steer clear of violence even under extreme provocation and to assist law enforcement officers in discouraging acts of lawlessness.

The President commended the new political spirit in Central Province and said that KANU presently enjoyed overwhelming support.

The President said he was confident of garnering over 40 per cent of the total votes there, far and above the required 25 per cent.

The President told the aspiring candidates not to use force in soliciting for votes, and told KANU aspirants to stand firm in defence of the party's policies which, he said, were superior to all the others.

The President asked Thika residents to support the ruling party, KANU, as its role in the struggle for independence was known to all.

He urged them to vote for him and all the aspiring KANU candidates.

SPLIT OVER GEMA MEET

'Maathai fronting for Kibaki'

By GERRY ODUOR,
DAVID KANJA and
KNA

THERE is a split ahead of this morning's tribal Opposition meeting called under the GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association) umbrella in OI Kalou, Nyandarua to pick a compromise presidential candidate against President Moi.

The convenors of the meeting — "Moi challenge plan" — however, face a major crisis following revelations that it has been summoned solely to support the Democratic Party (DP) leader Mwai Kibaki's candidature, fronted by the Liberal Party of Kenya

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presidential candidate, Prof Wangari Maathai.

The once formidable socio-political and economic GEMA tribal bloc has thrown the entire Central Province into a state of a tribal ecstasy with a majority of the constituencies for the December 29 polls from the affected tribes openly showing their support and solidarity for the pact.

But the journey to Nyandarua already appears doomed with two of the presidential candidates, Kuigi wa Wanwere (KENDA) Kuigi wa Wanwere (Ford People) disowning the tribal pact and calling for its immediate abandonment.

Wanyoike's camp want the meeting held at Mwai Kibaki's backyard in Nyeri.

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate, Mrs Chariy Ngilu in a swift move to counter the GEMA threat took the abilities to the Kikuyu heartland in Kiambu, where she pleaded with the populous Kikuyu ethnic group

to give her all the votes they had cast for the former Ford Asili presidential candidate Kenneth Matiba in 1992.

Addressing a campaign rally yesterday, Mrs Ngilu pledged she would embark on changing the entire Constitution within the first 30 days of her victory to ensure that Matiba was back in the mainstream politics.

She said the Constitution overhaul would ensure Matiba returned to the political fold where he could serve his people better, and implored them to give her all the votes they had cast for him (Matiba) in 1992 to enable her achieve her goal.

Mrs Ngilu once again took a swipe at the rival Opposition presidential contenders whom she accused of having betrayed the people by participating and endorsing the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) reform package.

She told Mr Wamalwa Kijana, Martin Shikuku and Mwai Kibaki that their political life was already exhausted and accused them of having abandoned KANU after looting

state coffers. She told them to stop harping on corruption as they were not competent to do so.

Mrs Ngilu who was accompanied by the Kiambu parliamentary aspirant on an SDP ticket, Mr Ngunyo Kariuki vowed to ensure "maximum constitutional reforms" should she win the elections which she said was possible with the Kikuyu votes.

Following Mrs Ngilu's campaign tour of Kiambu, sources in the National Development Party (NDP) of Kenya claimed that she was out to spoil the "Matiba-Raila pact" and deny Mr Raila Odinga, Mr Matiba's alleged political ally, the Kikuyu votes.

The move according to the Raila camp is likely to entangle both parties in a "political duel" for Matiba's support and blessing.

Mr Wanwere who is the KENDA party presidential candidate ruled out attending the controversial GEMA meeting today, and dismissed it as a "bad proposal" and a threat to democracy.

The Matiba political camp distanced itself from the meeting with his handlers saying the "idea to attend such a meeting is in itself wrong".

A spokesman from the Matiba's camp said in a telephone interview yesterday: "How do you think Matiba can go to such a meeting called by Wangari Maathai on behalf of Kibaki".

Addressing a campaign rally at the Kericho Green Stadium, yesterday, Mr Wanwere vowed to turn the Kaniti prison in Naivasha and that of Manyani at the Coast into State universities and dismissed Kibaki as unsuitable for the presidency as he has no "prison experience".

Mr Wanyoike, the Ford People presidential candidate, said he would not attend today's meeting, a spokeswoman said.

Maathai gets rude shock as...

GEMA PLOT BACKFIRES

By PAUL MUHOHO in Ol Kalou and TOM OSANJO

LIBERAL Party's Professor Wangari Muta Maathai yesterday received a rude reception in Ol Kalou town after a highly-charged crowd rejected her bid to be endorsed the sole GEMA-ointed presidential candidate.

The Gema heralded meeting for a common opposition presidential candidate against President Daniel arap Moi, was also snubbed by all the six presidential candidates from the Kikuyu community.

A dejected 57-year-old Maathai, fatigued and having a sore throat, was told in the face by more than 2,000 people that they totally supported the Democratic Party (DP) chairman, Mr Mwai Kibaki.

Clenching the DP salute, a rowdy mob demanded that Prof Maathai bring Mr Kibaki before them if she expected a hearing. She unexpectedly called off the meeting at 4.45 pm when the situation threatened to get out of hand amid heckling and name-calling.

Prof Maathai, the co-ordinator of the Green Belt Movement in a bizarre circuit, had planned to have the seven Kikuyu presidential candidates to attend the Ol Kalou anti-Moi plot. In a bid to identify a single candidate from the defunct GEMA to challenge President Daniel arap Moi and the ruling party KANU in the December 29 General Election.

She arrived in the town at 2.10 pm to find a large group of people who seemingly expected all the Opposition presidential candidates from the Kikuyu community. But by 4.35 pm the town was echoing "kobole kobole" (the DP fist salute) from the frenzied cries of mostly drunken men.

Prof Maathai, who is gunning for the Tetu parliamentary seat in Nyeri District, was accompanied

by former Cabinet minister, Mr James Njiru, the Gichugu Liberal Party candidate Phineas Njeru Njuno, Imenti South candidate Rev David Gituma and a host of her party supporters.

Mounted atop a Mitsubishi Canter matatu, Prof Maathai painstakingly rekindled her ambitions but futile attempt at reconciling Kikuyu presidential candidates since 1992 and denied she was a tribalist in calling for the unity of the GEMA tribes.

With a hoarse voice, amid many microphone failures, Prof Maathai denied what she termed tribalism among GEMA tribes, saying that all major tribes had united and rallied behind a single presidential candidate.

She demurely complained that the Electoral Commission had attempted to rig her out at the nomination stage even after her party had been registered at the eleventh hour. "Thina ndarutirie tene", (my trouble began long time ago), she moaned.

Prof Maathai claimed her sagred mission had the blessing of the GEMA community elders but lamented that her troupe had been rewarded ignominiously by Kikuyu presidential companions.

After allowing her companions to address the gathering for over one hour, wananchi started getting restless demanding to be told the agenda of the meeting and particularly the whereabouts of Mr Kibaki.

Prof Maathai explained that she had been rebuffed by the Kikuyu presidential aspirants despite her verbal and written invitation for them to attend the meeting.

By 4.30 pm, the highly-charged crowd was answering calls of harambee, harambee! with shouts and gestulations in support of the DP. One man confidently climbed atop the matatu and shouted "Wangari ni mweka muno tukamuthura kando kang'i. Tukwenda kama kina national outlook — DP na Mwai wa Kibaki" (Wangari is very good. But we will elect her in future. We want a party with a national outlook — DP with Mwai Kibaki).

Another one, a barber-cum-tout shouted in seeking a consensus over the absenteeism of the presidential candidates.

Question: *Nimukuenda Kibaki aharwo?* (Do you want Kibaki elected?)

Chorus: *Kobole, ni mumbaki* (Mr Kibaki's nickname).
Question: *li Koigi?* (And Koigi?)

Chorus: *Acu (No):*
Question: *li Munyua?* (And Munyua Walyaki?)

Chorus: *Acu (No).*
Question: *li Ng'ethe?* (And Ng'ethe?)

Chorus: *Acu (No)*
Question: *li Wangari?* (And Wangari?)

Chorus: *li Mbunge?* (Parliamentary seat? — Yes)

Question: *li Wanyoike?* (And Wanyoike?)

Wanyoike?)
Chorus: *Ni Ainuke* (He should go home)

Addressing journalists later, Prof Maathai denied that the crowd had been hostile to her. She said that it was evident that the crowd wanted a single presidential candidate from the GEMA community but the problem was the modality to be used.

Asked what her next move was, Prof Maathai said she was still to recollect herself and regain

her "voice", before she could say what will happen next. She hinted that there could be more meetings for the same purpose but lamented that time was not on her side.

Meanwhile, Ford People presidential candidate, Mr Kimani wa Nyoike, yesterday dismissed the Ol Kalou Gema meeting called by the Liberal Party counterpart, Professor Wangari Maathai, terming it "a big embarrassment" to the Kikuyu presidential aspirants.

Luos show overwhelming support for Moi

PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi yesterday received a jubilant Kisumu town on the second day of his campaign trail in Nyanza and made a rare appearance of his challengers, Mr Raila Odinga and Mrs Charity Kaluki Ngilu, in this former opposition territory. Addressing one of the largest

By ODONGO ODWOYO in Kisumu and PAUL MUHOHO in Nairobi

political rallies in Kisumu town, the President predicted a landslide victory for the ruling party KANU and urged the Luo community to abandon the

Opposition. Mrs Ngilu, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate, droye through the streets of the town nestled next to Lake Victoria, but her public rally failed to take place.

Raila, the leader of the National

Development Party (NDP), held an impromptu meeting at the Kisumu Municipal market and led his supporters as they chanted "Tinga, Tinga, Moi must go."

But their attempt to hold a procession along Kisumu's

Oginga Odinga Road next to the Kenyatta sports ground — where President Moi was addressing the rally — was swiftly scuttled by the thousands of KANU supporters who shouted KANU slogans.

A jovial and confident

President Moi shrugged off the brief interruption by Raila's rowdy supporters, whose frenzied chanting resembled victory marches by football supporters.

They are children, let them Page 2 — Col. 2

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play," the Head of State told jubilant KANU supporters as they broke into song and dance shouting: "KANU, Juu Nyayo Juu, 'Moi ni raisi!'"

President Moi urged the people of Nyanza Province in vote for KANU which guaranteed them continued peace and stability. The ruling party had already secured five per cent of the 210 parliamentary seats countrywide with 11 candidates sailing through unopposed.

The KANU national chairman challenged Opposition parties to dwell on party policies instead of harping on personalities. Most Opposition parties glorified trivial issues instead of expounding on how they would improve wananchi's living standards, he said.

The ruling party's helmsman pointed out that the KANU manifesto was explicit in its intentions to continue steering affairs of State for the best interests of the people, irrespective of their political affiliation.

The plethora of opposition parties, he said, was of no consequence since their leaders had no development agenda or clear-cut policies to guide the nation in its crucial stage of social, political and economic maturity.

President Moi said his priority was to see Nyanza Province emerge victorious in the December 29 General Election through KANU, and was equally pleased with the favourable wind of change in favour of the ruling party.

The Head of State said all the civic, parliamentary candidates

in the province were committed, dedicated and loyal who deserved an opportunity to serve their people.

He scoffed at the KANU nomination losers who vilified the party upon their defeat and described them as unprincipled individuals. They should have teamed up with the winners to launch vigorous campaigns for KANU, he noted.

The President told the people of Nyanza Province to shun glorifying tribal political outfits which had consigned them into the periphery of mainstream politics.

The Government, he said, had always taken seriously the development of the province, citing the perpetual flooding and the water hyacinth which is choking Lake Victoria — the source of livelihood for many people.

The President said the Government had already dispatched 1,500 bags of maize for the flood victims in Ahero and more foodstuff would soon be sent to Kadem in South Nyanza.

President Moi instructed the Nyanza Provincial Commissioner, Mr Wilson Chepkwony, who was present, to post a District Officer to the recently created Lambwe Division.

As a parting shot, the President urged the people of Nyanza Province to vote for him as they were his masters.

"I want you to vote for me. I am humbly seeking your mandate because you are my masters. You are very important people to me. I promise I will never let you down," he said to

deafening applause.

In a fatherly gesture, President Moi advised the Kisumu KANU branch chairman Mr Edwin Oponda Osir and outgoing Kisumu Mayor, Mr Lawrence Akinvi Oric, to work in harmony and ensure KANU outpaces the Opposition in all the civic and parliamentary seats.

As a sign of appreciation, the two political arch-rivals shook hands in the presence of the Head of State and promised to bury the hatchet once and for all.

Before proceeding for the major campaign rally, President Moi addressed a goodwill delegation of KANU officials and activists from Kisumu and Suba districts at State Lodge, Kisumu.

The President fondly recalled the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's vision for a united Kenya when the grand old man of opposition politics once described President Moi as "the umbrella come rain or shine".

It was crucial for Luo-Nyanza to heed the late Odinga's advice since KANU was on the verge of winning the general election and form the next Government. The province should not remain on the periphery of mainstream politics, he added.

Saying the economic mainstay in Nyanza was sugar cane farming, rice growing and fishing, the President said the agricultural sector must be boosted to enable the province become self-reliant and financially stable.

The President said the Government was seeking ways and means of eradicating the water hyacinth in Lake Victoria which was threatening the fishing industry.

He advised wananchi in the province to take advantage of privatisation of State-owned companies by buying shares.

Meanwhile, President Moi said the next five years would be an important turning point in Kenya's history when crucial changes would be effected to the Constitution to consolidate Kenya's unity and ensure harmonious co-existence among all communities.

The President told the Luo community to ensure they were fully represented to enable them make meaningful contributions.

Addressing thousands of jubilant wananchi after being entertained by choirs and traditional dancers after his day-long campaign activities, President Moi said the Government was committed to the development of the province.

Kisumu Rural parliamentary candidate, Mr Wilson Ndolo Ayah, said it was sad that the word "Opposition" was being used as a synonym for the Luo community, which had the onus to rid itself of the stigma.

However, Mr Ayah, the Minister for Transport and Communications, said he was happy that the community had realised the dangers of confrontational politics and had returned to the ruling party in large numbers.

Rongo parliamentary candidate, Mr Dalmas Otiemo, advised the Luo community to clinch a place in the next Government so that their ideas could be implemented.

Mr Otiemo said the community had leaders with meaningful ideas but the Government had the discretion and authority to implement them.

KIBAKI, KIJANA IN POLLS PACT

Raila still counting Matiba

By JOHN KENGOINA in Kitale

THE Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) chairman Mwai Kibaki and Ford Kenya chairman, Michael Kijana Wamalwa have entered into political marriage of convenience.

Details of the merger are expected to be discussed today morning between the opposition party chiefs with the expected withdrawal of Ford Kenya candidates from DP strongholds in Nairobi.

As a sign of commitment to the pact, Wamalwa the outgoing Saboti MP and the DP Kitale branch chairman, Peter Kinyanjui agreed to have DP parliamentary candidates in Trans Nzoia step down in favour of Wamalwa.

Mr Kinyanjui said the DP had decided to withdraw from the parliamentary race its nominees Jackson Ruiru (Saboti) and John Nasira (Cherangani) as the first indication of the co-operation. But the two men maintained they were still in the race.

Addressing pressmen in Kitale town, Mr Kinyanjui said Mr Kibaki, the outgoing Othaya MP, had promised to reward Mr Wamalwa with a key Cabinet portfolio once the DP forms the next government.

He appealed to the opposition supporters to vote for Wamalwa in Saboti for the parliamentary election but vote for Mr Kibaki for the presidency to ensure they remove KANU from power.

Contacted for comment, Mr Wamalwa said that Ford Kenya Page 2 - Col. 1

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was ready to work with "other formidable parties but the modalities remain our secret".

Mr Wamalwa claimed that some KANU civic and parliamentary candidates had resorted to using his name in their campaigns to gain more political mileage.

Talking to pressmen before embarking on a meet-the-people tour of Keiyo, Mr Wamalwa accused Saboti KANU parliamentary nominee, Mr Justine Sull of masquerading as his confidant and claiming they were working as a team.

A fuming Wamalwa retorted: "It's all hogwash. Everybody is using my name in their quest for votes. Why can't they campaign on their own?"

The Trans Nzoia KANU branch chairman, Mr Kiprotto arap Kirwa laughed off the entire affair.

"Wamalwa is a nobody. He cannot even manage more than 10 parliamentary seats this time round. They should stop day-dreaming. They better concede defeat at the hands of KANU", Mr Kirwa, the outgoing Cherangani MP said.

Mr Kirwa, an Assistant Minister for Agriculture denied that KANU nominees were using Mr Wamalwa's name in their campaigns. "The truth of the matter is that the Ford-Kenya Cherangani nominee, John Kirwa Rotich, is seeking to be elected using Wamalwa's name," he said.

Mr Kirwa went on: "We say enough is enough. None of the opposition candidates can make it to Cherangani. They are just accompanying us as we re-enter Parliament. This is allowed in politics."

The vocal Assistant Minister said he sympathised with Ford Kenya officials for purporting to withdraw their blessings for his candidature. "Once a blessing has been made, it can never be taken away," he said.

In a campaign now seen as a move by independent analysts to deny President Moi a win on the first ballot and force a run-off, National Development Party (NDP) presidential candidate Raila Odinga is equally expected to get support from Kenneth Matiba, former Ford Asili chairman, who declined to participate in the elections.

Raila in his ongoing campaign rallies is pleading for a pact with Matiba who recently disowned the opposition presidential candidates and said he would not campaign or support any of them.

Matiba claims he is boycotting elections as they are already pre-rigged in favour of KANU and has called on all other opposition presidential candidates to step down in support of his boycott.

Raila, however, insists Matiba is still his friend and he hopes to get his support to see him through for the second-round of polls in a run-off with President Moi.

A cross section of leaders we talked to yesterday dismissed the emerging political pacts and accused those mooting such ideas as working against the principles of democracy.

Mr Kirwa, an Assistant Minister for Agriculture denied that KANU nominees were using Mr Wamalwa's name in their campaigns. "The truth of the matter is that the Ford-Kenya Cherangani nominee, John Kirwa Rotich, is seeking to be elected using Wamalwa's name," he said.

Yesterday the Trans Nzoia DP branch chairman, Peter Kinyanjui announced the immediate withdrawal of the candidature of the DP nominees in Saboti and Cherangani constituencies to facilitate Mr Wamalwa's re-election to parliament and Mr Kibaki's bid for the presidency.

Wamalwa, according to DP sources is expected to step down in favour of Kibaki and throw his party's support to the DP aspirant at an inter-parties meeting to take place from today.

Ford-K is also expected to review positions of its candidates in eight constituencies in Nairobi and seek compromise candidates to be backed by both parties.

SAFINA'S ANTI-MOI CRUSADE

By GERRY ODUOR

SAFINA and a plethora of oppositionists against KANU and President Moi have planned an aggressive propaganda blitz to defame the ruling party's winning the December 29 General Election.

The project to be launched on Wednesday dubbed "presidential popularity rating - national and provincial", is to be publicised through the print and electronic media, with foreign support.

The controversial poll rating, according to our Safina sources, is expected to hit the city streets and all major upcountry towns on Thursday in a two-day campaign to discredit the ruling party KANU, President Moi, the party's parliamentary and civic candidates.

A haphazard research purportedly conducted by a number of the University of Nairobi dons on the poll rating, places the Democratic Party of Kenya presidential candidate, Mwai Kibaki as set to win the presidential poll, followed by the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Charity Ngilu, with President Moi, though the favourite contender, placed in

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third position. The "opinion poll" has been organised under the supervision of Dr Richard Leakey, avowed KANU protagonist, who reduces President Moi's predicted landslide victory to only a mere three provinces, giving Kibaki a majority win in the five provinces and Ngilu four.

The results, which will be used in the campaign incorporating commentators from various international media stations, claim that Kibaki had a majority support in the Rift Valley, Central, Coast and Eastern provinces.

The ill-intentioned opinion poll claims further that President Moi would only be able to garner votes on a tribal basis in the three provinces where the Kalenjin dominate and where people have been coerced to vote for him or face threat of tribal purge.

According to the Leakey poll statistics, Ngilu will garner votes in Central Coast, Eastern and cut a large slice out of the Ford-K and National Development Party (NDP) tribal domains.

Overall, the opinion polls predicts a devastating loss for KANU and indicate that nearly 40 per cent will vote for Kibaki, and over 30 for Ngilu. President Moi, it says, will get below 20 per cent.

The Safina pre-campaign poll, according to our sources, is also aimed at scuttling the recent one by the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED), published early this month.

The IED pre-poll results had predicted in its sample research, a majority win for President Moi.

with a mass following in all the five provinces, including RIR Valley, where he is expected to garner 40.7 per cent, North Eastern (71.6 per cent) and Coast and amass a landslide win with comfortable votes in seven out of the eight provinces.

An interesting aspect to the pre-poll opinion results by Safina ignores former Ford Asili chairman Kenneth Matiba's political clout in Central Province, ignores the effects of its (Safina's) own boycott campaign call to its supporters and instead places itself among the top five contenders.

The campaign targets to disenfranchise KANU supporters in Rift Valley and greatly reduce the President's support in the entire eight provinces.

The strategy targets the lull of public activity during the Christmas holidays and will be spread over the country with the support of Safina activists.

According to our source, KANU "will be caught flat-footed" and would not be able to launch a counter campaign before the next week poll.

The campaign is supported by a number of key foreign missions in the country, a thing which had resulted into a major split within the diplomatic circles.

Dr Leakey together with a number of foreign missions and media houses will be assisted by some of the near 22,557 observers due to monitor the polls in the campaign.

Safina has equally made it clear to its foreign sponsors that it would not accept a win by President Moi and would immediately put into place its second option after the poll.

Sunday Times, December 28, 1997

MOI TIPPED TO WIN ELECTIONS

By SOLOMON KYENZE

MORE independent opinion polls released yesterday indicated surging popularity for President Moi and KANU, with predictions of a landslide victory for both in tomorrow's general election.

The polls also indicate that KANU, which is already leading with 13 parliamentary seats ahead of the elections and 200 civic seats, will scoop a majority of the seats leaving only crumbs for the opposition.

Fresh polls indicate that President Moi will retain the presidency with 42.1 per cent of the presidential vote, while Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) candidate Mwal Kibaki will only garner 20.1 per cent of the vote.

Mrs Charity Kaluki Ngilu of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) is expected to come third with 19.1 per cent of the total votes cast while National Development Party (NDP)'s Raila Odinga and Ford-Kenya's Wamalwa Kijana will average 10 per cent and 6.2 per cent respectively.

Ford People's Kimani Wanyoike is expected to get 2.3 per cent of the national presidential vote, while Ford Asili's Martin Shikuku will manage only a paltry 0.1 per cent of the vote.

The remaining 0.1 per cent of the vote, it is predicted, will go to the rest of the presidential contenders who have also been dismissed by other opinion polls as non-

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starters.

Other independent opinion poll monitors who have predicted a Moi and KANU clear win on Monday include the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED) and a universities research team both which released their findings recently.

President Moi is expected to win more than 25 per cent of the mandatory provincial vote in all but Central Province with his strongest showing expected to be in the Coast, North-Eastern and Rift Valley where he is expected to get straight victories.

Other provinces perceived to be opposition dominated, including Nairobi, Eastern, Western and Nyanza are expected to contribute each more than the 25 per cent vote to the KANU candidate.

Mr Kibaki is expected to garner the 25 per cent vote in only two provinces, including Nairobi and Central where he is expected to get 30.2 per cent in the former and 73.1 per cent in the latter.

Mrs Ngilu will only get the

mandatory vote in Eastern province where she is expected to win close to 50 per cent of the votes cast there, while Mr Odinga and Mr Wamalwa will only manage solitary support from their native provinces.

The predictions give KANU a total of 119 parliamentary seats from the overall 210, while a combined opposition will only manage 91 seats with the DP expected to form the official opposition party with 36 MPs.

The NDP will predictably scoop 19 seats, 13 for Ford-K, nine for Safina, eight for SDP, five for Ford People while Ford-A and KSC are said to be one seat each.

Unlike 1992 where it failed to get seats in all the eight provinces, the polls indicate that the ruling party KANU will emerge, the more nationalistic party after Monday with seats in all the provinces, including Central Province where it was locked out in the last general election.

Different opinion polls have given President Moi between 40 per cent and 50 per cent of the vote in the elections.

APPENDIX 2

Editorials:

Daily Nation

East African Standard

Kenya Times

SUNDAY NATION

Nairobi, Sunday, November 2, 1997

Issues are the salt of a General Election

Democracy is a game of issues. A famous British broadcaster is often quoted as having said there can be no democracy in a society until general education confers a philosophic outlook on a majority of its members. What he meant was that the quality of leadership in a social unit would depend on the extent to which its members understood their own circumstances, their needs and priorities; in other words the real issues in their lives. Only then can they make useful democratic choice by picking leaders who best articulate those concerns.

In the absence of such understanding, people resort to more primordial, and inherently defective, bonding systems such as kinship and tribe as the basis for staffing the institutions of leadership.

The tragedy of the 1992 multi-party General Election, and the generality of Kenyan elections, is that it was more an exercise in bribery, demagoguery and tribalism than a competition between issues and policy alternatives.

An election season, Kenyan style, is a season of irresponsible promises and blatant pipe dreams. The story is told of a superlative vote-getter who would promise his land-hungry constituents: "As a full Cabinet Minister, I have the power to sub-divide and allocate that forest. Prepare yourselves to start cultivation immediately." He would point at an overhead light aircraft delivering supplies to a nearby tourist resort: "Those are my boys. They are surveying the forest in readiness for allocation!"

His constituents would, of course, not benefit beyond the customary pack of salt. Is it any wonder that Kenyan voters have become desensitised even to the best-thought-out policies — if and when they are forthcoming?

The twin evils of ignorance and election pipe dreams are largely what stands between Kenyans and a good, dynamic government. It is encouraging to see politicians coming out more consistently to explain and publicly debate the policies on the basis of which they are seeking leadership.

Democracy and the imperatives of good citizenship require that Kenyans rise above both the pack of salt and the pipe dreams. There isn't enough salt and government forest to go round. But with a good plan, good policies, we can create enough and better for all. A policy in the hand is worth 30 million packs of salt.

DAILY NATION

No. Daily Nation, November 9, 1997

What's in a name? Plenty, chairman

What is in a name, or indeed title? Plenty, it would appear, especially if the name or title has been around for a long time and if it has something to do with politics.

Slightly over 20 years ago, some politician woke up to the realisation that there were other people who were addressed as president. Among the many bodies whose leaders were bore the title of president was the Kenya Union of Journalists and the Historical Association of Kenya.

The politician thought that if some people, among them historians and journalists, were to be addressed as president, then the respect, esteem, prestige and even power of the Head of State, the highest office in the land, would be somehow diminished. And so there was to be only one president, the Head of State.

But then even though KANU is a political party it would not be very good to have its leader, who is also Head of State, called something other than President. Now come the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1991, other parties could not have their leaders titled president, but KANU's leader retained the prestigious title.

Even after Attorney-General Amos Wako did say that KANU would have to change, this was not to happen yet. And then suddenly, the KANU high command announces that there will be a meeting of the Special Delegates' Conference at which the party would enact these changes. And so now President Moi is Chairman of the ruling party.

The Opposition politicians may or may not like it. They will like it because now all party leaders have been "levelled" by being designated chairmen but this deprives them of the opportunity to take a dig at President Moi to the effect that he wears two presidential hats, one of them irregular. At Oginga Odinga's burial, for example, Opposition party leaders were deliberately introduced as president.

Of course, it is going to be some time before former chairman Ndlovu Avuth gets used to being referred to as Second National Vice-Chairman and Prof Saitoti is Vice-President only in the Cabinet but at KANU is First National Vice-Chairman.

But old habits die hard and it will be no surprise if many KANU leaders and party faithful persist in addressing the party chairman as President and the First National Vice-Chairman as V.P.

SUNDAY NATION

Nairobi, Sunday, November 16, 1997

Avoiding the folly of disrupting elections

Now that the General Election has been called, it is time that Kenyans addressed one matter that we think is crucial. We refer to the oft-repeated threat from certain quarters to not only boycott the election, but to *disrupt* it. Why do we think this matter is crucial?

First, because all Kenyans desire an incident-free poll in order that they may choose the leaders that will take them into the next millennium in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility. Attempts to disrupt a poll have the potential of precipitating widespread, indeed nationwide, confrontations.

This brings to mind the matter of the security of Kenyans and the state of the Republic. The people who want to disrupt the General Election must know that there are those who will be determined to ensure that the poll goes on and the conflict that could ensue might mean the end of Kenya as we know it.

The people who are planning to disrupt the poll argue that it is pre-rigged or it will be rigged. We would like to challenge these people to come out clearly and expose the various ways that have been put in place as a vote-cheating mechanism. This should be done so that the Electoral Commission can be asked to clear the air.

What do we mean? Is it, for example, the conviction of those against the poll that the electors' registers have been inflated with fictitious names? If that is part of the vote-rigging strategy, let Kenyans be told and it would be in order for them to demand an immediate audit of the registers.

It is claimed that the election has already been rigged through computer. Again, let those making this claim tell Kenyans how this strategy works and then let Chairman Zacharia Chesoni tell the world if, in fact, it is the case that the Electoral Commission wants to steal an election.

We think it is folly for anyone to refuse to register as a voter, claiming that the election has already been stolen and then threaten to disrupt it. What should happen — the logical thing to do — is to call those charged with running the election to account and the best way to go about this is to expose their plans.

It is folly also to claim that a poll has been rigged and not to show how this has happened and those who plan to rig could very easily say the other side just wants to create trouble.

DAILY NATION

Nairobi, Tuesday, November 18, 1997

Dangerous talk must be avoided

Many Kenyans still recoil at some of the unpleasant events that preceded the 1992 General Election, chief among them being the ethnic cleansing-cum-clashes that rocked several parts of the Rift Valley and Western provinces.

Hundreds of people were killed and many were families that found themselves turned into refugees in their own country overnight. To date, some are not settled.

As Kenyans groped for reasons why compatriots who had lived harmoniously as neighbours for generations should suddenly loathe the sight of each other to the extent of killing, politicians sought mileage out of it all, as one political party accused the other of instigating the clashes.

It is electioneering time again and tribal emotions need but the slightest of agitation or instigation to turn into violence with as grave consequences as those that left a blight on the first multi-party elections five years ago. The Electoral Commission has warned of stiff penalties for any manner of electoral offences.

But has anyone taken the commission's warning seriously? Can we expect politicians to rise above tribal feuds and address issues instead? Can we expect all those in the political arena to resist the temptation of playing up to tribal galleries in the name of wooing voters?

A number of politicians at the weekend censured cabinet minister Francis Lotodo over his inflammatory remarks that Kikuyus had Luos be evicted from West Pokot, his home district. One former legislator has urged the Government to charge the minister.

The minister was reported to have given members of the two communities a week to leave West Pokot or they would be forcibly evicted.

Coincidentally, only a few days earlier Mr Lotodo had himself reacted swiftly to Press reports that members of the Pokot community in Trans Nzoia District faced eviction. The threat was attributed to a local KANU branch official.

If politicians learnt any lesson at all from the 1992 experience, it should be that they weigh their words. If on the other hand, five years down the line, some politicians haven't learnt the lesson, they won't until they are made to pay the price of inflammatory or careless talk. An electioneering period should not serve as a smokescreen for incitement.

Daily Nation, November 20, 1997

Build poll race on issues, not trivia

Once again, opposition politicians are saying that they are having consultations with a view to forging a common strategy that will ensure that they and not their KANU counterparts, form the next Government. Kenyans are waiting anxiously to know what this strategy is, but in the meantime, a few observations are in order.

Our view is that Kenyans should be told what the platforms of the opposition parties are. It is these platforms that should tell Kenyans where KANU has failed, why it failed and how the opposition party or parties that gets to power will address and redress these failures.

The reason we are saying this is that so far not a single opposition presidential aspirant, for example, has taken on President Moi and KANU on the current manifesto and the previous one and pointed out the differences between them. Conversely, KANU does not bother to point out what it promised in its 1992 election manifesto and what it achieved.

What we have seen and heard so far are generalised attacks traded between the governing party and the opposition, wild claims about assassination plots, bizarre tales about certain cultural attributes of different Kenyan peoples, stories from prison and a host of other irrelevant stuff.

We want to insist that even if the strategy being pursued by the opposition is that of fielding a single candidate against the incumbent President, issues must be raised and addressed and they have to deal with unemployment, industrial take-off, what kind of education and to what end, provision of health care, infrastructure, crime, deteriorating urban centres, name it.

In other words, we would like to see the coming election decided on issues rather than on trivia, ethnicity, lies, fear and bribery. These will not expose the programmes of the competing parties or presidential candidates. If anything they will contribute to trivialisation of issues, a trait so common among all parties and which clouds rather than clears issues.

Previously, common strategy has meant that President Moi will lose if he is up against a single rival. We must ask this: shall Kenya then have KANU Mark II? Put another way, is it all about removing President Moi from power? That will not sell; policies will.

SUNDAY NATION

Nairobi, Sunday, December 14, 1997

Moi's legacy and poll complexities

These were the President's words during his address to the people of Kenya on Jamhuri Day: "I would like to leave a permanent legacy in Kenya's history. A legacy of one strong and united Kenya, a legacy you the people of Kenya will cherish."

The President also said that he wanted to be remembered as a leader who managed and sustained democracy, forged unity, expanded the economy and fought unemployment. And, he added, he desires a Kenya free of nepotism, sectionalism and tribalism.

These are noble words and they were chosen, without doubt, with the intention of catching the spirit of the day as Kenyans remembered the attainment of Independence 34 years ago and, of course, they were spoken with an eye on the coming General Election.

The words also assume greater significance given that President Moi is on what many see as his last campaign trail, at least for the presidency, and he might have been preparing Kenyans for his eventual exit from the arena they have come to associate with him for some 42 years, 19 of them as President.

But the President must prepare himself for the flak that is bound to come, for, this being an electioneering time, his rivals will want to know why he is unveiling, so to speak, his vision and preferred legacy this late in the day on what is his last presidential campaign trail. What has he been doing all this time, many will ask.

The question is not out of the ordinary because on the three issues of nepotism, tribalism and sectionalism, for example, President Moi must face the fact that their existence, 34 years after Independence, indicates that his and the Kenyatta administrations are culpable. Is the five-year term he now seeks enough to right the accumulated ills of 34 years?

On the issue of the economy, unemployment and poverty, he must again come to grips with the fact that the fight against these scourges formed the KANU vision of 1963. Then the founding leaders told Kenyans that the Government was out to eradicate ignorance, poverty and disease.

Perhaps the President's words, which struck a somewhat valedictory note, mean Kenyans can have 15 days of a campaign based on policies.

But don't bank on it. Elsewhere, an incumbent would live to rue the remarks the President made.

DAILY NATION

Nairobi, Friday, December 19, 1997

Cash shortage is good for politics

This year's election campaigns are positively lame compared to the raucous, extravagant indulgences of yesteryear. Gone is the ostentatious spending in bars and other eateries by civic and parliamentary aspirants desperate to buy their way into positions of power and authority. Up to now, campaigns have hardly started in some places and where they have, they have been reduced to meet-the-people tours.

Even the presidential campaigns are hardly visible. It is obviously tough going for many hopefuls, and even the usually well-heeled KANU has landed on hard times. The explanation is not hard to isolate — the easy-come, easy-go money most KANU candidates acquired illegally by looting public coffers is no more. The lean times the Government is facing generally with a squeezed cash flow are made harder by the fairly stringent monetary policing regime now in place.

This is something to be pleased about as it provides a real chance for politics here to shed the image of cheap, semantic jousting further distorted by free-spending dishonest leaders and become a more sober, focussed and critical mental exercise. Leaders who in the past have easily got away with making people drunk and persuading them into irresponsible, impolitic actions will soon have to deal with balanced, probing minds unwilling to accept everything thrown at them in the name of "leaders' wisdom".

The new dispensation also puts up new challenges for those aspiring to leadership positions. They will have to be inspired by more than just the need to protect their wealth (or acquire some more) because they will pay from their pockets. They will have to be more ingenious and convincing to attract (not extort) assistance from supporters, and, most importantly, they will have to really think and talk issues.

But before the new ethic evolves to that higher plane, we will witness desperate moves like virtual extortion of cash from supporters, the frenzied anger of grassroots supporters suddenly denied cash handouts, embarrassing scenes of senior politicians pleading for money from party leaders, etc. These are withdrawal symptoms which, as in any other addiction, are painful but necessary. The salient factor is the lesson and significance: The phase when public coffers were looted to fund elections and buy victory is over. It is time to shift gear into "think-politics".

DAILY NATION

Nairobi, Monday, December 29, 1997

Time for voters to make vital decision

After almost two months of political hype, numerous adverts, editorials, commentaries and stories in newspapers, rhetoric at campaign rallies, sleek radio and TV commercials and special broadcasts, D-Day is finally here.

Voters have during the campaign period been inundated with all sorts of messages or propaganda and have witnessed even dirty tricks from all sorts of corners. They have woken up to leaflets publishing lies about certain candidates, highly doctored public opinion polls and alleged pacts between rivals. They have deceptively been told that to mark X on a ballot paper means to reject a candidate against whose name the letter is marked. And these are but only three examples.

The advertising and rhetoric or even ridiculous propaganda have been tailored to convince the electorate to vote one way or the other. Whether they have been successful or not will be known when the ballots are counted.

But before the counting comes the balloting and before the voting, one must decide who to vote for. Today, the voter has a great opportunity to either retain the incumbent President and the outgoing MPs and civic leaders or fire them.

That is the decision everybody has been talking about. It is the verdict politicians from Kanu and the myriad opposition parties have, in the print and broadcast media and from the stumps, been trying to influence the electorate to pass in their favour.

Kanu candidates have been preaching the gospel of continuity while those from the Opposition have been trying to sell the idea of change. President Moi wants another five-year term, arguing that his and Kanu's leadership have been tested and to vote for the Opposition would be to take a gamble with one's vote.

The view from across the political aisle is simply that Kanu has been in power for the past 34 years and what is there is to show for it? A collapsing infrastructure best seen in decaying roads. Public hospitals that are always in need of drugs. High-level corruption that threatens to permeate every pore of society. Decaying towns where slums mushroom and garbage mounds grow. An economy that is not growing fast enough to create jobs and, hence rising unemployment.

In multi-party politics, the opposition is always adept at criticising and, the Government often remains defensive. For Opposition parties, matters are even easier; they have never formed a Government having been born before the 1992 elections. This followed a crusade that shunted aside Kanu's constitutional monopoly of power.

These parties cannot be blamed, for example, for running down the economy. But Kanu's record is there for all and sundry to see which means that this election as the 1992 one, is supposed to be a referendum on its performance. In that case, this election should be decided on issues that affect ordinary Kenyans.

It is these issues that we have been talking about in commentaries, and in a special column which we introduced specifically to force issues onto the table. Our sister paper, the *Sunday Nation*, carried interviews with President Moi and two of his challengers, Mr Michael Wamalwa of Ford-Kenya, and Mr Raila Odinga of the National Development Party of Kenya yesterday.

We also believe that candidates for parliamentary seats should address these issues but, of course, with particular emphasis on how they impact on their respective constituencies. In other words, we have been arguing that the Kenyan voter should be wooed and won at the local (constituency or ward) and national levels.

Has that been the case? Opinion has been divided, but most would think issues have tended to take the backseat when politicians have hit the campaign trail, either on meet-the-people tours or on the platform. Sheer populism, personality clashes, self-praise or pity and condemnation of rival parties for all manner of real and imagined sins.

What we are certain about is that Kenya needs leaders and policies that will take it into the next millennium. We desire a united and prosperous country in which freedom flourishes and the Government ensures that individuals have an enabling environment in which they can realise their potential in all fields of endeavour.

However, whether the voter was impressed or not, by what has transpired in the past two months, he or she must vote between 6 am, when the polling stations open countrywide, and 6 pm, when they are scheduled to close. Kenyans must decide whether they want to usher in change, that is vote for the Opposition parties, or to continue with the status quo. Only if guided by reason, the law and a reforming mind. The leaders must put people first and be forward-looking and friendly. The voters have watched and listened to the politicians, read and heard about pleas for his or her vote. It is now up to them to make this crucial decision between now and 6 pm.

SUNDAY Standard COMMENT

Let vote decide who's fit to lead

KENNETH Matiba yesterday displayed character that helped only to confuse observers. He failed to get full support for his plans to storm State House.

As expected, however, curious supporters gathered at Uhuru Park, Nairobi, eager to see if the Kiharu politician would fulfil his ambition to force President Moi out of his official residence and premises for state functions.

We predicted that the government would be forced to use all the security machinery at its disposal to confront any entry into the protected property. Although no ugly scenes of violence were witnessed, it is essential to point out here that such a meeting was potentially volatile.

What came out of the Matiba gathering were resolutions which ended up confusing his audience. Matiba's suggestions that he would seek audience with President Moi in a bid to force him out of State House, was equally unclear for.

Also disturbing were calls by Kogi wa Wamwere that there would be no elections without reforms. Yet he is a presidential hopeful, surprisingly, the dreadlocked former MP failed to realise that fundamental constitutional reforms had already been passed into law following a presidential assent. So what was the main agenda for these politicians.

Essentially it appears as if some political leaders are still bent on tempting Kenyans to violence despite the substantial progress made towards making this country fully democratic and ensuring that the coming elections are held in a free and fair manner.

After yesterday's debacle, it is perhaps important to now remind voters (politicians and government) of the most crucial aspects and aspirations of our society. The fact is that Kenyans are fed up with careless utterances and rhetoric and are looking forward to the elections on December 29.

Also, the fact is that some politicians have not realised the priorities this country has set for itself and are only wasting time by asking the President to vacate his seat, yet the presidential term has not expired.

Common sense demands that the rule of law (where it exists) be respected by all persons regardless of status in society. In this regard, it is imperative that Kenyans realise what is at stake as we approach the polls.

Incidents of violence which marred the first multi-party elections in 1992 are the last thing this period should witness. After covering such valuable ground in instituting reform programmes, it would be shameful if Kenyans were again caught in the web of old-style violence.

Thus it is important that our leaders are firmly rebuked when they err. It is wrong for Kenyans to blindly follow political leaders as though like sheep to the slaughter. Calls to violence must be ignored at all cost, while we await the use of the most important tool — the voter's card.

Only then can any right thinking member of the society attempt to dislodge current leaders from power, instead of resorting to the very means which we have attempted to discard.

Standard

Established 1902

COMMENT

Positive signal for all parties

JUST when some politicians were thinking that the government had broken its promise to honour its part in the Inter Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG), the unexpected news flowed in.

The government, yesterday finally registered political parties whose applications had been pending, in preparation for general election on December 29.

The measure primarily affects the Safina party of white conservationist Richard Leakey and dissident nationalist Kogi wa Wamwere. The fate of Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) led by fiery preacher Khalid Balala is not known.

Of course, the Attorney General, after studying the application for registration of political parties, was mandated to approve or reject — depending on exhaustive reasons — although as announced, there existed channels for appeal.

And despite the government's previous rejection of applications by both parties and vilification of Leakey as a neo-colonialist, it has demonstrated its willingness to pursue the path to total democratisation.

In an encouraging move, officials of Safina (unlike Balala's IPK) discarded the notion that only through mass action and inciting people to violence could they make the government relent its stand.

Thus the decision to register Safina can be seen from the point of positive approach by agreeing to meet AG Amos Wako for more information on their party's fate. As it turned out, yesterday provided perhaps the best opening to fully participate in the forthcoming elections.

Now that the government has effectively set the ball rolling for campaigns, it is important that politicians and voters exercise restraint when incited to violence and disregard of the law. Leaders who preach with impunity, politics of war and barbarism, must be ignored and rebuked.

Although there obviously must have existed reasons for the AG's refusal to initially register Safina and the rest, the fact that all parties have been allowed a role in the elections is enough justification of this country's intentions to make all Kenyans part of the political reform process.

It is our hope that the registered parties hitherto described as radical and often prone to violent confrontation with the authorities, will now act responsibly and in a mature manner, lest we back-track just when a crucial event in our history is approaching.

Above all, it is the duty of government, political parties, and voters to extend to each other an olive branch for the sake of peaceful and fair elections.

Standard

Established 1902

COMMENT

Let the 'eligible' candidate win

YESTERDAY and today are crucial days in the countdown to the December 29 General Election. An assortment of candidates have been nominated for the presidential race, and are on the campaign trail.

The variety, both in personality and parties, reflect the plurality, but above all, it gives the electorate a wide latitude of choice.

The 12 candidates represent a democratic mixture in age, sex, political experience, social, and ideological leanings. But above all, each of them carries not just the banners of their parties, but personalities and individual credentials as leaders gunning for the presidency.

Each of them will be known by what their parties want for Kenya, and how each of them can be trusted to deliver the goods. Whatever the policies of each party, the purpose of leadership is greater prosperity, democracy, peace, justice and plenty for all.

The challenge is for the electorate to decide which candidate and party represents the national interest. Both the experienced, amateurs at the race, and new arrivals in national politics, will be judged not just by their promises, but also by their record.

They will be judged by the quality of the fruits of their leadership, viability of their policies, and vision for a better Kenya. The candidates and parties should approach the race with open minds. This is essential to progressive competition; knowing that every race has losers and winners.

The best wins, and the rest — sometimes not necessarily the worst if elections were rigged — will lose. But we have to qualify *worst* and *best*, as interested parties in the General Election.

Let the best candidate win, and the "best" for us should be the one who embodies the virtues any country would want to see in their Head of State. Personal ability, integrity, moral standing, conscientiousness, high sense of justice for all, sensitivity to the public good, belief in merit, team-player, broad national appeal, and be a democrat, both in word and deed.

The "national appeal" condition is important because we are looking for a president of Kenya — to lead the 42 tribes across eight provinces. Which means any candidate with a record of playing to the tribe and partiality will lose the race. It is the 9,000,000 voters who will decide, on the candidates' ability and credibility.

This is possible if voters are allowed to cast the ballot freely, and independently as citizens — stakeholders in the future of Kenya.

SUNDAY Standard

COMMENT

It's peace, not war that voters want

TWO important facts came to the fore of Kenyan politics yesterday — Kenya's business community endorsed its commitment to a peaceful election and political future, and voters refused to be pushed to acts of violence.

At Nairobi's five-star Inter-Continental Hotel, the top cream of Kenyan business expressed its desire that this nation achieves the status of a democratic and peaceful society.

A two-hour luncheon helped raise a record Shs 100 million (although short of the target Shs 500 million) to help Kanu's presidential campaign, and with it, an array of glamorous prizes. However more encouraging were sentiments raised by business leaders to the effect that Kenya requires a united leadership, with a cohesion that was almost wrecked by political squabbling at the expense of national development.

Despite fears of a bomb at the presidential function, those in attendance demonstrated that prophets of doom have no place in this country, and will be confronted by right thinking members of the society who care for peace and prosperity.

Threats by Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate, Charity Ngilu, to disrupt the luncheon were ignored, although she made an appearance at the venue. As mentioned in our sister paper yesterday, such threats by a person vying for the country's top seat are not only uncalled for, but sheer disregard of the same code of conduct her party pledged to uphold and protect.

Lessons

Further, by SDP supporters' shunning calls to disrupt the meeting, they revealed voters' interest in holding elections devoid of past confrontation with authorities, characterised by ugly incidents which almost marred the first multi-party elections in Kenya, in 1992.

So are there lessons to learn from yesterday's events? Of course YES. First, it is vital that Kenyan business recognises the fact that we are at the most crucial stage of our political and social development, without whose (business) full support the future is uncertain. It is also a fact that any issues affecting the political situation do have direct bearing on the future of the economy which we have so dearly attempted to nurture and protect.

Going by words of one of the Kenya's business top official: "We in the business world see the state as being central to economic and social development, not as a direct provider of growth, but as a partner, catalyst and facilitator."

What more could those who wish well for this country hope for? And for how long shall we remind those who support and harken to irresponsible politicians' ideologies that days when confrontation and violence were advocated are long gone?



Forward ever KANU soldiers

THE KANU Annual Delegates Conference set for today at the Moi International Sports Centre, Kasarani, is yet another opportunity the party is giving to members to strategise on the forthcoming polls.

KANU delegates, meeting a month after a similar conference last month, will provide a forum to point out the way forward for the party which has held us together for the last 34 years.

When the delegates assemble at Kasarani, the party will also use the occasion to launch its manifesto, and vision for the way forward as we stand on the threshold of a new millennium.

The conference comes a few days after Parliament overwhelmingly voted to amend the constitution in preparation for the coming polls and the delegates are likely to make known their views on the IPPG brokered reforms.

The party top brass and the delegates meet at a time when the international focus is on Kenya as the country gears for the elections. Critics are now mum after realising that the party whose standing the Opposition has desperately been trying to tarnish internationally is one solid mass grouping with a serious agenda for this country. The delegates meeting will be reinforcing KANU's credential as a democratic apparatus that has managed to withstand the onslaught by a tribal-based Opposition and which has confounded friends and foes alike by the manner in which it has managed Kenya's affairs.

At Kasarani, delegates will have a chance to enter into a discourse that is expected to shape the course forward for the party.

We salute the party leadership for the manner in which it has most admirably handled the recent reforms debate and the mature way in which party supporters conducted themselves.

KANU leaders meet at Kasarani today as a united group that is serious about its work commitment and leadership vision — a party with no time for trivialities and one untouched by senseless wrangles.

Last month, the same delegates endorsed President Moi the party's torch bearer in the race for presidency. Since then, they have gone out in full, campaigning for him and popularising the party, to ensure that KANU message gets to the roots.

Today's meeting is a further opportunity for the delegates to tackle issues such as mode of nomination which need not be uniform depending on factors on the ground.

We at the Kenya Times take this chance to laud the manner in which the delegates have steadfastly supported the party and the President and urge them to steadfastly maintain their unwavering support for the party, which is the only one with a national outlook and accommodates the interests of all Kenyans.



Why Orengo is so busy making war

"I AM not my brother's keeper." This will probably go down in history as the most memorable statement of the week. Those were the exact words of the immediate former Member of Parliament for Kisumu Town, Mr Joab Omindo, when asked about the future of his two former colleagues in Ford Kenya, Messrs James Orengo and Otieno K'Opiyo.

Speaking at a function in Parliament Buildings where he and seven of his other colleagues decamped from Ford Kenya to the Raila Odinga-led National Development Party, Mr Omindo in a way summarised what the voters in Ugenya are bound to confirm via the ballot box when the polls are called.

From the bright legislator he once was, Orengo has all of a sudden taken the inside fast lane descending to political oblivion. It still beats all Kenyans what happened to Jiji but of course keen observers will point out that the steep descent began when Orengo quit debating in Parliament and started associating with people of questionable political, academic and social backgrounds.

On Sunday we heard news confirming that our Jim was at it again when he threatened that the opposition would look for alternative ways of removing KANU and President Moi from power if the ruling party wins the forthcoming General Election.

All rally in Nyando in Kisumu District, Orengo disclosed that the National Convention Executive Committee (NCEC) had a secret weapon which he said would be unleashed against KANU and by extension the rest of us Kenyans.

While Orengo was breathing fire and brimstone away in Kisumu, the NCEC war council was also planning a meeting in Nairobi where they are working out how to boycott the impending polls.

Now the two bits of news raises questions that any serious thinking Kenyan needs to address.

One, when Orengo joins the half-wagon of nonentities shouting against anything under the sun — elections, reforms and anything the Orengo group does not want — he is telling us that he is a misfit in the august House and that he belongs with street demonstrators.

The curtain call has been made and now Orengo's moment of reckoning is high. When riding high as Wamatwa Kijana's deputy in Ford Kenya, Orengo poured a full manner of vitriol on Raila Odinga's intellectual capacity. Now the shoe is on the other foot and as everyone knows, Raila is set to play a major role in seeing who gets into Parliament or stays in political doldrums.

Caught between the proverbial devil and the deep blue sea, Orengo is left acting like a shy bridesmaid who does not know how to behave in front of her inquisitive in-laws. Maybe as a pointer of things to come, last year Orengo attended the Thika Ford Kenya delegates congress as a delegate from Rift Valley.

That was after he was defeated by a Nairobi-based businessman, Mr Paul Nyamodi in Ugenya. In a recent interview Mr Nyamodi himself said that the main reason Orengo is sticking to NCEC is because the articulate lawyer cannot relish the chance of another dog fight with Nyamodi in his backyard of Ugenya.

This best explains the fact that whereas everyone who wants to be a people's representative is busy laying the groundwork in their respective constituencies, Orengo is busy making war and boycott threats.

Come on Jim, is it because you thought you could hang on to Parliament for the rest of your life? As a lawyer you must of course have heard during the course of your studies what is called mandate. And that is precisely what President Moi wanted all parliamentarians (himself and you included) to get from wanonchi before the business of building the nation can continue.

Now Jim be a good boy. Either participate in the polls or boycott them but please spare Kenyans your idle talks of alternative means of removing Moi from the presidency.

Even your foreign masters are against violence, Jim. Or have they not told you so?



Shouldn't churches oppose tribalism?

FOR all their cries about the playing field not being level, some churches and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are currently involved in partisan tribal politics as Kenyans go towards the elections. Indeed, for the last one and a half years, some churches have been preaching against KANU, the ruling party, and urging voters to vote for certain opposition parties.

One church even launched a tribal newspaper which specialises in attacking KANU leaders and members of their families as part of the opposition's election campaign strategy. While this is not surprising in a country where some bishops are known to shamelessly support presidential aspirants from their own tribes, it would be far more Christian for the churches involved to publicly state their stand so that the faithful are not duped into thinking that every man of the cloth in their church has been instructed by the Almighty to campaign for a specific tribal party.

As a matter of fact, church leaders are free to support any party or presidential candidate they wish. It is their right as Kenyans to do so. What is not acceptable is for a church leader to use his position to campaign for a specific party or candidate as was witnessed in Nyeri District and elsewhere in Kenya in 1992. Some Christians have since lost respect for the bishops and priests involved and we hope that the churches will not permit anyone — no matter how highly placed — to use the collar to promote tribal interests.

Our concern is genuine, for we have over the years seen church after church torn apart by tribal politics, a situation that has led to the creation of tribal dioceses in some churches instead of Christian communities based on love. The forthcoming General Election gives the churches the opportunity to strengthen love between the various communities and they must avoid the temptation to jump onto the bandwagon of hate, the bandwagon of tribal domination of Kenyan political institution, for this can only lead to conflict.

Indeed the churches have a duty to preach against tribalism and tribal parties.

Before the churches start protesting that they have a right to preach against certain parties and individuals on principal, they must remember that they have also declared themselves election monitors and observers — referees who will be keeping an eye on the campaigning and voting to ensure that it is carried out fairly and in accordance with democratic principles. Democratic practice does not allow one to play the role of competitor and referee, not even church leaders.

Now that an election date has been announced and the various political parties are busy trying to lure voters, these roles must be made quite clear to avoid a repeat of the 1992 situation which was grossly unfair to KANU, for that year the heads of some of the top churches in the country pretended to play the role of monitor even as they campaigned for presidential candidates from their own tribes.



Ngilu doesn't understand her real source of trouble

THE truth has come out strongly at last. Opposition parties have now become purely tribal. This is a very dangerous trend. President Daniel arap Moi has always told Kenyans not to support any politician introducing tribalism into politics. Kenya has more than 40 tribes. Surely, is it feasible for every one of those tribes to produce a president come polling day?

Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate, Charity Ngilu has been under the illusion that she was gaining ground in Ukambani and in Luoland where former Kisumu Rural MP Prof Anyang Nyong'o has his political base. Surprisingly, however, things have suddenly changed. Mrs Ngilu was on Thursday told to keep off Nyanza Province by a crowd in Homa Bay town. At the same time, Prof Nyong'o was told to defect to the National Development Party (NDP) of Ralla Odinga if he hopes to recapture his seat. Prof Nyong'o and Ngilu who were on a meet-the-people tour of Nyanza had their speeches interrupted by crowds chanting pro-NDP slogans.

Ngilu must not underestimate the warning given to Prof Nyong'o that he should rethink his political future if he wants to see parliament again. Luos are known for their political rigidity. Please, Mrs Ngilu, don't ignore the warning. You recently claimed that the ruling party, KANU wanted to harass you in Kitui and accused some leading KANU politicians of being behind the chaos. Your real source of trouble lies elsewhere, not in KANU, as the Homa Bay crowd showed you. Neither has the *Kenya Times* group of newspapers anything to do with your political campaign. In fact we wish you every success as we do all other candidates.

Ford Kenya, too, has suffered a strong setback as a result of the political goings-on in Luoland. On Tuesday seven immediate former Ford Kenya Members of Parliament defected to NDP. And on Wednesday, Ford Kenya's first national vice-chairman, Mr James Orengo and other party officials, resigned from the party. They have not yet announced their next party but speculation is rife that they will go to either SDP or NDP.

Although Ford Kenya's national chairman, Mr Kijana Wamalwa has tried to downplay these defections and resignations, he is merely consoling himself. The truth is that a huge chunk of his political following has broken away from him in the midst of terrible confusion within the opposition. He has been dealt an adverse blow by a tribal wave.

KANU now seems poised for an easy victory. But, it too, has a problem coming soon and the party must not rest on its laurels. President Moi faces the formidable challenge of winning 25 per cent of the votes cast in at least five provinces. KANU's strategists must centre their planning of the election campaign around this particular problem.

The General Election process should not be marred by the chaos plotters. But as the immediate former Members of Parliament go to their constituencies to start their campaigns, many are wondering why the Ntongiri immediate former MP Mr Maoka Maore has written to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) protesting the dissolution of Parliament. The election had to come some day. And the Electoral Commission has decided that the day will be December 29. It's time for all political parties and their candidates to get cracking rather than mugging.



Wamalwa's remarks on Moi most sincere

WE wholeheartedly support Kijana Wamalwa's recent statement at Ziwa market in Eldoret North in which he expressed his admiration and respect for President Daniel arap Moi, whom he described as "a good leader", a statesman and a respectable elder. In saying this, Wamalwa was being very honest with himself and very courageous as a leader of an opposition party.

It is the kind of observation which many other opposition followers know to be true but dare not utter in the open for fear of being labelled "sellouts."

President Moi has many human qualities which mark him out among his political rivals, colleagues and contemporaries, both in Kenya and other parts of the world. He is kind, generous, forgiving, patient, tolerant, knowledgeable, accessible and outgoing.

Backed by immense personal experience in Kenya's national affairs, the President has no equal in his mastery of local politics. He is an African, a man brought up in a traditional setting and therefore well grounded in African customs and social norms.

Above all, he is humble, God-fearing and very human. These qualities add up to a sound and stable character full of self-discipline, the kind of discipline few leaders of our time can command.

We are not saying that President Moi is in any way superhuman. He is an ordinary human being who laughs, feels, loses temper and who is also capable of failure and success. But, going by the totality of his life and performance as a national leader up to now, he is, as Mr Wamalwa puts it, a man who deserves respect by all.

Those whom Wamalwa accused of taking advantage of being close to the President so as to pursue unethical practices have themselves to blame. They are answerable to the society for their misdeeds and must therefore be prepared to carry their own cross when the law finally catches up on them. Their individual malpractices do not, however, subtract, even by one iota, anything from the President's good reputation and statesmanship.

Many Kenyans are saying exactly what we are saying here, namely that President Moi is a very good man and no objectively minded critic of African leaders has anything seriously against him. Say it again and again, without fear, Mr Wamalwa. You will also be remembered for your sincerity.



SDP, NDP must eschew violence

CAMPAIGN season is once again with us and so are attendant free for all trappings. But there are some insidious trends being exhibited by some parties and which may impact adversely on the holding of free and fair polls.

Beginning Saturday, the Social Democratic Party — the party that wants to give Kenya the first ever woman president — has been in the news for no other reason but the confrontational path it has chosen to conduct its campaign business.

When last Friday the candidate Charity Ngilu first gave a notice to disrupt the KANU fund-raiser luncheon slated for the following day many people did not believe that Mrs Ngilu would make good her threat. However, she went ahead and mobilised a handful of supporters largely comprising street children on Saturday a few hours before President Moi arrived at the Hotel Inter-Continental, venue of the function.

The same day in Kisumu, SDP supporters were involved in a tussle with the National Development Party where the latter's youths tried to disrupt a rally by the SDP think-tank, Prof Peter Anyang' Nyong'o.

Violence and reckless military must not become part of politicking and all the 26 registered political parties that intend to take part in the December 29 polls must sign the Electoral Code of Conduct with the Electoral Commission. Although by the time of closure of the exercise only 22 of these parties had signed, the message here is that all the signatories must abide with the contents of the document in both letter and spirit.

The section most striking is that any party that has signed the document undertakes to shun any form of violence during the campaign period. Any party flouting this rule stands disqualification from the race.

Not that we are targeting SDP for attack — no, it is just that Mrs Ngilu and her supporters rated lowest in this respect. Over the same weekend, Democratic Party supporters also engaged in a fray with Paul Muile's Safina in Nyeri District when the letter went there on a meet-the-people tour.

In Kakamega, irate Ford Kenya supporters subjected the Ford Asili presidential candidate Martin Shikuku to a heckling episode that degenerated into a physical combat. The least can go on *ad finitum*....

Back to the Saturday KANU luncheon. Ngilu must not argue that KANU was not having a campaign rally at Inter-Continental and that therefore she cannot be guilty of any electoral offence. The point is that her conduct showed contempt and it does not really matter where she chose to show the contempt.

When the Seventh Parliament was on its last legs, the immediate former Kisumu Rural Member of Parliament, Prof Anyang' Nyong'o was roughed up by people who were claimed to be KANU supporters outside the gates of the House. An incensed Nyong'o was later to tell his colleagues that anybody sowing violence must one day reap the same in abundance.

Against this milieu were we, therefore, stunned that the party the good professor roots for was out to disrupt President Moi's function. Probably Anyang' Nyong'o's presidential candidate was wrongly advised — hopefully not by the professor!

However, this does not give her the right to go about disrupting other parties functions. We are sure Mrs Ngilu was also never amused to hear that her right hand man Prof Nyong'o was roughed up by Raila Odinga's men at Kisumu's Kenyatta Sports Ground.

As the electioneering proper gets intense beginning tomorrow, all parties need to be reminded that they must keep up with the code they all willingly signed.

The Electoral Commission on its part must immediately act against parties wilfully crossing the others' line and in the process violating the election code. Mrs Ngilu and indeed all the other candidates must sell their parties without recourse to militancy and



KANU already on the way to victory

KANU, the only national political party in Kenya, has already bagged six parliamentary seats and a huge number of local authority seats way ahead of the December 29 General Election, sending out the message to the numerous Opposition parties that the Kenyan electorate heavily favours KANU to see the country into the next millennium.

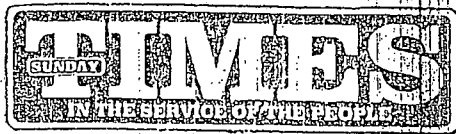
We take this opportunity to congratulate the six KANU MPs-elect and their civic colleagues for romping home in great style way ahead of the General Election. Their victory is a victory for the ruling party and they now have the responsibility of ensuring that their pro-KANU constituencies turn out in full force on December 29 to vote for President Moi, the national party chairman whose leadership has ensured peace and tranquillity at a time when other countries in this region are going through untold hardship.

We also take this opportunity to thank those KANU heavyweights who have declared their unswerving support for the party's campaign effort even after losing their nomination bids. We are confident that KANU leaders like Mrs Nyiva Mwendya will carry on the campaign for KANU's presidential and civic candidates to ensure that after the counting is over the ruling party will be back in power with an overwhelming majority.

KANU has a duty to teach the fledgling Opposition parties the importance of national unity and the need to conduct their election campaigns in a civilised and peaceful manner. Our advice to the Opposition is to watch very closely the way in which KANU conducts its affairs and concentrate on developing their parties into national institutions instead of promoting tribalism and sectionalism merely because it assures them of votes in certain communities.

As the General Election draws closer, all voters must bear in mind the critical fact that we are one nation and their ballots will determine whether or not the democratisation process can be nurtured or killed by tribalism. A vote for a tribal presidential or parliamentary candidate is a vote against democracy.

A vote for the only truly national political party, KANU, is the best way to nurture democracy and elevate the Kenyan nation to a new level. If Kenyans want peace and prosperity, they must vote for KANU and ignore the many tribal candidates who shamelessly criss-cross their provinces urging members of their tribes to vote for them. There is no future in tribal leadership — and the tribal candidates are fully aware of this!



Let's give Moi another chance

ADDRESSING the Kenyan nation at the Nyayo National Stadium during this year's Jamhuri Day celebrations, President Moi said he would like to leave a permanent legacy that would be cherished by all Kenyans. He said he wished to be remembered as the one leader who had a vision for a united, democratic and prosperous Kenya. It is noteworthy that since President Moi came to power nearly 19 years ago, he has been determined to realise this vision. The President, of course, has had a few challenges here and there, but he has managed to weather the storms.

President Moi's speech touched on many vital issues that have direct bearing on Kenya's political future. But none of them was as distinct as that of unity. Kenya's political stability and economic progress have rested on the unity in the country. But President Moi, like his great predecessor, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, has been very instrumental in the country's unity. Never has the President addressed a group of Kenyans, be they farmers or students, without telling them that the success of the nation squarely depended on the nation's unity.

The President's Nyayo philosophy has unity as one of its ingredients, the other being peace and love. But President Moi cannot realise his vision without the support and cooperation of Kenyans. Indeed, the President recognises that the goodwill of Kenyans and their support have enabled him to bring the nation thus far. President Moi's legacy will not be easy to destroy, even if one attempts to do so, for in his pragmatism and practical leadership, the President has always been to Kenyans a man of action.

There is a bridge ahead which Kenyans must cross to move into the next millennium. They must think creatively about it. It is a bridge that is equally a challenge in itself. Kenyans cannot afford to behave like pessimists and wait only to act when things begin to happen. They cannot say that they will cross this bridge only when they come to it. They must decide, and decide now, where they are leading to. Is it President Moi or some other candidate they will be voting for on December 29? That is the one question that every well-meaning Kenyan must ask himself or herself, especially in the coming one week when the politicians will be on the campaign trail asking for votes.

The presidential race line-up is long indeed; in fact the longest since the country's independence. President Moi is campaigning for his last term to complete his work and realise his vision although the President remarked at the same time that nation building is a long process that would not be completed within a single generation. But the President wants to do more about the country's unity which has been threatened a number of times by saboteurs. He feels that Kenya's fledgling democracy still needs his leadership.

The country's democracy is being threatened by tribalism and corruption, the two vices which President Moi has been fighting against. This business is not yet finished. Which is why the President would wish to lead Kenyans for another five-year term. Going by recent political developments, one would think that the President is right in asking for another term. His enemies may argue that President Moi might be interested in perpetuating himself in power but the truth, however, is that President Moi loves this country and would not wish that it goes to the dogs at any time.

The unity in this country is fragile at best because of tribalism which some leaders have used as a means to survive in politics. Had it been that the country was united, President Moi would not have minded calling it quits. But his conscience keeps on taxing him as to what might happen to the country should one of his opponents take over the reigns of power.

Since the introduction of pluralism, which ushered into the country competitive politics, opposition parties have been threatened by leadership wrangles leaving Kenyans to wonder what would have happened had President Moi failed to win the 1992 multi-party poll. Had the opposition come to power would the country not have experienced the ugly schisms which are the order of the day in opposition parties?

Unity must start from the party before it permeates into other fabrics of national life. Not a single opposition party has been without leadership wrangles. That is why Ford Asili is going to the elections weaker than it would have been. The same applies to Ford Kenya and the Democratic Party of Kenya. Can such wrangling leaders assure Kenyans of unity and political stability?